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August 28, 1978

TO: Governor Reagan

FROM: Pete Hannaford ~~JS~~

SUBJECT: September/October campaign speech

Here is the draft from Bill Gavin. I think he's done a terrific job of capturing the themes to which this fall's audiences will respond, at the same time looking beyond to the coalition-building that is necessary if the Republican party is to finally take advantage of its new-found opportunity to be the party of "More"; the party of hope. Bill has studied most of your recent speeches and, I think, has caught the feeling of your speaking cadence.

If possible, it would be helpful to have your annotated copy back by Friday morning so we can begin processing it for next week's events before the Labor Day weekend. The second copy is for your use in carding; however, we would be happy to Jumbo-type a carded version for you if you wish.

August 23, 1978

Mr. Peter Hannaford
DEAVER AND HANNAFORD
10960 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Peter:

Here is the work you asked for. I have written it so that it concentrates on broad, general approaches. We can place specific examples from speech to speech, but the basic, simple themes of Family, Work, Neighborhood, Peace and Freedom and the term "community of values" are easy to grasp and should, I believe, remain the heart of the speech. We may as well give this speech now and see what happens. The use of the Jefferson quote fits in nicely with the general theme of "seeing things in a new way" because Jefferson, after all, is usually thought of as the property of the Dems.

Here are some one-liners you may want to throw in:

- What can you say about an administration that gives away the Panama Canal -- and keeps Andy Young?
- What about Carter's White House problems? There have been so many arguments and resignations I'm sometimes not sure if Carter is President of the United States or the New York Yankees.
- It is strange: Carter's staff has been accused of pot-smoking and Jimmy won't serve hard liquor at the White House. No wonder they refer to it in Washington as the first High and Dry Administration!

Sincerely,



William F. Gavin

SPEECH DRAFT

ON AN OCCASION LIKE THIS, THE SPEAKER IS EXPECTED TO RAISE HIS PARTY'S STANDARD, POINT WITH ALARM AT THE OTHER PARTY'S POLICIES, EMBRACE OUR PARTY'S PRINCIPLES AND GRASP THE CENTRAL MEANING OF THE ELECTION -- ALL AT THE SAME TIME.

IT SOUNDS LIKE A JOB FOR AN OCTOPUS RATHER THAN A SPEAKER. BUT I'LL TRY MY BEST TO MEET THOSE EXPECTATIONS.

I'M NOT GOING TO PRESENT YOU WITH A LONG LIST OF WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION OR THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS. WE'D BE HERE ALL NIGHT. LET'S JUST SAY THAT JIMMY CARTER AND TIP O'NEILL ARE HAVING TROUBLES THESE DAYS -- AND ^{NOT} JUST WITH EACH OTHER.

YOU CAN'T SAY THAT CARTER HASN'T MADE A LOT OF LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS. HE'S MADE MORE PROPOSALS THAN ANY MAN I KNOW OF, EXCEPT MAYBE MICKEY ROONEY OR GEORGE JESSEL. IT'S JUST THAT EVERY TIME HE COMES UP WITH A PIECE OF LEGISLATION, WE REPUBLICANS TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT IT. FROM THE FIFTY DOLLAR REBATE -- REMEMBER THAT GOLDEN OLDIE?-- TO THE PUBLIC FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS -- KNOWN TO ITS FRIENDS AS

"THE INCUMBENTS PROTECTION ACT" -- THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S IDEAS OF WHAT THE COUNTRY NEEDS SUGGEST THAT THERE MIGHT BE MORE TRUTH THAN FICTION TO THOSE STORIES OF WHITE HOUSE AIDES FLYING HIGH -- WITHOUT AN AIRPLANE.

AND WHAT ABOUT THE CARTER FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION? DURING THE LAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS, INFLATION HAS BEEN RISING AT A RATE OF TWELVE PERCENT A YEAR. BUT JIMMY CARTER TELLS US EVERYTHING IS FINE. WE ALL FEEL LIKE THAT PRIZEFIGHTER WHO WAS GETTING A TERRIFIC BEATING. AFTER EACH ROUND, HIS MANAGER WOULD SAY, "DON'T WORRY, KID, HE HASN'T LAID A GLOVE ON YOU." AFTER A FEW ROUNDS OF THIS, THE FIGHTER FINALLY SAID TO THE MANAGER: "WELL, MAYBE YOU BETTER CHECK THE REFEREE BECAUSE SOMEBODY IN THERE IS BEATING THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT OF ME."

BUT WE CAN'T MAKE THE MISTAKE OF GLOATING OVER THE MISTAKES THE OTHER GUYS HAVE MADE. ADMITTEDLY, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND TIP O'NEILL'S DEMOCRATS HAVE ACTED LIKE A KIND OF PETE ROSE IN REVERSE: THEY HAVE SET A RECORD OF CONSECUTIVE POLITICAL STRIKEOUTS. BUT IF YOU KEEP ON SWINGING, YOU'RE BOUND TO HIT THE BALL, EVEN IF IT'S BY LUCK.

SO, WHILE WE SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND THE PEOPLE OF OUR OPPONENTS' RECORD OF FAILURE, LET'S NOT WAIT FOR THEM TO LOSE THESE

FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. WE HAVE TO GO OUT AND WIN THEM.

I DON'T HAVE TO REFER TO STATISTICS OR POLLS OR GRAPHS OR LEARNED STUDIES TO CONVINCING YOU THAT 1978 IS THE YEAR FOR REPUBLICANS. YOU CAN SENSE IT. IT'S IN THE AIR.

NO MATTER WHAT THE CALENDAR OR THE THERMOMETER MIGHT SAY ON ELECTION DAY ON NOVEMBER 7TH, IT WILL BE THE BEGINNING OF A REPUBLICAN SPRING-TIME IF WE DO OUR JOB.

WE ARE THE ACKNOWLEDGED PARTY OF COMPETENCE, SOMETHING AS RARE IN JIMMY CARTER'S WASHINGTON AS KEPT PROMISES.

WE REMAIN WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN, THE PARTY THAT CAN ADD AND SUBTRACT CORRECTLY. WE STILL KNOW THAT THE BEGINNING OF POLITICAL WISDOM IS THAT THE MONEY YOU EARN BELONGS TO YOU, NOT THE GOVERNMENT, SOMETHING A GENERATION OF DEMOCRAT LEADERS NEVER LEARNED.

BUT WE ALSO HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN OUR FAVOR AS WE APPROACH NOVEMBER.

WE ARE THE PARTY OF HOPE.

OUR PRINCIPLES AND OUR PROGRAMS ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE DEEP AND PASSIONATE DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO GET OUR NATION BACK WHERE IT BELONGS, PROUD AND STRONG AND CONFIDENT.

ONLY RARELY IS A POLITICAL PARTY FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO SAY:

" THIS HISTORIC MOMENT IS OURS TO GRASP. WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED, THE PEOPLE NOW DEMAND. "

A FEW YEARS AGO, WE WERE TOLD THAT REPUBLICANS SHOULD APPEAL TO WHAT WERE THEN CALLED "THE SOCIAL ISSUES" -- BUSING, DRUGS, VIOLENCE IN THE SCHOOLS -- THOSE ISSUES THAT WE SHARED WITH MANY AMERICANS WHO HAVE NOT TRADITIONALLY BEEN REPUBLICANS.

BUT SOME THEORISTS SAID -- AND SEEMED TO BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE -- THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE TALKED ABOUT SOCIAL ISSUES IT WAS ECONOMIC ISSUES ON WHICH PEOPLE ULTIMATELY MADE DECISIONS.

AND SO IT WAS CONCLUDED THAT THERE WAS NO REAL WAY TO JOIN WITH THOSE WHO MIGHT SHARE OUR VIEWS BUT WHOSE TRADITIONAL LOYALTIES KEPT THEM OUT OF OUR PARTY. WE WERE TOLD THEY WOULD VOTE ON THE POCKET-BOOK ISSUES AND THAT WE COULD NOT MATCH THE DEMOCRATS ON THOSE.

WELL, IF THAT WAS EVER TRUE -- AND I DOUBT IT -- IT IS NO LONGER TRUE.

THERE IS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN POCKET-BOOK ISSUES AND SOCIAL ISSUES TODAY. INDEED, POCKET-BOOK ISSUES ARE THE BIGGEST SOCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME.

HIGH TAXES ARE NOT A SUBJECT DISCUSSED BY COUPON-CLIPPING RICH MEN DROWSING IN THEIR CLUBS.

HIGH TAXES ARE THE NUMBER ONE TOPIC OF CONVERSATION AND CONCERN AT THE OFFICE WATER COOLER AND IN THE TRUCK DEPOT, IN THE WHEAT FIELDS AND ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE, AT THE LOCAL DINER AND IN THE HARDWARE STORE ACROSS THE STREET.

IN THE WORDS OF A MOVIE OF A FEW YEARS BACK: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE Madder than hell and they aren't going to take it anymore.

AND IF THAT ISN'T A SOCIAL ISSUE, I DON'T KNOW WHAT IS.

INFLATION IS NO LONGER AN ECONOMIC CATCH-WORD. TO ALL AMERICANS IT IS AS VIOLENT AS A MUGGER, AS FRIGHTENING AS AN ARMED ROBBER AND AS DEADLY AS A HIT-MAN.

AND IF THAT ISN'T A SOCIAL ISSUE, THERE AREN'T ANY.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE FORGET ABOUT THOSE OLDER SOCIAL ISSUES LIKE THE WELFARE MESS, BUSING, QUOTAS AND OTHERS. INDEED, EVERYWHERE WE GO WE SHOULD DO TWO THINGS: DEMAND THAT 's *opponent* ~~THE~~ DEMOCRAT ~~CANDIDATE~~ EXPLAIN HIS POSITION ON HIS PARTY'S DEVASTATING ATTACKS AGAINST THE PEOPLE, AND MAKE CERTAIN THE PEOPLE KNOW WE ARE ON THEIR SIDE ON THESE ISSUES.

COMBINING THESE OLDER ISSUES WITH DRAMATIC ISSUES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE

BEING WAGED AGAINST AMERICAN FAMILIES BY DEMOCRATS, WE CAN MAKE 1978 A YEAR OF VICTORIES FOR REPUBLICANS.

BUT NOTHING IN POLITICS IS INEVITABLE. WE HAVE TO MAKE OUR SUCCESSES BY OUR EFFORTS. WE CANNOT COUNT ON THE INEPTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OR THE RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. WE CANNOT EXPECT THE VOTERS TO BE NECESSARILY AWARE OF THE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. WE *Have to be certain that we make the difference - by our hard work from now till election*

THIS ISN'T A CASE OF THE TWO PARTIES SEEKING SIMILAR GOALS WITH DIFFERENT APPROACHES. THE OTHER PARTY HAS BEEN PROUD TO CLAIM THAT IT SEEKS BIGGER GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS IN MORE AND MORE AREAS OF AMERICAN LIFE. THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS HAVE GLORIED IN THIS PHILOSOPHY. THE DEMOCRATIC INTELLECTUALS HAVE WRITTEN ENTIRE LIBRARIES OF BOOKS TELLING HOW GOOD BIG, CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT IS FOR YOU. FOR THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS TO TURN THEIR BACKS ON WHAT THEY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MOST PROUD OF IS PROOF THAT WE REPUBLICANS HAVE BROKEN THEIR RANKS AND THAT WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DRIVING THEM OFF THE FIELD OF POLITICAL BATTLE.

BUT WE HAVE TO BE AWARE THAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE RE-GROUPING. AFTER

in California - which sent them a message loud and clear

THE SHOCK OF PROPOSITION THIRTEEN, MANY OF THEM HAVE BEGUN TO DO THAT WELL-KNOWN POLITICAL DANCE, THE WAFFLER'S WALTZ, OVER TO OUR RHETORIC IF NOT OUR PRINCIPLES. THEY ARE ENGAGED IN THE MOST DECEITFUL AND MASSIVE RE-WRITING OF HISTORY EVER ATTEMPTED IN AMERICAN POLITICS BY NOW TELLING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HIGH TAXES, INFLATION, BUDGET-BUSTING AND OTHER FORMS OF ECONOMIC LUNACY JUST HAPPENED AND WEREN'T CAUSED BY DEMOCRATIC POLICIES. AND MORE AND MORE THE RHETORIC OF DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES SOUNDS AS IF IT WAS TAKEN FROM THE 1976 REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

THIS SUDDEN DEMOCRAT TURNABOUT REMINDS ME OF THE STORY OF NAPOLEON'S ESCAPE FROM EXILE ON THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

WHEN IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT HE HAD LANDED ON THE COAST OF FRANCE, HIS ENEMIES' BIGGEST NEWSPAPER IN PARIS CARRIED THE HEADLINE: THE MONSTER INVADES FRANCE:

TWO DAYS LATER HE WAS A HUNDRED MILES AWAY, GATHERING TROOPS ALL THE TIME. THE HEADLINE READ: THE MAJOR ENEMY OF FRANCE ADVANCES:

TWO DAYS LATER HE WAS TWENTY MILES FROM PARIS WITH THOUSANDS RALLYING TO HIS CAUSE, AND THE HEADLINE WAS: NAPOLEON NEARS CAPITAL:

ON THE DAY HE ENTERED PARIS WITH A GRAND ARMY, THE HEADLINE READ:

OUR BELOVED EMPEROR HAS RETURNED:

THE DEMOCRATS IN WASHINGTON MUST HAVE A DESCENDANT OF THAT IMAGINATIVE
HEADLINE WRITER WORKING FOR THEM TODAY.

WHEN THE REPUBLICAN TAX-CUTS PROPOSALS WERE MADE, THE DEMOCRAT
LEADERSHIP SHOUTED: IRRESPONSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMAGOGUERY:

WHEN AMERICANS SHOWED INTEREST IN THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS, THE CRY
FROM THE DEMOCRATS WAS: THE REPUBLICAN TAX SCHEME MUST BE STOPPED.

ONE DAY AFTER THE PASSAGE OF PROPOSITION THIRTEEN, ^{in California} THE DEMOCRATS WERE
SAYING, TAX CUTS ARE NEEDED.

NOW THEIR CRY IS "DEMOCRATS FAVOR TAX CUTS." AND TO MAKE MATTERS
WORSE THEY ALSO SAY WE OPPOSE RESPONSIBLE TAX CUTS.

I'VE HEARD OF SOMEBODY STEALING YOUR CLOTHES WHILE YOU GO SWIMMING IN
THE POND. BUT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS NOT ONLY TRY TO STEAL YOUR CLOTHES --
THEY ALSO DEMAND YOU GET ARRESTED FOR INDECENT EXPOSURE:

AND SO, WE CAN'T BE CONTENT KNOWING THAT WE ARE ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF
THE ISSUES. WE HAVE TO WATCH OUT THAT THE JIMMY-COME-LATELIES IN THE OTHER

PARTY DON'T PALM OFF FOOL'S GOLD AS THEY USUALLY DO. WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE OUR MESSAGE GETS ACROSS TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS WE CAN REACH.

AND AT THE HEART OF THAT MESSAGE SHOULD BE FIVE SIMPLE, FAMILIAR, EVERY-DAY WORDS. NO BIG ECONOMIC THEORIES. NO SERMONS OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. JUST FIVE SHORT WORDS:

FAMILY.

WORK.

NEIGHBORHOOD.

FREEDOM.

PEACE.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR EVERY OFFICE SHOULD MAKE THESE WORDS THE HEART OF THEIR MESSAGE. ANYTHING WE HAVE TO TELL THE VOTERS SHOULD EVENTUALLY COME BACK TO THESE FIVE WORDS.

AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED OVER INFLATION NOT BECAUSE THEY HAVE MASTERS DEGREES IN ECONOMICS BUT BECAUSE INFLATION IS HURTING THEIR FAMILIES.

AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED OVER THE FUTURE OF THE JOB MARKET NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE INTERESTED IN INVESTMENT THEORY BUT BECAUSE EACH OF US HAS TO WORK

IN ORDER TO EAT AND CLOTHE OURSELVES AND OUR FAMILY AND TO EDUCATE OUR KIDS.

LET THE PROFESSORS AND THE WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS TALK IN THEIR JARGON

ABOUT COSTLY URBAN "MARSHALL PLANS." WE SHOULD TALK ABOUT HOW OUR PROGRAMS

AND POLICIES AFFECT NEIGHBORHOODS AND THEIR PROBLEMS, BECAUSE THAT'S WHERE THE

PEOPLE WE HAVE TO REACH LIVE AND RAISE THEIR FAMILIES.

The people know that the billion programs just don't work. They're tired of hearing about them and trying to figure them out.

AMERICANS WANT PEACE AND FREEDOM IN THE WORLD NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE IN-

(Academic Theories)

TERESTED IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. TO THEM

PEACE AND FREEDOM MEAN THEIR KIDS ARE GOING TO GET THE CHANCE TO ENJOY THE

BLESSINGS THEY HAVE AND THEIR FATHERS HAD BEFORE THEM.

FAMILY. WORK. NEIGHBORHOOD. FREEDOM. PEACE.

WE SHOULD REPEAT THOSE WORDS UNTIL THEY BECOME SECOND NATURE. WE

SHOULD MEDITATE ON THEIR MEANING AND HOW OUR POLICIES CAN BE APPLIED TO THEM.

THEY SHOULD BE ON OUR LIPS. AND THEY MUST ALSO BE IN OUR HEARTS, JUST AS THEY

ARE IN THE HEARTS OF AMERICANS ALL ACROSS THIS COUNTRY.

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT INFLATION, LET'S DROP THE TEXT-BOOK JARGON AND GET

DOWN TO FACTS AS AMERICANS EXPERIENCE THEM. LET'S SAY SOMETHING LIKE THIS TO

THE AMERICANS WE TALK TO:

"INFLATION IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR FAMILY'S HEALTH. AND INFLA-

TION-SPREADERS IN CONGRESS AND THEIR HIGH-TAX COLLEAGUES

SHOULD BE QUARANTINED, JUST AS WE QUARANTINE THE CARRIERS

AND SPREADERS OF ANY CONTAGION. THE WAY TO DEAL WITH THESE ECONOMIC TYPHOID MARYS IS TO TAKE THEM OUT OF CONGRESS WHERE THEY WON'T BE HARMING YOUR FAMILY."

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT SUCH IDEAS AS LOWER CAPITAL GAINS TAX, LET'S THROW OUT ALL THAT ECONOMIC MUMBO-JUMBO AND REPEAT OVER AND OVER:

JOB'S HELP PEOPLE.

INVESTMENTS MAKE JOBS.

AND THEN ASK: WHERE ARE THE JOBS COMING FROM IF THERE IS NO MONEY TO INVEST? LET THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE ANSWER THAT ONE.

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EMPLOYMENT, LET'S STOP USING CHARTS AND GRAPHS AND SAY, INSTEAD:

"WORK IS AT THE CENTER OF OUR LIVES. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES THAT HARM THE ECONOMY DESTROY JOBS. WE WANT TO KEEP THE AMERICAN ECONOMY SOUND AND STRONG FOR PEOPLE, FOR FAMILIES, FOR YOUR KIDS."

I'M NOT SAYING WE SHOULD DO WHAT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS ARE DOING. THEY ARE DESPERATELY TRYING TO LEARN WHAT IS TO THEM A NEW AND UNFAMILIAR LANGUAGE, THE LANGUAGE OF ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY. THEY THINK IF THEY LEARN A FEW CATCH-PHRASES THEY CAN DECEIVE THE PEOPLE AND MAKE THEM FORGET WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC MESS THAT HAS SO DAMAGED AMERICAN FAMILIES.

NO, I'M NOT ASKING FOR A QUICK CHANGE IN RHETORIC TO DISGUISE OUR TRUE FEELINGS AND BELIEFS. FAR FROM IT. I'M SAYING WE HAVE TO FIND THE EXACT WORDS TO CONVEY WHAT WE STAND FOR. WE HAVE TO LEARN TO LOOK AT OLD PROBLEMS FROM NEW VANTAGE POINTS.

I REMEMBER ONCE READING ABOUT THE GREAT WESTERN JOURNEY MADE BY THE PIONEERS. IT SEEMS THAT A MYTH DEVELOPED AMONG THE SETTLERS THAT INDIANS HAD SOME INHERENT SENSE OF DIRECTION, THAT THEY COULDN'T GET LOST IN THE WILDERNESS BECAUSE OF SOME MYSTICAL POWER.

LIKE ALL SUCH THEORIES, THIS ONE WAS WRONG. WHAT HAD HAPPENED WAS QUITE SIMPLE. THE WAGON TRAINS APPROACHED EACH LANDMARK FROM THE SAME DIRECTION TIME AFTER TIME. SO A SETTLER LOSING THE REGULAR TRAIL MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO USE AN OTHERWISE FAMILIAR LANDMARK BECAUSE HE DIDN'T RECOGNIZE IT FROM A DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINT. THE INDIANS, OF COURSE, LIVED IN THE AREA AND GOT USED TO SEEING FAMILIAR OBJECTS FROM DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINTS.

FOR TOO LONG WE REPUBLICANS, LIKE MOST AMERICANS, HAVE APPROACHED THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE FROM ONE DIRECTION AND HAVE SEEN THINGS IN THE SAME WAY.

WE GOT USED TO AND FELT COMFORTABLE WITH THE OLD DIVISIONS: LABOR AND INDUSTRY. LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE. RICH AND POOR. URBAN AND RURAL. THESE ARE THE LANDMARKS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AS WE LEARNED THEM. UNCONSCIOUSLY WE HAVE SHAPED OUR POLICIES AND OUR PROGRAMS, OUR VISION AND OUR HOPES BY THIS WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS.

BUT THE REALITIES OF 1978 DEMAND THAT WE GET OUT OF THE BEATEN PATH AND START LEARNING NEW WAYS OF LOOKING AT THINGS. LET'S DECIDE FOR OURSELVES JUST HOW THE POLITICAL MAP SHOULD BE LOOKED AT.

THE UNION MEMBER LIVING IN A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD, THE EXECUTIVE WITH A HOME IN THE SUBURBS, THE FARMER FIFTY MILES AWAY, THE PRE-MED COLLEGE STUDENT AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY, THE BUS DRIVER WITH KIDS TO RAISE, HIS MOM AND DAD WHO STILL LIVE IN THE OLD NEIGHBORHOOD ON A SMALL PENSION, THE TEEN-AGE GIRL LOOKING FOR HER FIRST JOB -- IF YOU LOOK AT SUCH A GROUP AS WE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO DO, THERE IS NO COMMUNITY OF INTEREST.

BUT SUPPOSE WE DON'T LOOK AT WHAT THE POLITICAL EXPERTS SAY ARE THE ONLY THINGS THAT MATTER, GROUP INTERESTS.

SUPPOSE, INSTEAD, WE LOOK FOR A SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT LINK THESE MEN

AND WOMEN INTO A COMMUNITY OF VALUES. FAMILY, WORK, NEIGHBORHOOD, PEACE AND FREEDOM ARE VALUES SHARED BY EACH OF THEM.

INSTEAD OF SEEING THEM AS WE HAVE ALWAYS SEEN THEM, AS STEREOTYPED MEMBERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST PRESSURE GROUPS, LET'S LOOK AT THEM AS THEY SEE THEMSELVES. THEY ARE UNIQUE INDIVIDUALS WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES, WITH A LOVE OF COUNTRY AND A SET OF TRADITIONAL VALUES THEY SHARE WITH MILLIONS OF OTHERS. LET'S TREAT THEM THAT WAY.

IF WE LOOK AT THINGS IN THIS WAY, A WHOLE NEW EXCITING RANGE OF OPPORTUNITY IS OPEN TO US.

AND I'M NOT GOING TO SHIRK THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TELLING YOU HOW THIS CAN WORK FOR US. IN FACT, LET ME TAKE WHAT MOST EXPERTS SAY IS THE MOST DIFFICULT PROBLEM FACING US.

WE ARE TOLD THAT WE CANNOT APPEAL TO BLACKS AND TO WHITE ETHNICS BECAUSE THERE ARE SEPARATE AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS INVOLVED.

BUT I SAY THAT WE CAN GO TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE WHITE ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS WITH EXACTLY THE SAME MESSAGE AND GAIN SUPPORTERS FROM EACH COMMUNITY.

SUPPOSE WE GO TO THEM AND SAY SOMETHING LIKE THIS:

"LOOK, YOU WANT YOUR NEIGHBORHOODS TO SURVIVE. YOU WANT YOUR KIDS TO GET A GOOD EDUCATION AND TO BE ABLE TO LOOK FORWARD TO A GOOD JOB MARKET. YOU WANT THE MONEY YOU EARN TO STAY WITH YOU AND NOT GO TO POLITICIANS. IF YOU ARE OUT OF WORK, YOU WANT A JOB. IF YOU HAVE A JOB, YOU WANT A STRONG ECONOMY. YOU WANT TO KNOW THAT THERE IS GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THE ECONOMY IS GOING TO BE STRONG SO YOU CAN MAKE PLANS. IF YOU DO FALL ON HARD TIMES, YOU WANT TO BE TREATED BY GOVERNMENT AS A TEMPORARY RECIPIENT OF AID, NOT AN ETERNAL VICTIM OF BUREAUCRATIC CHARITY. ALL RIGHT -- OUR POLICIES SPEAK TO THE SAME POINTS. WE CAN HELP YOU. WE KNOW THAT OUR PROGRAMS ARE NOT GOING TO APPEAL TO EVERY MEMBER OF YOUR COMMUNITY. THERE IS NO WAY IN THE WORLD THAT WE ARE GOING TO SUDDENLY START BACKING A BIGGER WELFARE STATE, AN INFLATIONARY ECONOMY, MORE FEDERAL REGULATIONS. THE OTHER PARTY HAS OPENLY AND EVEN PROUDLY BACKED SUCH POLICIES. IF THAT IS WHAT YOU WANT, WE CAN'T HELP YOU. BUT IF YOU ARE FED UP, IF YOU WANT TO GET YOUR COUNTRY BACK AGAIN AND BUILD YOUR LIFE WITH CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE, WE CAN HELP YOU. BLACK OR WHITE OR RED OR YELLOW OR ANY SHADE IN BETWEEN -- YOU HAVE A FAMILY, YOU HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES, YOU HAVE HOPES. WE SAY THAT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL FRIENDS HAVE DECLARED WAR ON YOU AND YOUR VALUES. WE ARE ON YOUR SIDE. AND WE CAN PROVE IT TO YOU."

NOW, ISN'T THAT A MORE HONEST AND MORE EFFECTIVE WAY OF GAINING SUPPORT IN THOSE COMMUNITIES THAN THESE TRANSPARENTLY DISHONEST AND SLICK SCHEMES YOU SOMETIMES HEAR WE SHOULD USE? PEOPLE AREN'T STUPID, ALTHOUGH ^{so-called} SOME EXPERTS THINK THEY ARE. BLACKS AND WHITE ETHNICS KNOW WHEN A CON-GAME IS BEING PLAYED. LET'S TELL THE TRUTH. BELIEVE ME -- IT WORKS!

WE ARE TOLD THERE CAN BE NO SIMILARITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE ~~SUBURBAN~~ COMMUTER WHO LIVES IN THE SUBURBS AND THE UNION MEMBER WHO LIVES ^{supposed to be} IN THE CITY. THEY ARE HISTORIC ECONOMIC ENEMIES. WHAT ONE WANTS HE MUST GET AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER. THEREFORE, YOU HAVE TO DIRECT YOUR MESSAGE TO EITHER ONE OR THE OTHER.

NONSENSE AGAIN.

THE SUBURBAN COMMUTER WANTS RELIEF FROM BRUTAL TAXATION. HE WANTS HIS MONEY TO MEAN SOMETHING. HE WANTS SCHOOLS TO TEACH AND HIS NEIGHBORHOOD TO BE SAFE. HE WANTS THE ORDINARY COMMON SENSE RULES OF EXPERIENCE TO BE OBSERVED BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHEN THEY ARE CONDUCTING PUBLIC BUSINESS.

TELL ME: HOW DOES THE UNION MEMBER IN THE CITY DIFFER FROM THE SUBURBAN-
ITE ON THESE POINTS? THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS THAT HE DOES NOT DIFFER BECAUSE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY MAKE DIFFERENT SALARIES, HAVE DIFFERENT

INTERESTS AND STYLES AND TASTES -- DESPITE THE FACT THEY LIVE APART FROM EACH OTHER AND MAY NOT KNOW EACH OTHER -- THEY SHARE THE SAME BASIC VALUES. INDEED, WE TEND TO FORGET THAT THE SUBURBANITE PROBABLY GREW UP IN A UNION-MEMBER FAMILY IN THE CITY. HE HASN'T LOST THE BELIEFS HE GREW UP WITH.

THE SUBURBANITE'S NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR MAY BE LIKE HIM IN EVERY WAY EXCEPT THE MOST IMPORTANT WAY: HE MAY NOT SHARE THE SAME LOVE OF FAMILY, OF RESPONSIBILITY TO TRADITIONAL VALUES. BUT THE UNION MEMBER DOES. SO IT ISN'T GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY OR EVEN ECONOMIC CLASS THAT WE LOOK FOR. IT'S THE WAY PEOPLE LOOK AT THEMSELVES AND THE WORLD. THAT IS OUR KEY TO POLITICAL VICTORY.

ONCE YOU BEGIN TO LOOK AT THINGS THIS WAY, THE OUTLINES OF THIS COMMUNITY OF VALUES BECOME CLEAR.

THEY LIVE ON FARMS, IN CITY NEIGHBORHOODS, IN SUBURBS. THEY ATTEND DIFFERENT HOUSES OF WORSHIP. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT ANCESTORS WITH DIFFERENT CULTURAL ATTITUDES AND A DIFFERENT HERITAGE.

BUT ON CERTAIN BASIC FUNDAMENTAL THINGS THEY AGREE. THEY ARE PEACEFUL PEOPLE, BUT WHEN THEY SEE SOMEBODY OUT TO HURT THEIR FAMILY OR THEIR

NEIGHBORHOOD OR THEIR TRADITIONAL VALUES, THEY GET ANGRY. AND THEY ARE ANGRY NOW AND FOR GOOD REASON. THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF AN UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THE THINGS THEY HOLD MOST SACRED. AND WE ARE THEIR ALLIES IN THAT WAR.

LET ME GIVE YOU ONE SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF WHAT I MEAN WHEN I SAY THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL GURUS HAVE DECLARED WAR ON THE HARD-WORKING, GOD-FEARING AMERICANS I AM TALKING ABOUT.

HAVE YOU EVER SEEN A PICTURE OF CITIES BOMBED DURING THE WAR? WELL, IF YOU HELD UP SUCH A PHOTO NEXT TO ONE TAKEN OF AN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD AFTER THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS HAVE DONE THEIR JOB, YOU WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO TELL THE DIFFERENCE. THE DEMOCRATS CALL IT MASSIVE FEDERAL AID AND URBAN RENEWAL. THE FAMILIES WHO SEE NEIGHBORHOODS DESTROYED CALL IT OTHER NAMES, NONE PRINTABLE.

THIS WAR IS A FIERCE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONTENDING VIEWS OF WHAT AMERICANS SHOULD BE LIKE. IT IS A WAR, IF YOU LIKE, BETWEEN TWO CULTURES, TWO FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT IDEAS OF THE IMPORTANT VALUES OF LIFE.

WHY DON'T WE TELL THAT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

LET'S TELL THEM THAT IN THIS UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THEM AND THE

INSTITUTIONS THEY LOVE, WE ARE ON THEIR SIDE. WE WANT A SOUND ECONOMY NOT JUST TO BALANCE THE BUDGET, BUT TO BALANCE THE SCALES OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES.

LET'S TELL THEM THAT THE MONEY THEY WORK FOR MEANS LESS AND LESS BECAUSE THE CONGRESS DOMINATED BY ONE PARTY FOR SO LONG HAS FUNDED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS THAT ARE THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF BREAKING AND ENTERING.

AND LET'S TELL THEM THAT IF THEIR DEMOCRAT REPRESENTATIVE OR SENATOR HAS VOTED FOR SUCH PROGRAMS, NO AMOUNT OF SPEEDY CONSTITUENT SERVICES CAN MAKE UP FOR IT. SO OFTEN WE HEAR THAT DEMOCRAT SENATOR X OR DEMOCRAT REPRESENTATIVE Y VOTES FOR INFLATIONARY POLICIES AND SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION BUT IS RETURNED EVERY ELECTION BECAUSE HE ANSWERS CONSTITUENT MAIL QUICKLY. THAT'S LIKE SAYING WE LIKE THE FELLOW WHO POISONS OUR WELL BECAUSE HE SENDS US QUICK LITTLE NOTES TO TELL US HE'S DOING IT!

I HAVE DELIBERATELY CONCENTRATED ON FAMILY, WORK AND NEIGHBORHOOD BECAUSE OF THEIR OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE IN THIS ELECTION.

BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN I HAVE FORGOTTEN PEACE AND FREEDOM, THE OTHER GREAT VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE ACCEPTED WISDOM TELLS US THAT NO MID-TERM ELECTION IS EVER
WON ON THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN POLICY. PERHAPS THAT IS SO. BUT REMEMBER:
WE COULD WIN AN ELECTION AND LOSE A COUNTRY IF WE FAIL TO DISCUSS THE
ISSUES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

LET ME SAY THAT DESPITE OBVIOUS TEMPTATIONS I AM NOT GOING TO USE
THIS TIME TO CONDUCT A LONG CRITIQUE OF THE CARTER FOREIGN POLICY AND
DEFENSE POLICIES -- EVEN IF I KNEW WHAT THEY WERE.

The policy would stay the same long enough so we could see it.
~~by the way~~

NO, IN FACT, ALL I WANT TO SAY ABOUT THE ~~PRESIDENT~~ ^{Carter admin.} AND THESE ISSUES
IS THAT I HOPE THAT BEFORE WE ALL GO TO BED EACH NIGHT WE GET DOWN ON
OUR KNEES AND PRAY FOR HIM, PRAY THAT ~~HE MAKES~~ THE RIGHT DECISIONS *he make.*

AS REPUBLICANS, WE SIMPLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY BRING BEFORE THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE THE ESSENCE OF OUR DEFENSE POLICY: AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD TO BE
NUMBER TWO. NO MATTER WHAT THE SPECIFIC DEFENSE ISSUE MAY BE, IT IS IN
THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND FREEDOM THAT WE ~~GO BEYOND PARITY WITH THE SOVIET~~

BE SECOND TO NONE.

~~UNION.~~ IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE KEEP THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES THAT HAVE
SAVED US AND OTHER NATIONS FROM THE FATE OF MILLIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA.
EVEN MORE ESSENTIAL IS THAT WE HAVE THE WILL TO USE THEM IF NECESSARY.

IN FEBRUARY OF 1977, LESS THAN A MONTH SINCE HIS INAUGURATION, PRESIDENT CARTER SENT A WARM LETTER OF SUPPORT TO SOVIET DISSIDENT ANDREI SAKHAROV. THAT LETTER WAS A GRAND GESTURE, AN EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE SYMBOL OF SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THOSE WHO ARE BRAVELY FIGHTING THE INHUMANITY OF THE SOVIET REGIME. I APPLAUDED IT THEN AND I APPLAUD IT NOW.

BUT IT WAS THE LAST SUCH LETTER THE PRESIDENT SENT SO FAR AS WE KNOW. MAYBE HE HAS WRITTEN OTHER LETTERS BUT HAS MADE THE MISTAKE OF GIVING THEM TO ANDY YOUNG TO DROP IN THE MAIL. MAYBE THE EVER-RISING COST OF POSTAGE HAS MADE THE PRESIDENT CUT BACK ON HIS CORRESPONDENCE, IN WHICH CASE I WILL BE WILLING TO DIP INTO MY SAVINGS TO BUY HIM A ROLL OF STAMPS.

IT IS THE LETTERS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS NOT SENT THAT HISTORY WILL WONDER ABOUT. IT IS THE ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN AND CONFUSED NATURE OF THE CARTER APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS THAT HISTORY WILL JUDGE, NOT THE NOBLE RHETORIC THAT ACCOMPANIED THIS APPROACH.

AND I SUPPOSE WHEN YOU COME DOWN TO IT, THAT IS MY DEEPEST CONCERN ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY. THERE IS THE LINGERING, NAGGING FEELING THAT A CENTRAL VISION, A CONTROLLING UNDER-

STANDING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOES NOT EXIST IN THIS ADMINISTRATION.

GESTURES ARE MADE, ARE WELL-PUBLICIZED AND THEN FORGOTTEN.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THAT PEACE AND FREEDOM CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED
VIGILANCE AND
THROUGH STRENGTH. THIS AMOUNTS TO NO MORE THAN COMMON SENSE. BUT WHEN
YOU SAY THIS, YOU OFTEN HEAR THE CRIES OF THOSE WHO ARE EMBARRASSED OR EVEN
OUTRAGED BY THE IDEA THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SEEK TO BE THE STRONGEST
NATION ON EARTH. THIS KIND OF THING JUST ISN'T DONE, THEY SAY. WE MUST
APOLOGIZE FOR WHAT STRENGTH WE HAVE, CONFESS OUR SINS TO OTHER NATIONS,
AND ADMIT WE HAVE COMMITTED EVERY KIND OF INTERNATIONAL CRIME. WE SHOULD
SPEND ALL OUR TIME TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WAYS TO Demean OUR OWN NATION,
DISARM AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN AND MAKE THE RULERS OF THE THIRD WORLD HAPPY.

TRY TELLING THAT TO THE GUY NEXT DOOR. HE'LL LAUGH AT YOU, INVITE YOU
IN FOR A DRINK AND TELL YOU THE FACTS OF LIFE. AND THEY ARE QUITE SIMPLE:

THIS COUNTRY ISN'T PERFECT. BUT IT IS THE BEST ONE IN THE WORLD.

THAT, AS THE SAYING GOES, "AIN'T BOAST -- JUST FACT." WE HAVE LITTLE TO BE
ASHAMED OF AND EVERYTHING TO BE PROUD OF. IF SOME PSYCHOTIC AFRICAN
DICTATOR OR LATIN AMERICAN BULLY-BOY OR COMMUNIST THUG DOESN'T LIKE US,

WHO CARES? THIS IS A TOUGH WORLD AND IF YOU DON'T KEEP YOUR GUARD UP,
THEN YOU ARE GOING TO GET HIT WITH AN UPPERCUT. DON'T PUSH ANYBODY AROUND,
BUT DON'T LET THEM PUSH YOU AROUND. THE BEST WAY TO AVOID A FIGHT IS TO
SHOW THE OTHER GUY YOU'RE WILLING TO FIGHT IF NECESSARY.

THAT IS THE WISDOM OF THE STREET-CORNER AND THE COUNTRY STORE, THE
LOCAL BARBERSHOP AND THE TOWN MEETING. *ITS Amer. wisdom, born of*

SUCH WISDOM MAY NOT GET YOU A JOB IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT THESE DAYS.

THE FACULTY CLUB TYPES MAY SNICKER AT IT. SOME INTELLECTUALS MAY DERIDE IT
AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIFESTATION OF INFERIORITY FEELINGS. THERE ARE SOME
CONGRESSMEN WHO WOULD FAINT DEAD AWAY IF YOU EVER SAID THOSE THINGS TO THEM.

BUT IT'S A KIND OF WISDOM THAT HAS KEPT THIS COUNTRY FREE FOR OVER TWO
HUNDRED YEARS. *AND experience* IT'S THE WISDOM AT THE HEART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S DESIRE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. IT IS THE WISDOM THAT MUST INFORM REPUBLICANS' POLICY
ON ISSUES OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

WHETHER WE ARE TALKING ABOUT DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN POLICY, THESE ARE
FACTS THAT ARE CLEAR ABOUT THIS ELECTION YEAR:

IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL LEADERS OF
THE OTHER PARTY TO KEEP THE STATUS QUO. THEY WANT AMERICANS TO KEEP ON

*learned
the hard
way*

THINKING ABOUT POLITICS IN THE SAME WAY.

They want us to keep on believing their tired, old rhetoric and supporting their programs that just don't work.

IT IS THE JOB OF REPUBLICANS TO SHAKE THINGS UP, TO GET THINGS MOVING,

TO THROW OVER THE FALSE IDOLS THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS HAVE SET UP FOR ALL TO WORSHIP.

IT IS THE JOB OF REPUBLICANS TO ~~REFUSE TO~~ ACCEPT THE OLD WAY OF LOOKING

say we want

AT THINGS AND TO TAKE A NEW LOOK, TO SEE OPPORTUNITIES WE HAVE BEEN TOLD --

that we want

that

BY DEMOCRAT LEADERS AND THEIR FRIENDS -- DON'T EXIST.

IT IS OUR JOB TO FIRST STOP GOVERNMENT FROM HURTING THE AMERICAN FAMILY

AND THEN TO MAKE CERTAIN FUTURE GOVERNMENT POLICIES DO NOT HARM IT. GOVERN-

MENT POLICIES MUST HELP BUILD REAL JOBS. GOVERNMENT POLICIES MUST BE EXAMINED

our suburbs (?)

SO THAT THE NEIGHBORHOODS OF OUR CITIES, AND THE HOMES OF THE FARMERS ARE

CONSIDERED IN EVERY PIECE OF LEGISLATION WE BRING UP. PEACE AND FREEDOM

THROUGH A SELF-CONFIDENT AND A STRONG AMERICA MUST BE FOREMOST IN OUR MINDS.

AS MY OWN PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NEW WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS,

I WANT TO CLOSE BY QUOTING FROM A GREAT AMERICAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS

CLAIMED AS ITS OWN. I CHALLENGE THAT CLAIM AND EVERY REPUBLICAN SHOULD

CHALLENGE IT BECAUSE THOMAS JEFFERSON BELONGS TO ALL AMERICANS AND NOT TO

ONE PARTY. INDEED, IF THAT VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN WERE TO COME BACK TODAY, IT

WOULD NOT BE THE BIG-GOVERNMENT, REGULATORY, PATERNAL, MEDDLING PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESENT DEMOCRAT PARTY HE WOULD CALL HIS OWN.

IF YOU'VE EVER VISITED HIS HOME MONTICELLO, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE IN THE BEAUTIFUL VIRGINIA COUNTRYSIDE, YOU ARE SUDDENLY AWARE OF A FACT THAT THE HISTORY BOOKS RARELY DWELL ON.

THE COUNTRY AROUND MONTICELLO IS STILL BEAUTIFUL TODAY, IN SOME WAYS MUCH AS IT MUST HAVE BEEN WHEN JEFFERSON BUILT HIS SUPERB HOME THERE. AT THIS TIME OF YEAR THE TREES ARE EITHER IN THE MIDST OF OR JUST FINISHING THE BRILLIANT GOLD AND RED AND BROWN PAGEANT OF AUTUMN. YOU STAND ON THE HILL ON WHICH MONTICELLO IS BUILT AND YOU LOOK AROUND AND YOU WONDER TO YOURSELF:

WHAT WOULD EVER MAKE A MAN RISK ALL THIS?

THINK OF IT. ALTHOUGH THE BUILDING WAS NOT COMPLETED WHEN JEFFERSON WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE DREAM MUST HAVE BEEN THERE. AND HE WAS WILLING TO RISK THAT DREAM, THE SAME DREAM WE ALL SHARE, A DREAM FOR HIS FAMILY, FOR HIS WORK, FOR THE SURROUNDING VIRGINIA COUNTRYSIDE WHICH WAS HIS NEIGHBORHOOD. HE WAS WILLING TO SAY FAREWELL TO PEACE, TO RISK HIS FREEDOM FOR WHAT HE BELIEVED IN.

TELL THAT TO THE HISTORIANS WHO SAY THERE WAS AN ECONOMIC CAUSE OF OUR

REVOLUTION. TELL THAT TO THE CYNICS WHO SAY MEN AND WOMEN ARE ALWAYS MOTIVATED BY THEIR BASE INSTINCTS.

IF YOU ARE AT MONTICELLO AT TWILIGHT, THE AIR IS HUSHED AND STILL. FOR A MOMENT YOU ARE IN A KIND OF TIMELESS STATE. IT COULD BE 1978. OR 1878. OR EVEN MARCH 4, 1801.

IT IS AS IF YOU CAN HEAR JEFFERSON'S WORDS FROM HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS GIVEN ON THAT DAY. HE SPOKE OF THE NEED FOR (AND I QUOTE):

"...a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

THAT WAS THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT FOR WHICH JEFFERSON AND HIS FRIENDS WERE WILLING TO RISK THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES AND THEIR SACRED HONOR. NOT FOR WHAT THEY COULD GET OUT OF IT BUT FOR WHAT THEY BELIEVED. THEY FORMED THE FIRST COMMUNITY OF VALUES IN THIS COUNTRY.

MY FRIENDS, TELL ME:

.. CAN WE DO ANY LESS THAN TO TRY TO RESTORE "THE SUM OF GOOD GOVERNMENT" FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN?

LET US DO ALL WE CAN FOR FAMILY, WORK, NEIGHBORHOOD, PEACE AND FREEDOM. LET US SHOW HISTORY THAT ALMOST TWO HUNDRED YEARS AFTER JEFFERSON'S WORDS, THERE WAS STILL A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WHO TRIED THEIR BEST TO CLOSE THE "CIRCLE OF OUR FELICITIES."

September 1, 1978

TO: Governor Reagan
FROM: Pete Hannaford
SUBJECT: Next week's speeches

CC: MKD, LN, EM, MCA, RVA
JS, R. Whalen, R. Wirthlin

Here is a capsule of next week's campaign engagements:

	<u>California</u>	<u>Idaho</u>
Press availabilities	2	1
Reception with brief remarks and Q&A	2	1
Short (15-minute) version of speech	-	1
Full (25-30 minute) version of speech	3	1

We shall have copies of the full speech for press handout at those four events. A sample copy is attached. Please note some changes suggested by members of the group following their study of the draft. If you agree, they should be noted on your cards:

- 1) Page 4, Paragraph five, third sentence to read "...Demand that (name our candidate)'s Democrat opponent explain..."
- 2) Page 5, 1st full paragraph, in out-of-state appearances add: "in California" after mention of Proposition 13.
- 3) Page 12, twelve line, to read, "They are supposed to be historic economic enemies." (New words underlined)
- 4) Page 15, last sentence, to be, "...defense policies -- even if these policies would stand still long enough for us to see what they are." (New words underlined)

Page 2

Governor Reagan
September 1, 1978

- 5) Page 15, third paragraph, to read, "No, in fact, all I want to say about the Carter administration and these issues is that I hope that before we all go to bed each night we get down on our knees and pray that the right decisions are made."
- 6) Page 15, line 16. "...the interest of peace and freedom that we be second to none. (New words underlined)
- 7) Page 16, line 11. add "vigilance and" after "through" and before "strength".
- 8) Page 17, 26. add "our suburbs" after "cities" and before "and the homes of the farmers".

Attached also is a file of briefing sheets on California, national and international issues which may come up in press availabilities and Q&A sessions.

RJW draft 5/11/79

SPEECH DRAFT

File

ON AN OCCASION LIKE THIS, THE SPEAKER IS EXPECTED TO RAISE HIS PARTY'S STANDARD, POINT WITH ALARM AT THE OTHER PARTY'S POLICIES, EMBRACE OUR PARTY'S PRINCIPLES AND GRASP THE CENTRAL MEANING OF THE ELECTION -- ALL AT THE SAME TIME.

THAT, A LITTLE LIKE THE OLD TIME VENTRILOQUIST WHO SANG IT SOUNDS LIKE A JOB FOR AN OCTOPUS RATHER THAN A SPEAKER, BUT YANKEE DOODLE DANDY WHILE DRINKING A GLASS OF WATER AT I'LL TRY MY BEST TO MEET THOSE EXPECTATIONS. THE SAME TIME.

I'M NOT GOING TO PRESENT YOU WITH A LONG LIST OF WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS.

WE'D BE HERE ALL NIGHT. LET'S JUST SAY THAT JIMMY CARTER AND TIP O'NEILL ARE HAVING TROUBLES THESE DAYS -- AND ^{NOT} JUST WITH EACH OTHER.

If The Pres. really wants to communicate with Dem. Congressman he should begin to speak Korean.

YOU CAN'T SAY ~~THAT CARTER HASN'T MADE A LOT OF LEGISLATIVE PRO-~~ POSALS. HE'S MADE MORE PROPOSALS THAN ANY MAN I KNOW OF, EXCEPT MAYBE

MICKY ROONEY, OR GEORGE JESSEL. IT'S JUST THAT EVERY TIME HE COMES UP WITH A PIECE OF LEGISLATION, WE REPUBLICANS TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT IT.

FROM THE FIFTY DOLLAR REBATE -- REMEMBER THAT GOLDEN OLDIE? -- TO THE PUBLIC FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS -- KNOWN TO ITS FRIENDS AS

~~"THE INCUMBENTS PROTECTION ACT", -- THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S IDEAS OF
WHAT THE COUNTRY NEEDS SUGGEST THAT THERE MIGHT BE MORE TRUTH THAN FICTION
TO THOSE STORIES OF WHITE HOUSE AIDES FLYING HIGH -- WITHOUT AN AIRPLANE~~

~~MOST OF US~~

AND WHAT ABOUT THE CARTER FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION? DURING THE LAST
~~TEN~~ TODAY, INFLATION CONTINUES TO HOGGER AT THE DOUBLE-DIGIT LEVEL
EIGHTEEN MONTHS, INFLATION HAS BEEN RISING AT A RATE OF TWELVE PERCENT A

*The White House says every thing is fine. That's a little like
YEAR. BUT JERRY CARTER TELLS US EVERYTHING IS FINE. WE ALL FEEL LIKE THAT
the prizefighter who was back pedaling around the ring trying to
PRIZEFIGHTER WHO WAS GETTING A TERRIFIC BEATING. AFTER EACH ROUND, HIS
keep from getting killed. Every time he passed his corner his manager
MANAGER WOULD SAY, "DON'T WORRY, KID, HE HASN'T LAID A GLOVE ON YOU."
yelled "Stay with him kid he hasn't laid a glove on you." Finally as
AFTER A FEW ROUNDS OF THIS, THE FIGHTER FINALLY SAID TO THE MANAGER:
he came around again, the fighter said "well keep your eye on the
"WELL, MAYBE YOU BETTER CHECK THE REFEREE BECAUSE SOMEBODY IN THERE IS BEAT-
referee because some one in here is beating my brains out".
ING THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS OUT OF ME."*

BUT WE CAN'T MAKE THE MISTAKE OF GLOATING OVER THE MISTAKES THE OTHER

fellows

~~GENS~~ HAVE MADE. ADMITTEDLY, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND TIP O'NEILL'S
DEMOCRATS HAVE ACTED LIKE A KIND OF PETE ROSE IN REVERSE: THEY HAVE SET A
RECORD OF CONSECUTIVE POLITICAL STRIKEOUTS. BUT IF YOU KEEP ON SWINGING,
YOU'RE BOUND TO HIT THE BALL, EVEN IF IT'S BY LUCK.

SO, WHILE WE SHOULD TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO REMIND THE PEOPLE OF
OUR OPPONENTS' RECORD OF FAILURE, LET'S NOT WAIT FOR THEM TO LOSE THESE

FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS.

WE HAVE TO GO OUT AND WIN THEM.

What is it that unites Americans of all faiths, creeds, races, political persuasions and ethnic backgrounds?

I DON'T HAVE TO REFER TO STATISTICS OR POLLS OR GRAPHS OR LEARNED

STUDIES TO CONVINCE YOU THAT 1978 IS THE YEAR FOR REPUBLICANS. YOU CAN

SENSE IT. IT'S IN THE AIR.

NO MATTER WHAT THE CALENDAR OR THE THERMOMETER MIGHT SAY ON ELECTION DAY ON NOVEMBER 7TH. IT WILL BE THE BEGINNING OF A REPUBLICAN SPRING.

TIME WE DO OUR JOB.

Republicans

WE ARE THE ACKNOWLEDGED PARTY OF COMPETENCE, SOMETHING AS RARE IN

JIMMY CARTER'S WASHINGTON AS KEPT PROMISES.

WE REMAIN WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN, THE PARTY THAT CAN ADD AND SUBTRACT

CORRECTLY. WE STILL KNOW THAT THE BEGINNING OF POLITICAL WISDOM IS THAT THE

MONEY YOU EARN BELONGS TO YOU, NOT THE GOVERNMENT. SOMETHING A GENERATION

OF DEMOCRAT LEADERS NEVER LEARNED THIS.

~~BUT WE ALSO HAVE SOMETHING ELSE IN OUR FAVOR AS WE APPROACH NOVEMBER.~~

also
WE ARE THE PARTY OF HOPE.

OUR PRINCIPLES AND OUR PROGRAMS ARE IN HARMONY WITH THE DEEP AND PAS-

SIONATE DESIRE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO GET OUR NATION BACK WHERE IT BELONGS, MADE

PROUD AND STRONG AND CONFIDENT.

ONLY RARELY IS A POLITICAL PARTY FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO SAY:

the common denominator of Americanism? I believe it is a simple, single four-letter word. The word is hope. We who call ourselves Americans hope to see a better, more peaceful world tomorrow, and we expect to make steady, measurable progress toward the fulfillment of this dream. Now, it is not merely hope that defines an American. It is the habit of practical success in seeing our dreams fulfilled. It is this unique combination of aspiration and accomplishment, dream and deed, that truly sets the American apart.

Or so it did throughout most of our national history until the last couple of decades. Since the mid-1960s, we Americans have suffered a succession of heavy blows to our self-confidence. We have known defeat in war, betrayal at home, and contempt everywhere we once commanded respect. We have almost lost sight of the combination that made our nation great: hope, guts and above all - hard work. These have been in short supply in Washington, where politics - as - usual prevails, while our nation drifts

But the winning combination is still strong among the American people. And it is especially strong in my party.

pick up

step

" THIS HISTORIC MOMENT IS OURS TO GRASP. WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED, THE PEOPLE NOW DEMAND. "

A FEW YEARS AGO, WE WERE TOLD THAT REPUBLICANS SHOULD APPEAL TO WHAT WERE THEN CALLED "THE SOCIAL ISSUES" -- ^{concern over} BUSING, DRUGS, VIOLENCE IN THE SCHOOLS -- THOSE ^{were} ISSUES ~~that~~ WE SHARED WITH MANY AMERICANS WHO HAVE NOT TRADITIONALLY BEEN REPUBLICANS.

~~BUT SOME THEORISTS SAID -- AND SEEMED TO BE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE -- THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE TALKED ABOUT SOCIAL ISSUES IT WAS ECONOMIC ISSUES ON WHICH PEOPLE ULTIMATELY MADE DECISIONS.~~

AND SO IT WAS ^{seemed} ~~CONCLUDED THAT~~ THERE WAS NO REAL WAY TO JOIN WITH THOSE WHO MIGHT SHARE OUR VIEWS ^{and values} (BUT WHOSE TRADITIONAL LOYALTIES KEPT THEM ^{away.} ~~OUT OF OUR PARTY.~~ WE WERE TOLD THEY WOULD VOTE ON THE POCKET-BOOK ISSUES AND ~~that~~ WE COULD NOT MATCH THE DEMOCRATS ON THOSE.

~~WELL, IF THAT WAS EVER TRUE -- AND I DOUBT IT -- IT IS NO LONGER TRUE -- if I ~~seems~~ generations out of date.~~ ^{that myth is two}

THERE IS NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN POCKET BOOK ISSUES AND SOCIAL ISSUES TODAY. INDEED, POCKET BOOK ISSUES ARE THE BIGGEST SOCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME.

^{What high taxes and high inflation are} ~~HIGH TAXES ARE NOT A SUBJECT DISCUSSED BY COUPON CLIPPING RICH MEN~~ ^{doing is brutally simple: they are killing the} ~~DROWNING IN THEIR CLUBS.~~ ^{hopes of Americans for a better future for themselves and their children.}

~~High inflation, the cost of a gallon of gasoline and a pound of beef steak~~
HIGH TAXES ARE THE NUMBER ONE TOPIC OF CONVERSATION AND CONCERN AT

THE OFFICE WATER COOLER AND IN THE TRUCK DEPOT, IN THE WHEAT FIELDS AND

ON THE ASSEMBLY LINE, AT THE LOCAL DINER AND IN THE HARDWARE STORE ACROSS

THE STREET.

High taxes and high inflation are destroying the American middle-class, the social and moral foundation of this nation.

IN THE WORDS OF A MOVIE OF A FEW YEARS BACK: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE

not long ago!

MADDER THAN HELL AND THEY AREN'T GOING TO TAKE IT ANYMORE.

AND IF THAT ISN'T A SOCIAL ISSUE, I DON'T KNOW WHAT IS.

It is a mad fighting daily in a journal

INFLATION IS NO LONGER AN ECONOMIC CATCHWORD. (TO ALL AMERICANS

today,

~~IT IS AS VIOLENT AS A~~

being robbed at the gas pump or

~~being mugged at the meat counter.~~ *It is as*

~~scary as~~ *savings account passbook stolen before your*

IF THAT ISN'T A SOCIAL ISSUE, THERE AREN'T ANY.

A new and urgent concern over high

~~THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE FORGET ABOUT THOSE OLDER SOCIAL ISSUES LIKE~~

~~THE WELFARE MESS, BUSING, QUOTAS AND OTHERS. INDEED, EVERYWHERE WE GO~~

~~WE SHOULD DO TWO THINGS: DEMAND THAT THE DEMOCRATS~~

~~JUSTIFY THEIR HIS POSITION ON HIS PARTY'S DEVASTATING ATTACKS AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND~~

disregard for ordinary Americans, their families and their future.

~~MAKE CERTAIN THE PEOPLE KNOW WE ARE ON THEIR SIDE ON THESE ISSUES.~~

COMBINING THESE OLDER ISSUES WITH DRAMATIC ISSUES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE

taxes and high inflation

an inflation rate twice as high as the interest rate,

~~NOT~~
-6-

The American middle class is in danger of being destroyed by policies and programs deliberately enacted in Washington.

~~BEING WAGED AGAINST AMERICAN FAMILIES BY DEMOCRATS. WE CAN MAKE 1978 A YEAR OF HOPE FOR THE REPUBLICANS.~~

~~NOT~~ During a generation of

~~NOTHING IN POLITICS IS INEVITABLE. WE HAVE TO MAKE OUR SUCCESSES~~

~~BY OUR EFFORTS. WE CANNOT COUNT ON THE INEPTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OR~~ one-party control, the Congress has repeatedly

declared economic warfare on the workers, savers and investors in our society — on those who hope and who

~~THE RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. WE CANNOT~~

attempt to build their personal dreams. They have

~~ENDED THE NEED TO BE NECESSARILY AWARE OF THE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN~~

~~THE TWO PARTIES. IT IS TIME TO RESTORE AND~~ *different different*

~~THIS ISN'T A CASE OF THE TWO PARTIES SEEKING SIMILAR GOALS WITH DIFFERENT~~ *different different*

APPROACHES. THE OTHER PARTY HAS BEEN PROUD TO CLAIM THAT IT SEEKS BIGGER

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS IN MORE AND MORE AREAS OF AMERICAN LIFE. THE DEMOCRATIC

BIG GOVERNMENT

LEADERS HAVE GLORIED IN THIS PHILOSOPHY. ~~THE~~ DEMOCRATIC INTELLECTUALS HAVE

WRITTEN ENTIRE LIBRARIES OF BOOKS TELLING HOW GOOD BIG, CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT IS FOR YOU. ~~FOR~~ THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS TO TURN THEIR BACKS ON WHAT THEY

Now, however, are trying

This is damning

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MOST PROUD OF, IS PROOF THAT WE REPUBLICANS HAVE BROKEN THEIR

~~RANKS AND THAT WE~~ ARE IN THE PROCESS OF DRIVING THEM OFF THE FIELD OF

POLITICAL BATTLE.

Of course, as always,

~~BUT WE HAVE TO BE AWARE THAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE RE~~ [↑] ~~GROUPING.~~ AFTER

revive these dreams. In 1980, America will have a clear choice between

THE SHOCK OF PROPOSITION THIRTEEN, MANY OF THEM HAVE BEGUN TO DO THAT
 WELL-KNOWN POLITICAL DANCE, THE WAFFLER'S WALTZ, OVER TO ~~OUR~~ ^{Republican} RHETORIC IF
 NOT ~~OUR~~ ^{Republican} PRINCIPLES. THEY ARE ENGAGED IN THE MOST DECEITFUL AND MASSIVE
 REWRITING OF HISTORY EVER ATTEMPTED IN AMERICAN POLITICS, ~~BY NOW TELL~~ ^{They now have the} ~~THE~~ ^{gall}

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT HIGH TAXES, INFLATION, BUDGET-BUSTING AND OTHER

FORMS OF ECONOMIC ~~madness~~ ^{madness} JUST HAPPENED AND WEREN'T CAUSED BY DEMOCRATIC
 POLICIES. ~~AND MORE AND MORE~~ ^{NO 4} ~~THE~~ ^{As the 1980 campaign approached} RHETORIC OF DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES SOUNDS MORE &

MORE AS IF IT ~~WAS~~ ^{WERE} TAKEN FROM THE 1976 REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM.

~~THIS SUDDEN DEMOCRAT TURNABOUT~~ ^{THEY} ~~REMINDS~~ ^(SHOULD) ~~US ^{US} OF THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON'S~~

ESCAPE FROM EXILE ON THE ISLAND OF ELBA.

WHEN ~~IT WAS DISCOVERED~~ THAT HE ~~HAD~~ LANDED ON THE COAST OF FRANCE,

~~HIS ENEMIES~~ ^{THE} BIGGEST NEWSPAPER IN PARIS CARRIED THE HEADLINE: THE MONSTER
INVADES FRANCE!

TWO DAYS ^{later} ~~LATER~~ ^{only} HE WAS A HUNDRED MILES ^{from Paris} ~~AWAY~~, GATHERING TROOPS ALL THE
 TIME. THE HEADLINE READ: THE MAJOR ENEMY OF FRANCE ADVANCES!

^{Another} TWO DAYS ~~LATER~~ HE WAS TWENTY MILES FROM PARIS WITH THOUSANDS RALLYING
 TO HIS CAUSE, ~~AND~~ THE HEADLINE WAS: NAPOLEON NEARS CAPITAL!

ON THE DAY HE ENTERED PARIS WITH A GRAND ARMY, THE HEADLINE READ:

OUR BELOVED EMPEROR HAS RETURNED!

of SACRAMENTO MUST BE DIRECTLY DESCENDED FROM
THE DEMOCRATS IN WASHINGTON ~~MUST HAVE A DESCENDANT OF THAT IMAGINATIVE~~
~~THE~~ HEADLINE WRITER.
~~HEADLINE WRITER WORKING FOR THEM TODAY.~~

WHEN THE REPUBLICAN TAX ~~CUT~~ PROPOSALS WERE MADE, THE DEMOCRAT
LEADERSHIP SHOUTED: IRRESPONSIBLE ECONOMIC DEMAGOGUERY!

WHEN AMERICANS SHOWED INTEREST IN THE REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS, THE CRY
FROM THE DEMOCRATS WAS: THE REPUBLICAN TAX SCHEME MUST BE STOPPED.

ONE DAY AFTER THE PASSAGE OF PROPOSITION THIRTEEN, ~~THE DEMOCRATS WERE~~
THEY SAID
~~SAVING,~~ TAX CUTS ARE NEEDED.

NOW THEIR CRY IS "DEMOCRATS FAVOR TAX CUTS." AND ~~TO MAKE MATTERS~~
they
have the gall to
make matters
Repudiation
~~WORSE THEY ALSO SAY WE~~ OPPOSE RESPONSIBLE TAX CUTS.

I'VE HEARD OF SOMEBODY STEALING YOUR CLOTHES WHILE YOU ~~QUADRING IN~~
take a dip in the
old swimming hole.
~~THE POOL.~~ BUT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS NOT ONLY TRY TO STEAL ~~YOUR~~ *our* CLOTHES --

want us
THEY ~~ALSO DEMAND YOU GET~~ ARRESTED FOR INDECENT EXPOSURE!

AND SO, ~~WE CAN'T BE CONTENT KNOWING THAT WE ARE ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF~~
it isn't enough to know
THE ISSUES. WE HAVE TO WATCH OUT THAT THE JIMMY-COME-LATELIES IN THE OTHER

~~PARTY DON'T PALM OFF POOL'S GOLD AS THEY USUALLY DO. WE HAVE TO MAKE~~

When I was a Democrat more than a generation ago, I believed the heart of the government's responsibility

~~SURE OUR MESSAGE GETS ACROSS TO AS MANY PEOPLE AS WE CAN REACH.~~

~~AT THE HEART OF THAT MESSAGE SHOULD BE FIVE SIMPLE, FAMILIAR,~~

EVERY-DAY WORDS. NO BIG ECONOMIC THEORIES. NO SERMONS OF POLITICAL

PHILOSOPHY. JUST FIVE SHORT WORDS:

FAMILY.

WORK.

NEIGHBORHOOD.

FREEDOM.

PEACE.

I still believe in that message

~~REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR EVERY OFFICE SHOULD MAKE THESE WORDS~~

and I became a Republican because

~~THE HEART OF THEIR MESSAGE. ANYTHING WE HAVE TO TELL THE VOTERS SHOULD~~

In 1980, all politics will eventually come back to these five words.

that party of progressive conservation stood for what most Americans believe.

AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED OVER INFLATION NOT BECAUSE THEY HAVE MASTERS

DEGREES IN ECONOMICS BUT BECAUSE INFLATION IS HURTING THEIR FAMILIES.

AMERICANS ARE CONCERNED OVER THE FUTURE OF THE JOB MARKET NOT BECAUSE

THEY ARE INTERESTED IN INVESTMENT THEORY BUT BECAUSE EACH OF US HAS TO WORK

IN ORDER TO EAT AND CLOTHE OURSELVES AND OUR FAMILY AND TO EDUCATE OUR KIDS.

LET THE PROFESSORS AND THE WASHINGTON BUREAUCRATS TALK IN THEIR JARGON ABOUT COSTLY URBAN "MARSHALL PLANS." WE SHOULD TALK ABOUT HOW OUR PROGRAMS AND POLICIES AFFECT NEIGHBORHOODS AND THEIR PROBLEMS, BECAUSE THAT'S WHERE THE PEOPLE WE HAVE TO REACH LIVE AND RAISE THEIR FAMILIES.

AMERICANS WANT PEACE AND FREEDOM IN THE WORLD NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE INTERESTED IN THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS. TO THEM PEACE AND FREEDOM MEAN THEIR KIDS ARE GOING TO GET THE CHANCE TO ENJOY THE

BLESSINGS THEY HAVE AND THEIR FATHERS HAD BEFORE THEM. *And their sons won't bleed their lives into the mud of a battlefield.*

FAMILY. WORK. NEIGHBORHOOD. FREEDOM. PEACE.

Not just Republicans but all of us

W SHOULD REPEAT THOSE WORDS UNTIL THEY BECOME SECOND NATURE. WE SHOULD MEDITATE ON THEIR MEANING AND HOW ~~OUR~~ *government* POLICIES CAN BE APPLIED TO *support* THEM.

THEY SHOULD BE ON OUR LIPS. *But* ~~AND~~ THEY MUST ALSO BE IN OUR HEARTS, JUST AS THEY ARE IN THE HEARTS OF AMERICANS ALL ACROSS THIS COUNTRY.

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT INFLATION, LET'S DROP THE TEXT-BOOK *language* JARGON AND GET DOWN TO FACTS AS AMERICANS EXPERIENCE THEM. LET'S SAY SOMETHING LIKE THIS TO THE *people* AMERICANS WE TALK TO:

"INFLATION IS DANGEROUS TO YOUR FAMILY'S HEALTH. AND INFLATION-SPREADERS IN CONGRESS AND THEIR HIGH-TAX COLLEAGUES SHOULD BE QUARANTINED, JUST AS WE QUARANTINE THE CARRIERS

AND SPREADERS OF ANY CONTAGION. THE WAY TO DEAL WITH THESE ECONOMIC TYPHOID MARYS IS TO TAKE THEM OUT OF CONGRESS ^{of the Legislature} WHERE THEY WON'T BE HARMING YOUR FAMILY."

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT SUCH IDEAS AS LOWER CAPITAL GAINS TAX, LET'S THROW OUT ALL THAT ECONOMIC MUMBO-JUMBO AND REPEAT OVER AND OVER:

JOBS HELP PEOPLE.

INVESTMENTS MAKE JOBS.

AND THEN ASK: WHERE ARE THE JOBS COMING FROM IF THERE IS NO MONEY TO INVEST? LET THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATE ANSWER THAT ONE.

WHEN WE TALK ABOUT EMPLOYMENT, LET'S STOP USING CHARTS AND GRAPHS

AND SAY, INSTEAD:

"WORK IS AT THE CENTER OF OUR LIVES. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES THAT HARM THE ECONOMY DESTROY JOBS. WE WANT TO KEEP THE AMERICAN ECONOMY SOUND AND STRONG FOR PEOPLE, FOR FAMILIES,

FOR YOUR KIDS." — *This isn't a change in what we believe. We are simply putting our belief into understandable language.*

~~I AM NOT SAYING WE SHOULD DO WHAT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS ARE DOING.~~

It is the Dem. leadership that is

~~THEY ARE~~ DESPERATELY TRYING TO LEARN WHAT IS TO THEM A NEW AND UNFAMILIAR

LANGUAGE, THE LANGUAGE OF ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY. THEY THINK IF THEY

LEARN A FEW CATCH-PHRASES THEY CAN DECEIVE THE PEOPLE AND MAKE THEM FORGET

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ECONOMIC MESS THAT HAS SO DAMAGED AMERICAN FAMILIES.

NO, I'M NOT ASKING FOR A QUICK CHANGE IN RHETORIC TO DISGUISE OUR TRUE FEELINGS AND BELIEFS. FAR FROM IT. I'M SAYING WE HAVE TO FIND THE EXACT WORDS TO CONVEY WHAT WE STAND FOR. WE HAVE TO LEARN TO LOOK AT OLD PROBLEMS FROM NEW VANTAGE POINTS.

I REMEMBER ONCE READING ABOUT THE GREAT WESTERN JOURNEY MADE BY THE PIONEERS. IT SEEMS THAT A MYTH DEVELOPED AMONG THE SETTLERS THAT INDIANS HAD SOME ~~INHERENT~~ ^{mysterious, innate} SENSE OF DIRECTION, THAT THEY COULDN'T GET LOST IN THE WILDERNESS BECAUSE OF SOME MYSTICAL POWER.

~~LIKE ALL SUCH THEORIES, THIS ONE WAS WRONG.~~ ^{actually} WHAT HAD HAPPENED WAS QUITE SIMPLE. THE WAGON TRAINS APPROACHED EACH LANDMARK FROM THE SAME DIRECTION TIME AFTER TIME. SO A SETTLER LOSING THE REGULAR TRAIL MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO ~~SEE~~ ^{recognize} AN OTHERWISE FAMILIAR LANDMARK ~~BECAUSE HE DIDN'T RECOGNIZE IT FROM A DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINT.~~ ^{when he saw it from} ~~BECAUSE HE DIDN'T RECOGNIZE IT FROM A DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINT.~~ ^{angle.} THE INDIANS, OF COURSE, LIVED IN THE AREA AND GOT USED TO SEEING FAMILIAR OBJECTS FROM DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINTS.

FOR TOO LONG WE REPUBLICANS, LIKE MOST AMERICANS, HAVE APPROACHED THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE FROM ONE DIRECTION AND HAVE SEEN THINGS IN THE SAME WAY.

WE GOT USED TO AND FELT COMFORTABLE WITH THE OLD DIVISIONS: LABOR AND INDUSTRY. LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE. RICH AND POOR. URBAN AND RURAL. THESE ARE THE LANDMARKS OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AS WE LEARNED THEM. UNCONSCIOUSLY WE HAVE SHAPED OUR POLICIES AND OUR PROGRAMS, OUR VISION AND OUR HOPES BY THIS WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS.

1979 and 1980
BUT THE REALITIES OF ~~THE~~ DEMAND THAT WE GET OUT OF THE BEATEN PATH AND ~~START LEARNING~~ NEW WAYS OF LOOKING AT THINGS. LET'S DECIDE FOR OURSELVES JUST HOW THE POLITICAL MAP SHOULD BE LOOKED AT.

THE UNION MEMBER LIVING IN A CITY NEIGHBORHOOD, THE EXECUTIVE WITH A HOME IN THE SUBURBS, THE FARMER FIFTY MILES AWAY, THE PRE-MED COLLEGE STUDENT AT THE STATE UNIVERSITY, THE BUS DRIVER WITH KIDS TO RAISE, HIS MOM AND DAD WHO STILL LIVE IN THE OLD NEIGHBORHOOD ON A SMALL PENSION, THE TEEN-AGE GIRL LOOKING FOR HER FIRST JOB -- IF YOU LOOK AT SUCH A GROUP AS WE HAVE BEEN TAUGHT TO DO, THERE IS NO COMMUNITY OF INTEREST.

BUT SUPPOSE WE DON'T LOOK AT WHAT THE POLITICAL EXPERTS SAY ARE THE ONLY THINGS THAT MATTER, GROUP INTERESTS.

SUPPOSE, INSTEAD, WE LOOK FOR A SET OF PRINCIPLES THAT LINK THESE MEN

AND WOMEN INTO A COMMUNITY OF VALUES. FAMILY, WORK, NEIGHBORHOOD, PEACE AND FREEDOM ARE VALUES SHARED BY EACH OF THEM.

INSTEAD OF SEEING THEM AS WE ^(ALWAYS) HAVE ~~STEREOTYPED~~ STEREOTYPED

MEMBERS OF SPECIAL INTEREST PRESSURE GROUPS, LET'S LOOK AT THEM AS THEY SEE THEMSELVES. THEY ARE UNIQUE INDIVIDUALS WITH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITIES, WITH A LOVE OF COUNTRY AND A SET OF TRADITIONAL VALUES THEY SHARE WITH MILLIONS OF OTHERS. ~~LET'S TREAT THEM THAT WAY.~~

INSERT NOVAK QUOTE

IF WE LOOK AT THINGS IN THIS WAY, A WHOLE NEW ~~EXISTING~~ RANGE OF OPPOR-

~~TUNITY IS OPEN TO US.~~ Americans of all creeds, classes and colors know this is true. They are struggling to hold their families together in a time

~~AND I AM NOT GOING TO SHIRK THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TELLING YOU HOW THIS~~

~~CAN WORK FOR US. IN FACT, LET ME TAKE WHAT MOST EXPERTS SAY IS THE MOST~~

of moral anarchy and social disintegration. DIFFICULT PROBLEM FACING US;

I believe the Republicans should answer

~~WE ARE TOLD THAT WE CANNOT APPEAL TO BLACKS AND TO WHITE ETHNICS~~

this profound need, addressing a

~~BECAUSE THERE ARE SEPARATE AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS INVOLVED. Our opponents~~

~~have a separate different message for each of these groups, different & sometimes conflicting premises.~~

~~BUT I SAY THAT WE NEED TO~~ TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND THE WHITE ETHNIC

NEIGHBORHOODS ~~WITH~~ EXACTLY THE SAME MESSAGE AND GAIN SUPPORTERS FROM EACH

essence of the
This is the message:

~~SUPPOSE WE GO TO THEM AND SAY SOMETHING LIKE THIS:~~

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

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FAMILY RENEWAL

By Anthony Harrigan

The basic unit in a free society is the family. From the family a citizen derives his values and beliefs. Without strong families, a nation loses its cohesiveness.

Unfortunately, the American family has suffered severely in recent years. The spread of divorce has shattered countless families. Young people have been given examples of selfishness and irresponsibility.

Dr. John Howard, director of the Rockford College Institute, has pointed out that our country today is "a seething ferment of values and beliefs." The traditions and wisdom that the family taught have been denigrated in the popular culture by motion pictures and best sellers.

Never has there been so great a need to buttress the family.

Dr. Howard is a national leader in this effort. One of his most important efforts in this regard is a conference "The Family: America's Hope" which will be held in Rockford, Ill., June 7-9. He has assembled a splendid list of scholars and clergymen for this conference.

Among the speakers will be Michael Novak, professor of religion at Syracuse University.

Professor Michael Novak, who teaches religion at Syracuse University, is an eloquent spokesman who teaches that the

(more)

for the family.

"LOOK, YOU WANT YOUR NEIGHBORHOODS TO SURVIVE. YOU WANT YOUR KIDS TO GET A GOOD EDUCATION AND TO BE ABLE TO LOOK FORWARD TO A GOOD JOB MARKET. YOU WANT THE MONEY YOU EARN TO STAY WITH YOU AND NOT GO TO POLITICIANS. IF YOU ARE OUT OF WORK, YOU WANT A JOB. IF YOU HAVE A JOB, YOU WANT A STRONG ECONOMY. YOU WANT TO KNOW THAT THERE IS GOOD REASON TO BELIEVE THE ECONOMY IS GOING TO BE STRONG SO YOU CAN MAKE PLANS. IF YOU DO FALL ON HARD TIMES, YOU WANT TO BE TREATED BY GOVERNMENT AS A TEMPORARY RECIPIENT OF AID, NOT AN ETERNAL VICTIM OF BUREAUCRATIC CHARITY. ALL RIGHT -- OUR POLICIES SPEAK TO THE SAME POINTS. WE CAN HELP YOU. WE KNOW THAT OUR PROGRAMS ARE NOT GOING TO APPEAL TO EVERY MEMBER OF YOUR COMMUNITY. THERE IS NO WAY IN THE WORLD THAT WE ARE GOING TO SUDDENLY START BACKING A BIGGER WELFARE STATE, AN INFLATIONARY ECONOMY, MORE FEDERAL REGULATIONS. THE OTHER PARTY HAS OPENLY AND EVEN PROUDLY BACKED SUCH POLICIES. IF THAT IS WHAT YOU WANT, WE CAN'T HELP YOU. BUT IF YOU ARE FED UP, IF YOU WANT TO GET YOUR COUNTRY BACK AGAIN AND BUILD YOUR LIFE WITH CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE, WE CAN HELP YOU. BLACK OR WHITE OR RED OR YELLOW OR ANY SHADE IN BETWEEN -- YOU HAVE A FAMILY, YOU HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES, YOU HAVE HOPES. WE SAY THAT THE DEMOCRAT LEADERS AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL FRIENDS HAVE DECLARED WAR ON YOU AND YOUR VALUES. WE ARE ON YOUR SIDE. AND WE CAN PROVE IT TO YOU."

NOW, ISN'T THAT A MORE HONEST AND MORE EFFECTIVE WAY OF GAINING SUPPORT IN THOSE COMMUNITIES THAN THESE TRANSPARENTLY DISHONEST AND SLICK SCHEMES YOU SOMETIMES HEAR WE SHOULD USE? PEOPLE AREN'T STUPID, ALTHOUGH SOME ~~EXPERTS~~ ^{EUTISTS} THINK THEY ARE. BLACKS AND WHITE ETHNICS KNOW WHEN A CON-GAME IS BEING PLAYED. LET'S TELL THE TRUTH. BELIEVE ME -- IT WORKS!

WE ARE TOLD THERE CAN BE NO SIMILARITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN THE ^{white-collar} ~~SUBURBAN~~ COMMUTER WHO LIVES IN THE SUBURBS AND THE ^{blue-collar} (UNION MEMBER WHO LIVES IN THE CITY. THEY ARE ^(supposed to be) ~~HYPER~~ ECONOMIC ENEMIES. WHAT ONE WANTS HE MUST GET AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER. THEREFORE, YOU HAVE TO DIRECT YOUR MESSAGE TO EITHER ONE OR THE OTHER.

traditional, dog-and-cat

~~NONSENSE AGAIN~~ *Don't you believe it.*

THE SUBURBAN COMMUTER WANTS RELIEF FROM BRUTAL TAXATION. HE WANTS HIS MONEY TO MEAN SOMETHING. HE WANTS SCHOOLS TO TEACH AND HIS NEIGHBORHOOD TO BE SAFE. HE WANTS THE ORDINARY COMMON SENSE RULES OF EXPERIENCE TO BE OBSERVED BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS WHEN THEY ARE CONDUCTING PUBLIC BUSINESS.

TELL ME: HOW DOES THE UNION MEMBER IN THE CITY DIFFER FROM THE SUBURBAN-ITE ON THESE POINTS? THE ANSWER, OF COURSE, IS THAT HE DOES NOT DIFFER BECAUSE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY MAKE ^{*somewhat*} DIFFERENT SALARIES, ^{MAY} HAVE DIFFERENT

INTERESTS AND STYLES AND TASTES -- DESPITE THE FACT THEY LIVE APART

FROM EACH OTHER AND ~~NOT~~ ^{do} NOT KNOW EACH OTHER -- THEY SHARE THE SAME BASIC
VALUES ~~INDEED~~, ~~WE~~ TEND TO FORGET THAT THE SUBURBANITE PROBABLY GREW
UP IN A UNION-MEMBER FAMILY IN THE CITY. HE HASN'T LOST THE BELIEFS HE
GREW UP WITH. ~~to family-centered values.~~ *or forgotten his commitment*
In America, the land of hopes and dreams fulfilled;

THE SUBURBANITE'S NEXT-DOOR NEIGHBOR MAY BE LIKE HIM IN EVERY WAY EXCEPT THE

MOST IMPORTANT WAY: HE MAY NOT SHARE THE SAME LOVE OF FAMILY, OF RE-

SPONSIBILITY TO TRADITIONAL VALUES. BUT THE UNION MEMBER DOES. SO IT

ISN'T GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY OR EVEN ECONOMIC CLASS THAT WE LOOK FOR.

IT'S THE WAY PEOPLE LOOK AT THEMSELVES AND THE WORLD. THAT IS ~~THE~~ ^{the} KEY
TO ~~POLITICAL VIBES~~ *America's reawakening and revival.*

ONCE YOU BEGIN TO LOOK AT THINGS THIS WAY, THE OUTLINES OF THIS

American
COMMUNITY OF VALUES BECOME CLEAR.

These Americans
~~THEY~~ LIVE ON FARMS, IN CITY NEIGHBORHOODS, IN SUBURBS. THEY ATTEND

DIFFERENT HOUSES OF WORSHIP. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT ANCESTORS WITH DIFFERENT

CULTURAL ATTITUDES AND A DIFFERENT HERITAGE.

BUT ON CERTAIN BASIC FUNDAMENTAL THINGS THEY AGREE. THEY ARE PEACE-

FUL PEOPLE, BUT WHEN THEY SEE SOMEBODY OUT TO HURT THEIR FAMILY OR THEIR

NEIGHBORHOOD OR THEIR TRADITIONAL VALUES, THEY GET ANGRY. ~~WE~~ THEY ARE ANGRY NOW AND FOR GOOD REASON. THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF AN UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THE THINGS THEY HOLD MOST SACRED. AND WE ^{Republicans} ARE THEIR ALLIES IN THAT WAR.

LET ME GIVE YOU ONE SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF WHAT I MEAN WHEN I SAY THAT THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERS AND THEIR INTELLECTUAL ~~enemies~~ ^{apologists} HAVE DECLARED WAR ON THE HARD-WORKING, GOD-FEARING AMERICANS I AM TALKING ABOUT.

We've all seen pictures of cities bombed during W.W II.
~~HAVE YOU EVER SEEN A PICTURE OF CITIES BOMBED DURING THE WAR? WELL,~~

IF YOU HELD ~~UP SUCH A PHOTO~~ ^{one of those photos} NEXT TO ONE ~~TAKEN~~ OF AN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD

AFTER THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS HAVE DONE THEIR JOB, YOU WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO

TELL THE DIFFERENCE. ^{Our opponents} ~~THE DEMOCRATS~~ CALL IT MASSIVE FEDERAL AID AND URBAN

RENEWAL. THE FAMILIES WHO ^{used to live in some of those neighborhoods} ~~SEE NEIGHBORHOODS DESTROYED CALL IT OTHER NAMES,~~

have another name for it.

~~NONE PRINTABLE.~~

THIS WAR IS A FIERCE STRUGGLE BETWEEN CONTENDING VIEWS OF WHAT AMERICANS SHOULD BE LIKE. IT IS A WAR, IF YOU LIKE, BETWEEN TWO CULTURES, TWO FUNDA-

MENTALLY DIFFERENT IDEAS OF THE ~~INTERNAL~~ ^{central} VALUES OF ~~LIFE~~ ^{human} AND OUR ^{Civilization}

WHY DON'T WE TELL THAT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

I intend to.
LET'S TELL THEM THAT IN THIS UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST THEM AND THE

INSTITUTIONS THEY LOVE, WE ARE ON THEIR SIDE. WE WANT A SOUND ECONOMY NOT JUST TO BALANCE THE BUDGET, BUT TO BALANCE THE SCALES OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES.

LET'S TELL THEM THAT THE MONEY THEY WORK FOR MEANS LESS AND LESS BECAUSE THE CONGRESS DOMINATED BY ONE PARTY FOR SO LONG HAS FUNDED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS THAT ARE THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF BREAKING AND ENTERING.

AND LET'S TELL THEM THAT IF THEIR DEMOCRAT REPRESENTATIVE OR SENATOR HAS VOTED FOR SUCH PROGRAMS, NO AMOUNT OF SPEEDY CONSTITUENT SERVICES CAN MAKE UP FOR IT. SO OFTEN WE HEAR THAT DEMOCRAT SENATOR "X" OR DEMOCRAT REPRESENTATIVE "Y" VOTES FOR INFLATIONARY POLICIES AND SOCIAL EXPERIMENTATION BUT IS RETURNED EVERY ELECTION BECAUSE HE ANSWERS CONSTITUENT MAIL QUICKLY. THAT'S LIKE SAYING WE LIKE THE FELLOW WHO POISONS OUR WELL BECAUSE HE SENDS US QUICK LITTLE NOTES TO TELL US HE'S DOING IT!

I HAVE DELIBERATELY CONCENTRATED ON FAMILY, WORK AND NEIGHBORHOOD BECAUSE OF THEIR OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE IN THIS ELECTION.

BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN I HAVE FORGOTTEN PEACE AND FREEDOM, THE OTHER GREAT VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

NO U.S.

THE-ACCEPTED WISDOM TELLS US THAT ~~NO~~ ELECTION IS EVER
WON ON THE ISSUE OF FOREIGN POLICY. PERHAPS ~~THAT IS~~ SO. BUT REMEMBER:
WE COULD WIN AN ELECTION AND LOSE A COUNTRY IF WE FAIL TO DISCUSS THE
ISSUES OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

LET ME SAY THAT DESPITE OBVIOUS TEMPTATIONS I AM NOT GOING TO USE
THIS TIME TO CONDUCT A LONG CRITIQUE OF THE CARTER FOREIGN POLICY AND
DEFENSE POLICIES ~~--- EVEN IF I KNEW WHAT THEY WERE,~~
*EVEN IF THESE POLICIES WOULD STAND STILL LONG
ENOUGH FOR US TO SEE WHAT THEY ARE.*

~~NO, IN FACT, ALL I WANT TO SAY ABOUT THE PRESIDENT AND THESE ISSUES~~

~~AS THAT~~ I HOPE THAT BEFORE WE ALL GO TO BED EACH NIGHT WE GET DOWN ON
OUR KNEES AND PRAY FOR HIM, ~~PRAY THAT HE MAKES THE RIGHT DECISIONS.~~

*that the right decisions are made.
offer a simple and forthright*

AS REPUBLICANS, WE SIMPLY AND FORTHRIGHTLY BRING BEFORE THE AMERICAN

PEOPLE THE ESSENCE OF OUR DEFENSE POLICY: AMERICA CANNOT AFFORD TO BE

NUMBER TWO. ~~NO~~ MATTER WHAT THE SPECIFIC DEFENSE ISSUE MAY BE, IT IS IN

THE INTEREST OF PEACE AND FREEDOM THAT WE ~~GO BEYOND PARITY WITH THE SOVIET~~

*BE SECOND TO NONE
preserved our nation's security
and*

~~WE~~ IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE KEEP THE TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANTAGES THAT HAVE

SAVED US AND OTHER NATIONS FROM THE FATE OF MILLIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

EVEN MORE ESSENTIAL IS THAT WE HAVE THE WILL TO USE THEM IF NECESSARY.

NO

*WE cannot afford to deal from weakness
with the Soviet Union or with OPEC. The
human rights we cherish will enjoy only as
much respect as our national
strength commands.*

IN FEBRUARY OF 1977, LESS THAN A MONTH ^{after} ~~SINCE~~ HIS INAUGURATION,

PRESIDENT CARTER SENT A WARM LETTER OF SUPPORT TO SOVIET DISSIDENT
ANDREI SAKHAROV. THAT LETTER WAS A GRAND GESTURE, AN EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE
SYMBOL OF SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP ^{FOR} ~~WITH~~ THOSE WHO ARE BRAVELY FIGHTING THE
INHUMANITY OF THE SOVIET REGIME. I APPLAUDED IT THEN AND I APPLAUD IT NOW.

BUT IT WAS THE LAST SUCH LETTER THE PRESIDENT SENT SO FAR AS WE KNOW.
MAYBE HE HAS WRITTEN OTHER LETTERS BUT HAS MADE THE MISTAKE OF GIVING THEM
TO ANDY YOUNG TO DROP IN THE MAIL, ^{OR} MAYBE THE EVER-RISING COST OF POSTAGE
HAS MADE THE PRESIDENT CUT BACK ON HIS CORRESPONDENCE, ~~IN WHICH CASE I~~
~~WILL BE WILLING TO DIP INTO MY SAVINGS TO BUY HIM A ROLL OF STAMPS.~~

IT IS THE LETTERS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS NOT SENT THAT HISTORY
WILL WONDER ABOUT. IT IS THE ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN AND CONFUSED NATURE OF
THE CARTER APPROACH TO HUMAN RIGHTS THAT HISTORY WILL JUDGE, NOT THE NOBLE
RHETORIC THAT ACCOMPANIED THIS APPROACH.

^{That should be our}
~~AND I SUPPOSE WHEN YOU COME DOWN TO IT, THAT IS MY DEEPEST CONCERN~~
ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S ~~AND~~ DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY. THERE IS
THE LINGERING, NAGGING FEELING THAT A CENTRAL VISION, A CONTROLLING UNDER-

STANDING OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS DOES NOT EXIST IN THIS ADMINISTRATION.

GESTURES ARE MADE, ARE WELL-PUBLICIZED AND THEN FORGOTTEN.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THAT PEACE AND FREEDOM CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED

VIGILANCE AND THROUGH STRENGTH. THIS AMOUNTS TO NO MORE THAN COMMON SENSE. BUT WHEN

YOU SAY THIS, YOU OFTEN HEAR THE CRIES OF THOSE WHO ARE EMBARRASSED OR EVEN

OUTRAGED BY THE IDEA THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD SEEK TO BE THE STRONGEST

NATION ON EARTH. THIS KIND OF THING JUST ISN'T DONE, THEY SAY. WE MUST

and
APOLOGIZE FOR WHAT STRENGTH WE HAVE, CONFESS OUR SINS TO OTHER NATIONS.

should do perpetual penance for our "immoral" war
~~AND ADMIT WE HAVE COMMITTED EVERY KIND OF INTERNATIONAL CRIME. WE SHOULD~~ *in*
Americas Vietnam.

SPEND ALL OUR TIME TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WAYS TO DEMEAN OUR OWN NATION,

DISARM AS QUICKLY AS WE CAN AND MAKE THE RULERS OF THE THIRD WORLD HAPPY.

and he'll
TRY TELLING THAT TO THE ^{FELLOW} ~~GOY~~ NEXT DOOR. ~~WE'LL LAUGH AT YOU, INVITE YOU~~

~~IN FOR A DRINK AND TELL YOU THE FACTS OF LIFE. AND THEY ARE QUITE SIMPLE.~~

THIS COUNTRY ISN'T PERFECT. BUT IT IS THE BEST ONE IN THE WORLD.

and that
~~THAT~~, AS THE SAYING GOES, "AIN'T BOAST -- JUST FACT." WE HAVE LITTLE TO BE

ASHAMED OF AND EVERYTHING TO BE PROUD OF. IF SOME PSYCHOTIC AFRICAN

DICTATOR OR LATIN AMERICAN BULLY-BOY OR COMMUNIST THUG DOESN'T LIKE US,

WHO CARES? ~~THIS IS A TOUGH WORLD AND IF YOU DON'T KEEP YOUR GUARD UP,~~
~~THEN YOU ARE GOING TO GET HIT WITH AN UPPERCUT.~~ DON'T PUSH ANYBODY AROUND,
BUT DON'T LET THEM PUSH YOU AROUND. THE BEST WAY TO AVOID A FIGHT IS TO
SHOW ~~THE OTHER GUY~~ YOU'RE WILLING TO FIGHT IF NECESSARY.

THAT IS THE WISDOM OF THE STREET-CORNER AND THE COUNTRY STORE, THE
LOCAL BARBERSHOP AND THE TOWN MEETING. *It is tested and proved by experience.*
invites bullying and eventually leads to war.
SUCH WISDOM ~~MAY NOT~~ GET YOU A JOB IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, ~~THESE DAYS~~
Quaint *Left-wing*
~~THE FACULTY CLUB TYPES MAY SNICKER AT IT.~~ ~~SOME~~ INTELLECTUALS MAY DERIDE IT

AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIFESTATION OF INFERIORITY FEELINGS. *And* THERE ARE SOME
CONGRESSMEN WHO WOULD FAINT DEAD AWAY IF YOU EVER SAID *such* ~~THESE~~ THINGS TO THEM.

BUT ~~THIS~~ *that* KIND OF WISDOM ~~IS~~ HAS KEPT THIS COUNTRY FREE FOR OVER TWO
HUNDRED YEARS. IT'S THE WISDOM AT THE HEART OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE'S DESIRE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM. IT IS THE WISDOM THAT ~~MUST INFORM REPUBLICANS'~~ *will reshape the nation's* POLICY
ON ISSUES OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS *under its next Republican*
President.

WHETHER WE ARE TALKING ABOUT DOMESTIC OR FOREIGN POLICY, THESE ARE
as we approach the 1980:
FACTS THAT ARE CLEAR ~~AND THIS ELECTION YEAR~~ :

IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL LEADERS OF
THE OTHER PARTY TO KEEP THE STATUS QUO. THEY WANT AMERICANS TO KEEP ON

THINKING ABOUT POLITICS IN THE SAME WAY.

IT IS THE JOB OF REPUBLICANS TO SHAKE THINGS UP, TO GET THINGS MOVING,
TO THROW OVER THE FALSE IDOLS ~~THE~~ DEMOCRAT^s ~~LEADERS~~ HAVE SET UP FOR ALL TO
WORSHIP.

IT IS THE JOB OF REPUBLICANS TO REFUSE TO ACCEPT THE OLD WAY OF LOOKING
AT THINGS AND TO TAKE A NEW LOOK, TO SEE OPPORTUNITIES ~~WE HAVE BEEN FOR~~

~~THE~~ DEMOCRAT LEADERS AND ~~THEIR FRIENDS~~ ~~DON'T EXIST.~~ ~~THEY~~ ~~ARE~~ ~~NO~~ ~~LONGER~~ ~~WORTH~~ ~~FOLLOWING~~ ~~THEIR~~
~~OWN~~ ~~MISGUIDED~~ ~~LEADERS.~~ ~~THE~~ ~~TASK~~ ~~OF~~ ~~IS~~ ~~TO~~ ~~STOP~~ ~~HURTING~~ ~~THE~~ ~~AMERICAN~~ ~~FAMILY,~~
~~AND~~ ~~THE~~ ~~NEXT~~ ~~IS~~ ~~TO~~ ~~MAKE~~ ~~CERTAIN~~ ~~FUTURE~~ ~~GOVERNMENT~~ ~~POLICIES~~ ~~WHICH~~ ~~WILL~~ ~~SUPPORT~~ ~~FAMILY~~ ~~VALUES.~~
The next is support family values.

MENT POLICIES MUST HELP BUILD REAL JOBS. GOVERNMENT POLICIES MUST BE EXAMINED

SO THAT ~~THE~~ ~~NEIGHBORHOODS~~ ~~OF~~ ~~OUR~~ ~~CITIES~~ ~~AND~~ ~~THE~~ ~~HOUSES~~ ~~OF~~ ~~THE~~ ~~FARMERS~~ ~~ARE~~

CONSIDERED IN EVERY PIECE OF LEGISLATION. ~~WE~~ ~~WANT~~ ~~THE~~ ~~PEACE~~ ~~AND~~ ~~FREEDOM~~

THROUGH A SELF-CONFIDENT AND A STRONG AMERICA MUST BE FOREMOST ~~IN~~ ~~OUR~~ ~~MINDS.~~
be our priority.

AS MY OWN PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS NEW WAY OF LOOKING AT THINGS,

~~I~~ ~~WANT~~ ~~TO~~ ~~CLOSE~~ ~~BY~~ ~~QUOTING~~ ~~FROM~~ ~~A~~ ~~GREAT~~ ~~AMERICAN~~ ~~THE~~ ~~DEMOCRATIC~~ ~~PARTY~~ ~~HAS~~ ~~TRIED~~
~~TO~~ ~~CLAIM~~ ~~AS~~ ~~ITS~~ ~~OWN,~~ ~~I~~ ~~CHALLENGE~~ ~~THAT~~ ~~CLAIM~~ ~~AND~~ ~~EVERY~~ ~~REPUBLICAN~~ ~~SHOULD~~
~~REMEMBER~~ ~~THAT~~ ~~THOMAS~~ ~~JEFFERSON~~ ~~BELONGS~~ ~~TO~~ ~~ALL~~ ~~AMERICANS~~ ~~AND~~ ~~NOT~~ ~~TO~~
let me whom
all the while mocking his values and
philosophy.

ONE PARTY. INDEED, IF THAT VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN WERE TO COME BACK TODAY, IT

WOULD NOT BE THE BIG-GOVERNMENT, REGULATORY, PATERNAL, MEDDLING PHILOSOPHY OF THE PRESENT DEMOCRAT PARTY HE WOULD CALL HIS OWN.

Jefferson's

IF YOU'VE EVER VISITED ~~THE~~ HOME, MONTICELLO, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE IN

THE BEAUTIFUL VIRGINIA COUNTRYSIDE, YOU ARE SUDDENLY AWARE OF A FACT THAT

THE HISTORY BOOKS RARELY DWELL ON.

~~Today,~~

Remains

THE COUNTRY AROUND MONTICELLO ~~IS STILL BEAUTIFUL TODAY, IN SOME WAYS~~

MUCH AS IT MUST HAVE BEEN WHEN JEFFERSON BUILT HIS SUPERB HOME THERE. ~~AT~~

~~THIS TIME OF YEAR THE TREES ARE EITHER IN THE MIDST OF OR JUST FINISHING THE~~

~~BRILLIANT GOLD AND RED AND BROWN PAGEANT OF AUTUMN.~~ YOU STAND ON THE HILL

ON WHICH MONTICELLO IS BUILT AND YOU LOOK AROUND AND YOU WONDER TO YOURSELF:

WHAT WOULD EVER MAKE A MAN RISK ALL THIS?

THINK OF IT. ALTHOUGH THE BUILDING WAS NOT COMPLETED WHEN JEFFERSON WROTE THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE DREAM MUST HAVE BEEN THERE. AND HE WAS WILLING TO RISK THAT DREAM, THE SAME DREAM WE ALL SHARE, A DREAM FOR HIS FAMILY, FOR HIS WORK, FOR THE SURROUNDING VIRGINIA COUNTRYSIDE WHICH WAS HIS NEIGHBORHOOD. HE WAS WILLING TO SAY FAREWELL TO PEACE, TO RISK HIS FREEDOM FOR WHAT HE BELIEVED IN.

TELL THAT TO THE HISTORIANS WHO SAY THERE WAS AN ECONOMIC CAUSE OF OUR

REVOLUTION. TELL THAT TO THE CYNICS WHO SAY MEN AND WOMEN ARE ALWAYS MOTIVATED BY THEIR BASE INSTINCTS.

IF YOU ARE AT MONTICELLO AT TWILIGHT, THE AIR IS HUSHED AND STILL. FOR A MOMENT YOU ARE IN A KIND OF TIMELESS STATE. IT COULD BE 1978. OR 1878.

OR EVEN MARCH 4, 1801. *It was on that day that Jefferson delivered*

~~IT IS AS IF YOU CAN HEAR JEFFERSON'S WORDS FROM HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS GIVEN ON THAT DAY.~~ HE SPOKE OF THE NEED FOR (AND I QUOTE):

"...a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities."

THAT WAS THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT FOR WHICH JEFFERSON AND HIS FRIENDS WERE WILLING TO RISK THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES AND THEIR SACRED HONOR. NOT FOR WHAT THEY COULD GET OUT OF IT BUT FOR WHAT THEY BELIEVED. THEY FORMED THE FIRST COMMUNITY OF VALUES IN THIS COUNTRY.

MY FRIENDS, TELL ME:

CAN WE DO ANY LESS THAN ~~TO~~ TRY TO RESTORE "THE SUM OF GOOD GOVERNMENT"

FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN?

LET US DO ALL WE CAN FOR FAMILY, WORK, NEIGHBORHOOD, PEACE AND FREEDOM.

Let history remind
~~LET US SHOW HISTORY~~ THAT ALMOST TWO HUNDRED YEARS AFTER JEFFERSON'S WORDS, THERE WAS STILL A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WHO TRIED THEIR BEST TO CLOSE THE

"CIRCLE OF OUR FELICITIES."

America is a good country. Let us work together to restore America's greatness.