

Excerpts From Speeches at the Convention

Following are excerpts from the transcripts of speeches to the Republican National Convention by Vice President Rockefeller and Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, as recorded by The New York Times, and from the prepared text of the keynote address by Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., of Tennessee:

Rockefeller Address

Unaccustomed as I am to being a noncandidate, I greet you tonight as the only noncandidate I know on this program. This is a strange role for me. I've tried to get your nomination for 16 years. I've waged primary fights, platform battles, and convention contests, and I've enjoyed it.

I hope it has helped this party and more particularly helped this America, but I claim no record for my long-time effort. The Olympic honors for the Republican Presidential marathon remain with our good friend Harold Stassen. Harold, come out, come out. Where are you?

Now one of our pundits commented on my futile quest for the nomination, referring to me as always the Republican bridesmaid but never the bride. Now that's just not me, ladies and gentlemen. I've always wanted to be the groom. But somehow I never could get to the church on time.

Being a noncandidate, however, does not mean that I'm not concerned. I am concerned. I'm concerned about this Republican Party. I'm concerned about America. I'm concerned about equal opportunity for all America. I'm concerned with a world in which human dignity is recognized and fostered.

And I'm also concerned, that Americans do not understand or appreciate the contributions of President Ford and his Administration to this nation and the world.

Gerry Ford took the Presidency in the worst constitutional crisis this country had since the Civil War. By calm, deliberate and open action, and by sheer guts, he kept this nation from being torn apart at the seams. And if it took a football player who played center without a helmet to pull us through, I say, thank God we've had him to lead the team.

Use of the Veto

My friends, my friends, the easiest—my friends, thank you—I want to be sure we're all friends—the easiest thing a President can do with an appropriation bill is to sign it.

Gerry Ford had the intelligence and the courage to say "no." To use, ladies and gentlemen, to use the veto as the constitutional fathers intended it, to protect the interests of the majority, all of the people against the special interests of the pressure groups.

And contrary to what you've heard out of Madison Square Garden, the Ford Administration not only held down inflation, but raised the number of jobs in this

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by Rockefeller, Goldwater

and Baker

country to its all-time high. Ladies and gentlemen, these are real jobs, not make work.

Gerry Ford took office when we were involved in the war the Democrats produced. This had not only cost dearly in lives in the fighting in Southeast Asia but divided our people at home. It was a Republican Administration that got us out of the Vietnam problem.

And it was President Ford who took the firm action thereafter that restored the respect of friends and allies and potential foes as well throughout the world. And as we Baptists would say, "Brothers and sisters, that took some doing."

Shrinking Not Growing

This nation needs a strong and vigorous two-party system. Frankly, this Republican Party of ours has been shrinking not growing, and it's time to face up to this reality. We know we can have a broad-based appeal, we have won four out of the last seven Presidential elections, but we did it with candidates and with campaigns that appealed to the broad spectrum of the American populace—not a narrow few.

This Republican Party can grow. The nation requires it to do so. It must expand, gain adherents and not repel them. We must reach out to all groups in our society, more regions of this land. Every problem America faces today is an opportunity and at no period in history have the opportunities been greater than they are today.

If we but have the vision and the courage to grasp them, we can build an America of opportunity for all people to achieve what their capacity and talent and their visions can produce. If the Republican Party is to be a viable potential political force, we must seize these opportunities by offering a new spirit of unity and vigorous programs from this Republican convention.

The Republican Party needs this and more importantly the nation needs it. If you don't believe me, read the Democratic platform, with its pussyfooting prose. Or try to figure out where the Dem-

ocratic candidate stands on the issues. You know he really belongs on that TV program called "What's My Line?" Here's a fellow that one time calls himself a Georgia 'redneck' and just last

week in Washington at Ralph Nader's shindig, believe it or not he tried to pass himself off as one of the Nader-day saints.

My message to all Republicans is let's expose the Democrat doubletalk. Let's tell the people like it is. Let's give 'em straight talk, the facts. Let's tell them what we have done, what we will do and what it will mean to every American now and in the future.

Let's carry to the people an imaginative, a compassionate, a realistic and a sound program for these difficult but exciting years ahead. Let's do it here and now. And we're going to win a great victory in November. Thank you very much.

Goldwater Address

As we meet here tonight, one matter should be considered paramount to all our deliberations. And that matter is our party's position as the national defender of individual liberty.

What is it that we believe in? We believe in and adhere to the Constitution of the United States. We believe in and engage in free enterprise. We believe in and practice the proven truth that only through spiritual, economic and military strength can we preserve the peace that we now have.

Our enemies are deaf to the whining of weak but they hear loud and clear the voice of strength. So I wish to speak to you tonight not so much as a Republican concerned about the direction of his party but as an American concerned about the destiny of his country—for we are all Americans and we are all Republicans and what we do here in convention assembled will stretch far beyond ourselves, far beyond this year and our party.

Now we are told, depend on one man. Depend on Mr. Carter. And I say why. Why should you or I or any of us depend on any one man to protect and preserve what is so much larger than any one man, namely freedom and all that goes with it. And all that we have fought for and all that we believe in.

Why must all this depend

with the Government after the election.

The issue this year isn't virtue. It isn't love, or patriotism, or compassion. These are the common concerns of all of us, regardless of party. The issue this year, quite simply, is this: How much government is too much government? How many laws are too many laws? how much taxation is too much taxation? How much coercion is too much coercion?

We have greater economic strength, greater scientific and technological strength, than any nation, any time, anywhere, has ever had—and let's not forget the sources of that strength. It's not the government, it's the people of this country who provide that strength, and it's through the free will of a free people that we will continue to build that strength.

After the worst recession of the postwar period, our economy is in a solid, healthy recovery—with jobs up, incomes up, and inflation down—and it's recovering because a Republican Administration had the courage when it counted—to stand up against a Democratic Congress, to veto reckless spending, and resist the clamorous calls for controls and rationing.

Throughout our history, America has been remarkably right on the major decisions that have confronted her. Not only because she has often had wise leaders, but also because the people's judgment and wisdom, the common sense of America, has often supplied those answers.

The two-party system in the United States has served us well as the sensing mechanism by which the common sense of America has been determined. And, if we are going to meet those challenges of the future, averting the perils and fully realizing our promise, we must continue to hearken to the country's common sense—to those shared perceptions, those basic ideals, that reflect the popular wisdom and embody the national will.

Fear of Big Government

The common sense of America today is that even a freely elected government can become oppressive government. The common sense of America today is that government too much; it interferes too much; it bullies too much.

And because this is the common sense of America, the Democratic Party has four big problems this year. The first of those problems is Jimmy Carter. The second is Walter Mondale. The third is the Democratic Congress. And the fourth is that the American people don't want the kind of Government they would get from a cozy alliance between the big-spending Democratic Congress and a Carter-Mondale Administration.

You know, and I know, which party it is that speaks the common sense of America today. It is the Republican Party, which for years has fought an uphill battle to limit the size of Government, to limit the role of Government, to protect the individual against the encroachments of Governments.

And we say, We hear you, America, and we understand.

The idea of limited govern-

ment is not one that we suddenly embraced when it became popular, but one that we preached when it was unpopular. We preached it because we shared the concern of Thomas Jefferson who warned his countrymen that "the natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground." We preach it because our aim is not the sullen calm of a regimented society, but the mutual respect of a free society. And we don't just preach it. We also practice it.

Jimmy Carter says he will never lie to us, but Jimmy Carter is the nominee of the party which gave us the original credibility gap. And the Jimmy Carter who talks about running against Washington is the nominee of the party which has created more than 1,000 new Federal programs and planned them so poorly that they made "Washington" sound like a dirty word.

At last month's Democratic convention, Carter made it clear in his platform and his acceptance speech that the same old tired approaches will be tried again. While he still bobs and weaves and straddles a lot of the issues, it is now clear that the Carter-Mondale politics will be more of the same: more programs, more promises, more controls, more spending, more taxes, more Government.

It is the same old road. And we have been down that road, and we have seen where it leads, and don't you let them do it to us again.

Rise in U.S. Spending

It is no coincidence that for 40 years of the last 44 years, the Democratic Party has been in control of Congress. And in those 44 years, Federal spending has risen from less than \$4 billion to nearly \$400 billion.

When it comes to big Government, Franklin Roosevelt was a piker compared to what Governor Carter's friends in the Democratic Congress have been giving us lately. Just consider this: This year alone,

the Democratic Congress is spending more of your money than it spent in the entire 12 years of Roosevelt's New Deal . . . including the cost of World War II. And if the promises of the Carter-Mondale platform were enacted into law they would add another \$110 billion on top of that—equivalent to another \$2,000 of taxes for every family of four.

Power in Washington is a seductive thing. The power to tax, the power to spend, the power to regulate, the power of a few hundred people in Congress to impose their own will on 200,000,000 others, breeds a sort of insensitivity to the limits of power.

This year's campaign is not just a question of ins and outs, not just a matter of who gets the power, but more importantly of how that power is going to be used: whether it is going to be used to restrain the growth of government, or to accelerate the growth of government.

That is the basic difference

between the Republican and Democratic Parties. It is a difference over how much power the Government should have, and how that power should be exercised.

The Democrats start with government. We start with people.

For decades now, leaders of the Democratic Party have peddled the patronizing notion that only in Washington are officials wise enough or farsighted enough to decide for the rest of us what our priorities should be, how we should spend our taxes, what our goals should be, how we should organize our communities, even how close to home your child goes to school.

They do this with the best of intentions. They really believe that they know better, that the rules and guidelines they write are for our own good, that they have some superior vision, some nobler motive, that entitles them to tell the rest of us how to run our own personal lives.

Faith in the People

But let me tell you something. The notion that they know better than you do

what is best for Nashville or New York or for the people here in Kansas City is pure nonsense. They don't know. You know.

And that is at the heart of the Republican idea: that the place to put our faith is in the people themselves. That government in Washington should legislate less and listen more.

It is written on the facade of the National Archives that what is past is prologue, and for a nation to survive it must learn from its past. As we look back on the decade of the 1960's, the memories are painful—burning cities, riots in the streets, the forces of law under siege, the sky shot full of promises sent aloft like Roman candles that lit the heavens with hope only to fizzle and disappear.

America has had its fling with those Roman candles, the exaggerated promise, the false expectation, the cruel deception, that preyed most viciously on those who were most vulnerable: the young, the black, the poor, the jobless, those with little to cling to but their hopes.

In New York last month, we saw the old Roman candles set off again. More promises. More impossible dreams. More gift certificates in the sky.

But it's not going to fool the American people. Not this time. We enter the election this year as a minority party. But after watching the Democrats in New York last month, I sort of had the idea that they had forgotten something; they are a minority party too.

The voters who will decide this year's election are those independent-spirited citizens who will vote for a Republican or a Democrat, depending on what the candidate has to say, and what the party has to offer. The Democrats can unite their party until they are blue in the face, and they still won't win.

Agreement With Majority

It's the whole country that will decide the election in 1976. Republicans, enlightened Democrats, and the vast numbers of those independents who want to know what we have to offer: in that lies our great opportunity, because what we believe in is, this year, what the great majority of the American people believe in, and because for us, these are policies not of convenience, but of conviction, which we have fought for through the lean years as well as the good.

And this is why we can look forward with confidence and pride to a Republican year in 1976. Because we offer effective government, but limited government. Because the people in 1976 want restraints on the arrogance of power—whether arrogance by the executive, arrogance by the Congress, or arrogance by the courts. Because the people want a nation with the strength to defend its vital interests, and the wisdom to define those vital interests. Because the people want leadership that has a heart, but that uses its head. Because what we Republicans say to the people is not trust me, but rather, trust yourselves.