



# NEWS from U.S. Senator Bob Dole

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1977

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE. ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF YOUNG REPUBLICANS CONVENTION.  
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

"It is a pleasure to be with you.

I have covered a lot of ground the past seven months, addressing Republican audiences and other groups at affairs such as this. I have found time and again that Republicans are alive and well -- we are looking to the future with a strong spirit of vigor and optimism. This spirit has been translated into concrete results three times this year, as you know, with special Congressional election victories in Washington, Minnesota and -- just two weeks ago -- in Louisiana -- and many others on state and local levels.

But the health of the Republican Party is a topic that continues to tantalize some in the media. Our demise has been predicted often over the last forty years -- but here we are -- working -- as we should be to give Americans -- all Americans -- another choice.

We lost last year's Presidential race -- not because of positions taken -- and not because of our principles. We lost, I believe, because we failed to do an effective job of communicating the beliefs and concerns we share with the everyday interests of the vast majority of Americans. The positions, for the most part, were sound -- based on sound principles -- and in tune with the values and the aspirations of most of the American people. But, we failed in getting our message across. Frankly, too many American voters didn't hear us.

## - G.O.P. Must Reach Out -

Let's Face It: Among an all too sizeable group of Americans, Republicans are still perceived as "aginnners" -- a party that cares only for the rich, big business -- if you will.

Let's Face It: We cannot ignore any group of Americans -- I'm thinking now of millions of young and minority citizens -- Blacks and Hispanics -- ethnic Americans -- and other groups. We must reach out. We must have well qualified candidates and organize neighborhoods that have never understood Republicans before.

Let's Face It: The Democratic Party and its leadership are not without fault. The new Administration lacks a sense of direction -- and the American people are becoming aware of it. But we cannot rely solely on their shortcomings -- we must overcome our own -- if we are to be a strong, viable second party.

## - On The Way Up -

I believe we have the leadership, the potential and the resources needed to strengthen our party all across the country. Our National Chairman, Bill Brock, is a man of wide experience, who believes strongly in party organization, and the results of many of the programs he has initiated are most positive. The same can be said for his Co-Chairman, Mary Crisp.

A look at the Republican National Committee and the Party organization across the country will reveal hundreds of bright young Republicans occupying positions of leadership. This in itself is proof our party is on the move and keeping up with the times.

For example: Charlie Black, the National Committee's 29-year old Campaign Director, has vast responsibilities. Your own leader -- Roger Stone -- known for his hard work, dedication and interest in expanding party responsibilities for young Americans.

Of the 12 Regional Directors of the Republican National Committee -- the most professional and most responsible positions in the Party -- all but one are under 40, 3 of whom are women.

In short, I am optimistic about the Party -- about those who direct Party leadership. They understand that broadening the base of the Party cannot be achieved solely because of principle. They know that elections are won by strong grass roots organizations and by articulating issues that touch the lives of all Americans.



- Strength Among Young Voters -

The opinion polls that were conducted after our campaign last fall confirmed what we believed: The Ford-Dole ticket did well among younger voters in both the college and non-college groups. What a contrast with the campaigns of four and eight years earlier.

If we can continue this trend, attract still more young Americans to run as Republican candidates, or to work for other Republican candidates -- if we can sell our message to the emerging younger voters, our strength will improve dramatically.

Today's young people don't like to be hassled -- by the government or anyone else. They are turned off by false advertising and "P.R." gimmickry. They believe in individual responsibility.

- No Ideological Pledges -

We cannot allow ourselves to be distracted by factional strife. We cannot afford to enforce entrance examinations or insist on ideological purity. If we remain true to our common principles, and do a more effective job of relating what we stand for to the everyday interests of the American people, our cause will prevail -- because our positions do coincide with the interests of a vast majority of our fellow Americans.

- The Carter Presidency -

Let me shift to the present occupant of the White House. I have said a number of times that President Carter was off to a good start. But in view of numerous recent mistakes, I can no longer in good faith make that statement.

Of course, we want our President to succeed, and of course, we will support our President, as we should, when he is right. Narrow partisanship should never interfere with the national interest. This does not mean, however, that we must remain silent when we disagree with our President -- be he Democrat or Republican.

The polls show President Carter slipping dramatically during the past few weeks, and they also reflect a great deal of confusion on the part of Americans as to just what President Carter stands for. Americans are becoming bored with all the style of the Carter Administration and are tired of waiting for substance -- in short, the Presidential honeymoon is over.

We all recall the high-sounding phrases enunciated by Mr. Carter during the election and very early in his Administration.

You remember this statement in his acceptance speech: "It's time for our government leaders to respect the law no less than the humblest citizen, so that we can end once and for all a double standard of justice. I see no reason why big shot crooks should go free and the poor ones go to jail."

And you probably remember this statement: "If I become President, I will never turn my back on official misdeeds. I intend to take a new broom to Washington and do everything possible to sweep the house of government clean."

And you may remember this statement, also from his acceptance speech: "Our country has lived through a time of torment. It's now time for healing. We want to have faith again! We want to be proud again! We just want the truth again!"

And you certainly remember his statement in mid-August: "Bert, I'm proud of you."

Now, I don't want to dwell on Mr. Lance's problems -- there are too many of them. But as I view it, the question is no longer if Mr. Lance should resign -- the question is when he will resign. The broader question is the impact the Lance affair has had on this Administration, and more specifically, on the President himself.

In my view, the American people will no longer be taken in by President Carter's pious pronouncements. That phase of the Carter presidency is behind us.

When I recall all the insults heaped upon President Ford in the campaign last fall and their potential impact on the American voters, I cannot be sympathetic now. As if Lance were not enough for President Carter, his problems extend well beyond the White House. His legislative successes on Capitol Hill have been minimal. While I will not bore you with a lengthy recitation, let me mention a few legislative goals announced by President Carter that have fortunately gone by the wayside:

1. Instant voter registration.
2. Public financing of Congressional campaigns.
3. Repeal of the Hatch Act.
4. The \$50 rebate for all Americans.
5. Common situs picketing.
6. Automatic eligibility for veterans' benefits by individuals whose discharges were upgraded.



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When you add to this his failure to deal with unemployment and inflation and his penchant for alienating labor, business, blacks, farmers, the American Jewish community, and many others, you can understand why some are predicting that he may be asking for a recount before the year is out.

We saw an Administration coming to power full of hope, full of idealism, full of confidence -- today we see an Administration retreating on all fronts and blaming the press and Congress for its problems.

The President, of course, still has time on his side, and as the occupant of the most powerful office in the world, what may be hopeful political signs today can change quickly in a year or two from now.

But, as a Party, we have a responsibility to follow the Administration on a day-to-day basis. We must remind the American people of the promises made and the promises broken, because millions of Americans -- whether Republicans, Democrats or Independents -- look to the Party out of power -- the Republican Party -- for responsible alternatives and responsible criticism and hope for the future.

Finally, perhaps the most dismal failure of this Administration has been in the field of foreign policy.

- A Pattern of Inconsistency -

But now, I ask you: What is the foreign policy of the United States today?

The unavoidable answer is that this Administration's foreign policy is a pattern of inconsistencies. The rhetoric of human rights is followed by the reality of retreat, and realignment of our friendship abroad.

- To the South, they're cuddling up to Castro.
- To the East, they're still looking for a face-saving device to withdraw relations from the government of Taiwan.
- Not too far away from Taiwan, they're trying to retreat from our security position in Korea, and to embrace the Communist Government of Vietnam.
- In Europe, should war come, recent accounts say we are preparing to surrender one-third of West Germany.
- In the Middle East, we have managed to confuse nearly everyone, by insisting that Israel accept preconditions before going to the bargaining table.
- And in our negotiations with the Soviet Union, they have already given away one of the most crucial negotiating points -- the B-1 bomber.

Some may call this progress. I call it retreat -- one of the most precipitous withdrawals of American power and American influence in my lifetime. There was a time when the United States was the greatest single force for stability and peace anywhere in the world. Who can say that today?

- A "New Era" in Latin America? -

In our own Western Hemisphere, we are playing a high-risk game of trying to balance national security interests against a "New Era" of inter-American relations.

While the Administration's concept of human rights is damaging some of our traditional alliances in Latin America, national interest and human rights are being sadly ignored in our approach to Cuba and Panama.

Cuba obviously needs us -- their economy is on the ropes. But why do we need them? And why has this Administration so impatiently tried to build a bridge of new relations across the 90-mile gap that separates our countries? If Mr. Castro truly wants better relations with America, let him first release the 15,000 political prisoners estimated to be rotting away in Cuban jails. Let him pay for the \$1.8 billion worth of property he seized from Americans.

Let him put an end to fomenting unrest and revolution throughout Latin America. And let him pull his troops out of Africa, where they are actively trying to undermine legitimate governments. Indeed, let him become a good neighbor, and if he doesn't, we can get along without Havana cigars for a few more years.

As for General Torrijos in Panama, his reputation and his regime have been, in part, built upon a disregard for human rights. So I am not convinced it's very sensible to turn over one of the world's greatest waterways to his safe-keeping.

The Administration deserves to be heard on this most controversial treaty proposal, but without the pomp and ceremony that obscures rather than clarifies the real issues.

Other than confront the matter in a campaign atmosphere, we need to scrutinize every aspect with a calm and deliberate attitude. I believe the American people look for an honest and open exchange of views, but they want responsible consideration of our nation's future security at every stage of debate.



Before we sacrifice a single inch of territory, the American people deserve some answers. Why, for instance, is the Canal any safer from terrorists if it is being protected by the Panamanian National Guard as opposed to U.S. Marines? Why -- if we're going to give away rights to one of the world's great treasures -- should we be forced to pay them millions of dollars to accept it? Many other questions need to be asked. If there are no responsible answers, the American people will judge the President's treaty proposal accordingly.

- Growing Discontent -

There are growing indications that the American people are increasingly discontented with the way that the Administration is handling the entire range of foreign policy issues. Inconsistency in our policy leads to confusion. And consistent failure of initiatives overseas leads inevitably to disillusionment.

When Mr. Vance comes home empty-handed from Moscow, when he comes home in gloom from the Middle East, when he comes home in ambiguity from Mainland China, we ought not to ask "Why did we fail?", but instead, "Why was he sent?", "What were his instructions?", And, "Who gave him those instructions.". Indeed, "Who is in charge here?".

When this Administration came to power, the United States was militarily strong and universally respected. A new Salt Agreement was 90 percent completed with the Soviet Union. In the Middle East, the tinderbox of world affairs, we were respected by all parties to the conflict as an impartial friend in the search for peace. In Japan, in West Germany, and elsewhere in Europe our allies said that their relationships with America had never been stronger. In short, our foreign policy was as sound in practice as it was consistent in principle. And throughout most of the world, America was looked upon as a firm, steady partner in the quest for a just and lasting peace.

Eight months have passed now -- and look what we have:

- In place of policy -- there is rhetoric.
- In place of clarity, there is confusion.
- In place of firmness, there is hesitation.
- In place of principle, there is inconsistency.

It seems clear to me that the state of the Carter Presidency as of now presents us with both an opportunity and a challenge. Many Americans are becoming disillusioned, and this does present an opportunity if we act responsibly. Certainly the fuzzy policies of the Administration challenge us, as well as millions of Democrats and Independents, to work together preparing for a change in 1980.

I believe it can be done, and you would not be here if you did not share that view.

So I thank you all for coming, and wish you the best in strengthening and broadening our Party in the months and years ahead.

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