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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB

WEST PAIM BEACH, FLORIDA

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1979

I want you to know how pleased I am to be with you this morning. As a former national chairman of the Republican Party, who is deeply concerned about the strength of the two party system in this nation, it's particularly encouraging to see continuing evidence that the GOP elephant is up and ready to do battle with the opposition.

Winston Churchill was once approached by a hostile reporter after retaining his parliamentary seat. The reporter asked with a sneer, "I presume we can expect you will continue to be subservient to the powerful interests that control your vote?" To which Churchill replied, "I'll thank you to keep my wife's name out of this."

Well, in fact, women have played a key role in the Republican Party ever since its first Congressional caucus was convened at Mrs. Cratchett's Washington boarding house 125 years ago next month.

Today, more than ever before, Republican women are making policy within their party. I'm very proud to serve alongside my new colleague from Kansas, Nancy Landon Kassebaum, and I expect we'll all be hearing great things from her in the years to come.

It's no secret that many household budgets in this country are overseen by concerned women. And we would all be better off if they were represented in greater numbers in Washington.

I expect all of you to do your part in bringing this to pass, for all of us have an idea to promote.

America, my friends, began with an idea. So did the Republican Party. In both cases, we believed in the diversity of individual men and women. We upheld their right to be different from one another. We rejected the conformity that is swallowed like pills.

Be all that you can be. Exploit your talents, develop your abilities. That's what we said to Americans. That's what we did for America.

### THE FAILURE OF LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

But in Washington, D.C. the idea of individual initiative and the freedom to produce and prosper has been replaced by the mirage of security. Instead of producing our way out of our problems, modern government proposes conservation and retreat. Instead of freedom for all, modern government proposes dictation to most, and dependence to all.

Worst of all, modern government has no vision, no dream, no ambition to lift us above mere survival. In the words of Kansas' great editor William Allen White, "My heartbreak at liberalism is that it has sounded no note of hope, made no plans for the future, offered no program."

President Carter is a decent man who sincerely wants to do what is good for the American people. But he is also a captive of 40 years of Democratic thinking.

He tells the American people they can have security without sacrifice. He tried to please everyone and ends up pleasing almost no one. Decency and good intentions alone do not solve problems. Moral conviction alone should not be confused with leadership. -2-

And the fault does not lie with Jimmy Carter alone. The fault lies in Washington, a city out of touch with the nation it is supposed to lead.

Our government is held hostage by special interests and nearly strangled by its own red tape. Over 90 separate regulatory agencies tell the rest of us what government decrees is acceptable conduct.

If a child were born this minute, he or she could spend \$10,000 a minute for a hundred years--and still not equal this year's federal spending spree.

### A REPUBLICAN CALL TO GREATNESS

Enough already. Something is wrong, drastically wrong. We all feel it every time we visit a supermarket or the local gas station. Millions of middle class Americans have begun to wonder: can they afford to live in the house they want, to send their children to the college they prefer, to plan for a retirement free of chronic worries about money.

In the last year of the Ford Administration, the rate of inflation was less than 5 percent. This year, it's running in excess of 12 percent. Why? Because the Carter Administration has yet to practice what its public relations people preach: it actually increased President Ford's final budget, and it initiated drastic increases in social security taxes and the minimum wage that have together drained hundreds of billions of dollars from our economy.

The federal budget has been balanced exactly five times in the past 25 years. In the last 16 years, federal spending has increased by over 500 percent.

Now, the President says he will balance the 1981 budget. How? By raising taxes. He won't call it raising taxes--especially not so close to an election year. But that's what it is.

Inflation alone will increase tax revenues this year by \$17 billion. Another \$17 billion will come out of additional social security taxes.

So is it any surprise, with so much money drained off from domestic investment, that America has one of the lowest rates of productivity in the world? Because of government's incessant drive to regulate, to tax and to generally mismanage the economy, our productivity grew by less than 1 percent last year. And our tax policy discourages savings by taxing interest at the same rate as earned income. The long and short of it is simple: this Administration has no longrange plan to reduce inflation. It doesn't understand the relation between capital formation and job creation, between cutting federal spending and stimulating private investment.

This Administration is so obsessed with the wornout rhetoric of class distinction, it forgets that over half the American public now earns at least \$17,000 a year. That means that over half of us fall in a 30 percent or higher tax bracket. It means that government's spending spree forces millions of families to have two wage earners.

Things don't have to be this way--inflation doesn't have to threaten the livelihood of the American family. As Republicans, we owe the American people more than criticism of Democratic failures. We owe them a credible alternative to more of the same warmed over New Deal.

### THE JUST SOCIETY

What counts now is not what we are against, but what we are for. And what we are for is a just society.

I ask you, is it just for government to tolerate double digit inflation while refusing to put its own financial house in order?

Is it just to waste two years of valuable time on an energy program that says nothing about production, that isn't an energy program at all, but only a list of new taxes?

Is it just to take advantage of middle income Americans, by allowing them to be taxed at higher rates when inflation artificially raises their income?

Is it just for government to ignore the economic aspirations of millions of black and other minority Americans, to dole out a few budgetary crumbs instead of bringing them into the economic mainstream?

We Republicans must not promise what we can't deliver, but we must never be afraid to promise justice.

### THE PARTY OF POTENTIAL

We are the party of potential. We believe that the free enterprise system holds the potential of solving the economic crisis.

A recent Congressional study estimated that as many as 3 million new jobs could be created in the field of solar energy. But it's not solar that holds out promise for new jobs and more reliable energy sources. For my own part, I sponsored a successful Senate amendment to stimulate production of gasohol, an alternative fuel that holds enormous potential for future use. I also want to see more emphasis put on developing America's shale oil deposits, geothermal and hydroelectric power.

Republicans must provide the economic incentive to spur such production--without allowing any rip-off of the American consumer. No credible alternative exists.

Another recent study put the current share of business being done by minority entrepreneurs at less than 2 percent of the total. This is a national scandal; it is an indictment of the entire Democratic approach to equal opportunity for all Americans.

Equal opportunity means more than the right to sit at a lunch counter--it means the right to own that lunch counter, and a chance to operate it for a profit.

So Republicans must actively pursue the support of minority Americans, who do not want to spend their lives on a political reservation. They agree with us that independence is better than dependence. They want something better than paternalism; they want a piece of the economic pie, and we can offer it to them. Government contracting and SBA loan policies should correct the imbalance of opportunity that now exists. Above all, we should attack inflation, knowing that inflation hits hardest at those least able to afford it.

To millions of lower and middle income Americans struggling to make ends meet, we can offer a government scaled down to make it more responsive. We can offer a workable constitutional amendment to finally force Washington to live within its means. We can promote the idea of tax indexing, which will keep you from paying a higher tax just because inflation kicks you into a higher bracket. We can continue to press for lower tax rates for both individuals and businesses, opening up the new sources of capital so badly needed if we are to have jobs for all who want them.

### EXPERIENCE AND LEADERSHIP

All of these things I am pushing on the floor of the Senate. As ranking Republican on the Senate Finance Committee, as a candidate for Vice President in 1976, and as a member of both the House and Senate for 18 years, I've gained some insight into how government works--and how it doesn't work.

I know Washington from the inside out--but I come from the heartland of America, and I never forget where the true strength of our nation lies. Our character is not shaped in the halls of Congress, nor in the corridors of agencies nor in the Oval Office itself. Our character lies instead in the minds and souls of the American people.

And that's what the upcoming Presidential campaign is all about.

Will we allow the trend toward omnipotent government to continue unchecked? Will we surrender to ever greater authority from Washington, a city clearly out of touch with grassroots of America? Will we go on spending our wealth on consultants and administration, mortgaging our future to pay for government by credit card?

The time has come to say enough, and no more. The time is ripe for an American renaissance.

To accomplish these goals will require leadership, precisely what the present Administration has failed to provide. But leadership is more than merely criticizing the opposition.

For instance, it's not enough to attack cradle-to-grave national health insurance plans. A leader comes up with something better. That's why I've introduced my own program, which would remove the threat of economic disaster that now accompanies catastrophic illness in America.

That's why I've called for a new bipartisan approach to foreign affairs, uniting Republicans and concerned Democrats behind a strategy of military strength second to none and the kind of stand-up presidential diplomacy that the American people can respond to.

That's why I'm asking tough questions about the SALT II pact. The very future of America depends on her ability to defend herself, and I, for one, will never accept any treaty that threatens our position as a world leader.

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America is great because of the American people. And they refuse to accept anything less than the best. That's what Republicans have believed for 125 years now; it is that belief that we can offer to America in place of the tired and timid cliches of modern liberal government.

Join with me in putting our beliefs into practice. Together, we can return to our basic faith in people instead of government, in production instead of consumption, in accomplishment instead of complacency.

It is a time for fresh beginnings. The challenges are great, the risks are real, the opportunities profound. May God grant us the courage of our convictions--to see them through, and make America once again what she was meant to be--freedom's last best hope on earth.

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE <u>WOMEN'S REPUBLICAN CLUB</u> WEST PALM BEACH, FLORIDA FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1979

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I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW PLEASED I AM TO BE WITH YOU THIS MORNING. AS A FORMER NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WHO IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF THE TWO PARTY SYSTEM IN THIS NATION, IT'S PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING TO SEE CONTINUING EVIDENCE THAT THE GOP ELEPHANT IS UP AND READY TO DO BATTLE WITH THE OPPOSITION.

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WINSTON CHURCHILL WAS ONCE APPROACHED BY A HOSTILE REPORTER AFTER RETAINING HIS PARLIAMENTARY SEAT, THE REPORTER ASKED WITH A SNEER, "I PRESUME WE CAN EXPECT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO BE SUBSERVIENT TO THE POWERFUL INTERESTS THAT CONTROL YOUR VOTE?" TO WHICH CHURCHILL REPLIED, "I'LL THANK YOU TO KEEP MY WIFE'S NAME OUT OF THIS." WELL, IN FACT, WOMEN HAVE PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY EVER SINCE ITS FIRST CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS WAS CONVENED AT MRS. CRATCHETT'S WASHINGTON BOARDING HOUSE 125 YEARS AGO NEXT MONTH.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, REPUBLICAN WOMEN ARE MAKING POLICY WITHIN THEIR PARTY. I'M VERY PROUD TO SERVE ALONGSIDE MY NEW COLLEAGUE FROM KANSAS, NANCY LANDON KASSEBAUM, AND I EXPECT WE'LL ALL BE HEARING GREAT THINGS FROM HER IN THE YEARS TO COME.

IT'S NO SECRET THAT MANY HOUSEHOLD BUDGETS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE OVERSEEN BY CONCERNED WOMEN. AND WE WOULD ALL BE BETTER OFF IF THEY WERE REPRESENTED IN GREATER NUMBERS IN WASHINGTON.

I EXPECT ALL OF YOU TO DO YOUR PART IN BRINGING THIS TO PASS. FOR ALL OF US HAVE AN IDEA TO PROMOTE. AMERICA, MY FRIENDS, BEGAN WITH AN IDEA. SO DID THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IN BOTH CASES, WE BELIEVED IN THE DIVERSITY OF INDIVIDUAL MEN AND WOMEN. WE UPHELD THEIR RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT FROM ONE ANOTHER. WE REJECTED THE CONFORMITY THAT IS SWALLOWED LIKE PILLS.

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BE ALL THAT YOU CAN BE. EXPLOIT YOUR TALENTS, DEVELOP YOUR ABILITIES. THAT'S WHAT WE SAID TO AMERICANS. THAT'S WHAT WE DID FOR AMERICA.

# THE FAILURE OF LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

BUT IN WASHINGTON, D.C. THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE AND THE FREEDOM TO PRODUCE AND PROSPER HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE MIRAGE OF SECURITY. INSTEAD OF PRODUCING OUR WAY OUT OF OUR PROBLEMS, MODERN GOVERNMENT PROPOSES CONSERVATION AND RETREAT. INSTEAD OF FREEDOM FOR ALL, MODERN GOVERNMENT PROPOSES DICTATION TO MOST, AND DEPENDENCE TO ALL.

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WORST OF ALL, MODERN GOVERNMENT HAS NO VISION, NO DREAM, NO AMBITION TO LIFT US ABOVE MERE SURVIVAL. IN THE WORDS OF KANSAS' GREAT EDITOR WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE...

"MY HEARTBREAK AT LIBERALISM IS THAT IT HAS SOUNDED NO NOTE OF HOPE, MADE NO PLANS FOR THE FUTURE, OFFERED NO PROGRAM."

PRESIDENT CARTER IS A DECENT MAN WHO SINCERELY WANTS TO DO WHAT IS GOOD FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT HE IS ALSO A CAPTIVE OF 40 YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC THINKING.

HE TELLS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THEY CAN HAVE SECURITY WITHOUT SACRIFICE. HE TRIED TO PLEASE EVERYONE AND ENDS UP PLEASING ALMOST NO ONE. DECENCY AND GOOD INTENTIONS ALONE DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEMS. MORAL CONVICTION ALONE SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH LEADERSHIP.

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AND THE FAULT DOES NOT LIE WITH JIMMY CARTER ALONE. THE FAULT LIES IN WASHINGTON, A CITY OUT OF TOUCH WITH THE NATION IT IS SUPPOSED TO LEAD.

OUR GOVERNMENT IS HELD HOSTAGE BY SPECIAL INTERESTS AND NEARLY STRANGLED BY ITS OWN RED TAPE. OVER 90 SEPARATE REGULATORY AGENCIES TELL THE REST OF US WHAT GOVERNMENT DECREES IS ACCEPTABLE CONDUCT.

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IF A CHILD WERE BORN THIS MINUTE, HE OR SHE COULD SPEND \$10,000 A MINUTE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS--AND STILL NOT EQUAL THIS YEAR'S FEDERAL SPENDING SPREE.

# A REPUBLICAN CALL TO GREATNESS

ENOUGH ALREADY. SOMETHING IS WRONG, DRASTICALLY WRONG. WE ALL FEEL IT EVERY TIME WE VISIT A SUPERMARKET OR THE LOCAL GAS STATION. MILLIONS OF MIDDLE CLASS AMERICANS HAVE BEGUN TO WONDER: CAN THEY AFFORD TO LIVE IN THE HOUSE THEY WANT, TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO THE COLLEGE THEY PREFER, TO PLAN FOR A RETIREMENT FREE OF CHRONIC WORRIES ABOUT MONEY.

IN THE LAST YEAR OF THE FORD ADMINISTRATION, THE RATE OF INFLATION WAS LESS THAN 5 PERCENT. THIS YEAR, IT'S RUNNING IN EXCESS OF 12 PERCENT. WHY? BECAUSE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS YET TO PRACTICE WHAT ITS PUBLIC RELATIONS PEOPLE PREACH: IT ACTUALLY INCREASED PRESIDENT FORD'S FINAL BUDGET, AND IT INITIATED DRASTIC INCREASES IN SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES AND THE MINIMUM WAGE THAT HAVE TOGETHER DRAINED HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FROM OUR ECONOMY.

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THE FEDERAL BUDGET HAS BEEN BALANCED EXACTLY FIVE TIMES IN THE PAST 25 YEARS. IN THE LAST 16 YEARS, FEDERAL SPENDING HAS INCREASED BY OVER 500 PERCENT.

NOW, THE PRESIDENT SAYS HE WILL BALANCE THE 1981 BUDGET. HOW? BY RAISING TAXES. HE WON'T CALL IT RAISING TAXES--ESPECIALLY NOT SO CLOSE TO AN ELECTION YEAR. BUT THAT'S WHAT IT IS.

INFLATION ALONE WILL INCREASE TAX REVENUES THIS YEAR BY \$17 BILLION. ANOTHER \$17 BILLION WILL COME OUT OF ADDITIONAL SOCIAL SECURITY TAXES.

SO IS IT ANY SURPRISE, WITH SO MUCH MONEY DRAINED OFF FROM DOMESTIC INVESTMENT, THAT AMERICA HAS ONE OF THE LOWEST RATES OF PRODUCTIVITY IN THE WORLD? BECAUSE OF GOVERNMENT'S INCESSANT DRIVE TO REGULATE, TO TAX AND TO GENERALLY MISMANAGE THE ECONOMY, OUR PRODUCTIVITY GREW BY LESS THAN 1 PERCENT LAST YEAR. AND OUR TAX POLICY DISCOURAGES SAVINGS BY TAXING INTEREST AT THE SAME RATE AS EARNED INCOME. THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT IS SIMPLE: THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS NO LONGRANGE PLAN TO REDUCE INFLATION. IT DOESN'T UNDERSTAND THE RELATION BETWEEN CAPITAL FORMATION AND JOB CREATION, BETWEEN CUTTING FEDERAL SPENDING AND STIMULATING PRIVATE INVESTMENT.

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THIS ADMINISTRATION IS SO OBSESSED WITH THE WORNOUT RHETORIC OF CLASS DISTINCTION, IT FORGETS THAT OVER HALF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC NOW EARNS AT LEAST \$17,000 A YEAR. THAT MEANS THAT OVER HALF OF US FALL IN A 30 PERCENT OR HIGHER TAX BRACKET. IT MEANS THAT GOVERNMENT'S SPENDING SPREE FORCES MILLIONS OF FAMILIES TO HAVE TWO WAGE EARNERS.

THINGS DON'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY--INFLATION DOESN'T HAVE TO THREATEN THE LIVELIHOOD OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY. AS REPUBLICANS, WE OWE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MORE THAN CRITICISM OF DEMOCRATIC FAILURES. WE OWE THEM A CREDIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO MORE OF THE SAME WARMED OVER NEW DEAL.

### THE JUST SOCIETY

WHAT COUNTS NOW IS NOT WHAT WE ARE AGAINST, BUT WHAT WE ARE FOR. AND WHAT WE ARE FOR IS A JUST SOCIETY.

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I ASK YOU, IS IT JUST FOR GOVERNMENT TO TOLERATE DOUBEE DIGIT INFLATION WHILE REFUSING TO PUT ITS OWN FINANCIAL HOUSE IN ORDER?

IS IT JUST TO WASTE TWO YEARS OF VALUABLE TIME ON AN ENERGY PROGRAM THAT SAYS NOTHING ABOUT PRODUCTION, THAT ISN'T AN ENERGY PROGRAM AT ALL, BUT ONLY A LIST OF NEW TAXES?

IS IT JUST TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF MIDDLE INCOME AMERICANS, BY ALLOWING THEM TO BE TAXED AT HIGHER RATES WHEN INFLATION ARTIFICIALLY RAISES THEIR INCOME?

IS IT JUST FOR GOVERNMENT TO IGNORE THE ECONOMIC ASPIRATIONS OF MILLIONS OF BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY AMERICANS, TO DOLE OUT A FEW BUDGETARY CRUMBS INSTEAD OF BRINGING THEM INTO THE ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM?

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WE REPUBLICANS MUST NOT PROMISE WHAT WE CAN'T DELIVER, BUT WE MUST NEVER BE AFRAID TO PROMISE JUSTICE.

## THE PARTY OF POTENTIAL

WE ARE THE PARTY OF POTENTIAL. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM HOLDS THE POTENTIAL OF SOLVING THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.

A RECENT CONGRESSIONAL STUDY ESTIMATED THAT AS MANY AS 3 MILLION NEW JOBS COULD BE CREATED IN THE FIELD OF SOLAR ENERGY. BUT IT'S NOT JUST SOLAR THAT HOLDS OUT PROMISE FOR NEW JOBS AND MORE RELIABLE ENERGY SOURCES. FOR MY OWN PART, I SPONSORED A SUCCESSFUL SENATE AMENDMENT TO STIMULATE PRODUCTION OF GASOHOL, AN ALTERNATIVE FUEL THAT HOLDS ENORMOUS POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE USE. I ALSO WANT TO SEE MORE EMPHASIS PUT ON DEVELOPING AMERICA'S SHALE OIL DEPOSITS, GEOTHERMAL AND HYDROELECTRIC POWER. REPUBLICANS MUST PROVIDE THE ECONOMIC INCENTIVE TO SPUR SUCH PRODUCTION--WITHOUT ALLOWING ANY RIP-OFF OF THE AMERICAN CONSUMER. NO CREDIBLE ALTERNATIVE EXISTS.

ANOTHER RECENT STUDY PUT THE CURRENT SHARE OF BUSINESS BEING DONE BY MINORITY ENTREPRENEURS AT LESS THAN 2 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL. THIS IS A NATIONAL SCANDAL; IT IS AN INDICTMENT OF THE ENTIRE DEMOCRATIC APPROACH TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MEANS MORE THAN THE RIGHT TO SIT AT A LUNCH COUNTER--IT MEANS THE RIGHT TO OWN THAT LUNCH COUNTER, AND A CHANCE TO OPERATE IT FOR A PROFIT.

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SO REPUBLICANS MUST ACTIVELY PURSUE THE SUPPORT OF MINORITY AMERICANS, WHO DO NOT WANT TO SPEND THEIR LIVES ON A POLITICAL RESERVATION. THEY AGREE WITH US THAT INDEPENDENCE IS BETTER THAN DEPENDENCE. THEY WANT SOMETHING BETTER THAN PATERNALISM; THEY WANT A PIECE OF THE ECONOMIC PIE, AND WE CAN OFFER IT TO THEM. GOVERNMENT CONTRACTING AND SBA LOAN POLICIES SHOULD CORRECT THE IMBALANCE OF OPPORTUNITY THAT NOW EXISTS. ABOVE ALL, WE SHOULD ATTACK INFLATION, KNOWING THAT INFLATION HITS HARDEST AT THOSE LEAST ABLE TO AFFORD IT.

TO MILLIONS OF LOWER AND MIDDLE INCOME AMERICANS STRUGGLING TO MAKE ENDS MEET, WE CAN OFFER A GOVERNMENT SCALED DOWN TO MAKE IT MORE RESPONSIVE. WE CAN OFFER A WORKABLE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO FINALLY FORCE WASHINGTON TO LIVE WITHIN ITS MEANS. WE CAN PROMOTE THE IDEA OF TAX INDEXING, WHICH WILL KEEP YOU FROM PAYING A HIGHER TAX JUST BECAUSE INFLATION KICKS YOU INTO A HIGHER BRACKET. WE CAN CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR LOWER TAX RATES FOR BOTH INDIVIDUALS AND BUSINESSES, OPENING UP THE NEW SOURCES OF CAPITAL SO BADLY NEEDED IF WE ARE TO HAVE JOBS FOR ALL WHO WANT THEM.

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## EXPERIENCE AND LEADERSHIP

ALL OF THESE THINGS I AM PUSHING ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE. AS RANKING REPUBLICAN ON THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, AS A CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT IN 1976, AND AS A MEMBER OF BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE FOR 16 YEARS, I'VE GAINED SOME INSIGHT INTO HOW GOVERNMENT WORKS--AND HOW IT DOESN'T WORK.

I KNOW WASHINGTON FROM THE INSIDE OUT--BUT I COME FROM THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA, AND I NEVER FORGET WHERE THE TRUE STRENGTH OF OUR NATION LIES. OUR CHARACTER IS NOT SHAPED IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS, NOR IN THE CORRIDORS OF AGENCIES NOR IN THE OVAL OFFICE ITSELF. OUR CHARACTER LIES INSTEAD IN THE MINDS AND SOULS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AND THAT'S WHAT THE UPCOMING PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS ALL ABOUT.

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WILL WE ALLOW THE TREND TOWARD OMNIPOTENT GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE UNCHECKED? WILL WE SURRENDER TO EVER GREATER AUTHORITY FROM WASHINGTON, A CITY CLEARLY OUT OF TOUCH WITH GRASSROOTS OF AMERICA? WILL WE GO ON SPENDING OUR WEALTH ON CONSULTANTS AND ADMINISTRATION, MORTGAGING OUR FUTURE TO PAY FOR GOVERNMENT BY CREDIT CARD?

THE TIME HAS COME TO SAY ENOUGH, AND NO MORE. THE TIME IS RIPE FOR AN AMERICAN RENAISSANCE.

TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS WILL REQUIRE LEADERSHIP, PRECISELY WHAT THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO PROVIDE, BUT LEADERSHIP IS MORE THAN MERELY CRITICIZING THE OPPOSITION,

FOR INSTANCE, IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO ATTACK CRADLE-TO-GRAVE NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS. A LEADER COMES UP WITH SOMETHING BETTER, THAT'S WHY I'VE INTRODUCED MY OWN PROGRAM, WHICH WOULD REMOVE THE THREAT OF ECONOMIC DISASTER THAT NOW ACCOMPANIES CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS IN AMERICA. THAT'S WHY I'VE CALLED FOR A NEW BIPARTISAN APPROACH TO FOREIGN AFFAIRS, UNITING REPUBLICANS AND CONCERNED DEMOCRATS BEHIND A STRATEGY OF MILITARY STRENGTH SECOND TO NONE AND THE KIND OF STAND-UP PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMACY THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN RESPOND TO.

THAT'S WHY I'M ASKING TOUGH QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SALT II PACT. THE VERY FUTURE OF AMERICA DEPENDS ON HER ABILITY TO DEFEND HERSELF, AND I, FOR ONE, WILL NEVER ACCEPT ANY TREATY THAT THREATENS OUR POSITION AS A WORLD LEADER.

AMERICA IS GREAT BECAUSE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THEY REFUSE TO ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN THE BEST. THAT'S WHAT REPUBLICANS HAVE BELIEVED FOR 125 YEARS NOW; IT IS THAT BELIEF THAT WE CAN OFFER TO AMERICA IN PLACE OF THE TIRED AND TIMID CLICHES OF MODERN LIBERAL GOVERNMENT. JOIN WITH ME IN PUTTING OUR BELIEFS INTO PRACTICE, TOGETHER, WE CAN RETURN TO OUR BASIC FAITH IN PEOPLE INSTEAD OF GOVERNMENT, IN PRODUCTION INSTEAD OF CONSUMPTION, IN ACCOMPLISHMENT INSTEAD OF COMPLACENCY.

IT IS A TIME FOR FRESH BEGINNINGS. THE CHALLENGES ARE GREAT, THE RISKS ARE REAL, THE OPPORTUNITIES PROFOUND. MAY GOD GRANT US THE COURAGE OF OUR CONVICTIONS--TO SEE THEM THROUGH, AND MAKE AMERICA ONCE AGAIN WHAT SHE WAS MEANT TO BE--FREEDOM'S LAST BEST HOPE ON EARTH.