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SPEECH BEFORE THE  
WASHINGTON STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION  
VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON  
JUNE 30, 1978

I AM PLEASED TO BE BACK IN WASHINGTON, THE STARTING POINT  
FOR MY 1976 CAMPAIGN FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

I'M ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE HERE AT THE 1978 WASHINGTON STATE  
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, BECAUSE 1978 IS GOING TO BE A GOOD  
YEAR FOR OUR PARTY IN WASHINGTON, AND THROUGHOUT THE NATION.

- 2 -

IT'S A YEAR OF UNPARALLELED OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR PARTY, OUR MESSAGE IS CLEAR AND CONSISTENT, OUR VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF AMERICA SOUND, AND OUR ELECTORAL PROSPECTS BRIGHT. AFTER YEARS OF DEMOCRATIC DOMINATION, AT A TIME WHEN THE TREND TOWARDS BIGGER AND BIGGER GOVERNMENT APPEARS TO HAVE REACHED ITS ZENITH, THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA YEARN FOR COMMON SENSE IN GOVERNMENT, FOR A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS COMPASSIONATE YET FRUGAL, IDEALISTIC BUT NOT FOOLHARDY, RESPONSIVE TO ITS CITIZENS AND RESPONSIBLE TO ITS TAXPAYERS.

OVER THE PAST DECADE, OUR PEOPLE HAVE BECOME CYNICAL ABOUT THE PERSONALITIES AND PROCESSES OF POLITICS, ANGRY ABOUT GOVERNMENT MEDDLING IN THEIR BUSINESSES AND PRIVATE LIVES, ALARMED ABOUT THE LOSS OF AMERICAN PRESTIGE WORLDWIDE, FINANCIALLY BURDENED BY GOVERNMENT-INDUCED INFLATION, AND FED UP WITH THE TOLL FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS EXTRACT FROM THEM IN EVER-INCREASING TAXES.

- 3 -

THERE'S NOT A FORCE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY BETTER EQUIPPED TO ARTICULATE THESE CONCERNS, THESE FRUSTRATIONS, THIS MORE REALISTIC PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT THAN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. AND I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TODAY KNOW THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS GENUINELY COMMITTED TO GIVING THE PEOPLE THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WANT. AS REPUBLICANS, WE KNOW THAT WE CAN DELIVER TO THE VOTERS IF WE ACT TOGETHER, MOTIVATED BY WHAT UNITES US, NOT INHIBITED BY WHAT DIVIDES US.

CERTAINLY, OUR PARTY'S LONG-STANDING COMMITMENT TO FISCAL SANITY AND TO TAX RELIEF WAS BOOSTED TREMENDOUSLY BY THE POLITICAL EARTHQUAKE WHICH ERUPTED EARLIER THIS MONTH IN CALIFORNIA. THE VOTERS THERE SENT A CLEAR SIGNAL TO GOVERNMENT THAT TAXPAYERS ARE WAKING UP FROM THEIR ETERNAL TAX NIGHTMARE, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT GOVERNMENT OFF THEIR BACKS AND OUT OF THEIR POCKETS, THEY WANT LESS REGULATION, LOWER TAXES, AND A LOWER RATE OF INFLATION.

- 4 -

THESE ARE IMPORTANT ISSUES, ISSUES WHICH WE, AS REPUBLICANS, MUST ADDRESS IN THE COMING CAMPAIGN. FOR IF WE ARE TO CONVINCING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT REPUBLICANS CAN ONCE AGAIN LEAD THIS NATION, WE MUST CONVINCING THEM THAT WHAT WE STAND FOR BEST SERVES THEIR INTERESTS, THAT REPUBLICANS ARE SERIOUS ABOUT SCALING DOWN THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT, REDUCING FEDERAL SPENDING, AND CUTTING TAXES.

WE KNOW -- AND OUR OPPONENTS KNOW -- THAT POCKETBOOK ISSUES MAKE GOOD POLITICS. BUT, PERHAPS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION, MORE IMPORTANT EVEN THAN THE NEED FOR TAX AND SPENDING RESTRAINTS, IS THE URGENT NEED FOR AMERICA TO REASSERT ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD, TO CHART A CONSISTENT, PRUDENT COURSE OF FOREIGN POLICY.

- 5 -

A STRONG AND CONSISTENT FOREIGN POLICY IS NEEDED

AS THE LEADERS OF THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE PROJECT AN IMAGE OF STRENGTH AND FIRM ADHERENCE TO CONSISTENT PRINCIPLES IN OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS.

UNFORTUNATELY, AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, UNDER THE INEXPERIENCED DIRECTION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, DOES NOT PROJECT SUCH AN IMAGE. OUR GOALS ARE BLURRED, OUR COMMITMENT TO ALLIES QUESTIONED, OUR RESOLVE TO DEAL FIRMLY WITH ADVERSARIES DOUBTED. UNCERTAINTY, CONTRADICTION, FREQUENT SHIFTS IN POLICY, AND INCONSISTENCY CHARACTERIZE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY. OUR IMAGE IS OF A NATION WHICH HAS LOST ITS GRIP ON THE RUDDER OF FREE WORLD LEADERSHIP.

- 6 -

AS REPUBLICANS, AS CONCERNED CITIZENS OF AMERICA, WE CANNOT STAND IDLY BY. WE MUST SPEAK OUT, CONSTRUCTIVELY CRITICIZING THE ADMINISTRATION WHEN APPROPRIATE. WE MUST INSIST UPON COHERENT STRATEGIES TO GUIDE OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES. BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT WHERE THERE IS NO VISION, THERE CAN BE NO STRENGTH OF PURPOSE. AND, SADLY, THIS ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO HAVE NO VISION, NO PURPOSE.

INEVITABLY, THE RESULT HAS BEEN AN AMERICAN IMAGE OF WEAKNESS AND UNCERTAINTY, RATHER THAN OF STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION OF PURPOSE. THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH TOO MUCH TOO QUICKLY LED TO POORLY PREPARED INITIATIVES, SUCH AS THE PROPOSAL LAST FALL TO INVITE THE SOVIET UNION BACK INTO THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATION PROCESS, AND THE JOINT AMERICAN-BRITISH SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL FOR RHODESIA, WHICH ALL FACTIONS HAVE REJECTED. A SET OF MISGUIDED PRIORITIES LED TO PREMATURE PRE-OCCUPATION WITH "NORMALIZATION" MOVES TOWARDS CUBA AND VIETNAM,

- 7 -

AND AN ILL-ADVISED ARMS SALES "PACKAGE" FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE ON-GOING HOLOCAUST IN CAMBODIA WAS CONSIDERED TOO TRIVIAL TO MENTION. ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE -- THE KOREAN TROOP WITHDRAWAL, THE NEUTRON BOMB, THE SLOWDOWN IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE "M-X" MOBILE MISSILE -- THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REFUSED TO SEEK OUT OR THOROUGHLY CONSIDER WELL-FORMULATED ADVICE FROM THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF OR FROM THOUGHTFUL FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSTS OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT.

AND IT HAS NEGLECTED THE NEGATIVE RAMIFICATIONS OF ITS WEAK-WILLED POLICIES HERE AT HOME - THE CONFUSION, THE FRUSTRATION, AND EVEN THE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE VITALITY OF OUR LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

- 8 -

HERE IN YOUR OWN STATE OF WASHINGTON, THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION AGAINST DEVELOPMENT OF THE B-1 BOMBER HAD PARTICULAR IMPACT. IF DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOMBER HAD PROCEEDED AS PLANNED, SEVERAL THOUSAND JOBS WOULD HAVE BEEN CREATED IN THE AVIONICS FIELD ALONE. BUT THE SEVERE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES - ALONG WITH THE VITAL DEFENSE CONSIDERATIONS - WERE EITHER IGNORED OR FORGOTTEN BY THIS ADMINISTRATION WHEN IT DELIVERED A DEATH SENTENCE UPON THE B-1 BOMBER LAST YEAR.



- 9 -

SERIOUSLY FLAWED PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, AND UNCERTAIN PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SKILL AND JUDGMENT OF THIS ADMINISTRATION IN DEALING WITH MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES. THEY HAVE RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND NEGOTIATING SKILLS AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

INCONSISTENT PERSPECTIVE BREEDS CONFUSION

JUST AS THERE IS AN ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC STRATEGIC DESIGN UNDERGIRDING NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY SO, TOO, HAS THERE BEEN A CLEAR LACK OF CONSISTENCY IN THE PRESIDENT'S PERSPECTIVE OF THE BASIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. RATHER THAN ADHERING TO A CONSISTENT, PRACTICAL OUTLOOK TOWARDS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, THE ADMINISTRATION, DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS, HAS OVER-REACTED TO THE MOOD OF THE MOMENT, AND TOO OFTEN PERMITTED LOFTY IDEALISM TO SUPPLANT HARD-NOSED REALITY. AND THE POLICY VARIATIONS HAVE CONFUSED AND DEMORALIZED OUR OWN PEOPLE IN THE PROCESS.

- 10 -

WHILE I AM GRATIFIED BY THE MORE REALISTIC PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER DISPLAYED IN HIS NAVAL ACADEMY SPEECH EARLIER THIS MONTH, THE ADMINISTRATION'S DRAMATIC SHIFTS IN POSITION IN FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE PAST YEAR IS DISTURBING. AT ANNAPOLIS, THE PRESIDENT DECLARED, "WE MUST AVOID EXCESSIVE SWINGS IN OUR PUBLIC MOOD," FROM EUPHORIA TO DESPAIR. I AGREE. BUT THE PRESIDENT'S OWN INCONSISTENT ACTIONS CONTRADICT HIS WORDS.

THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST COMPREHENSIVE FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS, AT NOTRE DAME, IN MAY OF 1977, WAS FAR FROM REALISTIC IN ITS NAIVE AND IDEALISTIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. TRADITIONAL AMERICAN CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET-IMPOSED COMMUNISM WAS SAID TO BE MORALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY WRONG. WE WERE TOLD THAT IF THE UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY WAS BASED ON "CONSTANT DECENCY" AND WAS "OPEN" AND "CANDID" WE COULD "HOPE" THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT BE "PERSUADED" TO FOLLOW OUR EXAMPLE.

- 11 -

AT THE SAME TIME, WIDESPREAD SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF THE HELSINKI HUMAN RIGHTS ACCORDS CONTINUED UNABATED. SO DID FREQUENT INSTANCES OF SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, AND AGAINST THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW.

BY JULY OF LAST YEAR, WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER SPOKE AT CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, HIS TONE HAD BEEN TEMPERED ONLY SLIGHTLY BY HIS MORE SEASONED OUTLOOK. IN A LESS EUPHORIC MOOD, THE PRESIDENT SEEMED SELF-CONSCIOUS AND APOLOGETIC ABOUT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF DOWNGRADING HIS OWN HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN. DISCLAIMING ANY DESIRE TO RETURN TO A "COLD WAR" SITUATION, HE SUGGESTED THAT CONTINUING BELLIGERENT SOVIET ATTITUDES MIGHT BE DUE TO A MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT OUR OWN INTENTIONS. WHILE EXPRESSING FAITH IN THE UNIVERSAL DESIRE FOR HARMONY AND PEACE, PRESIDENT CARTER RESTATED HIS FIRM TRUST IN SOVIET SINCERITY.

- 12 -

YET, IN THE MONTHS THAT FOLLOWED, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED THEIR HEAVY CONTRIBUTIONS OF ARMS AND AID TO CUBAN AGGRESSORS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THEY SENT SOVIET MILITARY ADVISORS TO OVERSEE THE WARFARE THEY FUNDED IN ETHIOPIA, AND SOVIET PILOTS TO CUBA TO SUPPLEMENT CASTRO'S OWN MILITARY FORCES.

IN MARCH OF THIS YEAR, AT WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY, THE PRESIDENT WAS EVEN MORE DEFENSIVE ABOUT HIS FOREIGN POLICY. YET HE RELAYED ONLY PRELIMINARY, SUBDUED WARNINGS ABOUT SOVIET PROVOCATIONS. HE DECLARED THAT "OMINOUS" MILITARY ACTIONS AND SOVIET STRATEGIC BUILD-UPS WOULD DEMAND "ADEQUATE RESPONSES" FROM THE WEST. HE WARNED THAT POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE EAST-WEST COOPERATION WOULD "CERTAINLY ERODE" IF SOVIET PROVOCATIONS CONTINUED.

- 13 -

UNFORTUNATELY, THEY DID. SOVIET PROXY WARFARE IN AFRICA CONTINUES UNABATED. THE STEADY BUILD-UP OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE GOES ON. SO DOES THE GROWTH OF SOVIET STRATEGIC POWER EVEN AS WE NEGOTIATE ACROSS THE TABLE ON ARMS REDUCTIONS.

IN HIS MOST RECENT MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS, PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSPECTIVE DIFFERED DRAMATICALLY FROM THAT DEMONSTRATED ONE YEAR BEFORE. AT LAST, HE EXPRESSED A REALIZATION THAT DETENTE, TO THE SOVIETS, HAS MEANT STRUGGLE FOR ADVANTAGE AND INFLUENCE. HE CITED SOVIET EFFORTS TO EXPLOIT INSTABILITY, TO USE PROXY FORCES TO PROMOTE SOVIET IDEOLOGY. AND, SIGNIFICANTLY, HE WARNED THE SOVIET UNION THAT AN IMMINENT CHOICE BETWEEN CONFRONTATION AND COOPERATION IS THEIRS TO MAKE, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MEET EITHER CHOICE.

- 14 -

EVEN MORE RECENTLY, AT AN APPEARANCE IN FORT WORTH LAST WEEK, PRESIDENT CARTER STAUNCHLY DECLARED THAT "WE ARE NOT GOING TO LET THE SOVIET UNION PUSH US AROUND." TWO DAYS LATER, HE WAS REASSURING THE NEWS MEDIA THAT THE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP IS "STABLE" AND THAT SOVIET LEADERS SHARE OUR DESIRE FOR "BETTER FRIENDSHIP."

THUS, IN THE SPACE OF A YEAR'S TIME, THE ADMINISTRATION'S PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS PITCHED BACK AND FORTH. BUT, SOVIET POLICIES REMAIN CONSISTENT AND UNCHANGED. THERE HAS BEEN NO VACILLATION, NO UNCERTAINTY, IN THE KREMLIN'S CHALLENGE TO THE WEST.

- 15 -

IN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENT'S ANNAPOLIS ADDRESS, CAN WE NOW EXPECT THE ADMINISTRATION TO CHART A MORE CONSISTENT, REALISTIC COURSE IN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY? CAN WE EXPECT THAT INDECISION AND SELF-DEFEATING RHETORIC WILL END? WE CAN ONLY HOPE SO. IF THE PRESIDENT'S VERBAL OFFENSIVE IS ONLY RHETORIC, CONVENIENTLY INTENDED TO REFLECT A MOMENTARY IMAGE OF STRENGTH, THEN WE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY IN FOR FURTHER "EXCESSIVE SWINGS" TO MATCH THE SHIFTING EVENTS OF THE FUTURE.

- 16 -

COMMITMENT TO STRENGTH AND COOPERATION MUST BE DEMONSTRATED

THE SINCERITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT AT ANNAPOLIS CAN BE DEMONSTRATED BY DECISIVE STEPS IN THE DAYS AHEAD. IT CAN BE DEMONSTRATED BY SHORING UP OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE IN BOTH CONVENTIONAL AND STRATEGIC CAPABILITIES, TO MATCH SOVIET ADVANCES IN TROOP STRENGTH, TANKS, AND MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT. IT CAN BE DEMONSTRATED BY MAINTAINING OUR SUPERIOR NAVAL STRENGTH—PROCEEDING WITH CONSTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR-POWERED AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, AND FORTIFYING OUR NAVAL RESERVE PROGRAM. AND IT CAN BE DEMONSTRATED BY PROCEEDING WITH DEVELOPMENT OF A NEUTRON WEAPON IF THE SOVIETS DO NOT OFFER RECIPROCAL RESTRAINTS BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. WE CAN, AND SHOULD REAFFIRM OUR UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENT TO NATO, AND DEDICATE OUR ACTIVE AND CONSISTENT EFFORTS TO THE SUPPORT OF UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, CAMBODIA, AND AROUND THE GLOBE.



THAT SINCERITY CAN BE REFLECTED IN A FIRM COMMITMENT BY AMERICA TO COOPERATE WITH THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY AND PEACEFUL TRANSITION ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT, INCLUDING ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL FOUR-PARTY AGREEMENT IN RHODESIA. AND IT CAN BE EFFECTIVELY DEMONSTRATED BY INSISTING UPON SOMETHING IN RETURN BEFORE PROCEEDING WITH NORMALIZATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CUBA OR CHINA, AND BEFORE WITHDRAWING ALL AMERICAN GROUND TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA. ONLY LAST WEDNESDAY, THE UNITED STATES SENATE SENT A STRONG BI-PARTISAN MESSAGE ON CUBA TO THE ADMINISTRATION, WHEN IT APPROVED LEGISLATION DENOUNCING TRADE OR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CASTRO UNTIL HE PULLS ALL HIS TROOPS OUT OF AFRICA.

- 18 -

AS REPUBLICANS, AS THE LOYAL OPPOSITION, WE SHARE WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE ADMINISTRATION A DUTY TO PURSUE POLICIES WHICH BEST REFLECT OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS. IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, THAT MEANS AN AMERICA WHICH IS FIRM BUT NOT INTRANSIGENT, COMMITTED TO FREEDOM AND SELF-RULE, DEDICATED TO THE PRESERVATION OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE GLOBE. WE DON'T WANT TO RETURN TO THE DAY-TO-DAY TENSIONS OF THE COLD WAR. WE ASK ONLY FOR REALISM IN FOREIGN POLICY, FOR FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO AMERICAN PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND DECENCY, FOR UNSWERVING COMMITMENT TO THE NOTION THAT FREEDOM IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF ALL MEN, THAT THE DESTINY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD -- THOSE LIVING AND TO BE BORN -- IS TO BE FREE.

- 19 -

IF THIS PHILOSOPHY IN FOREIGN POLICY, THIS VISION OF THE AMERICAN ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS, IS TO BE STRENGTHENED, WE SIMPLY MUST PUT MORE MEN AND WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT WHO SHARE THIS WORLD VIEW. IN 1978, I THINK THE BEST WAY TO DO THAT IS TO ELECT MORE REPUBLICANS.

BECAUSE I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT OUR PARTY OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR AMERICA. TODAY, WE STAND AT A POINT IN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF OUR NATION WHEN THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBLE BALANCE IS GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE. THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY ARE NOT PROBLEMS FOR A ONE-PARTY CONGRESS, OR ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT.

- 20 -

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF WASHINGTON, AND PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, SHARE OUR BASIC VALUES, OUR PHILOSOPHY, OUR CONCERN ABOUT GOVERNMENT GONE AWRY, OUR DESIRE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT HIGH TAXES AND WASTEFUL SPENDING, OUR COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN STRENGTH IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

IF WE CAN ARTICULATE OUR PHILOSOPHY WELL, IDENTIFY WITH PEOPLE AT THE GRASS ROOTS, WE CAN BECOME THE MAJORITY PARTY.

1978 CAN BE THE YEAR WE REASSERT OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. IT CAN BE THE YEAR WHEN WE TAKE THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS RESTORING BALANCE AND REINVIGORATING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN AMERICA. IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL, THIS COUNTRY WILL BE A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE, AND OUR WORLD WILL BE A FAR SAFER PLACE FOR US, OUR CHILDREN, AND OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN.