

News from Senator

BOB DOLE



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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CENTER FOR STRATEGIC INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MARCH 23, 1988 -- INTERNATIONAL CLUB
WASHINGTON, D.C.

AS A LONG TERM MEMBER OF THE CENTER'S ADVISORY BOARD, IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO SPEAK TO THIS DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE TODAY. CSIS HAS PROVIDED A VALUABLE PLATFORM FOR THE STUDY AND ARTICULATION OF FOREIGN POLICY FOR MORE THAN A QUARTER OF CENTURY. UNDER THE ABLE LEADERSHIP OF DAVID ABSHIRE, ANNE ARMSTRONG, AND ITS NEW ADVISORY BOARD CHAIRMAN PAUL VOLCKER, I EXPECT CSIS TO CONTINUE THIS VITAL ROLE, ESPECIALLY NOW, WHEN WE MOST NEED A STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVE FOR THE FUTURE.

A LEGACY REJECTED

LISTEN TO THESE WORDS.

"IT MUST BE THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO SUPPORT FREE PEOPLE BEING CHALLENGED BY COMMUNIST THREATS BOTH FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT." THAT WAS HARRY TRUMAN.

"LET EVERY NATION KNOW, WHETHER IT WISHES US WELL OR ILL, THAT WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP, SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FOE TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY." THAT WAS JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THESE WORDS ARE JUSTLY FAMOUS. AT THE TIME THEY WERE SPOKEN, THEY COMMITTED THIS COUNTRY TO AN HONORABLE COURSE, A COURSE WHICH PROTECTED AMERICAN INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF OTHER, LESS POWERFUL NATIONS, IN A SINGLE GESTURE. THESE WORDS WERE BASED ON A STRONG CONSENSUS WHICH SAW A UNITY OF AMERICAN PURPOSE AND AMERICAN POWER, A UNITY WHICH SOME HAVE NOW FORGOTTEN AND OTHERS WOULD DENY. UNFORTUNATELY, THESE WORDS NOW SEEM PART OF A SEVERED PAST, PART OF AN AMERICA THAT WAS BUT IS NO LONGER; AN AMERICA WE LOOK BACK ON NOSTALGICALLY AS WE WONDER WHAT WE HAVE BECOME.

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THE DUKAKIS DOCTRINE

LISTEN TO THE WORDS, BY COMPARISON, OF THE LEADING CANDIDATE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. HE SAYS THAT THE MONROE DOCTRINE, WHICH HAS DEFINED AMERICA'S SECURITY IN ITS OWN NEIGHBORHOOD FOR SOME 200 YEARS, IS "OBSOLETE." HE SAYS THAT THIS COUNTRY -- THIS COUNTRY WHICH WAS CARRIED TO GREATNESS NOT JUST THROUGH DEED BUT THROUGH VISION TOO -- HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO TOLERATE THE EXISTENCE OF SOVIET CLIENT STATES WHEREVER SUBVERSION MIGHT INSTALL THEM. ANY OTHER COURSE OF ACTION, HE TELLS US, IS TOO DANGEROUS TO CONTEMPLATE.

THE SAME ARGUMENT ADVANCED SO AGGRESSIVELY BY MANY MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS A FEW YEARS AGO IN FAVOR OF A NUCLEAR FREEZE WOULD HAVE MADE THE SOVIET SS-20'S A PERMANENT PRESENCE IN EUROPE. THE SAME ARGUMENT MADE TODAY BY THE LIBERAL WING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WOULD FORCE US UNILATERALLY TO ABANDON OUR SDI SHIELD WHILE LEAVING THE SOVIETS FREE TO DEVELOP THEIRS. THIS ARGUMENT -- APPLIED TO A VARIETY OF ISSUES -- HAS BECOME OPPRESSIVELY FAMILIAR IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT.

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IF THE PRESIDENT TAKES MEASURES TO DEFEND VITAL OIL SHIPMENTS FROM UNPROVOKED ATTACKS IN THE PERSIAN GULF, THERE IS A CHORUS ON THE LEFT ACCUSING HIM OF ENDANGERING THE PEACE. IF THE PRESIDENT RETALIATES AGAINST A TERRORIST REGIME IN LIBYA, HE IS DENOUNCED AS PROVOCATIVE AND TERRORIST HIMSELF. WHEN THE PRESIDENT SENDS OUR FORCES TO LIBERATE GRENADA THERE ARE RECRIMINATIONS FROM SOME LIBERAL QUARTERS THAT OUR "INTERVENTION" HAS MADE US AN OUTLAW STATE.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT GOES TO THE SUMMIT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE SOVIET LEADER, THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS TIES HIS HANDS WITH LEGISLATION, TELLING ADVERSARY AND FRIEND ALIKE THAT IT IS THEIR OWN LEADER THAT THEY DO NOT TRUST. AND EVEN IN ONE OF THE TRULY HEROIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION -- THE SUPPLY OF MILITARY AID WHICH HAS ALLOWED THE AFGHAN MUHAJIDEEN TO MAKE A STAND AGAINST A GENOCIDAL SOVIET INVASION -- THERE ARE MURMURS OF CONCERN FROM THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT THAT WE ARE "PROVOKING" THE SOVIETS AND OUGHT TO STOP THE SUPPLY OF STINGERS AND RED-EYE MISSILES EVEN BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE WITHDRAWAL WHICH OUR FORTITUDE, ALONG WITH THAT OF THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, HAS FORCED UPON THE SOVIETS.

THIS KIND OF THINKING FLOWS FROM THE BENIGHTED BELIEF THAT WE IN DEMOCRATIC AMERICA POSE A PROBLEM TO PEACE; NOT THE ONLY TRUE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN THE WORLD TODAY, THE SOVIET

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UNION. PERVERSE, BUT PERVASIVE, THIS ATTITUDE HAS ENVELOPED THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE OF THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN LIKE NERVE GAS.

WEAK KNEES, FAINT HEARTS

GOVERNOR DUKAKIS IS NOT ALONE IN HIS WILLINGNESS TO STRIP AMERICA OF ITS FIRM AND PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION TO COMMUNIST TYRANNY IN THE AMERICAS. FOR SEVEN YEARS NOW THE PRESIDENT HAS HAD HIS HANDS TIED BY A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS IN HIS EFFORTS TO SUPPORT THE ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE IN NICARAGUA. JUST AS THESE POLICIES FINALLY BRING THE SANDINISTAS TO THE BARGAINING TABLE, THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS WOULD PREFER THAT WE DISARM THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS ONCE AND FOR ALL. TODAY, ALL THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SOUND THEMES SIMILAR TO THE "DUKAKIS DOCTRINE" FOR LATIN AMERICA.

EVERY DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE HAS HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED ON AN ISSUE THAT IS AS SYMBOLIC FOR OUR TIME AS HITLER'S BRAZEN AGGRESSION WAS FOR AN EARLIER GENERATION. THIS IS THE KIDNAPPING OF NICARAGUA BY THE MARXIST-LENINIST SANDINISTAS, WHOSE IDEOLOGICAL ARTERIES AND MILITARY SUPPLY LINES RUN TRANSPARENTLY THROUGH HAVANA AND MOSCOW.

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE TURNED A BLIND EYE TO THE SUFFERINGS OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE; A DEAF EAR TO THEIR CRIES FOR FREEDOM. WITH WEAK KNEES, AND FAINT HEARTS, THEY HAVE WATCHED AS THE REVOLUTION FOR WHICH THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE FOUGHT SO VALIANTLY IN 1979 -- A REVOLUTION WITH DEMOCRACY AND PLURALISM AS ITS PRIME OBJECTIVES -- WAS STOLEN AND DESECRATED BY A CUBAN-TRAINED COMMUNIST VANGUARD. INSTEAD OF JOINING PRESIDENT REAGAN IN CHALLENGING THE THIEVES, THEY HAVE FOUND WAYS TO RATIONALIZE THE LOSS OF LIBERTY IN NICARAGUA, AND TO JUSTIFY THE MORTGAGING OF THAT NATION TO A COMMUNIST EMPIRE, WHICH -- AS HISTORY SHOWS -- BRINGS NOT THE PROMISED FUTURE OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, BUT ONLY AN ENDLESS PRESENT OF SOCIAL MISERY AND MILITARY DESPOTISM.

BLAME AMERICA, AGAIN

THE WAY THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT SEES IT, THE PROBLEM IN NICARAGUA IS NOT THE SANDINISTAS WHO ARE MAKING THEIR COUNTRY INTO A NATIONAL PRISON AND A SOVIET BASE, BUT AMERICA, WHICH HAS SUPPORTED NICARAGUA'S DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE AND OPPOSED THE SOVIET ADVANCE. THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE CHOSEN AMERICA -- AND NOT COMMUNISM -- AS THEIR HEMISPHERIC VILLAIN -- SHOWS HOW STRANGE AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS THESE TIMES REALLY ARE.

IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE A FETISH OF THIS MENTALITY ABOUT WHOM FORMER U.N. AMBASSADOR JEANE KIRKPATRICK SPOKE SO ELOQUENTLY, WHEN SHE SAID: "THEY ALWAYS BLAME AMERICA FIRST." THOSE PEOPLE DOMINATED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAT JEANE KIRKPATRICK WAS DESCRIBING FOUR YEARS AGO. AND THEY DOMINATE IT EVEN MORE TODAY.

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IT COULD BE ARGUED, AS MANY OF THESE DEMOCRATS DO, THAT NICARAGUA IS A SMALL COUNTRY WITH ONLY 3 MILLION PEOPLE. AND THAT EVEN IF ITS PEOPLE DISAPPEAR INTO THE DARK SHADOWS OF A TOTALITARIAN FATE, SO WHAT? THIS SAD FACT WOULD POSE NO THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES.

BUT THIS KIND OF ARGUMENT IS CYNICISM POSTURING AS REALISM; A KIND OF THINKING WHICH TAKES US DOWN A SLIPPERY SLOPE AWAY FROM THE BRAVE AND PRACTICAL VISION OF LEADERS LIKE TRUMAN, KENNEDY, AND REAGAN, ALL OF WHOM SAW THIS BASIC TRUTH. WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT AN ISLAND.

WE ARE A PART OF THE WORLD, AND A PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE. THE DEATH OF LIBERTY ANYWHERE DIMINISHES US AS A PEOPLE, JUST AS SURELY AS THE RISE OF COMMUNISM THREATENS OUR SECURITY AS A NATION. THE DEATH OF LIBERTY AND THE RISE OF COMMUNISM IN OUR OWN BACKYARD POSE CHOICES THAT WILL DEFINE OUR CHARACTER FOR DECADES TO COME.

A FAILURE OF NERVE

WHAT WE SEE ON THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE OF THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS A FAILURE OF NERVE AS WELL AS A FAILURE OF VISION. IN 1947 HARRY TRUMAN COULD EASILY HAVE ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE SWAYED BY THOSE IN HIS OWN PARTY WHO URGED HIM TO ACCEPT SOVIET EXPANSION IN THE NAME OF "PEACE," AND TO TURN HIS BACK ON THE BATTLE WHICH GREECE WAS WAGING AGAINST COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS ACTING AS AGENTS FOR THEIR SOVIET SPONSOR. ARGUMENTS SIMILAR TO THOSE WE HEAR TODAY WERE HEARD THEN. THE COMMUNISTS WERE ACTUALLY "NATIONALISTS" AND "SOCIAL REFORMERS," TRUMAN WAS TOLD, AND THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS WERE "FASCIST COLONELS" FIGHTING AGAINST A REVOLUTION THAT A HISTORY OF INJUSTICE HAD MADE INEVITABLE.

TRUMAN TO THE RESCUE

BUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS TOO SMART AND TOO TOUGH TO BUY A BILL OF GOODS; EVEN FROM HIS OWN PARTY. HE INSISTED THAT IT WOULD BE AMERICA'S POLICY TO AID FREE PEOPLES RESISTING COMMUNIST SUBVERSION AND COVERT AGGRESSION SO THAT THEY COULD REMAIN FREE. UNDER THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, AMERICA INTERVENED IN GREECE TO DEFEND FREEDOM, EVEN THOUGH THAT COUNTRY WAS FAR AWAY FROM OUR OWN, MUCH FARTHER THAN CENTRAL AMERICA.

THE RESULT IS THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE DEFEATED AND TODAY GREECE IS A DEMOCRATIC NATION, A COUNTRY RESTORED TO ITSELF BY THE ACTIONS OF AN AMERICA WHICH KNEW EXACTLY WHAT IT STOOD FOR.

TODAY, THE DEMOCRATS DON'T SEEM MUCH LIKE THE PARTY OF HARRY TRUMAN OR JOHN F. KENNEDY. THE QUESTION HAS BECOME WHETHER WE SHOULD BEAR ANY BURDEN AT ALL? WILL THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS PAY EVEN A SMALL PRICE, ONE RECKONED IN AMERICAN MONEY RATHER THAN AMERICAN LIVES?

THE CALL TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF NICARAGUA, WHICH SHOULD BE EASY FOR THEM TO ANSWER, INSTEAD PRODUCES ENDLESS FOOT SHUFFLING AND SOPHISTRY. IT MIGHT BE DISCOMFORTING TO SEE A NEW SOVIET

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EXPANSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, BUT AFTER ALL, THEY ARGUE THAT WE HAVE LIVED WITH A SOVIET CLIENT STATE IN CUBA FOR THE PAST 25 YEARS. WHY CAN'T WE LIVE WITH ANOTHER IN NICARAGUA? THIS IS CALLED "THE NEW REALISM."

"LIVING WITH" CUBA

I WONDER IF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WHO THINK THE APPEARANCE OF ANOTHER SOVIET CLIENT STATE IN THE HEMISPHERE IS ALL RIGHT, HAVE THEY EVER REALLY CONSIDERED WHAT "LIVING WITH" COMMUNIST CUBA HAS INVOLVED. FIRST, IT HAS MEANT WATCHING THE SUFFOCATION OF CUBAN SOCIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POLICE STATE SO OPPRESSIVE THAT 10 PERCENT OF ITS POPULATION HAS FLED, WITH UNTOLD THOUSANDS WAITING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW IF EVER THE CELL DOORS OF ITS TROPICAL GULAG SHOULD CRACK OPEN AGAIN.

IT HAS MEANT WATCHING 50,000 CUBAN MERCENARIES SERVING SOVIET POLICY IN AFRICA TO MAINTAIN MARXIST DICTATORSHIPS IN ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA, WHOSE POLICIES HAVE SPREAD TERROR AND FAMINE AMONG VAST POPULATIONS OF AFRICA'S POOR.

IT HAS MEANT A MILITARY BASE FOR SOVIET NUCLEAR SUBMARINES AND A MASSIVE INCREASE IN SOVIET INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN THE REGION AND ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS MEANT THE EXISTENCE OF A COUNTRY GRANTED A FREE HAND TO SPREAD CHAOS IN THE HEMISPHERE, NOT ONLY IN NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, BUT IN COLOMBIA AND OTHER FRAGILE SOCIETIES WRACKED BY GUERRILLA INSURGENCIES. IT HAS MEANT GLOBAL INFLUENCE FOR A DICTATOR, FIDEL CASTRO, WHO HAS BEEN IMPLICATED ALONG WITH PANAMA'S STRONG MAN NOREIGA IN THE DRUG TRADE WHICH IS TEARING OUR OWN SOCIETY APART.

THIS IS WHAT "LIVING WITH" COMMUNIST CUBA HAS MEANT; AND THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO SO CASUALLY ACCEPT THE IDEA OF SOVIET CLIENT STATES IN THIS HEMISPHERE OUGHT TO KNOW IT. IS IT SO DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE A SITUATION A FEW YEARS HENCE WHEN OUR FLIPPANT ABANDONMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE WILL HAVE ALLOWED THE SANDINISTAS TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POWER TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE ABLE TO SEND THEIR OWN LEGIONNAIRES TO AFRICA AND OTHER PLACES DICTATED BY SOVIET POLICY, WHILE ALSO SUPPORTING COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS ASSAULTING THE GOVERNMENTS THAT LAY BETWEEN MANAGUA AND THE RIO GRANDE?

WHAT WILL THE DEMOCRATS SAY THEN? WELL, WE HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH COMMUNIST NICARAGUA, JUST AS WE ONCE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH A COMMUNIST CUBA. IT FOLLOWS THAT WE COULD LEARN TO LIVE WITH A COMMUNIST COSTA RICA, PANAMA, OR EVEN A COMMUNIST MEXICO?

FREEDOM TWISTING IN THE WIND

THIS KIND OF THINKING IS THE END PRODUCT OF A FAILURE OF NERVE--A NERVE DEMOCRATS HAD IN THE DAYS OF HARRY TRUMAN, A TIME

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WHEN IT SEEMED THE STAKES COULDN'T GET MUCH HIGHER. THEN THE FATE OF EUROPE HUNG IN THE BALANCE. TODAY WE STAND BY THE WATCH AS NICARAGUA SLOWLY TWISTS IN THE WIND AND THE FATE OF THE AMERICAS BEGINS TO TILT.

NICARAGUA IS A COUNTRY WHOSE FUTURE IS BEING DETERMINED TODAY BY THE LATEST DISPLAY OF AMERICA'S WEAKNESS, THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE UNWILLINGNESS OF AMERICA TO SUPPORT SOME 15,000 YOUNG FREEDOM FIGHTERS--THE LARGEST PEASANT ARMY IN THIS HEMISPHERE SINCE THE DAYS OF EMILIANO ZAPATA--IN THEIR QUEST TO LIBERATE THEIR COUNTRY.

BUT NICARAGUA IS ALSO A SYMPTOM OF SOMETHING EVEN MORE DISTURBING IN AMERICA'S POLITICAL SOUL: A LOSS OF FAITH, WHICH UNDERLIES ITS FAILURE OF NERVE. IT IS A LOSS OF FAITH IN AMERICA'S GOODNESS, AS WELL AS ITS GREATNESS; A LOSS OF FAITH THAT WOULD DENY AMERICA'S ABILITY TO BE A POSITIVE INSPIRATION FOR CHANGE IN THE WORLD AS WELL AS A MILITARY ROADBLOCK IN THE PATH OF TOTALITARIAN EXPANSION.

LET US REMIND OURSELVES OF THE CHANGES IN THE NATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PROTECTED BY THE AMERICAN POWER WHOSE ERA, SOME OF ITS DENIGRATORS CHEERFULLY ASSERT, IS COMING TO AN END.

KOREA AND CUBA

CONSIDER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CONTRASTING EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH KOREA AND CUBA. ONE, SOUTH KOREA, HAS BEEN OUR ALLY AND FRIEND. AMERICAN FORCES HAVE FOUGHT AND DIED THERE, REPELLING A COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. AN ECONOMIC MIRACLE HAS TAKEN PLACE, PRODUCING AN ECONOMIC GIANT WHOSE GNP HAS GROWN TENFOLD IN 35 YEARS. AND DEMOCRACY IS TAKING HOLD, AS EVIDENCED BY THAT NATION'S FIRST FREE ELECTION LAST YEAR.

AND WHAT, BY CONTRAST, HAS HAPPENED IN CUBA -- A COUNTRY ON ROUGHLY THE SAME ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PLANE WHEN CASTRO CAME TO POWER, AS SOUTH KOREA WAS IN 1950? TODAY, CUBA REMAINS A HARSH POLICE STATE, POLITICALLY IDENTURED TO THE SOVIET UNION.

PREVIOUSLY ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA, IT IS NOW AN ECONOMIC "BASKET CASE," STAVING OFF TOTAL ECONOMIC COLLAPSE ONLY THROUGH THE "STRINGS-ATTACHED" LARGESSE OF ITS MENTORS IN MOSCOW. INDEED, MODERN CUBA IS "RICH" IN ONLY TWO THINGS: THE WEAPONS OF WAR, AND BATTLEFIELD CASUALTIES -- TENS OF THOUSANDS TO DATE -- ON THE FRONTLINES OF SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFRICA.

THE GREATEST FORCE FOR GOOD: THE USA

WHAT DO THESE FACTS AND FIGURES TELL US? SOMETHING VERY SIMPLE; SOMETHING SO CLEAR THAT IT SHOULD NOT HAVE TO BE REPEATED.

I SAY IT WITH PRIDE, AND BECAUSE IT IS TRUE: THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS BEEN THE GREATEST FORCE FOR GOOD IN THE WORLD IN THIS CENTURY.

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WE HAVE SHED OUR BLOOD, AND EXPORTED OUR TREASURE, TO PRESERVE AND ADVANCE FREEDOM. WE HAVE OPENED OUR DOORS TO MILLIONS WHO SOUGHT LIBERTY AND OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE BEEN THE ENGINE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, AROUND THE GLOBE. AND BY SO DOING, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT COMMUNISM IS A DEAD-END OF OPPRESSION AND POVERTY.

BUT THE SUFFERING OF THE VICTIMS OF COMMUNISM--COMPELLING THOUGH IT SHOULD BE TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE -- IS NOT THE MOST CRITICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE SELF-DEFEATING POLITICS OF RETREAT, WHICH PUTS AMERICA PERPETUALLY ON THE MORAL DEFENSIVE AND ATTEMPTS TO DISARM HER IN ADVANCE OF ANY CONFLICT.

THE SALIENT FACT IS THAT EACH OF THE DOMINOES THAT THE ATTITUDE OF APOLOGY HELPS TO TOPPLE INTO THE POCKET OF COMMUNISM IS ALSO A BUILDING BLOCK FOR FURTHER COMMUNIST POWER. THE MENTALITY, SO PREVALENT AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, THAT SEEKS TO LIMIT OUR OPTIONS AND CAPABILITIES IN ADVANCE IS THE SAME MENTALITY THAT CASUALLY ACCEPTS THE EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE INTO THE HEMISPHERE WE CALL OUR OWN. IT IS A MENTALITY WHICH BELIEVES THAT SURRENDER IS A PREVENTION OF WAR RATHER THAN A PROVOCATION.

A NEW CHALLENGE

WE LIVE IN AN ERA WHEN OUR ADVERSARY HAS BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE AND MORE CONSCIOUS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS, BUT WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE MODERN SOVIET UNION IS NO LESS AN ADVERSARY. IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE NOT TO EXPLORE THE AVENUES THAT GLASNOST AND DETENTE MAY OPEN; BUT IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY AND DANGEROUS TO MISTAKE SYMBOLS FOR SUBSTANCE, OR PROMISES FOR ACTS.

WE ARE TODAY FACING A TIME OF TESTING RATHER THAN TRANQUILITY; A TIME WHICH CALLS FOR COURAGE RATHER THAN COMPLACENCY. IT IS A TIME WHICH CALLS ESPECIALLY FOR RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS STOOD.

IF WE REMEMBER WHAT AMERICA HAS BEEN IN THE PAST--WHAT IT HAS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD AND WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO THEM--WE WILL HAVE NO TROUBLE KNOWING WHAT IT SHOULD BE IN THE FUTURE.

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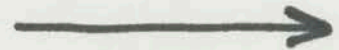
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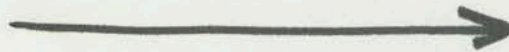


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BRAZEN AGGRESSION WAS FOR AN EARLIER **GENERATION.**



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~~GENERATION~~ THIS IS THE KIDNAPPING OF NICARAGUA
BY THE MARXIST-LENINIST SANDINISTAS, WHOSE
IDEOLOGICAL ARTERIES, AND MILITARY SUPPLY LINES,
RUN TRANSPARENTLY THROUGH HAVANA AND
MOSCOW.

THE DEMOCRATS HAVE TURNED A BLIND EYE TO
THE SUFFERINGS OF THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE; A DEAF
EAR TO THEIR CRIES FOR FREEDOM. WITH WEAK KNEES,
AND FAINT HEARTS, THEY HAVE WATCHED AS THE
REVOLUTION FOR WHICH THE NICARAGUAN PEOPLE



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FOUGHT SO VALIANTLY IN 1979 -- A REVOLUTION WITH
DEMOCRACY AND PLURALISM AS ITS PRIME OBJECTIVES
-- WAS STOLEN AND DESECRATED BY A CUBAN-TRAINED
COMMUNIST VANGUARD. INSTEAD OF JOINING
PRESIDENT REAGAN IN CHALLENGING THE THIEVES,
THEY HAVE FOUND WAYS TO RATIONALIZE THE LOSS OF
LIBERTY IN NICARAGUA, AND TO JUSTIFY THE
MORTGAGING OF THAT NATION TO A COMMUNIST



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EMPIRE, WHICH -- AS HISTORY SHOWS -- BRINGS NOT
THE PROMISED FUTURE OF ECONOMIC JUSTICE, BUT
ONLY AN ENDLESS PRESENT OF SOCIAL MISERY AND
MILITARY DESPOTISM.

BLAME AMERICA, AGAIN

THE WAY THE 'DEMOCRATIC LEFT' SEES IT, THE
PROBLEM IN NICARAGUA IS NOT THE SANDINISTAS WHO
ARE MAKING THEIR COUNTRY INTO A NATIONAL PRISON
AND A SOVIET BASE, BUT AMERICA, WHICH HAS
SUPPORTED NICARAGUA'S DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE ,



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AND OPPOSED THE SOVIET ADVANCE. THE FACT THAT
THEY HAVE CHOSEN AMERICA -- AND NOT COMMUNISM
-- AS THEIR "HEMISPHERIC VILLAIN" -- SHOWS HOW
STRANGE AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS THESE TIMES
REALLY ARE.

IT IS THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE A FETISH OF THIS
MENTALITY ABOUT WHOM FORMER U.N. AMBASSADOR
JEANE KIRKPATRICK SPOKE SO ELOQUENTLY, WHEN SHE
SAID: "THEY ALWAYS BLAME AMERICA FIRST." THOSE



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PEOPLE DOMINATED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAT
JEANE KIRKPATRICK WAS DESCRIBING FOUR YEARS
AGO. AND THEY DOMINATE IT EVEN MORE TODAY.

IT COULD BE ARGUED, AS MANY OF THESE
DEMOCRATS DO, THAT NICARAGUA IS A SMALL
COUNTRY, WITH ONLY 3 MILLION PEOPLE. AND THAT
EVEN IF ITS PEOPLE DISAPPEAR INTO THE DARK
SHADOWS OF A TOTALITARIAN FATE, SO WHAT? THIS
SAD FACT WOULD POSE NO THREAT TO THE UNITED
STATES.



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BUT THIS KIND OF ARGUMENT IS CYNICISM
POSTURING AS REALISM; A KIND OF THINKING WHICH
TAKES US DOWN A 'SLIPPERY SLOPE' AWAY FROM THE
BRAVE AND PRACTICAL VISION OF LEADERS LIKE
TRUMAN, KENNEDY, AND REAGAN, ALL OF WHOM SAW
THIS BASIC TRUTH: WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE NOT
AN ISLAND.



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WE ARE A PART OF THE WORLD, AND A PART OF
THIS HEMISPHERE. THE DEATH OF LIBERTY ANYWHERE
DIMINISHES US AS A PEOPLE, JUST AS SURELY AS THE
RISE OF COMMUNISM THREATENS OUR SECURITY AS A
NATION. THE DEATH OF LIBERTY, AND THE RISE OF
COMMUNISM IN OUR OWN BACKYARD, POSE CHOICES
THAT WILL DEFINE OUR CHARACTER FOR DECADES TO
COME.



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A FAILURE OF NERVE

WHAT WE SEE ON THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE OF THIS
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS A FAILURE OF NERVE AS
WELL AS A FAILURE OF VISION. IN 1947, HARRY TRUMAN
COULD EASILY HAVE ALLOWED HIMSELF TO BE SWAYED
BY THOSE IN HIS OWN PARTY WHO URGED HIM TO
ACCEPT SOVIET EXPANSION IN THE NAME OF "PEACE,"
AND TO TURN HIS BACK ON THE BATTLE WHICH GREECE
WAS WAGING AGAINST COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS ACTING



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AS AGENTS FOR THEIR SOVIET SPONSOR. ARGUMENTS
SIMILAR TO THOSE WE HEAR TODAY WERE HEARD THEN.
THE COMMUNISTS WERE ACTUALLY "NATIONALISTS" AND
"SOCIAL REFORMERS," TRUMAN WAS TOLD, AND THE
ANTI-COMMUNISTS WERE "FASCIST COLONELS"
FIGHTING AGAINST A REVOLUTION THAT A HISTORY OF
INJUSTICE HAD MADE INEVITABLE.



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TRUMAN TO THE RESCUE

BUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS TOO SMART AND TOO
TOUGH TO BUY A BILL OF GOODS; EVEN FROM HIS OWN
PARTY. HE INSISTED THAT IT WOULD BE AMERICA'S
POLICY TO AID FREE PEOPLES RESISTING COMMUNIST
SUBVERSION AND COVERT AGGRESSION SO THAT THEY
COULD REMAIN FREE. UNDER THE "TRUMAN DOCTRINE,"
AMERICA INTERVENED IN GREECE TO DEFEND
FREEDOM, EVEN THOUGH THAT COUNTRY WAS FAR
AWAY FROM OUR OWN, MUCH FARTHER THAN CENTRAL
AMERICA.



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THE RESULT IS THAT THE COMMUNISTS WERE
DEFEATED, AND TODAY GREECE IS A DEMOCRATIC
NATION, A COUNTRY RESTORED TO ITSELF BY THE
ACTIONS OF AN AMERICA WHICH KNEW EXACTLY WHAT
IT STOOD FOR.

TODAY, THE DEMOCRATS DON'T SEEM MUCH LIKE
THE PARTY OF HARRY TRUMAN OR JOHN F. KENNEDY.
THE QUESTION HAS BECOME WHETHER WE SHOULD
BEAR ANY BURDEN AT ALL? WILL THE LIBERAL
DEMOCRATS PAY EVEN A SMALL PRICE, ONE RECKONED
IN AMERICAN MONEY RATHER THAN AMERICAN LIVES?



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THE CALL TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF
NICARAGUA, WHICH SHOULD BE EASY FOR THEM TO
ANSWER, INSTEAD PRODUCES ENDLESS FOOT
SHUFFLING AND SOPHISTRY. IT MIGHT BE
DISCOMFORTING TO SEE A NEW SOVIET EXPANSION IN
CENTRAL AMERICA, BUT AFTER ALL, THEY ARGUE THAT
WE HAVE "LIVED" WITH A 'SOVIET CLIENT STATE' IN CUBA
FOR THE PAST 25 YEARS. WHY CAN'T WE LIVE WITH
ANOTHER IN NICARAGUA? THIS IS CALLED "THE NEW
REALISM."



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"LIVING WITH" CUBA

I WONDER IF THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WHO THINK
THE APPEARANCE OF ANOTHER SOVIET CLIENT STATE IN
THE HEMISPHERE IS ALL RIGHT, HAVE THEY EVER REALLY
CONSIDERED WHAT "LIVING WITH" COMMUNIST CUBA
HAS INVOLVED. FIRST, IT HAS MEANT WATCHING THE
SUFFOCATION OF CUBAN SOCIETY, AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF A POLICE STATE SO OPPRESSIVE,
THAT 10 PERCENT OF ITS POPULATION HAS FLED, WITH



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UNTOLD THOUSANDS WAITING FOR THE OPPORTUNITY
TO FOLLOW IF EVER THE CELL DOORS OF ITS "TROPICAL
GULAG" SHOULD CRACK OPEN AGAIN.

IT HAS MEANT WATCHING 50,000 CUBAN
MERCENARIES SERVING SOVIET POLICY IN AFRICA TO
MAINTAIN MARXIST DICTATORSHIPS IN ANGOLA AND
ETHIOPIA, WHOSE POLICIES HAVE SPREAD TERROR AND
FAMINE AMONG VAST POPULATIONS OF AFRICA'S POOR.



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IT HAS MEANT A MILITARY BASE FOR SOVIET
NUCLEAR SUBMARINES, AND A MASSIVE INCREASE IN
SOVIET INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS IN THE REGION AND
ESPECIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES. IT HAS MEANT THE
EXISTENCE OF A COUNTRY GRANTED A 'FREE HAND' TO
SPREAD CHAOS IN THE HEMISPHERE, NOT ONLY IN
NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR, BUT IN COLOMBIA AND
OTHER FRAGILE SOCIETIES WRACKED BY GUERRILLA
INSURGENCIES. IT HAS MEANT GLOBAL INFLUENCE FOR



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A DICTATOR, FIDEL CASTRO, WHO HAS BEEN IMPLICATED,
ALONG WITH PANAMA'S STRONG MAN NOREIGA, IN THE
DRUG TRADE WHICH IS TEARING OUR OWN SOCIETY
APART.

THIS IS WHAT "LIVING WITH" COMMUNIST CUBA HAS
MEANT; AND THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO SO CASUALLY
ACCEPT THE IDEA OF SOVIET CLIENT STATES IN THIS
HEMISPHERE OUGHT TO KNOW IT. IS IT SO DIFFICULT TO
IMAGINE A SITUATION A FEW YEARS HENCE WHEN OUR



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FLIPPANT ABANDONMENT OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE"

WILL HAVE ALLOWED THE SANDINISTAS TO

CONSOLIDATE THEIR POWER TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY

ARE ABLE TO SEND THEIR OWN LEGIONNAIRES TO

AFRICA AND OTHER PLACES DICTATED BY SOVIET

POLICY, WHILE ALSO SUPPORTING COMMUNIST

GUERRILLAS ASSAULTING THE GOVERNMENTS THAT LAY

BETWEEN MANAGUA AND THE RIO GRANDE?



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WHAT WILL THE DEMOCRATS SAY THEN? WELL, WE
HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH COMMUNIST NICARAGUA,
JUST AS WE ONCE LEARNED TO LIVE WITH A COMMUNIST
CUBA. IT FOLLOWS THAT WE COULD LEARN TO LIVE
WITH A COMMUNIST COSTA RICA, PANAMA, OR EVEN A
COMMUNIST MEXICO!



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FREEDOM TWISTING IN THE WIND

THIS KIND OF THINKING IS THE END PRODUCT OF A
FAILURE OF NERVE--A NERVE DEMOCRATS HAD IN THE
DAYS OF HARRY TRUMAN, A TIME WHEN IT SEEMED THE
STAKES COULDN'T GET MUCH HIGHER. THEN THE FATE
OF EUROPE HUNG IN THE BALANCE. TODAY, WE STAND
BY ~~THE~~ ^{AND} WATCH AS NICARAGUA SLOWLY TWISTS IN THE
WIND, AND THE FATE OF THE AMERICAS BEGINS TO TILT.



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NICARAGUA IS A COUNTRY WHOSE FUTURE IS BEING
DETERMINED TODAY BY THE LATEST DISPLAY OF
AMERICA'S WEAKNESS, THE INCOMPREHENSIBLE
UNWILLINGNESS OF AMERICA TO SUPPORT SOME 15,000
YOUNG FREEDOM FIGHTERS--THE LARGEST PEASANT
ARMY IN THIS HEMISPHERE SINCE THE DAYS OF
EMILIANO ZAPATA--IN THEIR QUEST TO LIBERATE THEIR
COUNTRY.



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BUT NICARAGUA IS ALSO A SYMPTOM OF
SOMETHING EVEN MORE DISTURBING IN AMERICA'S
POLITICAL SOUL: A LOSS OF FAITH, WHICH UNDERLIES
ITS FAILURE OF NERVE. IT IS A LOSS OF FAITH IN
AMERICA'S GOODNESS, AS WELL AS ITS GREATNESS; A
LOSS OF FAITH THAT WOULD DENY AMERICA'S ABILITY
TO BE A POSITIVE INSPIRATION FOR CHANGE IN THE
WORLD, AS WELL AS A MILITARY ROADBLOCK IN THE
PATH OF TOTALITARIAN EXPANSION.



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LET US REMIND OURSELVES OF THE CHANGES IN
THE NATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PROTECTED BY THE
AMERICAN POWER WHOSE ERA, SOME OF ITS
DENIGRATORS CHEERFULLY ASSERT, IS COMING TO AN
END.

KOREA AND CUBA

CONSIDER, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CONTRASTING
EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH KOREA AND CUBA. ONE,
SOUTH KOREA, HAS BEEN OUR ALLY AND FRIEND.
AMERICAN FORCES HAVE FOUGHT AND DIED THERE,



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REPELLING A COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. AN ECONOMIC
MIRACLE HAS TAKEN PLACE, PRODUCING AN 'ECONOMIC
GIANT' WHOSE GNP HAS GROWN TENFOLD IN 35 YEARS.
AND DEMOCRACY IS TAKING HOLD, AS EVIDENCED BY
THAT NATION'S FIRST FREE ELECTION LAST YEAR.

AND WHAT, BY CONTRAST, HAS HAPPENED IN CUBA ?
-- A COUNTRY ON ROUGHLY THE SAME ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL PLANE WHEN CASTRO CAME TO POWER, AS



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SOUTH KOREA WAS IN 1950? TODAY, CUBA REMAINS A
HARSH POLICE STATE, POLITICALLY IDENTURED TO THE
SOVIET UNION.

PREVIOUSLY ONE OF THE WEALTHIEST COUNTRIES
IN LATIN AMERICA, IT IS NOW AN ECONOMIC "BASKET
CASE," STAVING OFF TOTAL ECONOMIC COLLAPSE ONLY
THROUGH THE "STRINGS-ATTACHED" LARGESSE OF ITS
MENTORS IN MOSCOW. INDEED, MODERN CUBA IS
"RICH" IN ONLY ^{TWO} ~~FEW~~ THINGS: THE WEAPONS OF WAR,



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AND BATTLEFIELD CASUALTIES -- TENS OF THOUSANDS
TO DATE -- ON THE FRONTLINES OF SOVIET AGGRESSION
IN AFRICA.

THE GREATEST FORCE FOR GOOD: THE USA

WHAT DO THESE FACTS AND FIGURES TELL US?

SOMETHING VERY SIMPLE; SOMETHING SO CLEAR THAT IT
SHOULD NOT HAVE TO BE REPEATED;



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I SAY IT WITH PRIDE, AND BECAUSE IT IS TRUE: THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HAS BEEN THE GREATEST
FORCE FOR GOOD IN THE WORLD IN THIS CENTURY.

WE HAVE SHED OUR BLOOD, AND EXPORTED OUR
TREASURE, TO PRESERVE AND ADVANCE FREEDOM. WE
HAVE OPENED OUR DOORS TO MILLIONS WHO SOUGHT
LIBERTY AND OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE BEEN THE
ENGINE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND SCIENTIFIC



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AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, AROUND THE
GLOBE. AND BY SO DOING, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED
THAT COMMUNISM IS A DEAD-END OF OPPRESSION AND
POVERTY.

BUT THE SUFFERING OF THE VICTIMS OF
COMMUNISM--COMPELLING THOUGH IT SHOULD BE TO
THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE -- IS NOT THE MOST
CRITICAL CONSEQUENCE OF THE SELF-DEFEATING
'POLITICS OF RETREAT', WHICH PUTS AMERICA
PERPETUALLY ON THE MORAL DEFENSIVE AND
ATTEMPTS TO DISARM HER IN ADVANCE OF ANY
CONFLICT.



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THE SALIENT FACT IS THAT EACH OF THE DOMINOES
THAT THE ATTITUDE OF APOLOGY HELPS TO TOPPLE
INTO THE POCKET OF COMMUNISM IS ALSO A BUILDING
BLOCK FOR FURTHER COMMUNIST POWER. THE
MENTALITY, SO PREVALENT AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATES, THAT SEEKS TO LIMIT OUR OPTIONS AND
CAPABILITIES IN ADVANCE, IS THE SAME MENTALITY THAT
CASUALLY ACCEPTS THE EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET



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EMPIRE INTO THE HEMISPHERE WE CALL OUR OWN. IT IS
A MENTALITY WHICH BELIEVES THAT SURRENDER IS A
PREVENTION OF WAR RATHER THAN A PROVOCATION.

A NEW CHALLENGE

WE LIVE IN AN ERA WHEN OUR ADVERSARY HAS
BECOME MORE FLEXIBLE AND MORE CONSCIOUS OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS; BUT WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE
MODERN SOVIET UNION IS NO LESS AN ADVERSARY. IT
WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE NOT TO EXPLORE THE



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AVENUES THAT GLASNOST AND DETENTE MAY OPEN;

BUT IT WOULD BE FOOLHARDY AND DANGEROUS TO

MISTAKE SYMBOLS FOR SUBSTANCE, OR PROMISES FOR
ACTS.

WE ARE TODAY FACING A TIME OF TESTING RATHER
THAN TRANQUILITY; A TIME WHICH CALLS FOR COURAGE
RATHER THAN COMPLACENCY. IT IS A TIME WHICH
CALLS ESPECIALLY FOR RENEWED COMMITMENT TO THE
PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS STOOD.



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IF WE REMEMBER WHAT AMERICA HAS BEEN IN THE
PAST--WHAT IT HAS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE
WORLD, AND WHAT IT HAS MEANT TO THEM--WE WILL
HAVE NO TROUBLE KNOWING WHAT IT SHOULD BE IN
THE FUTURE.

CONCLUSION

SO LET ME CONCLUDE BY THANKING THIS
DISTINGUISHED ORGANIZATION FOR THE OPPORTUNITY
TO CONTINUE WHAT I HAVE BEEN DOING THROUGHOUT
MY CAMPAIGN: TALKING ABOUT THE ISSUES.



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AND WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT STANDING UP TO
COMMUNISM -- AND WHATEVER ELSE STANDS BETWEEN
THE FREE WORLD AND THOSE WHO WISH TO JOIN IT --
THEN THE ISSUE IS CRYSTAL CLEAR: IT IS LONG PAST
TIME TO PUT THE EXTREME VIEWS OF OUR LIBERAL
OPPONENTS ON THE TABLE FOR ALL TO SEE.

THANKS TO RONALD REAGAN, WE HAVE REBUILT
OUR DEFENSES, REVITALIZED OUR ALLIANCES AND
REKINDLED OUR HOPES FOR REAL NUCLEAR ARMS
CONTROL.



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BUT WE ARE HEADING TOWARD A NEW ERA; A TIME
WHEN SOMEONE ELSE WILL BE SITTING IN THE OVAL
OFFICE AS THE NEXT LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD; A
TIME WHEN AMERICA WILL BE SEVERELY TESTED,
PERHAPS LIKE NEVER BEFORE.

AS I SAID IN MY ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH SOME
FIVE MONTHS AGO, AMERICA'S GREAT HEARTLAND
PRESIDENTS WERE PLAIN SPEAKING MEN WHOSE



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CLEAR-EYED VISION ENABLED THEM TO MAKE THE
TOUGH CHOICES: ABRAHAM LINCOLN, HARRY TRUMAN,
DWIGHT EISENHOWER AND RONALD REAGAN.

LIKE THEM, I SEE THE DANGERS. LIKE THEM, I SEE
THE CHOICES. AND LIKE THEM, I'M WILLING TO MAKE
THE TOUGH CHOICES WE NEED TO PRESERVE OUR
PEACE AND FREEDOM.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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