

Friends of Bill Scranton / Dinner

As expected, anyone  
with a few  
hundred dollar  
debt for dinner

Thanks very much, \_\_\_\_\_, for that very generous introduction. (over)

Like W.C. Fields, I'd rather be in Philadelphia. So when Bill Scranton invited me to join him for this evening's dinner, I was very touched. Although not as touched as the rest of you ~~undoubtedly~~ <sup>no doubt</sup> have been.

Bill made me

~~I had to promise Bill not to get bogged down in discussion of the national debt. After all, anyone who's just forked over a couple hundred dollars to attend a dinner isn't going to feel too much sympathy for a government with a couple hundred billion dollars worth of red ink. His appetite's already been spoiled. Pennsylvania is a commonwealth, I'm told. I guess wealth must be awfully common to get this many people to a dinner party at \$250.00 a head.~~

Or maybe they just recognize star quality when they see it. Certainly, Bill Scranton is a star. It used to be that lieutenant governors spent all day cutting ribbons and checking on the governor's health.

<sup>Bill,</sup> though, prefers to spend his time cutting through red tape - and beefing up the economic health of this nation-state called Pennsylvania.

~~Not yet forty, he's already a seasoned official, who knows his way around state government and has proven he's got a lot more going for him than his old man's reputation.~~

~~the~~ <sup>He</sup> Scrantons of Pennsylvania are like the Longs of Louisiana or the Landons of Kansas. Young Bill, here, wasn't even born when Alf Landon ran for President - but I have a hunch he may well be occupying his father's old office in Harrisburg by 1988 - when for all we know, Alf's daughter Nancy might be on the national ticket.

Although that's not a bad opener. <sup>Republican</sup> Come to think of it, in fact,

Come to think of it - you better not quote me on the second half of that: Elizabeth might find out, and a man can get awfully tired of eating

<sup>banding</sup>  
When other parents were <sup>thinking</sup> preparing to send their kids off to school, Bill was already <sup>preparing</sup> for the Electoral College.



To feel that, the only thing that made me a  
little uncomfortable was what you said  
before you got up to introduce me. You  
remember, —, you asked if we should  
let the audience enjoy their dessert  
and coffee a little longer — or had  
we better have my speech now?



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~~Letting~~ (over)  
frozen dinners.

The world has turned over many times since Alf Landon's race for the White House - or since Bill's ~~own~~ Dad made a run of his own in 1964. Not the least of the changes we've witnessed <sup>2</sup> is the status of women. ~~not just in politics but in the real world as well.~~ The same can be said of black people and brown people, people with vowels at the end of their names, people handicapped in mind or body. More than ever before, this country has edged closer to the commitment she made ~~to herself~~ more than two centuries ago, when a patchwork puzzle of squabbling colonies temporarily put aside their differences long enough to concentrate on their common bond - their passion for liberty and ~~their contempt for tyranny.~~ More than any other city, Philadelphia served as midwife to that lusty infant, which we, as Republicans, believe has yet to reach its maturity. <sup>For America has yet to become, she is always becoming.</sup>

~~What began here proceeds - continues every time~~

<sup>we tell ourselves;</sup>

Out in Kansas, we have a state motto. Ad aspra per aspera, it says: Through adversity ~~to~~ the stars. For a long while, you couldn't even see the stars above America. They were blocked out by clouds.

Clouds of doubt, created by a government in Washington that was too busy <sup>collecting our</sup> spending people's money to think about generating <sup>any.</sup> money for people.

Clouds of uncertainty, ~~and confusion in the world,~~ where an America traumatized by Vietnam and Watergate turned <sup>inward,</sup> lowering her

profile and all too often lowering her flag as well. Clouds of malaise, blotting out the stars at night and the rich, renewing sunlight of human freedom by day.



It used to be said that most women in America  
~~delivered~~ spent their time delivering -  
obstetrically once, and the carpool  
forever after. Well, these days, the  
carpool is likely to be crowded  
with professional women on the  
way to work.

Our in Kansas, we have a state motto. As aspects per aspect, it  
has yet to reach its maturity. For Kansas has yet to become a state  
served as midwife to that lovely infant, which we, as Republicans, believe  
our state for Lyman. More than any other city, Philadelphia

even see the stars above America. They were blocked out by clouds.

Clouds of doubt, created by a government in Washington that was too  
busy spending people's money to think about generating money for people.

Clouds of uncertainty, and confusion in the world, where an America that  
was turned by Vietnam and Watergate turned inward, favoring her  
profits and all too often favoring her flag as  
well. Clouds of malaise, blotting out the stars  
at night and the veil, removing sunlight  
of human freedom by day.



*It's not that we see*  
*But the clouds have been so dark*  
*And this evening, we can look to the heavens -*  
*even while we remember to keep our feet firmly on the ground. The timing is perfect. For*  
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this evening is the 176th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, the best friend freedom ever had, the founding father of our party and the grand marshal of the American Parade that goes on marching, often to the sound of the Lincoln music. Listen to that music for a moment...

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy"

Yet for much of this century, the American people, and especially the American workingman and woman, were de facto slaves to a government which ~~promised them much~~ -- deprived them of *more than* as much as it delivered. By 1980, *tens of millions of people*, many of whom had never pulled a lever for a Republican candidate, *their ranks numbered in the millions* were fed up with the big promises *followed by* and bigger bills. They heard talk about fairness, but they felt the unfairness of double digit inflation, skyhigh interest rates, spiraling unemployment and the slow, steady erosion of our will to compete. *They were tired of being taken for granted - and just plain taken. For all the campaign rhetoric about*

"What is conservatism?" said Lincoln. "Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried?"

And the people voted for conservatism - that is, they voted for the old and tried policies of individual opportunity. ~~They voted to part the clouds over their country. They voted to accept some temporary measure of adversity, if it would allow them to see the stars once more, to aspire to reach those stars through their own efforts. They knew that as long as government took much of their income, it would injure more of their aspirations. It would cripple their own capacity to foster lasting jobs and enduring prosperity.~~ *For* *As long as it indulged in make-work, it* *that last.* *For* *deny*



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Here in Pennsylvania and throughout the country, people voted for a government that was less intrusive and more ~~imaginative~~, ~~one~~ --- ~~that~~ --- supportive. They ~~not only~~ wanted their dollars ~~back~~ they ~~also~~ <sup>to remain</sup> wanted decisions in their own hands. <sup>like</sup> how to invest their earnings. And how to educate their kids. How to preserve prosperity and a safe environment at the same time. How to rebuild their cities and ~~how to~~ reclaim their historic status as lively, vital places. They wanted to put criminals behind bars - so innocent residents, black and white, young and old, could come <sup>out</sup> from behind their double locks and ~~take back~~ <sup>banish fear from</sup> their local neighborhoods.

All this they wanted. And all this Ronald Reagan delivered. Now the pundits in Washington - not to mention those good folks over at the Democratic National Committee - they couldn't believe what was happening. They said that 1980 was a fluke. Just wait til 1984, they predicted. Then everything will go back to the way it used to be. And so they nominated a candidate who represented the way things used to be. He said his first priority was to raise taxes. His second was to invite back to the feeding trough all those sacred cows whom the Republicans had shooed away. He wasn't quite sure whether the liberation of Grenada was a good thing or not - but he made it crystal clear that the United States <sup>when it came to dealing with the</sup> was building <sup>so</sup> many weapons and <sup>start</sup> ~~not~~ resorting to ~~enough~~ soothing words. <sup>mean in Moscow, instead.</sup>

And the pundits all <sup>F</sup> forecast a cliffhanger. After all, what president could offend this ~~special~~ <sup>group</sup> interest and that caucus, let alone <sup>should stop building</sup> half the editorial writers in the land, and still hope to corral a majority of votes on election day? Remember the famous gender gap? There was a gap all right - but it was Walter Mondale's failure to attract support among men. Then there was the Hispanic vote - better than 40% Rep. <sup>Page 6 of 30</sup>



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Or young people - 60% for the GOP. And on and on: Catholics, blue collar workers, the elderly. You name the group, and the Reagan-Bush ticket astonished the experts.

*Some of them are still in shock. They have yet to learn what you and I know and have always known.*

*I don't think that they fear government will let them down. They just hope it might let them up for a change.*

*5 in 1984*

*what's more,*

*of the grassroots of America*

*IPB*

*for themselves*

You and I know why. We know that people have longer memories than anchormen credit them with. They remember a time in the recent past when economic growth had stopped in this country. They knew they were better off than they'd been four years earlier. They could see, and in most instances, they could benefit from, the strongest growth since the Korean War - without inflation. *what's more,* They understood with the instinctive wisdom *of the grassroots of America* that resides ~~outside~~ the Washington Beltway that the ultimate form of social justice is a job - and that jobs are best created by risk-takers, not regulators. They experienced more than seven million new jobs in less than two years. *IPB* *for themselves* And best of all, they felt good again, ~~They felt~~ *good* about their country and themselves. You could see it in the crowds that met the President whenever he went. You could hear it in the chants of USA, USA that filled the 23rd Olympiad, and have yet to fade from our ears. And you could measure it in all those reams of economic statistics that pour out of Washington every month.

*He*

~~But~~ *He* Behind all these cold numbers are warm human beings, men and women who want nothing more than a chance to work, to earn, to pay their own way and produce *their own miracles.* ~~the miracles that freedom~~ *change is* Lincoln spoke of the old and tried. ~~But~~ the oldest tradition in America, *is* that of change.

~~Change is the only constant.~~ the only sure bet in this poker game we call life. ~~A lot of Democrats.~~ It used to be said that we were the party fearful of change. Republicans were too respectful of the old moon to ~~change.~~ *It was claimed,* *The trick is to manage change, within unchanging values.* ever look at a new one.



When they  
raise balanced  
budgets, it has all  
the sincerity of  
a testimony  
to blood banks by  
Count Dracula. (over)

Today, wherever you look  
And change is being put  
to work by a Republican  
Administration whose  
sworn enemy is Wash-  
ington's status quo.

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Well, they aren't saying that about us anymore. Stop and think  
for a minute: which is the party that talks of bold tomorrows - and then  
proposes fresh ways of achieving them? Which is the party of Enterprise  
Zones ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> Young <sup>the</sup> Wages, of tuition tax credits and private sector  
initiatives? Which ~~is~~ <sup>Opportunity</sup> the party unwedded to stale dogmas - and which  
~~is the party that can only respond to any dilemma with the parrot-like~~  
~~cry: Raise taxes. When the party of Tip O'Neil or Ted Kennedy confront~~  
~~a problem, the answer is always predictable. Put a tax on~~ <sup>slap</sup>  
~~regulation around it. issue a directive from Washington to~~ <sup>it's quite a</sup>  
<sup>they respond, or</sup>

With attitudes like that, the Democrats aren't just proposing  
to invite all those clouds back again. They'd like to go up and seed  
them with a few hundred billion more in debt, or taxes, or both. And  
here is where ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Abraham Lincoln's music needs to be turned up the loudest.  
Listen to what he said during a dark and ~~stormy~~ <sup>perilous time in</sup> passage of the American  
Civil War, when mere expedients would no longer work, and ~~authentic~~ <sup>the stars</sup>  
~~genius was called for.~~ <sup>were in danger of twinkling out forever.</sup>

"The dogmas of the stormy past ~~and~~ <sup>are</sup> inadequate to the stormy present.  
The occasion is piled high with difficulty, <sup>and</sup> we must rise with the  
occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We  
must disenthral ourselves - and then we shall save our country!"

In 1980, we disenthralled ourselves from the conventional wisdom  
of Washington's Establishment. We took government back into our own hands.  
Along with it, we reclaimed our own stake in America's destiny. Some,  
in that city and elsewhere, would like to go back. They'd execute a U-  
turn or worse, they'd take us all over the side of the road. <sup>Not being able</sup>  
to dispute the size of the President's majority last November, <sup>they'll</sup>

quibble over the <sup>meaning</sup> ~~nature~~ of his mandate.



*Their talk - unlike their platforms -  
is cheap.*

*But 1985 is a year in which  
talk alone will not solve our  
problems.*

*With attitudes like that, the Democrats aren't just proposing  
to invite all those clouds back again. They'd like to go up and seed  
them with a few hundred billion more in debt, or taxes, or both. And  
here is where Abraham Lincoln's music needs to be turned up the loudest.*

*listened to what he said during a dark and stormy night in the American  
Civil War, when more expedients would no longer work, and  
there was a danger of tumbling out of focus.*

*The dogmas of the steady past are inadequate to the steady present.  
The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the  
occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We  
must disenthrall ourselves - and then we shall save our country.*

*In 1980, we disenthrall ourselves from the conventional wisdom  
of Washington's Establishment. We took government back into our own hands.  
Along with it, we reclaimed our own stake in America's destiny. Some,*

*in that city and elsewhere, would like to go back. They'd execute a U-  
turn or worse, they'd take us all over the side of the road. *Not doing odds*  
despite the size of the President's majority last November 2nd they'll  
retreat or stop.*



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But the meaning is clear. So is the resolve to do what must be done to turn this economic recovery into permanent economic expansion, in Pennsylvania and other states where not all the good news

"Fellow citizens," said Lincoln, "We cannot escape history. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation... We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility"

of recent years has been evenly distributed.

Remember those words, for they are our guidepost in the months ahead, when the debate over deficits and taxes will grow loud and sometimes shrill. Remember them whenever the talk turns to interest rates or auto sales, steel production or housing starts. ~~Because the numbers reflect the trial through which we pass~~ <sup>Let them serve as a guidepost in</sup> ~~and whether or not we seek to escape history by evading our own responsibility to generations yet unborn.~~ <sup>Use them to judge our own fidelity to common sense and</sup> <sup>surely</sup> <sup>uncommon courage. We'll need plenty of both.</sup> For half a century, we told the American people that some things were immutable. ~~We said there was no free lunch, nothing~~ We said that you couldn't go on spending more than you took in, not if you were a family and not if you were a government supervised with the national family. ~~You couldn't print money and call it good as gold.~~ <sup>just</sup> You couldn't tax people to death, and expect the private economy to enjoy robust life.

Shrink the size of government, <sup>big government and</sup> we said - and you'll expand the range of individual opportunity. That's the old and tried ~~element in~~ movement in the Lincoln symphony. <sup>P</sup> At the same time, we asked people to think anew and act anew - to rise with the occasion, and cut adrift from the anchorweight of business as usual. <sup>P</sup> Last week, the President went up to Capitol Hill with some music of his. It was inspiring to listen to. <sup>run.</sup> ~~Now~~ <sup>N</sup> Now it falls to the rest of us, in Congress, to supply the lyrics.

~~More than that,~~ <sup>T</sup> this particular exercise in songwriting will be a national endeavor. It will <sup>demand</sup> ~~take~~ <sup>involvement</sup> the talents and the energy of

and elsewhere,



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millions like yourselves to insure <sup>that</sup> the tune doesn't <sup>in the end</sup> turn sour.

Every time someone gets on board an Amtrak train, they are subsidized \$35 by Uncle Sam. That's \$35 out of your own pocket. Every time you purchase milk at the market or natural gas from a fuel company, you're paying a little extra to a system that call itself free enterprise, but isn't really free at all. It's not food stamps we're talking about

<sup>controlling</sup> cutting in 1985 - it's student loans and farm supports, health care for non war-related ailments, civil service retirement benefits, <sup>veterans</sup> ~~The choices~~ <sup>Land</sup> ~~will demand much from us.~~ The sacrifice won't be restricted to stirring speeches or television documentaries. ~~The test is at hand.~~ <sup>the test is at hand.</sup>

But the alternative to doing something is to do nothing - to let the budget grow like a ~~blasted~~ <sup>tumor on the body politic.</sup>

Until <sup>it</sup> ~~we~~ swamp our children and our children's children with a tidal wave of red ink. If we fail to act, ~~then~~ <sup>now,</sup> we won't be able to <sup>anytime soon</sup> ~~further~~ reduce and reform ~~our~~ <sup>as is</sup> tax ~~code~~. We won't be able to make good on so many promising beginnings, in cities like Philadelphia <sup>and wherever</sup> or depressed

<sup>commerce</sup> ~~centers of industry~~ which require <sup>levels</sup> ~~lower~~ interest rates to generate higher ~~rates~~ of investment and innovation. Nor will we <sup>as Republicans,</sup> realize the promise of majority status, ~~a promise~~ <sup>and wherever</sup> fifty years in the making, ~~and~~

~~This is an old city, where new ideas have~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~always flourished.~~ ~~That is the habit of America as well.~~ <sup>P</sup> On this anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, let us remain faithful to the old ideas which give us ~~a creed~~ <sup>convictions</sup> and the new ones which give us ~~a purpose~~ <sup>purpose -</sup>

<sup>propel us forward.</sup> In our schools and in our factories, in the halls of Congress and the union halls of coal country, in the boardrooms and living rooms of America, let us rise to the occasion. Let us think anew and act anew. Let us disenthral ourselves from greed and cynicism, <sup>and</sup> self-interest. ~~and then - and only then - shall (over)~~ <sup>For</sup>



We save our country. ~~We have come so far~~  
Thank you very much.

We will see the stars  
once more. And through  
adversity we will reach them.

Through adversity, we will  
not only see the stars overhead;  
we will reach them, perched on  
the shoulders of Lincoln  
Lincoln's shoulders, raised  
up by our own convictions,  
we will not just see the  
stars overhead. We  
will reach for them, if  
discover them within our  
grasp. It was for this that  
God intended us. ~~who among~~  
~~us dare to fail in that~~  
~~intention~~ And it is for this  
that we



*Ted H. - Tates -*

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
FRIENDS OF BILL SCRANTON DINNER  
BELLEVUE STRATFORD HOTEL  
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA  
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1985

*Happy to  
be at the  
Council  
my*

*Teresa Quarter  
C. Arden Spate*

THANKS VERY MUCH FOR THAT VERY GENEROUS INTRODUCTION. TO  
TELL THE TRUTH, THE ONLY THING THAT MADE ME A LITTLE  
UNCOMFORTABLE WAS WHAT YOU SAID BEFORE YOU GOT UP TO INTRODUCE  
ME. YOU REMEMBER. YOU ASKED IF WE SHOULD LET THE AUDIENCE ENJOY  
THEIR DESSERT AND COFFEE A LITTLE LONGER - OR HAD WE BETTER HAVE  
MY SPEECH NOW?

IT USED TO BE THAT LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS SPENT ALL DAY CUTTING  
RIBBONS AND CHECKING ON THE GOVERNOR'S HEALTH. BILL, THOUGH,  
PREFERS TO SPEND HIS TIME CUTTING THROUGH RED TAPE - AND BEEFING  
UP THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THIS NATION-STATE CALLED PENNSYLVANIA.  
HE'S ALREADY PROVED HE'S GOT A LOT MORE GOING FOR HIM THAN HIS



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DAD'S REPUTATION. ALTHOUGH THAT'S NOT A BAD OPENER. IN FACT, THE SCRANTONS OF PENNSYLVANIA ARE LIKE THE LONGS OF LOUISIANA OR THE LANDONS OF KANSAS. WHEN OTHER PARENTS WERE THINKING OF SENDING THEIR KIDS TO SCHOOL, BILL WAS ALREADY BEING PREPARED FOR THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. HE WASN'T EVEN BORN WHEN ALF LANDON RAN FOR PRESIDENT - BUT I HAVE A HUNCH HE MAY WELL BE OCCUPYING HIS FATHER'S OLD OFFICE IN HARRISBURG BY 1988 - WHEN FOR ALL WE KNOW, ALF'S DAUGHTER NANCY MIGHT BE ON THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN TICKET.

COME TO THINK OF IT - YOU BETTER NOT QUOTE ME ON THE SECOND HALF OF THAT: ELIZABETH MIGHT FIND OUT, AND A MAN CAN GET AWFULLY TIRED OF EATING FROZEN DINNERS.

A GOVERNMENT FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

THE WORLD HAS TURNED OVER MANY TIMES SINCE ALF LANDON'S RACE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE - OR SINCE BILL'S DAD MADE A RUN OF HIS OWN



- 3 -

IN 1964. NOT THE LEAST OF THE CHANGES WE'VE WITNESSED HAS COME ABOUT IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN. THE SAME CAN BE SAID OF BLACK PEOPLE AND BROWN PEOPLE, PEOPLE WITH VOWELS AT THE END OF THEIR NAMES, PEOPLE HANDICAPPED IN MIND OR BODY. MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, THIS COUNTRY HAS EDGED CLOSER TO THE COMMITMENT SHE MADE MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES AGO, WHEN A PATCHWORK PUZZLE OF SQUABBLING COLONIES TEMPORARILY PUT ASIDE THEIR DIFFERENCES LONG ENOUGH TO CONCENTRATE ON THEIR COMMON BOND - THEIR PASSION FOR LIBERTY AND THEIR FAITH IN THE INDIVIDUAL AS A DIVINE CREATION. MORE THAN ANY OTHER CITY, PHILADELPHIA SERVED AS MIDWIFE TO THAT LUSTY INFANT, WHICH WE, AS REPUBLICANS, BELIEVE HAS YET TO REACH ITS MATURITY.

FOR AMERICA HAS YET TO BECOME, WE TELL OURSELVES; SHE IS ALWAYS BECOMING. OUT IN KANSAS, WE HAVE A STATE MOTTO. AD ASPRA



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PER ASPERA, IT MEANS TO THE STARS THROUGH DIFFICULTIES. FOR A LONG WHILE, YOU COULDN'T EVEN SEE THE STARS ABOVE AMERICA. THEY WERE BLOCKED OUT BY CLOUDS. CLOUDS OF DOUBT, CREATED BY A GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON THAT WAS TOO BUSY COLLECTING OUR MONEY TO THINK ABOUT GENERATING ANY. CLOUDS OF UNCERTAINTY, WHERE AN AMERICA TRAUMATIZED BY VIETNAM AND WATERGATE TURNED INWARD, LOWERING HER PROFILE AND ALL TOO OFTEN LOWERING HER FLAG AS WELL. CLOUDS OF MALAISE, BLOTTING OUT THE STARS AT NIGHT AND THE RICH, RENEWING SUNLIGHT OF HUMAN FREEDOM BY DAY. BUT THE CLOUDS HAVE BEGUN TO BREAK. AND THIS EVENING, WE CAN ONCE AGAIN LOOK TO THE HEAVENS - EVEN WHILE WE REMEMBER TO KEEP OUR FEET FIRMLY ON THE GROUND. THE TIMING IS PERFECT. FOR THIS IS THE 176TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE BEST FRIEND



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FREEDOM EVER HAD, THE FOUNDING FATHER OF OUR PARTY AND THE GRAND MARSHAL OF THE AMERICAN PARADE THAT GOES ON MARCHING, OFTEN TO THE SOUND OF THE LINCOLN MUSIC. LISTEN TO THAT MUSIC FOR A MOMENT...

"AS I WOULD NOT BE A SLAVE, SO I WOULD NOT BE A MASTER. THIS EXPRESSES MY IDEA OF DEMOCRACY. WHATEVER DIFFERS FROM THIS, TO THE EXTENT OF THE DIFFERENCE, IS NO DEMOCRACY."

YET FOR MUCH OF THIS CENTURY, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY THE AMERICAN WORKINGMAN AND WOMAN, WERE DE FACTO SLAVES TO A GOVERNMENT WHICH DEPRIVED THEM OF MORE THAN IT DELIVERED. BY 1980, THEIR RANKS NUMBERED IN THE TENS OF MILLIONS. MANY HAD NEVER PULLED A LEVER FOR A REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE. BUT ALL WERE FED UP WITH BIG PROMISES FOLLOWED BY



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BIGGER BILLS. THEY WERE TIRED OF BEING TAKEN FOR GRANTED - AND JUST PLAIN TAKEN. FOR ALL THE CAMPAIGN RHETORIC ABOUT FAIRNESS THEY FELT PAINFULLY THE UNFAIRNESS OF DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION, SKY-HIGH INTEREST RATES, SPIRALING UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE SLOW, STEADY EROSION OF OUR NATIONAL WILL TO COMPETE.

'WHAT IS CONSERVATISM?' SAID LINCOLN. "IS IT NOT ADHERENCE TO THE OLD AND TRIED, AGAINST THE NEW AND UNTRIED?"

AND THE PEOPLE VOTED FOR CONSERVATISM - THAT IS, THEY VOTED FOR THE OLD AND TRIED POLICIES OF INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY. FOR THEY KNEW THAT AS LONG AS GOVERNMENT TOOK MUCH OF THEIR INCOME, IT WOULD DENY MOST OF THEIR ASPIRATIONS. AS LONG AS IT INDULGED IN MAKE-WORK, IT WOULD CRIPPLE THEIR OWN CAPACITY TO FOSTER JOBS THAT LAST.



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HERE IN PENNSYLVANIA AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, PEOPLE VOTED FOR A GOVERNMENT THAT WAS LESS INTRUSIVE AND MORE SUPPORTATIVE. THEY WANTED THEIR DOLLARS TO STAY IN THEIR OWN POCKETS, AND DECISIONS TO REMAIN IN THEIR OWN HANDS. DECISIONS LIKE HOW TO INVEST THEIR EARNINGS. AND HOW TO EDUCATE THEIR KIDS. HOW TO PRESERVE PROSPERITY AND A SAFE ENVIRONMENT AT THE SAME TIME. HOW TO REBUILD THEIR CITIES AND RECLAIM THEIR HISTORIC STATUS AS LIVELY, VITAL PLACES. THEY WANTED TO PUT CRIMINALS BEHIND BARS - SO INNOCENT RESIDENTS, BLACK AND WHITE, YOUNG AND OLD, COULD COME OUT FROM BEHIND THEIR DOUBLE LOCKS AND BANISH FEAR FROM THEIR LOCAL NEIGHBORHOODS.

ALL THIS THEY WANTED. AND ALL THIS RONALD REAGAN DELIVERED. NOW THE PUNDITS IN WASHINGTON - NOT TO MENTION THOSE GOOD FOLKS



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OVER AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE - THEY COULDN'T BELIEVE WHAT WAS HAPPENING. THEY SAID THAT 1980 WAS A FLUKE. JUST WAIT TIL 1984, THEY PREDICTED. THEN EVERYTHING WILL GO BACK TO THE WAY IT USED TO BE. AND SO THEY NOMINATED A CANDIDATE WHO REPRESENTED THE WAY THINGS USED TO BE. HE SAID HIS FIRST PRIORITY WAS TO RAISE TAXES. HIS SECOND WAS TO INVITE BACK TO THE FEEDING TROUGH ALL THOSE SACRED COWS WHOM THE REPUBLICANS HAD SHOOED AWAY. HE WASN'T QUITE SURE WHETHER THE LIBERATION OF GRENADA WAS A GOOD THING OR NOT - BUT HE MADE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR THAT WHEN IT CAME TO DEALING WITH THE MEN IN MOSCOW, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD STOP BUILDING SO MANY WEAPONS AND START RESORTING TO SOOTHING WORDS INSTEAD.

AND THE PUNDITS ALL FORECAST A CLIFFHANGER. AFTER ALL, WHAT PRESIDENT COULD OFFEND THIS INTEREST GROUP AND THAT CAUCUS, LET



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ALONE HALF THE EDITORIAL WRITERS IN THE LAND, AND STILL HOPE TO  
CORRAL A MAJORITY OF VOTES ON ELECTION DAY? REMEMBER THE FAMOUS  
GENDER GAP? THERE WAS A GAP ALL RIGHT - BUT IT WAS WALTER  
MONDALE'S FAILURE TO ATTRACT SUPPORT AMONG MEN. THEN THERE WAS  
THE HISPANIC VOTE - BETTER THAN 40% REPUBLICAN. OR YOUNG PEOPLE  
- 60% FOR THE GOP. AND ON AND ON: CATHOLICS, BLUE COLLAR  
WORKERS, THE ELDERLY. YOU NAME THE GROUP, AND THE REAGAN-BUSH  
TICKET ASTONISHED THE EXPERTS.

A RESURRECTION OF PATRIOTISM

SOME OF THEM ARE STILL IN SHOCK. THEY HAVE YET TO LEARN WHAT  
YOU AND I KNOW AND HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN - THAT PEOPLE HAVE LONGER  
MEMORIES THAN ANCHORMEN CREDIT THEM WITH. THEY REMEMBER A TIME  
IN THE RECENT PAST WHEN ECONOMIC GROWTH HAD STOPPED IN THIS



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COUNTRY. THEY KNEW THEY WERE BETTER OFF IN 1984 THAN THEY'S BEEN FOUR YEARS EARLIER. THEY COULD SEE, AND IN MOST INSTANCES, THEY COULD BENEFIT FROM, THE STRONGEST GROWTH SINCE THE KOREAN WAR - WITHOUT INFLATION. WHAT'S MORE, THEY UNDERSTOOD WITH THE INSTINCTIVE WISDOM OF THE AMERICAN GRASSROOTS THAT THE ULTIMATE FORM OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS A JOB - AND THAT JOBS ARE BEST CREATED BY RISKTAKERS, NOT REGULATORS. THEY EXPERIENCED FOR THEMSELVES MORE THAN SEVEN MILLION NEW JOBS IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS.

BEST OF ALL, THEY FELT GOOD AGAIN, ABOUT THEIR COUNTRY AND THEMSELVES. YOU COULD SEE IT IN THE CROWDS THAT MET THE PRESIDENT WHEREVER HE WENT. YOU COULD HEAR IT IN THE CHANTS OF USA, USA THAT FILLED THE 23RD OLYMPIAD, AND HAVE YET TO FADE FROM OUR EARS. AND YOU COULD MEASURE IT IN ALL THOSE REAMS OF

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ECONOMIC STATISTICS THAT POUR OUT OF WASHINGTON EVERY MONTH.

BEHIND THE COLD NUMBERS ARE WARM HUMAN BEINGS, MEN AND WOMEN WHO WANT NOTHING MORE THAN A CHANCE TO WORK, TO EARN, TO PAY THEIR OWN WAY AND PRODUCE THEIR OWN MIRACLES. IT ISN'T SO MUCH THAT THEY FEAR GOVERNMENT WILL LET THEM DOWN. THEY JUST HOPE IT MIGHT LET THEM UP FOR A CHANGE.

CHANGE IS THE OLDEST TRADITION IN AMERICA, THE ONLY SURE BET IN THIS POKER GAME WE CALL LIFE. THE TRICK IS TO MANAGE CHANGE, WITHIN UNCHANGING VALUES. IT USED TO BE SAID THAT WE WERE THE PARTY FEARFUL OF CHANGE. REPUBLICANS, IT WAS CLAIMED, WERE TOO RESPECTFUL OF THE OLD MOON TO EVER LOOK AT A NEW ONE.

WELL, THEY AREN'T SAYING THAT ABOUT US ANYMORE. TODAY, WHEREVER YOU LOOK, CHANGE IS BEING PUT TO WORK BY A REPUBLICAN



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ADMINISTRATION WHOSE SWORN ENEMY IS WASHINGTON'S STATUS QUO.  
STOP AND THINK FOR A MINUTE: WHICH IS THE PARTY THAT TALKS OF  
BOLD TOMORROWS - AND THEN PROPOSES FRESH WAYS OF ACHIEVING THEM?  
WHICH IS THE PARTY OF ENTERPRISE ZONES AND YOUTH OPPORTUNITY  
WAGES, OF TUITION TAX CREDITS AND PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES?  
WHEN THE PARTY OF TIP O'NEIL OR TED KENNEDY CONFRONT A PROBLEM,  
THE ANSWER IS ALWAYS PREDICTABLE. SLAP A TAX ON IT, THEY  
RESPOND, OR WRITE A REGULATION AROUND IT.

WITH ATTITUDES LIKE THAT, THE DEMOCRATS AREN'T JUST PROPOSING  
TO INVITE ALL THOSE CLOUDS BACK AGAIN. THEY'D LIKE TO GO UP AND  
SEED THEM WITH A FEW HUNDRED BILLION MORE IN DEBT, OR TAXES, OR  
BOTH. WHEN THEY PRAISE BALANCED BUDGETS, IT HAS ALL THE  
SINCERITY OF A TESTIMONIAL TO BLOOD BANKS BY COUNT DRACULA.

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THEIR TALK - UNLIKE THEIR PLATFORMS - IS CHEAP. BUT 1985 IS A YEAR IN WHICH TALK ALONE WILL NOT SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS. AND HERE IS WHERE THE LINCOLN MUSIC NEEDS TO BE TURNED UP THE LOUDEST. LISTEN TO WHAT HE SAID DURING A DARK AND PERILOUS TIME IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, WHEN MERE EXPEDIENTS WOULD NO LONGER WORK, AND THE STARS WERE IN DANGER OF TWINKLING OUT FOREVER.

"THE OCCASION IS PILED HIGH WITH DIFFICULTY," HE SAID, "AND WE MUST RISE WITH THE OCCASION. AS OUR CASE IS NEW, SO WE MUST THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW. WE MUST DISENTHRALL OURSELVES - AND THEN WE SHALL SAVE OUR COUNTRY."

IN 1980, WE DISENTHRALLED OURSELVES FROM THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM OF WASHINGTON'S ESTABLISHMENT. WE TOOK GOVERNMENT BACK INTO OUR OWN HANDS. ALONG WITH IT, WE RECLAIMED OUR OWN STAKE IN



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AMERICA'S DESTINY. SOME, IN THAT CITY AND ELSEWHERE, WOULD LIKE TO RETRACE OUR STEPS. THEY'D EXECUTE A U-TURN OR WORSE, THEY'D TAKE US ALL OVER THE SIDE OF THE ROAD. NOT BEING ABLE TO DISPUTE THE SIZE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MAJORITY LAST NOVEMBER, THEY'LL QUIBBLE INSTEAD OVER THE MEANING OF HIS MANDATE.

BUT THE MEANING IS CLEAR. SO IS THE RESOLVE TO DO WHAT MUST BE DONE, TO TURN THIS ECONOMIC RECOVERY INTO PERMANENT ECONOMIC EXPANSION, IN PENNSYLVANIA AND OTHER STATES WHERE NOT ALL THE GOOD NEWS OF RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN EVENLY DISTRIBUTED.

"FELLOW CITIZENS," SAID LINCOLN, "WE CANNOT ESCAPE HISTORY. THE FIERY TRIAL THROUGH WHICH WE PASS WILL LIGHT US DOWN IN HONOR OR DISHONOR, TO THE LATEST GENERATION...WE, EVEN WE HERE, HOLD THE POWER AND BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY."

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REMEMBER THOSE WORDS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, WHEN THE DEBATE  
OVER DEFICITS AND TAXES GROWS LOUD AND SOMETIMES SHRILL.  
REMEMBER THEM WHENEVER THE TALK TURNS TO INTEREST RATES OR AUTO  
SALES, STEEL PRODUCTION OR HOUSING STARTS. LET THEM SERVE AS A  
GUIDEPOST IN THE TRAIL THROUGH WHICH WE SURELY PASS. USE THEM TO  
GUAGE OUR FIDELITY TO COMMON SENSE,AND UNCOMMON COURAGE. WE'LL  
NEED PLENTY OF BOTH.

FOR HALF A CENTURY, WE TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT SOME  
THINGS WERE IMMUTABLE. WE SAID THAT YOU COULDN'T GO ON SPENDING  
MORE THAN YOU TOOK IN, NOT IF YOU WERE A FAMILY AND NOT IF YOU  
WERE A GOVERNMENT SUPERVISED WITH THE NATIONAL FAMILY. YOU  
COULDN'T JUST PRINT MONEY AND CALL IT GOOD AS GOLD. YOU  
COULDN'T TAX PEOPLE TO DEATH, AND EXPECT THE PRIVATE ECONOMY TO



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ENJOY ROBUST LIFE. SHRINK THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT, WE SAID - AND YOU'LL EXPAND THE RANGE OF INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY. THAT'S THE OLD AND TRIED MOVEMENT IN THE LINCOLN SYMPHONY.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE ASKED PEOPLE TO THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW - TO RISE WITH THE OCCASION, AND CUT ADRIFT FROM THE ANCHOR WEIGHT OF BIG GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS AS USUAL. LAST WEEK, THE PRESIDENT WENT UP TO CAPITOL HILL WITH SOME MUSIC OF HIS OWN. IT WAS INSPIRING TO LISTEN TO. NOW IT FALLS TO THE REST OF US, IN CONGRESS AND ELSEWHERE, TO SUPPLY THE LYRICS. THIS PARTICULAR EXERCISE IN SONGWRITING WILL BE A NATIONAL ENDEAVOR. IT WILL DEMAND THE INVOLVEMENT OF MILLIONS, LIKE YOURSELVES TO INSURE THAT THE TUNE DOESN'T IN THE END TURN SOUR.

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THE TIME IS NOW

BUT THE ALTERNATIVE TO DOING SOMETHING IS TO DO NOTHING - TO LET THE BUDGET GROW LIKE A TUMOR ON THE BODY POLITIC. UNTIL IT SWAMPS OUR CHILDREN AND OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN WITH A TIDAL WAVE OF RED INK. IF WE FAIL TO ACT NOW, WE WON'T BE ABLE ANY TIME SOON TO REDUCE AND REFORM TAXES. OR TO MAKE GOOD ON SO MANY PROMISING BEGINNINGS, IN CITIES LIKE PHILADELPHIA AND WHEREVER COMMERCE REQUIRES LOWER INTEREST RATES TO GENERATE HIGHER LEVELS OF INVESTMENT. NOR WILL WE, AS REPUBLICANS, REALIZE THE PROMISE OF MAJORITY STATUS FIFTY YEARS IN THE MAKING, WHICH LEADERS LIKE BILL SCRANTON DESERVE AS THEIR RIGHTFUL INHERITANCE.

ON THIS ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, LET US REMAIN FAITHFUL TO THE OLD CONVICTIONS WHICH GIVE US PURPOSE - AND THE NEW ONES WHICH PROPEL US FORWARD. IN OUR SCHOOLS AND IN



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OUR FACTORIES, IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS AND THE UNION OF AMERICA,  
LET US RISE TO THE OCCASION. LET US THINK ANEW AND ACT ANEW. LET  
US DISENTHRALL OURSELVES FROM GREED, CYNICISM, AND  
SELF-INTEREST. FOR THEN - AND ONLY THEN - SHALL WE SAVE OUR  
COUNTRY. PERCHED ON LINCOLN'S SHOULDERS, RAISED UP BY OUR OWN  
CONVICTIONS, WE WILL NOT JUST SEE THE STARS OVERHEAD. WE WILL  
DISCOVER THEM WITHIN OUR GRASP.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.