

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP  
MIDWEST REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA  
SATUDAY, MARCH 10, 1979

IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE BACK IN INDIANA,  
AND TO SALUTE THIS HEARTLAND OF AMERICA, STILL AFTER  
120 YEARS THE REGION MOST HOSPITABLE TO THE REPUBLICAN  
PHILOSOPHY.

1978 VICTORIES SHOWED ONCE AGAIN THAT MILLIONS OF  
AMERICANS NOT HISTORICALLY AFFILIATED WITH OUR PARTY--  
BLACKS, HISPANICS, UNION MEMBERS, THE YOUNG--WILL  
VOTE REPUBLICAN IF ONLY WE GIVE THEM A POSITIVE  
ALTERNATIVE TO THE SAME WARMED OVER NEW DEAL WITH  
WHICH THE DEMOCRATS TRY TO HYPNOTIZE THE NATION EVERY  
FOUR YEARS.

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THOSE VOTERS ARE POSING A CHALLENGE TO US. IT IS THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP. HOW WE RESPOND TO THAT CHALLENGE WILL DETERMINE THE FATE OF OUR PARTY--AND OUR NATION. EVERYONE KNOWS WE'RE AGAINST FEDERAL DEFICITS, AGAINST INTRUSIVE GOVERNMENT, AGAINST OVER-REGULATION, AGAINST URBAN DECAY AND ON AND ON.

THE TIME HAS COME TO ACQUAINT AMERICAN VOTERS WITH WHAT WE ARE FOR.

THAT'S WHY THESE ARE EXCITING TIMES TO BE A REPUBLICAN. THE INTELLECTUAL ACTION, THE FRESH NEW IDEAS--ALL ARE ON OUR SIDE. WE'RE OFFERING SOMETHING BETTER THAN MERE OPPOSITION TO THE PARTY IN POWER. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE NEEDS OF THE AVERAGE AMERICAN, ABOUT THEIR JUST ECONOMIC NEEDS, THEIR HEALTH NEEDS, THEIR ENERGY NEEDS. THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT. I WANT TO REMIND YOU THAT A PARTY'S LEGITIMACY DEPENDS ON TWO THINGS--ONE IS ITS WILLINGNESS TO OFFER VOTERS A THOUGHTFUL ALTERNATIVE TO THE OPPOSITION. BUT ABOVE ALL IT MUST NEVER FORGET ITS OBLIGATION TO IMPROVE THE LIVES AND THE LIVELIHOOD OF THOSE WHOSE SUPPORT WE SEEK.

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## THE CHALLENGE OF AGRICULTURE

CAN ANYONE DOUBT THAT THE LIVELIHOOD OF THE AMERICAN FARMER NEEDS IMPROVEMENT? NOW WE REPUBLICANS, IF WE BELIEVE IN ANYTHING, BELIEVE IN FREE ENTERPRISE. AND FREE ENTERPRISE PROMISES A PROFIT TO THE INDIVIDUAL WHOSE GENIUS FOR PRODUCTION CONTRIBUTES TO THE COMMON WELFARE.

AS IN ANY BUSINESS, THE FARMER SEEKS A PROFIT. NO ONE CAN QUESTION HIS EFFECTIVENESS IN FEEDING THIS NATION AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE OVERSEAS. BUT ALL OF US CAN REASONABLY QUESTION WHETHER GOVERNMENT IS DOING ALL IN ITS POWER TO EXPAND MARKETS FOR THE FARMER'S PRODUCT AND THUS PUT AN END TO THE ENDLESS CYCLE OF BOOM OR BUST WHICH EVEN TO THIS DAY AFFECTS SO MANY PRODUCERS.

HOW SHOULD REPUBLICANS RESPOND TO THE FARM CRISIS? TO BEGIN WITH, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT A SOCIAL CONTRACT EXISTS BETWEEN THE FAMILY FARM PRODUCER AND OVER 200 MILLION AMERICAN CONSUMERS. GIVEN ADEQUATE INCOME, FARMERS WILL CONTINUE TO ASSURE SUFFICIENT FOOD AND FIBER FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE, INCLUDING LOW-INCOME FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS WHOSE PURCHASING POWER IS SUPPLEMENTED WITH FOOD STAMPS.



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I'VE SPENT MY LIFE IN THE HEART OF THE FARM BELT. I'VE SEEN FIRST HAND WHAT FREE ENTERPRISE CAN ACCOMPLISH ON THE FARM IF ONLY GIVEN A CHANCE. REPUBLICANS MUST PROVIDE THAT CHANCE.

WE CAN DO THIS IN SEVERAL WAYS. FIRST OF ALL, WE MUST FIGHT FOR EQUITABLE TREATMENT FOR AMERICAN FARM PRODUCTS IN OUR TRADITIONAL EXPORT MARKETS. THEN WE MUST SEEK TO OPEN NEW FOREIGN MARKETS. I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN EXPORT \$35 BILLION WORTH OF FARM PRODUCTS BY THE END OF 1982--AN INCREASE OF OVER \$6 BILLION FROM THE CURRENT LEVEL.

WE CAN DO THIS BY SUPPORTING A MORE VIGOROUS MARKET DEVELOPMENT EFFORT. WE CAN DO THIS BY MAXIMIZING AMERICAN EFFICIENCY IN COMMERCIAL FOREIGN MARKETS, AND HALTING THE DISRUPTIVE TRADE PRACTICES OF OTHER NATIONS WHICH ARE EXPORT SUBSIDIES TO STEAL MARKETS FROM U.S. WHEAT PRODUCERS. WE CAN DO THIS BY DOUBLING FUNDS FOR THE FOOD FOR PEACE PROGRAM, AT THE SAME TIME ACCOMPLISHING A HUMANITARIAN GOAL IN THE BEST TRADITION OF WHAT AMERICANS--INCLUDING REPUBLICANS--BELIEVE.

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WE SHOULD SPEND LESS TIME JOINING OTHERS IN INTERNATIONAL PRICE MANIPULATION, AND MORE IN FOSTERING FREE MARKETS. FREE MARKETS AND FREE INSTITUTIONS GO HAND IN HAND. AND WE BELIEVE IN BOTH.

IN SOYBEANS, IN SUGAR, IN CATTLE, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD CURTAIL DOMESTIC PRODUCTION IN FAVOR OF IMPORTS. THIS IS BOTH INFLATIONARY AND A DRAIN ON THE VALUE OF THE DOLLAR. THAT'S THE OLD WAY OF DOING THINGS.

✓ I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO MAINTAIN A FAIR SUGAR PRICE AND ASSIST OUR SUGAR PRODUCERS. I HAVE ALSO INTRODUCED LEGISLATION TO PROTECT CONSUMERS AND CATTLE PRODUCERS THROUGH A COUNTER-CYCLICAL MEAT IMPORT PROGRAM. THIS BILL WOULD REGULATE THE VOLUME OF BEEF IMPORTS INTO THIS COUNTRY BASED ON OUR OWN DOMESTIC PRODUCTION.

✓ I'VE ALSO PROPOSED AN IMPROVED CROP INSURANCE PROGRAM THAT WOULD PROTECT FARMERS FROM EXTREME WEATHER CONDITIONS WHILE SAVING THE TAXPAYER MONEY.

✓ MY VARIABLE TARGET PRICE PROGRAM CONTAINED IN S.1 WOULD HELP FARMERS CONTROL PRODUCTION AND REDUCE SURPLUSES TO A MANAGEABLE LEVEL. TARGET PRICES WOULD BE INCREASED WHEN A SET-ASIDE IS IN EFFECT TO PROVIDE AN INCENTIVE FOR THE FARMER TO REDUCE HIS PLANTED ACREAGE.



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FOR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE, THE FARM IS LIKE ANOTHER WORLD, SO REMOVED IS IT FROM THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE. YET THE PLIGHT OF THE FARMER SHOULD CONCERN US ALL. FOR POLITICAL PARTIES EXIST FIRST AND FOREMOST TO SOLVE PROBLEMS. IF THEY IGNORE THE PROBLEMS, THEY WILL LOSE ELECTIONS. IT IS THAT SIMPLE.

WHEN REPUBLICANS WERE NOT PERCEIVED AS MEETING THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF AGRICULTURE, WE LOST. I INVITE YOU TO LOOK AT THE 1976 RETURNS FROM RURAL WISCONSIN AND OHIO--BOTH STATES PRESIDENT FORD DESERVED TO CARRY BUT DIDN'T. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO WRITE OFF ANY SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN POPULATION. BUT ESPECIALLY CAN WE NOT AFFORD TO OVERLOOK THE AMERICAN FARMERS AND RELATED AGRIBUSINESS. FOR THE MIDWEST IS OUR BASTION, AND HERE AGRICULTURE PLAYS A CRUCIAL ECONOMIC ROLE.

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## NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: WHEN AND HOW?

ANOTHER AREA WHERE WE MUST OFFER A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE IS THE HEALTH FIELD. IT IS A FACT THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICANS NOW HAVE UNMET HEALTH NEEDS. AN ESTIMATED 22 MILLION HAVE NO HEALTH INSURANCE WHATSOEVER. MOST OF THESE ARE POOR OR NEAR-POOR. IT IS ALSO A FACT THAT THE EXISTING HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAMS SOMETIMES SUFFER FROM GAPS IN COVERAGE, GAPS WHICH, IN THE EVENT OF CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS, CAN DESTROY THE FINANCIAL SECURITY OF EVEN UPPER MIDDLE INCOME FAMILIES. LAST YEAR, OVER TWO AND A HALF MILLION AMERICANS WERE SO AFFECTED. THE AVERAGE BILL FOR THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE CAME TO MORE THAN \$8,600 APIECE. THINK OF IT: THE ODDS ARE BETTER THAN 1 IN 100 THAT THIS VERY YEAR YOU WILL BE CONFRONTED BY SUCH STAGGERING HEALTH COSTS. THE ODDS ARE CONSIDERABLY HIGHER--SOMETHING LIKE 1 IN 15--THAT YOU'LL HAVE TO PAY MORE THAN 15 PERCENT OF YOUR INCOME FOR MEDICAL EXPENSES. THE QUESTION IS NO LONGER WHETHER HEALTH INSURANCE; THE QUESTION IS WHAT KIND, AND AT WHAT COST?

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etc*



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AMIDST ALL THESE SIGNS OF NEED ARE STACKED SOME SOBERING REALITIES. FIRST AND FOREMOST IS THE ABILITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO SUPPORT ANY COSTLY NEW SYSTEM OF ANYTHING. DO NOT FORGET THAT BY 1981, THE PERSON EARNING \$30,000 A YEAR WILL FIND HIMSELF PAYING \$165 PER MONTH, AFTER TAXES, TO SUPPORT HIS MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM ALONE. MOREOVER, WE HAVE BEEN WARNED BY MANY EXPERTS THAT HEALTH CARE THAT APPEARS TO BE "FREE" IS IN FACT A DANGEROUS PSYCHOLOGICAL SPUR TO FURTHER INFLATION.

WE FIND OURSELVES WALKING A TIGHTROPE BETWEEN DEMONSTRATED NEED AND ECONOMIC STRINGENCY. I BELIEVE THE MOST GLARING OF CONCERNS IN THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IS THE FEAR OF FINANCIAL RUIN DUE TO CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS. THE FEAR OF ECONOMIC DISASTER IS SHARED BY ALL, REGARDLESS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVEL, RACE OR AGE. TO CORRECT THIS MAJOR DEFICIENCY IN OUR SYSTEM WOULD BE THE GREATEST STEP POSSIBLE TOWARD MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN THE FACE OF FISCAL CONSTRAINT.



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BECAUSE I DO HAVE FAITH IN THE ABILITY OF THE PRIVATE SYSTEM AS IT STANDS TO EVENTUALLY REMEDY MANY OF THE FLAWS THAT EXIST, I HAVE OPTED FOR A MODERATE APPROACH DESIGNED TO PLUG EXISTING GAPS.

MY PROPOSAL WILL PROVIDE A MEANS FOR ALL AMERICANS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES FROM FINANCIAL BANKRUPTCY DUE TO CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS EXPENSES. IT DOES THIS IN THREE WAYS. FIRST, TO PROTECT THOSE ELIGIBLE FOR MEDICARE THROUGH EXPANSION OF THE EXISTING MEDICARE PROGRAM. SECONDLY, TO ASSURE THE AVAILABILITY OF ADEQUATE PRIVATE CATASTROPHIC INSURANCE PROTECTION TO THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THE EMPLOYED AND SELF-EMPLOYED THROUGH THE EMPLOYMENT SYSTEM. WITH THIS IN MIND, THERE WILL BE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME COST-SHARING ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE EMPLOYER AND THE EMPLOYEE FOR SUCH COVERAGE AND, IF AN EMPLOYER EXPERIENCES A FINANCIAL HARDSHIP IN PROVIDING CATASTROPHIC COVERAGE TO EMPLOYEES, WE WILL PROVIDE A LIMITED SUBSIDY. THIRD, MY PROPOSAL WILL PROVIDE ACCESS TO PRIVATE CATASTROPHIC INSURANCE FOR THOSE THAT ARE NOT OTHERWISE COVERED BY THE EMPLOYMENT-RELATED PLANS, MEDICARE OR MEDICAID. IF A LOW-INCOME INDIVIDUAL CANNOT AFFORD THE PREMIUM FOR THIS COVERAGE, WE WILL PROVIDE A SUBSIDY.

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UNLIKE SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD FORCE INDIVIDUALS TO PARTICIPATE IN A PLAN. INSTEAD, I BELIEVE THAT INDIVIDUALS, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE WHERE AND HOW THEY OBTAIN CATASTROPHIC HEALTH INSURANCE. ALSO UNLIKE SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE MEASURE OF CATASTROPHIC SHOULD BE LIMITED TO A FIXED DOLLAR AMOUNT OR NUMBER OF DAYS IN THE HOSPITAL. IN SOME INSTANCES, IT SHOULD ALSO BE DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE PERCENTAGE OF INCOME EXTENDED FOR HEALTH CARE SERVICES.

I LOOK FORWARD TO HONING THE BROAD OUTLINES OF CATASTROPHIC HEALTH INSURANCE INTO A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE IMPOSSIBLY EXPENSIVE CRADLE-TO-GRAVE APPROACH FAVORED BY SENATOR KENNEDY, AMONG OTHERS. BUT HERE AGAIN, IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR REPUBLICANS TO OBJECT TO DEMOCRATIC PROPOSALS. WE MUST, WHERE UNMET NEEDS EXIST, PROPOSE OUR OWN. WE MUST ESTABLISH OUR CREDIBILITY AS POLITICAL THINKERS. WE MUST OFFER SOLUTIONS IN LIEU OF SLOGANS.



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### A BETTER APPROACH TO THE ENERGY CRISIS

A THIRD GREAT PROBLEM AFFECTING NEARLY EVERY AMERICAN IS THE SHORTAGE OF ENERGY FOR OUR HOMES AND FACTORIES. AS OF NOW, AMERICA IMPORTS OVER 40 PERCENT OF ITS PETROLEUM. IN THE WAKE OF IRAN'S REVOLUTION, PRICES, WHICH HAD QUADRUPLLED JUST FIVE YEARS AGO, ARE AGAIN SKYROCKETING UPWARD.

### NATIONAL ENERGY PLAN

IT'S BEEN NO SECRET FOR YEARS THAT WE'RE FACING AN ENERGY CRISIS. YET WHAT HAVE WE DONE TO COMBAT IT? EVER SINCE THE ORIGINAL OPEC EMBARGO, WE HAVE PURSUED POLICIES OF REGULATION, PRICE CONTROL AND A SUBSIDIZATION OF IMPORTED PETROLEUM. FROM AMERICAN LABOR AND BUSINESS TO THE NAACP--THESE SHORTSIGHTED AND ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE POLICIES HAVE EARNED MASSIVE CONDEMNATION.

IN APRIL OF 1977, PRESIDENT CARTER DECLARED THAT THE ENERGY CRISIS WAS THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR. HE PROPOSED A HASTILY CONCEIVED LEGISLATIVE PACKAGE WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO INDUCE ENERGY CONSERVATION. IT WAS NOT AN ENERGY PLAN, BUT A TAX PLAN.

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ITS MAJOR COMPONENTS INCLUDED A POSSIBLE 50¢ TAX ON GASOLINE, A TAX ON THE PURCHASE OF CARS, AND TAXATION OF INDUSTRY ON THEIR USE OF OIL AND NATURAL GAS. [ THE CENTERPIECE OF THE PROGRAM WAS A MEASURE CALLED THE CRUDE OIL EQUILIZATION TAX, DESIGNED TO RAISE \$125 BILLION IN NEW REVENUES FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BY TAXING OIL THAT WAS UNDER PRICE CONTROL IN THE U.S. TO WORLD MARKET LEVELS. YET CLOSE ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRAM SHOWED THAT IT WOULD SAVE NO ENERGY WHILE DRAMATICALLY INCREASING THE TAX BURDEN UPON OUR CITIZENS. IF WOULD HAVE ALSO WORSENERD AN ALREADY SERIOUS INFLATION PROBLEM. )

THE CARTER PROGRAM WAS A DISASTER. IT CAME AS NO SURPRISE THAT THE CONGRESS, EVEN ONE CONTROLLED NEARLY TWO TO ONE BY THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY, PROCEEDED TO CUT IT INTO SMALL PIECES.

WHEN IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE CONGRESS WAS NOT GOING TO IMPOSE THESE HORRENDOUS TAXES ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, THE PRESIDENT THREATENED TO IMPOSE A \$5 IMPORT FEE ON OIL. IN MY OPINION, SUCH AN INCREASE WOULD HAVE BEEN A CLEAR SIGNAL TO THE OPEC NATIONS THAT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY WAS WILLING AND ABLE TO ABSORB FURTHER PRICE HIKES.



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BUT REPUBLICANS SHOULD NOT BE CONTENT WITH REGULATION AND CONSERVATION INSTEAD OF PRODUCTION. AMERICA CAN HARDLY AFFORD TO TURN ITS BACK ON ANY ENERGY SOURCE. WE HAVE 1/3 OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY RESOURCES IN COAL--YET WE USE COMPARATIVELY LITTLE. IT TAKES 12 OR MORE YEARS--TWICE AS LONG AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES--TO BUILD A NUCLEAR ELECTRIC PLANT. THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, ON WHICH I SERVE AS RANKING REPUBLICAN, HAS ESTIMATED THAT UP TO 100 YEARS OF OIL MIGHT BE RECOVERED FROM AMERICA'S SHALE OIL DEPOSITS. YET THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION OPPOSES INCENTIVES TO BEGIN EXPLOITING SUCH RESOURCES.

INDEED, THE DEMOCRATIC APPROACH IS A TRIUMPH OF TIMIDITY OVER COURAGE, OF MEDDLING THROUGH INSTEAD OF MOVING FORWARD. BY RELAXING OUR REQUIREMENTS ON UNLEADED GASOLINE, WE COULD ADD SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND BARRELS OF OIL EACH DAY. BY APPROACHING MEXICO WITH A FAIR TRADE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERTISE FOR A FAIR SHARE OF THAT COUNTRY'S VAST OIL AND GAS RESERVES, WE COULD DRAMATICALLY REDUCE OUR DEADLY DEPENDENCE ON THE UNSTABLE MIDDLE EAST.

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IN THE MIDWEST, AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY PRODUCTS CAN BE CONVERTED TO GASOHOL--A BLEND OF SUCH PRODUCTS WITH ALCOHOL WHICH CAN HELP TO FUEL OUR CARS. LAST YEAR CONGRESS PASSED AN AMENDMENT I SPONSORED TO ELIMINATE THE TAX ON GASOLINE USED AS GASOHOL.

THERE IS MUCH MORE THAT CAN BE DONE TO STIMULATE OUR OWN PRODUCTION. BY OFFERING TAX INCENTIVES TO PRODUCERS, WE CAN ENCOURAGE NEW PRODUCTION--NOT ONLY OF OIL AND GAS, BUT OF ALTERNATIVE SOURCES--SOLAR POWER, WIND AND WATER, GEOTHERMAL AND NUCLEAR. SUCH AN APPROACH IS BETTER THAN THE CURRENT BUREAUCRATIC ONE BECAUSE IT IMPOSES NO ARTIFICIAL LIMIT ON WHAT WE MAY PRODUCE. RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT SHOULDN'T DEPEND ON THE ANNUAL BUDGET OF THE ENERGY DEPARTMENT, AND NEITHER SHOULD THE JOBS THAT SUCH EXPLORATION COULD CREATE.



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YET, WHILE WE ENCOURAGE THE SEARCH FOR NEW ENERGY SOURCES, WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR THAT REPUBLICANS ARE CONSUMERS FIRST AND FOREMOST. I BELIEVE A PROPER BALANCE OF INTERESTS CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE SHOULD CONSIDER POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE ENERGY COMPANIES TO PLOW-BACK THEIR EARNINGS INTO ENERGY DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLORATION. THIS WILL PROMOTE ENERGY PRODUCTION WHILE AT THE SAME TIME INSURE THAT THE ENERGY COMPANIES ARE NOT REAPING AN EXCESS PROFIT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. FAILING THIS, THE CONGRESS SHOULD CONSIDER A WINDFALL PROFITS TAX.

#### THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW

I HAVE TRIED THIS MORNING TO MOVE BEYOND THE EASY ISSUES, WITHOUT FORGETTING THE NEED TO PUT INTO ACTION OUR HISTORIC CONCERN ABOUT FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT.

FOR TEN YEARS NOW, I'VE GRAPPLED WITH THE DILEMMAS OF MODERN AMERICA IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. IN 1976 I WAS GIVEN AN UNFORGETTABLE OPPORTUNITY, AS YOUR CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT, TO FAMILIARIZE MYSELF WITH THE PROBLEMS--AND THE POTENTIAL-- OF ALL THE STATES IN THE UNION.

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AS A FORMER NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE GOP, AS RANKING  
REPUBLICAN ON THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, AS A VICE PRESIDENTIAL  
CANDIDATE WITH GERALD FORD--I'VE SOUGHT TO PROVIDE REPUBLICANS  
WITH SOMETHING BETTER THAN THE STATUS QUO. I BELIEVE THAT  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT A FRESH START, WITHOUT NEGLECTING  
EITHER EXPERIENCE NOR MATURE JUDGEMENT. THEY WANT COMPASSION  
AS WELL AS COMPETENCE, AND REPUBLICANS CAN AND MUST PROVIDE  
BOTH IN ORDER TO WIN IN 1980.

SO PONDER THE CHOICES BEFORE YOU CAREFULLY. CONSIDER THE  
ALTERNATIVES, AND REMEMBER THAT HISTORY WILL BE OUR JUDGE.  
IF, IN THE PAST, WE HAVE FAILED TO ENTICE A MAJORITY TO OUR  
STANDARD, IT WAS BECAUSE WE ALLOWED OURSELVES TO BE PORTRAYED  
AS SOMETHING LESS THAN TRULY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF  
THE AVERAGE AMERICAN.

THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US ARE GREAT. SO ARE THE CHALLENGES.  
YOU AND I MUST RISE TO MEET BOTH.