

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1979

I'm delighted to have this chance to speak with you, and to share some of the ideas that I think we Republicans ought to embrace as an alternative to more of the same warmed over New Deal that represents the zenith of Democratic thought. For years now, we've been gathering together and paying homage to good solid Republican virtues--to a balanced budget, a strong defense, a foreign policy that is based upon hard reality instead of wishful thinking. We've told ourselves that, sooner or later, the federal government would make such a mess of things that the American people would wake up and grasp what was being done to their freedoms, economic and political, in the name of collective security.

At times, we've sounded almost smug in our conviction that, come that fall, Americans would turn to us. We've made a balanced budget the centerpiece of our economic religion, without explaining to poor people, to minorities, to the young, what positive effects a balanced budget would have upon their lives. We've not always made the effort we should to convince working people of our mutual interests in reducing insensitive and counter-productive government, in cutting inflation and in strengthening the free enterprise system.

The fact is, my friends, that too often in the past we've played the Democratic game. We've allowed this nation to be governed on a we versus they basis; that is, we've allowed the Democrats to portray themselves as the guardians of a great and noble tradition of compassionate government. In fact, Democratic compassion is indistinguishable from Democratic paternalism.

But these are exciting times to be young and Republican. The New Deal is old hat; the new foundation has crumbled before it ever went up. The intellectual action is on our side of the fence; the exciting new ideas are Republican ideas.

FOREIGN POLICY: A THOUGHTFUL ALTERNATIVE

And America is beginning to notice. While President Carter struggles to keep his fractured party from falling apart, a vast middle ground of American society is turning away from these visionaries turned mossbacks. They don't accept the President's modern math, which converts a \$29 billion deficit into a surplus. They reject his international house of cards, built on questionable rhetoric, propped up by a distrust of American power that borders on diplomatic suicide.

The President has a habit of embracing potentially constructive policies in a way that contributes to a dangerous impression of American weakness. For instance, I too, believe that the People's Republic of China is here to stay, and that 900,000,000 people, however objectionable their government, can be ignored only at our own peril. But do you believe that we recognized the Peking government in a fashion to inspire confidence among our allies? Do you accept Presidential assurances that he secured as much from the Chinese as he could have? Do you feel pride in the way we handled our old and valued ally on Taiwan?

Even more serious questions arise. Precisely what have we gotten ourselves into? What new problems have been created by the Chinese-Vietnam conflict? If the Soviets are successful in using the Chinese invasion as a pretext for establishing a naval base at Camrahn Bay, have we not contributed to an even greater level of tension in the Far East and Pacific?

(MORE)

-2-

Foreign policy does not operate in a vacuum. Imagine if you will a human body, a masterpiece of complex and interrelated systems. Any doctor worth his diploma accepts the first principle of medicine; that any treatment must be understood in light of its possible side effects, and in its overall effect upon the entire system.

So too, is the globe a vast and interlocking network of turbulent forces, many beyond our control, but others capable of response if we would only adopt a firm stance and a coherent policy.

That is exactly what has been missing from the Carter Administration.

When the Shah of Iran was forced from his nation, and the Bakhtiar government, the State Department issued a few press releases of perfunctory support. Meanwhile, Andy Young was telling anyone who would listen that the Ayatollah Khomeini was a saint.

Now I'm not going to get into an argument over who lost Iran. The Administration would like nothing better than to localize resentment of American foreign policy in that troubled and still unpredictable land. What would you have done differently, they ask, as if that is enough to excuse a foreign policy whose naive approach to the world has our allies worried and our foes encouraged.

The problem goes beyond presidential naivete. In Mexico, this Administration speaks with two tongues; one rejects any trade concessions, any steps which might help to stabilize the Mexican economy and thus pave the way for better relations and a crucial flow of Mexican oil. The other sits through a state banquet, listening to a stinging rebuke from one head of state to another. Through it all, people may be forgiven for wondering just who is making policy--the President or the Secretary of Energy.

And I defy anyone in this room to define American policy with regard to Africa and the efforts to find a peaceful solution to that continent's explosive evolution toward economic and political parity. Is our policy the product of the President or Andy Young? This perception of divided authority is as important as the real thing. In France and elsewhere on the European continent, democratic leaders harbor deep anxieties about America's will to respond to the Soviet threat.

To many nations, our foreign policy seems the policy of wetting your finger and holding it in the global breeze. They think we have confused restraint with retreat, and any military man will tell you that retreat is the riskiest maneuver there is. If handled improperly, it can turn into wholesale rout.

#### THE NEED FOR COHERENT VISION

The first thing that any American government should do regarding its foreign policy is to have a coherent world view, something this Administration lacks totally. It should not advocate with its right hand what it rejects with its left. It should not tolerate personality cults, nor bureaucratic squabbling within the State Department.

The President is more than Chairman of the Board; he is theoretically maker of policy, foreign and domestic. Insofar as he appears uncertain or confused, he weakens the chances of American relations with the world from bearing fruit. Insofar as he appears to vacillate, he encourages America's enemies, who are far less concerned with the niceties of domestic public opinion.

The object of foreign policy should be to understand the world as it is, and then deal objectively from a position of strength. This Administration prefers to deal with a world that isn't, and only its words suggest strength. Jimmy Carter has confused himself with Woodrow Wilson. But preaching human rights to proud and independent nations is not necessarily the rock upon which we should construct our foreign policy.

We live in a dangerous world. Nations are wracked by forces larger than nationalism. The Islam revolution threatens to sweep the Near East like some unstoppable desert sandstorm. Ancient rivalries in the Far East are renewed with America's withdrawal from that corner of the globe. Africa is awash with the promise of tomorrow, and also with the political instability that accompanies an entire continent breaking the bonds of colonialism. Latin America is anxious to assert a larger role on the world stage, resentful of the Yankee leading man.

Those are the realities of the modern world. The question that we, as potential makers of foreign policy must face, is how best to deal with such realities. Do we, like the current Administration, adopt a policy of neo-isolationism, undermining and underestimating American resources and American influence? If we do, then we deserve history's contempt, and surely we will earn it.

(MORE)

I prefer another way. I prefer to accept the rules of the international game, to acknowledge the presence of unfriendly players and stiff competition. I would not tarnish or discard weapons in the struggle for survival; I would not allow the CIA, for instance, to wither and weaken. I would approach arms control with hope for a lasting solution to the war of weapons; but I would approach the subject with wariness as well, and with the conviction that no agreement is better than a bad agreement, an agreement which threatens our security or, equally important at this critical juncture of world opinion, which weakens respect for American strength among our allies abroad.

The path of freedom is not easily trod in this bloody and turbulent era. It is strewn with the wreckage of good intentions and liberal governments. Notwithstanding the challenges it presents, it is the only path that America can travel. But we cannot afford to kid ourselves; it cannot be traveled lightly, unarmed, convinced of our invulnerability.

The ordeal of the twentieth century, as Adlai Stevenson once said, is far from over. Our lot will be one of sacrifice for many years to come. I am willing to vote for sacrifice. You, I believe, are willing to embrace sacrifice. Together, we can convince the American people that, to abandon our role in the world now would be fatal. To avoid responsible sacrifice now would invite the supreme sacrifice from our children or grandchildren.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO YOUNG REPUBLICANS

At home as abroad, these are critical days for America. To be young and politically active in such a time is to accept the responsibility of devising new solutions to old problems. That's what Republicans should be doing. Unless we provide solutions instead of slogans, we will never escape the shadows of opposition.

Why should a young person embrace the Republican philosophy? Because it differs from the democratic one. Because it is honest in calling for individual exertion instead of promising endless benefits. Because it emphasizes self-realization over selfishness. We're talking about making the American dream real again, about opening the doors to economic participation for all Americans.

We're talking about mandating a balanced budget, by placing lids upon both government spending and taxation, and thereby reversing the trend toward omniscient government. The time has come to accept as truth that government cannot create prosperity. People can, and it is government's responsibility to provide them with the maximum tools to do the job.

If the Congress is unwilling to respond to the taxpayer revolt, then the machinery of constitutional government itself must do the job. If that means a constitutional convention, then let it be. If democratic government means anything, it means that we put faith in the ability of people to correct the deficiencies in their government. And can anyone doubt that a national deficit approaching a trillion dollars, and a federal budget which gobbles up nearly 22 percent of the GNP is a disaster for all but the advocates of Godlike government.

Republicans have more to offer the young, because Republicans can appeal simultaneously to their ambition for success and their ideal of service. We can offer new ideas, such as tax indexing, which links withholding rates to the consumer price index and does away with the dishonest policy of inflating dollars in order to provide phantom "tax cuts".

We can offer creative ideas like a health insurance program that corrects the serious gaps of catastrophic illness while honestly acknowledging the fiscal impossibility of cradle to grave health care.

We can offer an energy policy that is more productive than mere conservation, that accepts and encourages the potential of the private sector to produce what government can only regulate.

We can offer young Americans political honesty. We won't promise what we can't deliver, but we won't hesitate to propose new or innovative ways to deal with problems that liberal government has failed to solve. Above all, we can promise to the young a nation where the individual remains sacred, and where government places its ultimate faith in the individual's capacity to know what is best for him or herself.

#### A REPUBLICAN CREDO

In his first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson called for a "wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned."

The world has turned over many times since Jefferson proclaimed his vision of a free America. The landscape he knew is gone now, given over to modern cities and relentless economic expansion. Jefferson's nation has assumed a position at the head of the world's nations, and the government he administered has grown like a tumor on the American body politic.

-4-

But the vision he proclaimed, the ideal he embodied; these are with us still. These we might make the cornerstone of our belief in a government that is strong and wise but never paternalistic for condescending. The American people are ripe for conversion. They are waiting for a political philosophy that is both competent and compassionate. It is our responsibility to provide them with such a philosophy. It will be your responsibility to implement that philosophy.

The future beckons: bold and bright, if we would but seize it. To grasp the potential and then achieve the practical; that is the ultimate test of leadership. You pass that test daily. May the government we set over us do half so well.

-30-

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
YOUNG REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1979

I'M DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS CHANCE TO SPEAK WITH YOU, AND TO SHARE SOME OF THE IDEAS THAT I THINK WE REPUBLICANS OUGHT TO EMBRACE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO MORE OF THE SAME WARMED OVER NEW DEAL THAT REPRESENTS THE ZENITH OF DEMOCRATIC THOUGHT. FOR YEARS NOW, WE'VE BEEN GATHERING TOGETHER AND PAYING HOMAGE TO GOOD SOLID REPUBLICAN VIRTUES--TO A BALANCED BUDGET, A STRONG DEFENSE, A FOREIGN POLICY THAT IS BASED UPON HARD REALITY INSTEAD OF WISHFUL THINKING. WE'VE TOLD OURSELVES THAT, SOONER OR LATER, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE SUCH A MESS OF THINGS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD WAKE UP AND GRASP WHAT WAS BEING DONE TO THEIR FREEDOMS, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL, IN THE NAME OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY.

-2-

AT TIMES, WE'VE SOUNDED ALMOST SMUG IN OUR CONVICTION THAT, COME THAT FALL, AMERICANS WOULD TURN TO US. WE'VE MADE A BALANCED BUDGET THE CENTERPIECE OF OUR ECONOMIC RELIGION, WITHOUT EXPLAINING TO POOR PEOPLE, TO MINORITIES, TO THE YOUNG, WHAT POSITIVE EFFECTS A BALANCED BUDGET WOULD HAVE UPON THEIR LIVES. WE'VE NOT ALWAYS MADE THE EFFORT WE SHOULD TO CONVINCE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS IN REDUCING INSENSITIVE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE GOVERNMENT, IN CUTTING INFLATION AND IN STRENGTHENING THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM.

THE FACT IS, MY FRIENDS, THAT TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST WE'VE PLAYED THE DEMOCRATIC GAME. WE'VE ALLOWED THIS NATION TO BE GOVERNED ON A WE VERSUS THEY BASIS; THAT IS, WE'VE ALLOWED THE DEMOCRATS TO PORTRAY THEMSELVES AS THE GUARDIANS OF A GREAT AND NOBLE TRADITION OF COMPASSIONATE GOVERNMENT. IN FACT, DEMOCRATIC COMPASSION IS INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM DEMOCRATIC PATERNALISM.

-3-

BUT THESE ARE EXCITING TIMES TO BE YOUNG AND REPUBLICAN. THE NEW DEAL IS OLD HAT; THE NEW FOUNDATION HAS CRUMBLLED BEFORE IT EVER WENT UP. THE INTELLECTUAL ACTION IS ON OUR SIDE OF THE FENCE; THE EXCITING NEW IDEAS ARE REPUBLICAN IDEAS.

FOREIGN POLICY: A THOUGHTFUL ALTERNATIVE

AND AMERICA IS BEGINNING TO NOTICE. WHILE PRESIDENT CARTER STRUGGLES TO KEEP HIS FRACTURED PARTY FROM FALLING APART, A VAST MIDDLE GROUND OF AMERICAN SOCIETY IS TURNING AWAY FROM THESE VISIONARIES TURNED MOSSBACKS. THEY DON'T ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S MODERN MATH, WHICH CONVERTS A \$29 BILLION DEFICIT INTO A SURPLUS. THEY REJECT HIS INTERNATIONAL HOUSE OF CARDS, BUILT ON QUESTIONABLE RHETORIC, PROPPED UP BY A DISTRUST OF AMERICAN POWER THAT BORDERS ON DIPLOMATIC SUICIDE.

-4-

THE PRESIDENT HAS A HABIT OF EMBRACING POTENTIALLY CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES IN A WAY THAT CONTRIBUTES TO A DANGEROUS IMPRESSION OF AMERICAN WEAKNESS. FOR INSTANCE, I TOO, BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS HERE TO STAY, AND THAT 900,000,000 PEOPLE, HOWEVER OBJECTIONABLE THEIR GOVERNMENT, CAN BE IGNORED ONLY AT OUR OWN PERIL. BUT DO YOU BELIEVE THAT WE RECOGNIZED THE PEKING GOVERNMENT IN A FASHION TO INSPIRE CONFIDENCE AMONG OUR ALLIES? DO YOU ACCEPT PRESIDENTIAL ASSURANCES THAT HE SECURED AS MUCH FROM THE CHINESE AS HE COULD HAVE? DO YOU FEEL PRIDE IN THE WAY WE HANDLED OUR OLD AND VALUED ALLY ON TAIWAN?

EVEN MORE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ARISE. PRECISELY WHAT HAVE WE GOTTEN OURSELVES INTO? WHAT NEW PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN CREATED BY THE CHINESE-VIETNAM CONFLICT? IF THE SOVIETS ARE SUCCESSFUL IN USING THE CHINESE INVASION AS A PRETEXT FOR ESTABLISHING A NAVAL BASE AT CAMRAHN BAY, HAVE WE NOT CONTRIBUTED TO AN EVEN GREATER LEVEL OF TENSION IN THE FAR EAST AND PACIFIC?

-5-

FOREIGN POLICY DOES NOT OPERATE IN A VACUUM. IMAGINE IF YOU WILL A HUMAN BODY, A MASTERPIECE OF COMPLEX AND INTERRELATED SYSTEMS. ANY DOCTOR WORTH HIS DIPLOMA ACCEPTS THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF MEDICINE; THAT ANY TREATMENT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD IN LIGHT OF ITS POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS, AND IN ITS OVERALL EFFECT UPON THE ENTIRE SYSTEM.

SO TOO, IS THE GLOBE A VAST AND INTERLOCKING NETWORK OF TURBULENT FORCES, MANY BEYOND OUR CONTROL, BUT OTHERS CAPABLE OF RESPONSE IF WE WOULD ONLY ADOPT A FIRM STANCE AND A COHERENT POLICY.

THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT HAS BEEN MISSING FROM THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN THE SHAH OF IRAN WAS FORCED FROM HIS NATION, AND THE BAKTIAR GOVERNMENT INSTALLED AS THE ONLY LOGICAL HOPE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, THE STATE DEPARTMENT ISSUED A FEW PRESS RELEASES OF PERFUNCTORY SUPPORT. MEANWHILE, ANDY YOUNG WAS TELLING ANYONE WHO WOULD LISTEN THAT THE AYOTOLLAH KHOMEINI WAS A SAINT.

-6-

NOW I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO AN ARGUMENT OVER WHO LOST IRAN. THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD LIKE NOTHING BETTER THAN TO LOCALIZE RESENTMENT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THAT TROUBLED AND STILL UNPREDICTABLE LAND. WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE DONE DIFFERENTLY, THEY ASK, AS IF THAT IS ENOUGH TO EXCUSE A FOREIGN POLICY WHOSE NAIVE APPROACH TO THE WORLD HAS OUR ALLIES WORRIED AND OUR FOES ENCOURAGED.

THE PROBLEM GOES BEYOND PRESIDENTIAL NIIVETE. IN MEXICO, THIS ADMINISTRATION SPEAKS WITH TWO TONGUES; ONE REJECTS ANY TRADE CONCESSIONS, ANY STEPS WHICH MIGHT HELP TO STABILIZE THE MEXICAN ECONOMY AND THUS PAVE THE WAY FOR BETTER RELATIONS AND A CRUCIAL FLOW OF MEXICAN OIL. THE OTHER SITS THROUGH A STATE BANQUET, LISTENING TO A STINGING REBUKE FROM ONE HEAD OF STATE TO ANOTHER. THROUGH IT ALL, PEOPLE MAY BE FOREGIVEN FOR WONDERING JUST WHO IS MAKING POLICY--THE PRESIDENT OR THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY.

AND I DEFY ANYONE IN THIS ROOM TO DEFINE AMERICAN POLICY WITH REGARD TO AFRICA AND THE EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THAT CONTINENT'S EXPLOSIVE EVOLUTION TOWARD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PARITY. IS OUR POLICY THE PRODUCT OF THE PRESIDENT OR ANDY YOUNG? THIS PERCEPTION OF DIVIDED AUTHORITY IS AS IMPORTANT AS THE REAL THING. IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT, DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HARBOR DEEP ANXIETIES ABOUT AMERICA'S WILL TO RESPOND TO THE SOVIET THREAT.

-7-

TO MANY NATIONS, OUR FOREIGN POLICY SEEMS THE POLICY OF WETTING YOUR FINGER AND HOLDING IT IN THE GLOBAL BREEZE. THEY THINK WE HAVE CONFUSED RESTRAINT WITH RETREAT, AND ANY MILITARY MAN WILL TELL YOU THAT RETREAT IS THE RISKIEST MANEUVER THERE IS. IF HANDLED IMPROPERLY, IT CAN TURN INTO WHOLESALÉ ROUT.

### THE NEED FOR COHERENT VISION

THE FIRST THING THAT ANY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO REGARDING ITS FOREIGN POLICY IS TO HAVE A COHERENT WORLD VIEW, SOMETHING THIS ADMINISTRATION LACKS TOTALLY. IT SHOULD NOT ADVOCATE WITH ITS RIGHT HAND WHAT IT REJECTS WITH ITS LEFT. IT SHOULD NOT TOLERATE PERSONALITY CULTS, NOR BUREAUCRATIC SQUABBLING WITHIN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

THE PRESIDENT IS MORE THAN CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD; HE IS THEORETICALLY MAKER OF POLICY, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC. INsofar AS HE APPEARS UNCERTAIN OR CONFUSED, HE WEAKENS THE CHANCES OF AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD FROM BEARING FRUIT. INsofar AS HE APPEARS TO VACILATE, HE ENCOURAGES AMERICA'S ENEMIES, WHO ARE FAR LESS CONCERNED WITH THE NICETIES OF DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION.

-8-

THE OBJECT OF FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE TO UNDERSTAND THE WORLD AS IT IS, AND THEN DEAL OBJECTIVELY FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH. THIS ADMINISTRATION PREFERS TO DEAL WITH A WORLD THAT ISN'T, AND ONLY ITS WORDS SUGGEST STRENGTH. JIMMY CARTER HAS CONFUSED HIMSELF WITH WOODROW WILSON. BUT PREACHING HUMAN RIGHTS TO PROUD AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE ROCK UPON WHICH WE SHOULD CONSTRUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD. NATIONS ARE WRACKED BY FORCES LARGER THAN NATIONALISM. THE ISLAM REVOLUTION THREATENS TO SWEEP THE NEAR EAST LIKE SOME UNSTOPPABLE DESERT SANDSTORM. ANCIENT RIVALRIES IN THE FAR EAST ARE RENEWED WITH AMERICA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THAT CORNER OF THE GLOBE. AFRICA IS AWASH WITH THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW, AND ALSO WITH THE POLITICAL INSTABILITY THAT ACCOMPANIES AN ENTIRE CONTINENT BREAKING THE BONDS OF COLONIALISM. LATIN AMERICA IS ANXIOUS TO ASSERT A LARGER ROLE ON THE WORLD STAGE, RESENTFUL OF THE YANKEE LEADING MAN.

-9-

THOSE ARE THE REALITIES OF THE MODERN WORLD. THE QUESTION THAT WE, AS POTENTIAL MAKERS OF FOREIGN POLICY MUST FACE, IS HOW BEST TO DEAL WITH SUCH REALITIES. DO WE, LIKE THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION, ADOPT A POLICY OF NEO-ISOLATIONISM, UNDERMINING AND UNDERESTIMATING AMERICAN RESOURCES AND AMERICAN INFLUENCE? IF WE DO, THEN WE DESERVE HISTORY'S CONTEMPT, AND SURELY WE WILL EARN IT.

I PREFER ANOTHER WAY. I PREFER TO ACCEPT THE RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL GAME, TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRESENCE OF UNFRIENDLY PLAYERS AND STIFF COMPETITION. I WOULD NOT TARNISH OR DISCARD WEAPONS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL; I WOULD NOT ALLOW THE CIA, FOR INSTANCE, TO WITHER AND WEAKEN. I WOULD APPROACH ARMS CONTROL WITH HOPE FOR A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE WAR OF WEAPONS; BUT I WOULD APPROACH THE SUBJECT WITH WARINESS AS WELL, AND WITH THE CONVICTION THAT NO AGREEMENT IS BETTER THAN A BAD AGREEMENT, AN AGREEMENT WHICH THREATENS OUR SECURITY OR, EQUALLY IMPORTANT AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE OF WORLD OPINION, WHICH WEAKENS RESPECT FOR AMERICAN STRENGTH AMONG OUR ALLIES ABROAD.

-10-

THE PATH OF FREEDOM IS NOT EASILY TROD IN THIS BLOODY AND TURBULENT ERA. IT IS STREWN WITH THE WRECKAGE OF GOOD INTENTIONS AND LIBERAL GOVERNMENTS. NOTWITHSTANDING THE CHALLENGES IT PRESENTS, IT IS THE ONLY PATH THAT AMERICA CAN TRAVEL. BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO KID OURSELVES; IT CANNOT BE TRAVELED LIGHTLY, UNARMED, CONVINCED OF OUR INVULNERABILITY.

THE ORDEAL OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, AS ADLAI STEVENSON ONCE SAID, IS FAR FROM OVER. OUR LOT WILL BE ONE OF SACRIFICE FOR MANY YEARS TO COME. I AM WILLING TO VOTE FOR SACRIFICE. YOU, I BELIEVE, ARE WILLING TO EMBRACE SACRIFICE. TOGETHER, WE CAN CONVINCE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT, TO ABANDON OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD NOW WOULD BE FATAL. TO AVOID RESPONSIBLE SACRIFICE NOW WOULD INVITE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE FROM OUR CHILDREN OR GRANDCHILDREN.

-11-

## THE CHALLENGE TO YOUNG REPUBLICANS

AT HOME AS ABROAD, THESE ARE CRITICAL DAYS FOR AMERICA. TO BE YOUNG AND POLITICALLY ACTIVE IN SUCH A TIME IS TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DEVISING NEW SOLUTIONS TO OLD PROBLEMS. THAT'S WHAT REPUBLICANS SHOULD BE DOING. UNLESS WE PROVIDE SOLUTIONS INSTEAD OF SLOGANS, WE WILL NEVER ESCAPE THE SHADOWS OF OPPOSITION.

WHY SHOULD A YOUNG PERSON EMBRACE THE REPUBLICAN PHILOSOPHY? BECAUSE IT DIFFERS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC ONE. BECAUSE IT IS HONEST IN CALLING FOR INDIVIDUAL EXERTION INSTEAD OF PROMISING ENDLESS BENEFITS. BECAUSE IT EMPHASIZES SELF-REALIZATION OVER SELFISHNESS. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT MAKING THE AMERICAN DREAM REAL AGAIN, ABOUT OPENING THE DOORS TO ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION FOR ALL AMERICANS.

WE'RE TALKING ABOUT MANDATING A BALANCED BUDGET, BY PLACING LIDS UPON BOTH GOVERNMENT SPENDING AND TAXATION, AND THEREBY REVERSING THE TREND TOWARD OMNISCIENT GOVERNMENT. THE TIME HAS COME TO ACCEPT AS TRUTH THAT GOVERNMENT CANNOT CREATE PROSPERITY. PEOPLE CAN, AND IT IS GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE THEM WITH THE MAXIMUM TOOLS TO DO THE JOB.

-12-

IF THE CONGRESS IS UNWILLING TO RESPOND TO THE TAXPAYER REVOLT, THEN THE MACHINERY OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT ITSELF MUST DO THE JOB. IF THAT MEANS A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, THEN LET IT BE. IF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT MEANS ANYTHING, IT MEANS THAT WE PUT FAITH IN THE ABILITY OF PEOPLE TO CORRECT THE DEFICIENCIES IN THEIR GOVERNMENT. AND CAN ANYONE DOUBT THAT A NATIONAL DEFICIT APPROACHING A TRILLION DOLLARS, AND A FEDERAL BUDGET WHICH GOBBLES UP NEARLY 22 PERCENT OF THE GNP IS A DISASTER FOR ALL BUT THE ADVOCATES OF GODLIKE GOVERNMENT.

REPUBLICANS HAVE MORE TO OFFER THE YOUNG, BECAUSE REPUBLICANS CAN APPEAL SIMULTANEOUSLY TO THEIR AMBITION FOR SUCCESS AND THEIR IDEAL OF SERVICE. WE CAN OFFER NEW IDEAS, SUCH AS TAX INDEXING, WHICH LINKS WITHHOLDING RATES TO THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX AND DOES AWAY WITH THE DISHONEST POLICY OF INFLATING DOLLARS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE PHANTOM "TAX CUTS".

-13-

WE CAN OFFER CREATIVE IDEAS LIKE A HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM THAT CORRECTS THE SERIOUS GAPS OF CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS WHILE HONESTLY ACKNOWLEDGING THE FISCAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF CRADLE TO GRAVE HEALTH CARE.

WE CAN OFFER AN ENERGY POLICY THAT IS MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN MERE CONSERVATION, THAT ACCEPTS AND ENCOURAGES THE POTENTIAL OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO PRODUCE WHAT GOVERNMENT CAN ONLY REGULATE.

WE CAN OFFER YOUNG AMERICANS POLITICAL HONESTY. WE WON'T PROMISE WHAT WE CAN'T DELIVER, BUT WE WON'T HESITATE TO PROPOSE NEW OR INNOVATIVE WAYS TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS THAT LIBERAL GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED TO SOLVE. ABOVE ALL, WE CAN PROMISE TO THE YOUNG A NATION WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL REMAINS SACRED, AND WHERE GOVERNMENT PLACES ITS ULTIMATE FAITH IN THE INDIVIDUAL'S CAPACITY TO KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR HIM OR HERSELF.

-14-

A REPUBLICAN CREDO

IN HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, THOMAS JEFFERSON CALLED FOR A "WISE AND FRUGAL GOVERNMENT, WHICH SHALL RESTRAIN MEN FROM INJURING ONE ANOTHER, WHICH SHALL LEAVE THEM OTHERWISE FREE TO REGULATE THEIR OWN PURSUITS OF INDUSTRY AND IMPROVEMENT, AND SHALL NOT TAKE FROM THE MOUTH OF LABOR THE BREAD IT HAS EARNED."

THE WORLD HAS TURNED OVER MANY TIMES SINCE JEFFERSON PROCLAIMED HIS VISION OF A FREE AMERICA. THE LANDSCAPE HE KNEW IS GONE NOW, GIVEN OVER TO MODERN CITIES AND RELENTLESS ECONOMIC EXPANSION. JEFFERSON'S NATION HAS ASSUMED A POSITION AT THE HEAD OF THE WORLD'S NATIONS, AND THE GOVERNMENT HE ADMINISTERED HAS GROWN LIKE A TUMOR ON THE AMERICAN BODY POLITIC.

BUT THE VISION IS STILL

-15-

BUT THE VISION HE PROCLAIMED, THE IDEAL HE EMBODIED; THESE ARE WITH US STILL. THESE WE MIGHT MAKE THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR BELIEF IN A GOVERNMENT THAT IS STRONG AND WISE BUT NEVER PATERNALISTIC NOR CONDESCENDING. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE RIPE FOR CONVERSION. THEY ARE WAITING FOR A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY THAT IS BOTH COMPETENT AND COMPASSIONATE. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE THEM WITH SUCH A PHILOSOPHY. IT WILL BE YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO IMPLEMENT THAT PHILOSOPHY.

THE FUTURE BECKONS: BOLD AND BRIGHT, IF WE WOULD BUT SEIZE IT. TO GRASP THE POTENTIAL AND THEN ACHIEVE THE PRACTICAL: THAT IS THE ULTIMATE TEST OF LEADERSHIP. YOU PASS THAT TEST DAILY. MAY THE GOVERNMENT WE SET OVER US DO HALF SO WELL.