

SPEECH BY SENATOR BOB DOLE
JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

THE CALENDAR SAYS IT'S SEPTEMBER 30 -- BUT IF YOU HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN -- ESPECIALLY ERRATIC EFFORTS OF MR. CARTER AND HIS CREW -- YOU MIGHT WELL BE FORGIVEN FOR THINKING THIS IS THE END NOT OF SEPTEMBER, BUT OF OCTOBER. FOR HALLOWEEN HAS COME A MONTH EARLY TO AMERICA THIS YEAR. FOR WEEKS NOW, WE HAVE WATCHED WASHINGTON'S OFFICEHOLDERS DASHING UP AND DOWN THE LAND, THREATENING ALL SORTS OF GOBLINS AND BOGEY-MEN IF THEY ARE EVICTED FROM OFFICE. WE HAVE AN AMBASSADOR IN PEKING WHO HAS TURNED THE EMBASSY THERE INTO A FAR EAST HEADQUARTERS FOR CARTER-MONDALE.

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AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WE HAVE A MAN WHO SAYS, "I AM THE FIRST POLITICAL SECRETARY OF STATE, AND I INTEND TO PLAY THAT JOB." AND WHAT EVER ELSE YOU MAY THINK ABOUT THE CARTER RECORD ON DEFENSE, YOU HAVE TO ADMIT THAT IN HAROLD BROWN, THE PRESIDENT HAS AT LAST COME UP WITH AN OFFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEM THAT DOESN'T NEED RADAR FOR DETECTION.

FOR WEEKS NOW, AN ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION OF GROWN MEN AND WOMEN HAS DRESSED UP AND TRIED TO SCARE THE PANTS OFF AMERICA. VOTE FOR US, THEY SAY, OR YOU ARE A WARMONGER. VOTE FOR US, OR YOU ARE A RACIST. I GUESS WE SHOULDN'T REALLY BE SURPRISED -- THEY HAVE BEEN PLAYING TRICK OR TREAT WITH OUR ECONOMY AND DEFENSE FOR SO LONG NOW, THEY JUST DON'T FEEL COMFORTABLE WITHOUT THEIR MASKS AND COSTUMES.

TOURING JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE

BUT TWO CAN PLAY AT HALLOWEEN. SO THIS EVENING, I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT LIKE TO JOIN ME FOR A LITTLE GUIDED TOUR OF JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE. IT IS A

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WONDERFUL HOUSE -- ALTHOUGH IT HASN'T BEEN QUITE THE SAME EVER SINCE HE LAID DOWN THAT FAMOUS "NEW FOUNDATION" A COUPLE YEARS BACK. TO TELL THE TRUTH, THE HOUSE IS SAGGING A LITTLE -- PERHAPS SUFFERING FROM MALAISE. THERE ARE TWO ENTRANCES TO JIMMY'S -- ONE ON THE LEFT WHICH HE USES FOR THREE MONTHS BEFORE ELECTION DAY, AND ONE ON THE RIGHT WHICH HE USES MOST OF THE TIME. INSIDE, THERE'S A FINE KITCHEN, BUT JIMMY DOESN'T LIKE YOU TO LOOK INSIDE THE REFRIGERATOR; FOUR YEARS AGO IT WAS FULL OF STEAK. TONIGHT, THERE'S ONLY HAMBURGER -- AND EVEN THAT HAS DOUBLED IN PRICE SINCE JIMMY MOVED IN.

ACROSS THE HALLWAY IS THE CABINET ROOM -- THE FILE CABINET ROOM. THIS IS WHERE THEY KEEP ALL THE QUOTES THAT JIMMY AND HIS CREW HOPE YOU WON'T HEAR BETWEEN NOW AND NOVEMBER 4, 1976 CAMPAIGN PROMISES -- LIKE THIS ONE -- "ANY SYSTEM OF ECONOMICS IS BANKRUPT IF IT SEES EITHER VALUE OR VIRTUE IN UNEMPLOYMENT. WE SIMPLY CANNOT CHECK INFLATION BY KEEPING PEOPLE OUT OF WORK." AND WHAT ABOUT THIS ONE? "LET US PLEDGE THAT WE WILL NEVER MISUSE UNEMPLOYMENT, HIGH INTEREST RATES, AND HUMAN MISERY AS FALSE WEAPONS

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AGAINST INFLATION." AND FINALLY, THERE'S THIS, "I WOULD NEVER INCREASE TAXES FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY. . .AND YOU CAN DEPEND ON THAT IF I AM ELECTED."

SKELETONS IN THE CLOSET

NOW, I SHOULD HAVE WARNED YOU -- JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE HAS MORE THAN A FEW SKELETONS IN THE CLOSET. FOR INSTANCE, WHAT ABOUT THE PAY OFF ON ALL THOSE PROMISES? WHEN PRESIDENT FORD LEFT OFFICE, INFLATION WAS 4.8 PERCENT. TODAY IT'S 12 PERCENT. WHEN PRESIDENT FORD LEFT OFFICE SIX MILLION AMERICANS WERE OUT OF WORK -- TOO MANY, BUT AT LEAST THE TREND WAS DOWN, THE ECONOMY WAS POINTED UP AND INTEREST RATES WERE LOW. TODAY, THERE ARE EIGHT MILLION MEN AND WOMEN WHO CANNOT FIND A JOB. INTEREST RATES STAND AT 13 PERCENT AND, UNLIKE THE ECONOMY, THEY ARE ONCE AGAIN HEADED FOR THE SKY.

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SINCE JIMMY TOOK OVER THE LEASE, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN HAS SEEN HIS TAX BURDEN INCREASE BY 30 PERCENT -- WHILE REAL INCOME HAS GONE UP JUST 20 PERCENT. IN 1980 ALONE, FEDERAL TAX REVENUES WILL INCREASE BY \$86 BILLION. AND THE ADMINISTRATION IS PROJECTING A FEDERAL BUDGET DOUBLED BY 1985.

SO YOU SEE, JIMMY'S HOUSE IS HAUNTED BY THE SPECTER OF PROMISES MADE AND BROKEN, OF REDUCED INFLATION TURNED INTO RUNAWAY INFLATION, OF A BOOMING ECONOMY TURNED INTO A STAGNANT ECONOMY, OF A BRIGHT FUTURE GROWN CLOUDY WITH UNCERTAINTY. HOW THOSE SKELETONS MUST CLATTER FRIGHTFULLY WHENEVER THE LATEST ROUND OF UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS ARE RELEASED. HOW THEY MUST MAKE FOR SLEEPLESS NIGHTS, WITH THEIR LONG MEMORIES OF WHAT WAS PROMISED AND WHAT WAS ACTUALLY DELIVERED.

BUT AMERICANS HAVE LONG MEMORIES, TOO. THEY REMEMBER THE CANDIDATE WHO ASKED THEM IN 1976, WHY NOT THE BEST? IT IS A QUESTION THAT IS STILL WAITING FOR AN ANSWER.

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NOW COME ALONG WITH ME AS WE GO DOWNSTAIRS INTO THE CELLAR OF JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE. STEP LIGHTLY -- WATCH OUT FOR THE GUILLOTINE THEY USE IN CABINET SHAKE-UPS. OVER THERE AT THE BAR, THERE'S HAM JORDAN, AND NEXT TO HIM, THAT IS BERT LANCE REVIEWING HIS CHECKBOOK, AND DR. BOURNE STANDING NEAR THE MEDICINE CABINET. THERE ARE A LOT OF MEMORIES DOWN HERE. OVER THERE, ON THE WALL, THAT IS THE FAMOUS WHIP WITH TED KENNEDY'S NAME ON IT.

UPSTAIRS, IN THE ATTIC THEY KEEP THE QUOTES FOR SENATOR KENNEDY. THEY DON'T WANT TO HEAR WHAT HE SAID LAST MARCH 6 IN PHILADELPHIA. BUT I HAVEN'T FORGOTTEN. "WHETHER BY INCREDIBLE MISMANAGEMENT," SENATOR KENNEDY SAID LAST MARCH, "OR IRRESPONSIBLE ACTION, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS MANAGED TO JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL, TO DAMAGE THE PEACE PROSPECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, UNDERMINE RELATIONS WITH OTHER FRIENDS AND MAKE AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY THE LAUGHING STOCK OF NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

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TEDDY WAS DOING PRETTY WELL THAT DAY -- AT LEAST HE WAS ABLE TO FIND A CARTER FOREIGN POLICY. THAT IS A LOT MORE THAN MOST OF US HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DO THESE LAST $3\frac{1}{2}$ YEARS. AND IF ANYONE TONIGHT IS SITTING ON THE FENCE BETWEEN JIMMY CARTER AND RONALD REAGAN, LET HIM TAKE A LOOK AT THE CARTER RECORD ON NATIONAL DEFENSE.

FOUR YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT FORD LEFT OFFICE BEQUEATHING A PLAN TO SUBSTANTIALLY BOOST AMERICA'S MILITARY FORCES. ESPECIALLY IN THE NAVY, WHERE AGE WAS TAKING ITS TOLL ON MANY OF OUR SHIPS. BUT, HIS OPPONENT FOR THE WHITE HOUSE HAD CAMPAIGNED ON A PLATFORM CALLING FOR A \$7 BILLION REDUCTION IN DEFENSE METHOD -- AND THIS WAS ONE OF THE FEW CAMPAIGN PROMISES HE SEEMED ANXIOUS TO KEEP. HE WOULD HAVE, TOO, IF INFLATION DIDN'T GOBBLE UP THAT \$7 BILLION AND MORE ALMOST OVER NIGHT.

WORLD OF WISHFUL THINKING

THE PRESIDENT ISN'T A BAD MAN, HIS RECENT PRONOUNCEMENT NOT WITHSTANDING.

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I BELIEVE HE IS A DECENT MAN TRYING TO DO HIS BEST. BUT, ALL OF US HAVE SUFFERED BECAUSE OF HIS NAIVE ACCEPTANCE OF A WORLD OF WISHFUL THINKING, IN WHICH SOVIET PROMISES COULD ALWAYS BE TRUSTED, AND A STRONG AMERICAN MILITARY WOULD SOMEHOW GUARANTEE WAR INSTEAD OF PEACE. IT IS NOT THE PRESIDENT'S FAULT ALONE THAT WE CONFRONT A NEW AND DANGEROUS DECADE WITH OUR DEFENSES WEAKENED AND VULNERABLE. IT WAS A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS, FACING THE OPPOSITION FROM THE WHITE HOUSE AFTER 1976 -- THEY CUT OVER \$40 BILLION FROM THE REPUBLICAN DEFENSE BUDGET. IT WAS A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS THAT WENT ALONG WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PLAN TO CANCEL THE B-1 PROGRAM, DELAY BY 4 YEARS THE MX MISSILE, AND REDUCE PRODUCTION OF THE TRIDENT I AND II. THAT CONGRESS DIDN'T RAISE A VOICE IN PROTEST WHEN THIS YEAR'S PROCUREMENT BUDGET FOR NATO CAME IN AT 13 PERCENT LESS THAN WHAT PRESIDENT FORD HAD PROPOSED. THEY STOOD IDLY BY AS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION CUT PRESIDENT FORD'S SHIPBUILDING PROGRAM IN HALF. AS A RESULT, WE DON'T HAVE A THREE OCEAN NAVY IN 1980. WE DON'T HAVE A TWO OCEAN IN 1980. AT BEST, WE HAVE A ONE-AND-ONE-HALF OCEAN NAVY.

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MEANWHILE, THE SOVIET UNION GOES ON INEXORABLY SPENDING ON ITS MILITARY ARSENAL, SPENDING FOUR TIMES THE SHARE OF GNP THAT WE ALLOT TO OUR OWN DEFENSE NEEDS. THE PENTAGON ITSELF ADMITS THAT SIX OF THE TEN ARMY DIVISIONS STATIONED IN THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT COMBAT READY TODAY. THAT INCLUDES TWO OF THE THREE DIVISIONS ASSIGNED TO THE NEW RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE. THE ARMY'S CHIEF OF STAFF HAS LABELED HIS FORCE "A HOLLOW ARMY." AMERICAN PLANES STAND GROUNDED TONIGHT -- NOT BECAUSE MCDONNELL DOUGLAS DOESN'T KNOW HOW TO BUILD THE BEST PLANES IN THE WORLD -- BUT BECAUSE WE LACK SPARE PARTS, AND IN SOME CASES, ENGINES TO MAKE THEM FLY.

IS IT ANY WONDER THAT THE WORSE SKELETONS IN JIMMY'S OVERSTUFFED CLOSET ARE THE STARVED REMAINS OF A ONCE SUPERIOR MILITARY FORCE? IS IT ANY WONDER THAT PEOPLE QUESTION THE REALISM OF COUNTERCLAIMS ABOUT PROVIDING FOR A STRONGER NATIONAL DEFENSE?

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THE FACT IS, BOMBERS AND MISSILES SHOULD NEVER EVEN ENTER THE EQUATION IF A GREAT NATION BEHAVES LIKE ONE. GREAT NATIONS ACCEPT GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES. THEY KNOW THAT THEY WILL SPEND DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE -- OR THEY WILL SURELY SHED BLOOD IN THE BATTLE. GREAT NATIONS APPROACH THE WORLD WITH A CLEAR HEADED ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL SELF-INTEREST AND THE DETERMINATION TO PURSUE THOSE INTERESTS THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

CAN ANYONE LOOK IN JIMMY'S HAUNTED HOUSE AND REALLY CONCLUDE THAT AMERICA OVER THE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS HAS ENJOYED PURPOSEFUL, CONFIDENT LEADERSHIP AT THE HELM OF THE STATE?

CAN ANYONE SCAN THE HEADLINES AND FAIL TO SEE WHAT OUR STAUNCHEST ALLIES IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE HAVE SEEN -- THAT THIS IS AN ADMINISTRATION DRIFTING FROM CRISIS TO CRISIS -- REACTING WHEN IT SHOULD BE ANTICIPATING -- THEN RESULTING TO BELLICOSE THREATS TO RISK A DANGEROUS DECLINE IN THE NATION'S ACTUAL MILITARY STRENGTH?

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REVERSING AMERICA'S RETREAT FROM RESPONSIBILITY

RONALD REAGAN CAN REVERSE AMERICA'S RETREAT FROM RESPONSIBILITY. HE KNOWS AND WORRIES ABOUT THE MILITARY PAY SCANDAL WHILE THOUSANDS OF SERVICEMEN MUST FIND SECOND JOBS TO MAKE ENDS MEET, AND THOUSANDS MORE HAVE TO RESORT TO FOOD STAMPS TO SURVIVE. HE KNOWS THAT MILITARY HARDWARE, IMPORTANT AS IT IS, IS ONLY A COROLLARY TO COHERENT DIPLOMACY AND A FOREIGN POLICY THAT DOESN'T FEAR TO STAND UP FOR AMERICA'S LEGITIMATE INTERESTS ABROAD. HE KNOWS THAT IT IS IN THE NAME OF PEACE-LOVING MEN WHO STRUGGLE THE HARDEST TO INSURE A STRONG AMERICA, FOR COMPLACENCY INVITES AGGRESSION AND WEAKNESS INVITES WAR. ALONG WITH CONGRESSIONAL REPUBLICANS, GOVERNOR REAGAN KNOWS THAT A NATION'S STRENGTH LIES FIRST OF ALL IN HER ECONOMY. WITH HIM IN THE WHITE HOUSE, WE WILL EMBARK ON A LOGICAL PROGRAM THAT INCLUDES AN IMMEDIATE 10 PERCENT TAX REDUCTION FOLLOWED BY INDEXING OF INCOMES TO SAFEGUARD WORKERS AGAINST THE RAVAGES OF INFLATION, ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION, AND REGULATORY REFORM TO STIMULATE PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND CREATE MILLIONS OF NEW JOBS. THE REAGAN TAX CUT IS A JOB-PRODUCING TAX CUT. A SHOT IN THE ARM TO THE HARD PRESSED MIDDLE CLASS AND A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE AMERICAN CONSUMER FROM HIS ALL-CONSUMING GOVERNMENT.

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IT IS ALSO A CRITICAL FIRST STEP TOWARD RESTORING OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE IN THE WORLD MARKETPLACE, -- AND WITH THAT BOLSTERING AMERICA'S OVERALL POSITION OF LEADERSHIP IN THE FREE WORLD.

NOW, JIMMY CARTER TALKS ABOUT TAX CUTS TOO -- A BIG FINANCIAL PLACEBO, TO TAKE EFFECT NEXT YEAR -- MAYBE. HE OPPOSES ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION. HE OPPOSES TAX INDEXING. HE SAYS NOTHING ABOUT REDUCING THE TANGLED WEB OF RULES AND REGULATIONS THAT IS PUTTING OUR DOMESTIC ECONOMY INTO A STRAIGHT JACKET WITH THE LABEL "MADE IN WASHINGTON." BUT THEN, WHAT MORE CAN YOU EXPECT FROM AN ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT TO DATE IS A RECESSION THAT TOOK EIGHT MILLION OF OUR COUNTRYMEN OUT OF WORK.

THESE ARE THE GHOSTS THAT HAUNT NOT ONLY JIMMY'S HOUSE BUT MOST OTHER HOUSES AS WELL. THEY HAUNT THE SHUTTERED STEEL YARDS OF PITTSBURGH, THE STREET CORNERS OF DETROIT, THE TEXTILE MILLS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE AUTO ASSEMBLY LINES IN FLINT AND GRAND RAPIDS. THE OLD HOUSE IS SHOWING SIGNS OF WEAR AND TEAR. AFTER NOVEMBER 4, THERE MAY EVEN BE A "FOR SALE" SIGN GOING UP ON THE LAWN.

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BUT UNTIL THEN, YOU CAN EXPECT THE PROPRIETOR TO TRY TO EXERCISE EVERY GHOUL AND GHOSTY IN THE PLACE -- AND SCARE A LOT OF AMERICANS INTO OVERLOOKING HIS OWN RECORD, WHICH IS PRETTY SCARY IN ITSELF.

SO IT IS TRICK-OR-TREAT TIME FOR THE AMERICAN VOTERS. TRICKS WITH DEBATES AND TREATS WITH PRESIDENTIAL PRESS CONFERENCES. TRICKS WITH BUDGET FORECASTS, AND TREATS WITH FEDERAL DOLLARS. IT IS LIKE AN OLD-FASHIONED HALLOWEEN IN KANSAS -- THE PRESIDENT STANDING EARNESTLY AT THE DOOR, HIS BAG OF GOODIES HELD OUT BEFORE HIM, WHILE HIS CREW OF CAMPAIGNERS ARE OUT BACK MAKING OFF WITH THE outhouse.

WELL, IT WAS A GREAT REPUBLICAN, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WHO SAID THAT YOU CAN'T FOOL ALL OF THE PEOPLE ALL OF THE TIME. IT IS ANOTHER GREAT REPUBLICAN, RONALD REAGAN WHO IS ROUSING MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WITH HIS CALL FOR A PROSPERITY THAT IS GENUINE AND A PEACE THAT HAS ITS BASE IN AMERICAN STRENGTH OF PURPOSE.

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PRETTY SOON, THE OLD HOUSE IS GOING TO HAVE TO GET READY FOR SOME NEW TENANTS. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TERMINATING THE LEASE. THEY ARE TURNING IT OVER TO RON AND NANCY REAGAN, AND THEN WE WON'T BE HAUNTED BY DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION, MASSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT, AND A FOREIGN POLICY THAT RELIES ON GOOD INTENTIONS INSTEAD OF A REALISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE MODERN WORLD. WITH RONALD REAGAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE, WE WILL HAVE AN ADMINISTRATION THAT TENDS TO BUSINESS, AND DOESN'T CONFUSE BUSINESS WITH RUNNING FOR REELECTION. WE WILL HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO CARES ABOUT ALL THE PEOPLE, A PRESIDENT ESPECIALLY ANXIOUS TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP TO REACH THE SENSE OF MISSION THAT FILLS AMERICA'S YOUNG PEOPLE.

IT IS THAT SENSE OF DIRECTION THAT HAS BEEN MISSING THESE LAST THREE AND A HALF YEARS AND THAT AMERICA DESPERATELY DESIRES. PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL SUPPLY IT TO US -- AND THEN, AMERICANS WILL ONCE AGAIN BE TRUE TO THEIR HISTORY AND THEIR HERITAGE. ONCE AGAIN, WE SHALL BE WHAT GOD INTENDED US TO BE -- THE LAST BEST HOPE OF FREEDOM ON EARTH. THE HAUNTED HOUSE WILL BE HAUNTED NO MORE.

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THIS IS OUR MISSION FOR 1980. WE DO NOT SIMPLY ASK FOR REJECTION OF THOSE WHO HAVE FAILED -- WE PROPOSE A POSITIVE ALTERNATIVE. WE DO NOT SIMPLY APPEAL TO PEOPLE'S FRUSTRATIONS -- WE REACH OUT TO TOUCH THEIR FINEST INSTINCTS. WE SET OUT TO RESCUE A GREAT NATION BEFORE SHE IS SWEEPED INTO MEDIOCRITY. WE ARE DETERMINED TO RETURN HER TO THE PATH OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY, OF GENUINE PROSPERITY, AND OF THE PEACE THAT IS HER RIGHT. WE AIM TO ELECT RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE AND FOR ALL THEIR NEEDS. HISTORY DEMANDS THAT WE SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS.

Why we were late
Ely —
John D. Dargatzis — Nader —
Irene M. Wain