

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL HERITAGE GROUPS

PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

MAY 27, 1978

IT IS ALWAYS A PLEASURE TO ADDRESS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL HERITAGE GROUPS, AND I AM PLEASED TO BE WITH YOU TODAY.

NO ASSEMBLY OF MEN AND WOMEN WITHIN OUR PARTY -- INDEED, FEW GROUPS WITHIN OUR NATION -- HAVE BEEN AS FORTHRIGHT IN THEIR ADVOCACY OF POLICIES WHICH EXTEND AND EXPAND THE SCOPE OF HUMAN FREEDOM AT HOME AND ABROAD AS HAVE THE REPUBLICAN HERITAGE GROUPS. YOUR COMMITMENT, YOUR DEDICATION, AND YOUR UNSWERVING ADVOCACY OF THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS AN INSPIRATION TO OUR PARTY, OUR NATION, AND PEOPLE WHO YEARN FOR FREEDOM AROUND THE GLOBE. AND, TOO, YOUR WORK SERVES TO REMIND US THAT OUR PARTY -- THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- WAS CONCEIVED AND BORN IN THE GREATEST STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN LIBERTY THIS LAND HAS EVER SEEN.

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AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, I HAVE LISTENED TO MUCH TESTIMONY ON THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SUFFERING THAT PEOPLE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN ENDURE IS DISHEARTENING. ALTHOUGH WE WERE NOT NAIVE ENOUGH TO EXPECT COMPLETE SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, NEVERTHELESS WE HOPED FOR SOME PROGRESS. IN MY OPINION, THERE HAS BEEN NONE.

WHEN I WENT TO BELGRADE LAST NOVEMBER FOR THE FOLLOW-UP C.S.C.E. CONFERENCE, I ADDRESSED THE PLENARY SESSION. I POINTED OUT THEN THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MADE UP OF PEOPLE OF DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS, AMONG THEM EAST EUROPEANS, WHOSE CONCERN FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR HERITAGE. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR TRIED TO MAKE LIGHT OF MY STATEMENT SAYING THAT IT WOULD BE ONLY A MATTER OF TIME BEFORE AMERICA CAME AROUND TO THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW. BUT ALL OF US GATHERED HERE TODAY HAVE MADE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO THOSE VERY PRINCIPLES AND WE WILL NOT BE SWAYED OR LULLED INTO ACCEPTING SOVIET TOTALITARIAN DOCTRINES.

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AT THIS POINT, I WOULD LIKE TO COMMEND TO YOU MICHAEL NOVAK'S EXCELLENT ARTICLE OF LAST WEDNESDAY. I AM SURE THAT MANY OF YOU HAVE SEEN IT. IT DEALS WITH THE TENDENCY OF SOME INTELLECTUALS IN OUR COUNTRY TO EVALUATE SOVIET ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS WITH SUCH UNDERSTANDING AND COMPASSION AS TO UNDERMINE OUR WILL AS A DEMOCRACY TO STAND FIRMLY FOR OUR OWN PRINCIPLES AND TO SPEAK OUT FOR THOSE WHO NEED OUR SUPPORT. HOWEVER, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WHEN THE C.S.C.E. PROCESS RESUMES IN MADRID IN 1980, I WILL BE THERE. I WILL AGAIN FIRMLY REITERATE MY SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN EVEN STRONGER TERMS. THE SOVIET UNION MUST REALIZE THAT YOU AND I AND PEOPLE LIKE US THROUGHOUT ALL THE STATES OF THE UNION HAVE MADE AN UNSHAKEABLE COMMITMENT TO THESE PRINCIPLES. IF IT DOES NOT, IT WILL DRAW ERRONEOUS AND DANGEROUS CONCLUSIONS ABOUT OUR NATIONAL GOALS AND CONVICTIONS.

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NEVER ENDING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

DAY AFTER DAY, WE ARE REMINDED THAT THE STRUGGLE NEVER ENDS, THAT IN FAR TOO MANY NATIONS OF THE WORLD THE MOST FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ROUTINELY IGNORED, THAT YOUR FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN THE BALTIC STATES, IN UKRAINE, IN BYELORUSSIA, IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE MEDITERRANEAN AND LATIN AMERICA ARE DENIED THE BASIC FREEDOMS WE CHERISH HERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

AS REPUBLICANS, AS MEN AND WOMEN CONCERNED WITH EXPANDING FREEDOM IN TANGIBLE WAYS, WE MUST SUPPORT -- INDEED, DEMAND -- AMERICAN POLICIES WHICH REITERATE OUR NATION'S COMMITMENT TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE THAT FREEDOM IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF ALL MEN, THAT THE DESTINY OF ALL PEOPLE IS TO BE FREE.

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WITHOUT TRAVERSING THE DANGEROUS COURSE OF DAY-TO-DAY CONFRONTATION POLITICS, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO OURSELVES AND TO OUR HERITAGE TO DEMAND AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ON THIS FRONT.

IN A COMPLEX AND EVER-CHANGING WORLD, WE ARE CONSTANTLY TEMPTED TO LOOK THE OTHER WAY, TO IGNORE THE ENSLAVEMENT OF FREEDOM-LOVING MEN AND WOMEN IN FOREIGN LANDS, TO EXCUSE AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR AND FOREIGN ESCAPADES BY TOTALITARIAN NATIONS, PRETENDING NOT TO SEE AS DESPOTS IN OTHER LANDS INFLICT UNTOLD CRUELITIES ON THEIR COUNTRYMEN.

SO, TOO, ARE WE ENTICED TO LET THE "DOCTRINE OF WISHFUL THINKING" DICTATE OUR DELICATE RELATIONS WITH THE SUPER-POWERS, ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET UNION. THIS IS A DANGEROUS, ULTIMATELY SELF-DESTRUCTIVE COURSE, AND, UNFORTUNATELY, ONE WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER IS MAKING A CENTERPIECE OF U.S. BARGAINING STRATEGY ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS.

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WEAKENING SALT POSITION

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS SHOWN WEAKNESS AND VACILLATION IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. IN THE SPRING OF 1977, THE PRESIDENT SENT SECRETARY VANCE TO MOSCOW WITH A NEW SALT PROPOSAL WHICH COULD HAVE EFFECTED A REDUCTION IN THE UNRESTRAINED ARMS COMPETITION. BUT, THE RUSSIANS EVIDENTLY COULD NOT ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF SLOWING THE STRATEGIC BUILD-UP AND FLATLY REJECTED THAT PROPOSAL.

THE PRESIDENT CHOSE NOT TO REMAIN STEADFAST AND CONVINCE THE RUSSIANS OF OUR UNSWERVING WILL. BUT RATHER ALLOWED THE ADMINISTRATION TO SIGNAL TO MOSCOW THAT WE WOULD NOT DEFEND OUR PROPOSAL. INSTEAD OF DEMONSTRATING PERSERVERENCE AND DETERMINATION IN THE FACE OF SOVIET INTRANSIGENCE, THE PRESIDENT HAS DEMONSTRATED SELF-DOUBT.

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FOR THE PAST YEAR, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN NEGOTIATING A NEW SALT AGREEMENT THAT IS STRIPPED OF MOST OF THE FEATURES WHICH WOULD HAVE SLOWED THE SOVIET STRATEGIC BUILD-UP.

THIS NEW SALT TREATY HAS DANGEROUS DEFECTS WHICH CAN ONLY SERVE TO WEAKEN NATIONAL SECURITY AND LESSEN STRATEGIC STABILITY.

FIRST, THIS TREATY WILL NOT SLOW DOWN THE MILITARY BUILD-UP THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS ENGAGED IN FOR THE LAST 15 YEARS. IT WILL LIMIT SEVERELY THE CRUISE MISSILE, THE ONE AREA OF TECHNOLOGY WHERE THE UNITED STATES IS AHEAD.

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SECOND, THIS SALT AGREEMENT IS INTRINSICALLY MORE DIFFICULT TO VERIFY THAN SALT I. WHEN THE RUSSIANS REACH OUR PRESENT LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE 1980's, THEY CAN BUILD CRUISE MISSILES WITH A MUCH GREATER RANGE, AND WE SHALL LACK THE EVIDENCE TO DETERMINE A SOVIET VIOLATION OF THE TREATY. THE EXAMPLES OF SOVIET CHEATING ON THE 1972 ACCORD ARE WIDELY KNOWN. OUR CHIEF ARMS NEGOTIATOR, MR. WARNKE, HAS STATED THAT VERIFIABILITY OF THE PROPOSED SALT AGREEMENT IS "ADEQUATE." BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE, OUR MEANS OF VERIFICATION OF RUSSIAN COMPLIANCE MUST BE SUPERLATIVE FOR WE CAN EXPECT VIOLATIONS ACROSS THE FULL RANGE OF TECHNICAL AREAS FROM AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS RADARS TO ACTUAL NON-COMPLIANCE WITH NUMERICAL CEILINGS.

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THIRD, AND PERHAPS MOST SERIOUS OF ALL, IS THE IMPACT THIS NEW SALT TREATY WOULD HAVE ON THE MILITARY BALANCES IN EUROPE AND IN ASIA. THIS NEW SALT AGREEMENT WOULD ALLOW THE RUSSIANS TO DEPLOY THE VERY CAPABLE NEW BACKFIRE BOMBER TO THREATEN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, ASIA, AND AFRICA. COMBINED WITH THE SS-20, A MULTIPLE WARHEAD, HIGHLY ACCURATE DELIVERY SYSTEM, THE SOVIETS POSSESS THE CAPABILITY TO DESTROY EVERY NATO BASE IN EUROPE. THIS GROWING IMBALANCE IN EUROPE AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD JEOPARDIZES THE FUTURE OF ARMS CONTROL. WHAT TRADE-OFF IN FUTURE ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS WILL INDUCE THE RUSSIANS TO LIMIT THEIR SS-20 MISSILE AND BACKFIRE BOMBER?

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THE UNITED STATES HAS NO MEDIUM RANGE WEAPONS SYSTEMS UNDER DEVELOPMENT -- LET ALONE IN PRODUCTION. IN FACT, SINCE THE PRESIDENT CANCELLED THE B-1, WE DON'T EVEN HAVE A NEW INTER CONTINENTAL BOMBER. THE CRUISE MISSILE IS THE ONLY WEAPON WHICH COULD RESTRICT THE BALANCE IN EUROPE AND THE PROPOSED SALT TREATY WILL EVEN FORECLOSE THIS. THE HANDLING OF THE "ENHANCED RADIATION" WEAPON -- THE SO-CALLED NEUTRON BOMB -- AND THE DRASTIC CURTAILMENT OF FULL-SCALE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MX MISSILE FURTHER DEMONSTRATES THE PATTERN OF INDECISIVENESS PRACTICED BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

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EVER-ESCALATING ARMS RACE

WORDS ALONE WILL NOT RESTORE NUCLEAR BALANCE. WE CANNOT NEGOTIATE LIMITATIONS ON THE SOVIET ARMS BUILD-UP IF WE HAVE CANCELLED ALL OF OUR COUNTERVAILING ARMS PROGRAMS BEFORE WE GO TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. NOW, CERTAINLY, NO ONE SUPPORTS THE EVER-ESCALATING ARMS RACE. NO RESPONSIBLE POLITICIAN -- DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN -- WANTS TO SEE OUR NATION SPEND HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS YEAR AFTER YEAR IN A FRUITLESS BATTLE WITH THE RUSSIANS FOR NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY. BUT WE MUST NOT BE BLIND TO REALITY. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE "DOCTRINE OF WISHFUL THINKING" HAS NOT BEEN EMBRACED BY OUR ADVERSARIES IN THE KREMLIN, THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE SHOWN LITTLE WILLINGNESS TO UNILATERALLY CUT BACK ON THEIR ARMAMENTS, THAT THE EVIDENCE IS INCONTROVERTIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE REPEATEDLY VIOLATED STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENTS AND OTHER TREATIES WHEN IT SUITED THEIR NATIONAL AIMS.

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ADMINISTRATION WILLING TO GAMBLE

THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS NOT THE LEADERSHIP THE FREE WORLD EXPECTS FROM THE UNITED STATES. IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM IN THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, IF WE ARE TO MAKE MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN EXPANDING FREEDOM IN THE AFRICAN STATES, IN THE CARIBBEAN, IN SOUTH AMERICA, AND IN ASIA AND EUROPE, WE MUST REMAIN STRONG AND VIGILANT. AMERICA'S VOICE MUST BE STRONG, OUR COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL STRENGTH IN NEGOTIATION UNFAILING.

WE MUST FIGHT FOR POLICIES WHICH KEEP AMERICA MILITARILY STRONG SO THAT THE TIME WILL NEVER COME WHEN WE WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE WITH OUR ADVERSARIES, BUT ONLY AGREE TO THE TERMS PRESENTED TO US. TODAY, WE HAVE THE TECHNOLOGY. WE HAVE THE RESOURCES. AND WE WILL TOMORROW, IF ONLY OUR WILL AND DETERMINATION AT THE BARGAINING TABLE DOES NOT FAIL.

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CERTAINLY, WE WANT TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE.

BUT WE CANNOT AFFORD DETENTE AT ANY PRICE. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS TIME AND AGAIN IGNORED HIS BARGAINING CHIPS. FIRST, CANCELLING THE B-1 FOLLOWED IN RAPID SUCCESSION BY THE NEUTRON BOMB AND CUTTING BACK ON MX MISSILE DEVELOPMENT. CANCELLATION OF ONE MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEM AFTER ANOTHER IS A DANGEROUS AND UNWISE POLICY.

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ORLOV AND HUMAN RIGHTS

AS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION ARE BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION, WE SHOULD SPEAK OUT. PRESIDENT CARTER STARTED OUT BY ARTICULATING AN AMERICAN OFFENSIVE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. NOW, HE HAS RETREATED TO THE POINT THAT SOME DISSIDENTS BLAME HIM FOR THE SEVERITY OF THE CRACKDOWN ON DISSIDENTS. THAT MAY NOT BE JUSTIFIED BUT THE TWELVE-YEAR SENTENCE METED OUT TO DR. YURI ORLOV LAST WEEK AT HIS MOCK TRIAL COULD BE THE KREMLIN'S ANSWER TO A RETREAT THEY'VE PERCEIVED IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY. ON THE CHANCE THAT IT IS, WE MUST REITERATE CLEARLY AND LOUDLY OUR SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. WE MUST BE FIRM AND STRONG. WE SHOULD SEND THE MESSAGE TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT THEIR TOTAL DISREGARD OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT CANNOT GO UNANSWERED.

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U.S. - U.S.S.R. RE-EVALUATION

THE WHOLE QUESTION OF UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS SHOULD BE RE-EVALUATED. AS A BEGINNING, THE UNITED STATES OUGHT TO ASSUME LEADERSHIP IN CONDEMNING THE SOVIET'S DISREGARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF ITS SCIENTISTS AND OTHER CITIZENS. I HAVE INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE 21 AMERICAN SCIENTISTS WHO THIS WEEK CANCELLED THEIR TRIP TO A SCIENTIFIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE SOVIET UNION TO PROTEST THE ORLOV SENTENCE. LIKEWISE, OUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD CAREFULLY EVALUATE OUR SPONSORSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND EXCHANGES OF SCIENTISTS WITH THE SOVIETS UNTIL MEANINGFUL PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS MADE IN THE U.S.S.R.

IT IS TIME WE GOT SOMETHING FROM THE SOVIET UNION. DETENTE MUST BE A TWO-WAY STREET OR IT IS A WORTHLESS EXERCISE IN SELF-DELUSION.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

SO, TOO, WE MUST INSIST ON THE OBSERVANCE OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS BY OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD. JUST THIS WEEK, THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR RETURNED FROM THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. IT APPEARS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE UP ITS MIND TO PRESS FOR FULL NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR NATION AND THE CHINESE. WE ARE ALL AWARE THAT "NORMAL RELATION" AS DEFINED BY PEKING, CARRIES WITH IT THE PRECONDITION OF DROPPING MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH OUR FRIENDS ON TAIWAN. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION FAILED TO SEND AN OFFICIAL DELEGATION TO TAIWAN FOR THE INAUGURATION OF A NEW PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. LIKEWISE, WHEN THE VICE PRESIDENT MADE HIS SWEEP OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC NATIONS TWO WEEKS AGO, HE CIRCUMVENTED TAIWAN. THESE INTERNATIONAL SLIGHTS BY THE ADMINISTRATION ARE A CLEAR AFFRONT TO OUR STEADFAST FRIEND AND ALLY.

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I THINK MR. BRZEZINSKI AND VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SHOULD BE RAISING THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. STORIES OF UNTOLD MILLIONS WHO LOST THEIR LIVES IN CHINA SINCE THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BEGAN DECADES AGO ARE STILL CIRCULATING. WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT WE WILL NOT SACRIFICE THE SECURITY OF TAIWAN FOR THE SAKE OF NORMALIZED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEKING REGIME.

GENOCIDE IN CAMBODIA

PEKING'S FRIENDS IN CAMBODIA SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE STRONGEST INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE WE CAN MUSTER. DESPITE THE FACT THAT ONE OF THE MOST SAVAGE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY IN MODERN TIMES IS UNDERWAY IN CAMBODIA TODAY, LITTLE ATTENTION OR CONCERN HAS BEEN DIRECTED TO THE CAMBODIAN TYRANT, POL POT, THE 1970'S COUNTERPART TO JOSEPH STALIN AND ADOLPH HITLER. THE SILENCE BY OUR GOVERNMENT -- WHICH WAS BROKEN ONLY RECENTLY BY THE PRESIDENT -- IS DEPLORABLE.

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IF HUMAN RIGHTS IS TO BE ANYTHING MORE THAN A MERE EXCUSE FOR MORAL POSTURING, THEN CERTAINLY THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION DESERVES WHATEVER EFFORTS PRESIDENT CARTER CAN MUSTER FOR ITS RELIEF. COLUMNIST WILLIAM SAFIRE WAS NOT FAR OFF THE MARK WHEN HE ASSERTED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR EVIDENTLY COULD NOT BRING THEMSELVES TO UPSET THIRD WORLD COLLEAGUES BY DEMANDING INVESTIGATION AND CONDEMNATION OF THE SLAUGHTER; TO THE SHAME OF THIS NATION, WE REMAIN SILENT AS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS DIE.

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THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS SURROGATES IN HAVANA APPEAR TO HAVE SELECTED THE AFRICAN CONTINENT AS A STAGING GROUND FOR A STRATEGIC SHOWDOWN, TO TEST THE WILL OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR LEADERSHIP. SO FAR, I FEAR WE HAVE FAILED THAT TEST. DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS STEADILY INCREASED ITS CONTRIBUTIONS OF ARMS, MILITARY ADVISORS, AND MERCENARY GUERILLAS TO AFRICAN TROUBLE SPOTS. AT EACH STAGE WE HAVE TURNED OUR HEADS.

WE REFUSE TO BE FIRM BUT RATHER CHOOSE TO ALLOW CUBA TO REIGN IN AFRICA -- FREE TO DEVELOP UNOPPOSED A MYTH OF INVINCIBILITY, WHILE IN WASHINGTON THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO SPONSOR TRADE DISCUSSIONS WITH CUBA AND TO SEND EMISSARIES FROM THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT TO HAVANA. CASTRO IS ALLOWED TO SPREAD THE SEEDS OF COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD UNCHECKED. INDEED, ASSISTED BY OUR LACK OF POLICY, THE WHITE HOUSE IS NOT PROVIDING LEADERSHIP. THE ADMINISTRATION MUST ACCEPT THE BURDEN AND AID THOSE AFRICAN NATIONS WHICH POSSESS THE WILL TO OPPOSE THE CUBAN COMMUNISTS. THE CUBAN PEOPLE MUST BE TOLD THE TRUTH ABOUT THE

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AGGRESSIVE - OPPRESSIVE WARS IN WHICH THEIR SOLDIERS ARE FIGHTING AND DYING. IT MUST BE MADE CLEAR THAT WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN ANY RELATIONSHIP WITH CUBA AS LONG AS CASTRO CONTINUES TO ADVANCE COMMUNISM AROUND THE WORLD.

ON JUNE 16, 1977, I INTRODUCED AN AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT. THE AMENDMENT CONTAINED FOUR CONDITIONS THAT MUST BE MET BY THE CUBAN REGIME BEFORE ANY SO-CALLED "NORMALIZATION" CAN TAKE PLACE. FIRST, TO PROVIDE COMPENSATION FOR THE APPROXIMATELY \$2 BILLION WORTH OF U.S. PROPERTY CONFISCATED WHEN CASTRO CAME TO POWER IN 1959; SECOND, THE WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN MILITARY TROOPS AND ADVISERS FROM AFRICA -- ABOUT 23,000 THEN, NOW OVER 40,000; THIRD, THE RELEASE OF U.S. CITIZENS BEING HELD PRISONER ALONG WITH SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF CUBAN CITIZENS; AND FOURTH, THE RENEWAL OF THE 1973 ANTI-HIJACKING ACCORD WITH THE U.S.

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THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AT THAT TIME
OPPOSED THE AMENDMENT. I THINK NOW THEY MAY BE
SEEING THE LIGHT. I STAND PREPARED TO STRENGTHEN
PRESIDENT CARTER'S HAND IN DEALING WITH RUN-AWAY
COMMUNISM AROUND THE WORLD, AND SO DO THE MAJORITY
OF MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES. THOSE WHO WOULD TIE
THE PRESIDENT'S HANDS -- MOSTLY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS --
ARE THE SAME LIBERALS WHO HANDCUFFED PRESIDENT FORD
IN HIS EFFORTS TO HELP NON-COMMUNIST FORCES IN
ANGOLA IN 1975.

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VALUABLE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

BUT I DO NOT HAVE TO DWELL ON THESE MATTERS WITH YOU. YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF LIBERTY AND FREEDOM HAS BEEN SHARPENED TO A FINE POINT. IN MANY INSTANCES THROUGH PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT YOU ARE SUCH A VALUABLE COMPONENT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. YOU HAVE A VERY SPECIAL PLACE IN THIS HISTORY OF AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT AND YOUR PERCEPTIONS AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS IT FACES ARE INVALUABLE. IT IS YOUR DIVERSE ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS THAT GIVE OUR PARTY A STRENGTH AND PLURALISM WHICH IS INDISPENSABLE FOR OUR FUTURE AS A PARTY AND THE FUTURE OF AMERICA AS A GREAT NATION.

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