

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
HAMPTON JAYCEES
FEBRUARY 11, 1980

I'M DELIGHTED TO BE YOUR GUEST THIS EVENING, AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF ADHERING TO THE THREE CARDINAL RULES OF PUBLIC SPEAKING. BE SINCERE, BE BRIEF, BE SEATED.

BUT SINCE IT'S ALMOST LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY, AND I CAN'T OVERLOOK SUCH A GOOD REPUBLICAN ANNIVERSARY, I THOUGHT I'D BEGIN BY QUOTING SOME OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MOST FAMOUS -- AND WISEST -- WORDS.

IT WAS LINCOLN WHO SAID, "YOU CAN FOOL SOME OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME, AND ALL OF THE PEOPLE SOME OF THE TIME, BUT YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME."

I HOPE PRESIDENT CARTER IS LISTENING.

NOW WASHINGTON, D.C. HAS OFTEN BEEN CONFUSED FOR ALICE IN WONDERLAND. THERE IS AN UNREAL QUALITY ABOUT ANY PLACE WHERE BUREAUCRATS SPEAK IN BILLIONS AND CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT SHOUT DEFIANCE AT ONE ANOTHER, AND ALMOST NO ONE REALLY LISTENS TO ANYONE ELSE.

WHERE ELSE CAN AN ADMINISTRATION POINT TO A 13.3% RATE OF INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT FORECAST TO HIT 8% LATER THIS YEAR, INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTIVITY DOWN, THE DOLLAR DOWN, AMERICAN DEPENDENCE ON OPEC OIL UP, AND A LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM STALLED DEAD IN ITS TRACKS, AND STILL CLAIM TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE NATION'S DESTINIES?

WHERE ELSE COULD AN ADMINISTRATION STUMBLE INTO TWO FOREIGN POLICY DISASTERS IN IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN, THEN REACT WITH SOME PUBLIC RELATIONS GESTURES, SOME FLAG WAVING, AN ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN OLYMPIC BOYCOTT, AND CALL THAT STRONG PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP.

WHERE ELSE COULD AN ADMINISTRATION SIGN AWAY OUR CANAL IN PANAMA, REDUCE OUR MILITARY PRESENCE ALL ACROSS THIS TROUBLED GLOBE, ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO GAIN MILITARY PARITY AND TOSS AROUND A SALT II TREATY LIKE SOME INTERNATIONAL HOT POTATO -- AND STILL CLAIM WITH A STRAIGHT FACE TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY FRIEND AND FOE ABROAD.

A FOREIGN POLICY IN SHAMBLES

WE HAVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE A DECENT MAN, WHO THINKS THAT PERSONAL DECENCY ALONE IS ENOUGH TO HOLD OUR OWN IN THE MODERN WORLD. IN THE NAME OF SO-CALLED DECENCY, HE HAS CANCELLED THE B-1 BOMBER, DELAYED THE MX MISSILE, CUT BACK ON RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS OVER CUBA.

WORST OF ALL FOR THREE YEARS HE ACCEPTED THE DANGEROUS AND UNJUST ASSUMPTION OF THE POST-VIETNAM ERA -- THAT IF ONLY AMERICA WOULD STOP MAKING TROUBLE ABROAD, THEN WE CAN ALL LIVE PEACEFULLY IN A PERFECT WORLD. WELL, THAT'S HOGWASH. IF THE WORLD IS IMPERFECT, IT IS BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS HIRED ALLIED INSIST ON PURSUING THEIR AGE-OLD VISION OF GLOBAL DOMINATION.

THEN AGAIN, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS CONDUCTED FOREIGN AFFAIRS LIKE SOME SORT OF DEADLY SURPRISE PARTY. THEY WERE SURPRISED IN IRAN. THEY WERE SURPRISED IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THEY WERE SURPRISED IN NICARAGUA. THEY WERE SURPRISED IN AFGHANISTAN. THEY WERE SURPRISED IN RHODESIA.

AFTER GETTING OVER THEIR INITIAL SURPRISE, THEY HAVE SYSTEMATICALLY THROWN OUR FRIENDS TO PACKS OF ANTI-AMERICAN WOLVES -- THEN BEEN SURPRISED AGAIN WHEN THE WOLVES HAVEN'T EXPRESSED THEIR GRATITUDE FOR OUR GENEROSITY.

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ONLY A NATION WILLING TO STAND BY ITS FRIENDS CAN HOPE TO KEEP THOSE FRIENDS. THAT MEANS STANDING BY OUR ONE HISTORIC, UNSHAKEABLE ALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THAT MEANS STANDING BY OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES IN EUROPE, AND PROVIDING THE NATO ALLIANCE WITH SOMETHING BETTER THAN WEAPONS TWENTY YEARS OUT OF DATE. THAT MEANS STANDING UP TO THE MOBS -- AND STANDING UP FOR THE IDEALS WE HAVE FOUGHT AND BLED AND DIED FOR.

WE'RE SUPPOSED TO BE A GREAT NATION -- WELL, I SAY LET'S START ACTING LIKE ONE. A GREAT NATION DOESN'T SLASH ITS NAVY TO LESS THAN 400 SHIPS. A GREAT NATION DOESN'T TURN ITS BACK ON ITS POW'S AND MIA'S. AND A GREAT NATION DOESN'T SURRENDER THE CANAL IT BUILT AND OPERATED IN PANAMA BECAUSE A DICTATOR AND HIS CAREFULLY REHEARSED MOBS THREATENED NOT TO LIKE US ANYMORE.

TO IGNORE THAT FACT IS NOT DECENCY, MY FRIENDS. IT IS WISHFUL THINKING. IT IS A BLUEPRINT FOR INTERNATIONAL DISASTER.

THE COST OF JIMMY CARTER

THE FACT IS, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE PAYING A HEAVY PRICE FOR JIMMY CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE AND NAIVETE. YOU PAY IT EVERY TIME YOU GO TO THE SUPERMARKET OR THE GAS STATION. YOU PAY IT IN HIGHER TAXES WHEN CARTER INFLATION RAISES YOU INTO A HIGHER TAX BRACKET. YOU PAY IT WHEN YOU GO TO A HOSPITAL, BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT A PLAN OF CATASTROPHIC HEALTH INSURANCE BASED ON THE GENIUS OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

THREE YEARS AGO, A GALLON OF GAS COST 62¢. TODAY, IT COSTS HALF AGAIN AS MUCH. THREE YEARS AGO, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN SPENT \$633 FOR HEALTH CARE -- TODAY, HE OR SHE SPENDS ALMOST \$1000, AND THE FIGURE IS STILL CLIMBING. THREE YEARS AGO, A NEW HOUSE COST \$43,000. TODAY IT COSTS \$63,000.

TAXES HAVE INCREASED BY 52 PERCENT. INTEREST RATES ARE UP BY OVER 70 PERCENT. THE NATIONAL DEBT IS \$200 BILLION MORE THAN IT WAS THREE YEARS AGO. THE DOLLAR IS AS WEAK AS OUR PRESTIGE ABROAD. THE STOCK MARKET IS SLIPPING, AND SO IS AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY.

YOU PAY THE BILL BECAUSE THIS ADMINISTRATION DOESN'T TRUST
FREE ENTERPRISE. IT DOESN'T TRUST OIL AND GAS PRODUCERS TO FIND
THE OIL AND GAS WE DESPERATELY NEED. IT DOESN'T TRUST
SMALL BUSINESSMEN TO CONDUCT THEIR OPERATIONS WITHOUT A BLIZZARD
OF FEDERAL FORMS AND RED TAPE. IT DOESN'T TRUST THE ENTREPRENEUR,
WITHOUT WHOM OUR TECHNOLOGY CANNOT HOPE TO KEEP PACE WITH THE
REST OF THE WORLD. SO IT OBJECTS TO TAX INCENTIVES FOR CAPITAL
FORMATION AND INVESTMENT. IT OPPOSES ANY PLOWBACK PROVISION
IN THE WINDFALL PROFITS TAX. IT BLOCKS THE WAY TO ANY
MEANINGFUL REFORM OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM, CONTENT TO KEEP
MILLIONS OF POOR PEOPLE ON THE TREADMILL OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY.

A LOT OF AMERICANS ARE ASKING, WHERE'S IT ALL GOING TO END?
WHEN ARE WE GOING TO GET A HANDLE ON OUR DECLINING ECONOMY?
WHEN ARE WE GOING TO TURN AWAY FROM WHAT HAS FAILED IN THE
PAST, AND EMBARK ON A NEW COURSE?

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RESCUING THE MIDDLE CLASS FROM FINANCIAL SICKNESS

OUR PROBLEMS ARE REAL. THEY WON'T GO AWAY. BUT WE CAN SOLVE THEM. AND LET US BEGIN HERE. THERE ARE PEOPLE IN THIS STATE, PEOPLE IN THIS HALL, WHO WILL SOONER OR LATER FACE THE PROSPECT OF SERIOUS ILLNESS. AND THE ODDS ARE DEPRESSINGLY HIGH THAT YOU'LL ALSO FACE A PROSPECT OF FINANCIAL CATASTROPHE AT THE SAME TIME.

THERE'S NO EXCUSE FOR THAT IN THE WORLD'S RICHEST NATION. NOT IN 1979. IS IT ANY WONDER THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT AN ALTERNATIVE? THEY DON'T WANT SENATOR KENNEDY'S CRADLE TO GRAVE HEALTH INSURANCE. THEY DON'T WANT A MASSIVE NEW BUREAUCRACY OR A RATIONING OF HEALTH CARE. BUT THEY WANT THE PROBLEM TAKEN CARE OF.

THAT'S WHY I'VE INTRODUCED A CATASTROPHIC HEALTH INSURANCE PROPOSAL IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AND WHY WE'VE BOXED TEDDY IN WITH A PROGRAM THAT HAS A REAL CHANCE OF PASSAGE, AT A COST THAT WON'T BANKRUPT THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER. AND THAT'S LEADERSHIP FOR THE 80'S.

TAX RELIEF AND AN ATTACK ON INFLATION

THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WANT TAX RELIEF. THEY WANT TO SEE THEIR ECONOMY RESTORED TO THE PRODUCTIVE WAYS THAT MADE IT THE ENVY OF THE MODERN WORLD. THAT'S WHY WE HAVE TO INDEX THE TAX SYSTEM AND SAFEGUARD YOUR HARD-EARNED WAGES FROM THE BIGGEST WINDFALL PROFIT OF ALL -- WHAT WASHINGTON SKIMS OFF THE TOP EVERYTIME IT PUSHES YOU INTO A HIGHER TAX BRACKET. THAT'S WHY WE MUST REDUCE EXCESS FEDERAL REGULATION -- NOT JUST TALK ABOUT IT, BUT PASS SPECIFIC REDUCTIONS IN THE JUNGLE OF FEDERAL PAPERWORK. AND THAT'S LEADERSHIP FOR THE 80'S.

EVERYONE'S TALKING ABOUT CUTTING INFLATION. BUT WE MUST DO MORE THAN TALK -- WE MUST PASS A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THAT WILL ACTUALLY DO IT BY PUTTING A MANDATORY CAP ON BOTH FEDERAL TAXING AND FEDERAL SPENDING.

THAT'S HOW YOU ATTACK INFLATION AT ITS ROOTS. THAT'S HOW YOU RESCUE THE DOLLAR, BUOY THE STOCK MARKET AND DIRECT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS BACK INTO THE PRIVATE ECONOMY. THAT'S HOW YOU CREATE NEW JOBS AND BRING OUR CITIES BACK -- NOT BY THROWING BILLIONS OF FEDERAL DOLLARS AT EXISTING PROBLEMS, BUT BY LURING BILLIONS OF PRIVATE DOLLARS IN INVESTMENT. AND THAT, TOO, IS LEADERSHIP FOR THE 80'S.

THE PROMISE OF ENERGY

EVERYONE'S TALKING ABOUT ENERGY. THEY CALL IT A CRISIS. WELL, I SEE IT AS MORE THAN A CRISIS. I SEE IT AS A POTENTIAL SPUR TO NATIONAL RENEWAL. I SEE IT AS THE ROAD BACK TO AMERICAN PRODUCTIVITY. I SAY THAT CONSERVATION IS FINE -- WE'RE ALL FOR THAT -- BUT CONSERVATION ALONE ISN'T ENOUGH TO SUSTAIN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. WE NEED MORE PRODUCTION OF EXISTING OIL AND GAS. AND THE ONLY WAY YOU GET PRODUCTION IS TO PROVIDE INCENTIVE.

THAT'S RIGHT -- INCENTIVE. IT'S TIME WE STOOD UP FOR THE FACT THAT WORLDS LIKE INCENTIVE AND PROFIT CAN BE ALLOWED IN POLITE CONVERSATION. IT'S TIME WE STOP APOLOGIZING FOR USING SUCH WORDS.

AS RANKING REPUBLICAN ON THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, I'VE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE FIGHT OVER A WIND FALL PROFITS TAX. I'VE ARGUED THAT ANY TAX ON OIL AND GAS PRODUCERS WILL EVENTUALLY BE PAID FOR BY THE CONSUMERS OF THIS AND OTHER STATES -- SO WHY PASS A TAX \$85 BILLION HIGHER THAN REQUIRED BY THE PRESIDENT'S OWN ENERGY PROGRAM? THAT'S WHY I LED THE FIGHT FOR FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME GRANITE STATES WHO FACED A CHOICE BETWEEN HEATING AND EATING.

LEADERSHIP -- AND A COMMON CAUSE

BUT TO DO ALL THESE THINGS AND TO RECAPTURE OUR RIGHTFUL PLACE IN THE MODERN WORLD WILL REQUIRE FAR MORE THAN GOOD INTENTIONS ALONE. IT WILL TAKE A PRESIDENT WHO KNOWS THE INS AND OUTS OF GOVERNMENT. IT WILL TAKE A PRESIDENT WHO KNOWS HOW TO WORK WITH THE CONGRESS. IT WILL TAKE A PRESIDENT WHO IS IN TOUCH WITH THE WAY AVERAGE AMERICANS LIVE -- AND STRONG ENOUGH TO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS.

I KNOW THIS COUNTRY ABOUT AS WELL AS ANY MAN. I CRISSCROSSED IT AS A CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT UNDER PRESIDENT FORD IN 1976. I SAW IT AS MY PARTY'S NATIONAL CHAIRMAN. AND FROM WHAT I SEE, IT'S NOT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO HAVE FAILED THESE LAST THREE YEARS. THEY HAVEN'T CAUSED DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION. THEY HAVEN'T TURNED THEIR BACKS ON OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES ABROAD. THEY HAVEN'T PRESIDED OVER AN ADMINISTRATION DEAD IN ITS TRACKS.

WHAT DO THEY BELIEVE?

THEY BELIEVE THAT THIS IS THE GREATEST COUNTRY ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH -- NOT BECAUSE GOVERNMENT MADE IT SO, BUT BECAUSE GOVERNMENT UNLEASHED THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY BELIEVE THAT OUR DAY IN THE SUN IS NOT OVER -- NOT AS LONG AS WE DISPLAY GUTS INSTEAD OF GRITS.

THEY BELIEVE THAT EVERY AMERICAN DESERVES A CHANCE TO BECOME ALL THAT HE OR SHE CAN BE -- BUT THAT A REMOTE OR BUREAUCRATIC GOVERNMENT CAN'T PROVIDE THAT CHANCE HALF AS WELL AS FREE ENTERPRISE.

THEY BELIEVE IN COMPETITION -- WHETHER IT PROMOTES NEW ENERGY SOURCES AT HOME OR AMERICA'S PRE-EMINENT PLACE ABROAD. THEY'RE NOT AFRAID TO COMPETE -- BECAUSE THEY'RE NOT AFRAID TO WIN.

THEY BELIEVE IN RALLYING AROUND THE PRESIDENT IN TIMES OF NATIONAL CRISIS -- BUT THEY WILL NOT ABDICATE THEIR ULTIMATE RIGHT TO QUESTION THE FAILURES OF ANY ADMINISTRATION. THEY KNOW THAT TRUE PATRIOTISM INCLUDES CONSTRUCTIVE SELF-CRITICISM. AND THAT'S WHAT THIS ELECTION IS ALL ABOUT.

A COMMON SENSE ALTERNATIVE

A PRESIDENT HAS TO BE TOUGH, MY FRIENDS. BUT HE HAS TO BE COMPASSIONATE TOO. HE HAS TO TALK COMMON SENSE TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY, TO LAY OUT HIS IDEAS AND STRESS HIS EXPERIENCE. HE HAS TO OFFER A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE TO CARTER INCOMPETENCE AND KENNEDY NOSTALGIA. THAT'S WHAT PEOPLE WANT WHEN THEY CRY OUT FOR LEADERSHIP -- NOT A PRESIDENT LARGER THAN LIFE, BUT A PRESIDENT WHO CARES ABOUT AVERAGE LIVES, AND MAKING THEM BETTER WHILE PRESERVING THE FREEDOM THAT IS AMERICA'S GIFT TO MANKIND.

TOGETHER, WE CAN MEET THIS CHALLENGE, AND GIVE TO OUR CHILDREN AN AMERICA GREAT ENOUGH AND COURAGEOUS ENOUGH TO MERIT THEIR PATRIOTISM.