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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE MARYLAND FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN IN HONOR OF J. GLENN BEALL EASTON, MARYLAND SEPTEMBER 30, 1977

I AM VERY PLEASED TO BE IN EASTON THIS EVENING TO HELP THE MARYLAND FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN HONOR GLENN BEALL, A GREAT REPUBLICAN WITH WHOM I HAD THE PLEASURE OF SERVING IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE FOR SIX YEARS.

IT WAS JUST ABOUT A YEAR AGO THAT GLENN AND I CAMPAIGNED TOGETHER AT THE MARYLAND STATE FAIR IN TIMONIUM--HE FOR THE SENATE AND I FOR THE VICE PRESIDENCY. UNFORTUNATELY, NEITHER OF US WAS SUCCESSFUL. AND AS A RESULT, THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND ARE BEING DENIED THE FULL SERVICES OF AN OUTSTANDING PUBLIC SERVANT AND JERRY FORD, THE KINDEST, MOST DECENT MAN EVER TO OCCUPY THE OVAL OFFICE, WAS DENIED THE FULL TERM HE SU RICHLY DESERVED. -2-

ALTHOUGH WE DIDN'T WIN, NEITHER THE NATIONAL TICKET NOR GLENN BEALL HAVE ANYTHING TO BE ASHAMED OF. GLENN WAGED AN EXCELLENT FIGHT IN AN OVERWHELMINGLY DEOMCRATIC STATE AND THE FORD-DOLE TICKET NEARLY OVERCAME A 30-POINT DEFICIT AT THE TIME OF THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, LOSING ONE OF THE CLOSEST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

BUT THAT WAS LAST YEAR. AND IT WON'T DO ANY GOOD TO DWELL ON PAST ELECTIONS. RATHER, WE NEED TO LOOK FORWARD TO FUTURE ELECTORAL SUCCESSES. AND I, FOR ONE, LOOK FORWARD TO GLENN BEALL'S CONTINUED ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN REPUBLICAN POLITICS. BECAUSE HE AND HIS FAMILY EXEMPLIFY THE VERY BEST IN PUBLIC SERVICE. LIKE HIS FATHER BEFORE HIM, GLENN BEALL REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST RESPECTED AND WELL LIKED MEN EVER TO SERVE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. AND I AM PROUD TO CALL HIM MY FRIEND. -3-

REASON FOR OPTIMISM

SO, ALTHOUGH WE SUFFERED SOME SETBACKS LAST YEAR, I THINK REPUBLICANS EVERYWHERE HAVE GOOD REASON TO BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE, ABOUT OUR ELECTORAL PROSPECTS, ABOUT THE RESILIENCY OF OUR PARTY. THE POLITICAL GRAVE-DIGGERS HAVE TRIED TO BURY OUR PARTY SCORES OF TIMES, ONLY TO FIND THEMSELVES EXPLAINING AWAY THEIR POLITICAL PROGNOSTICATIONS A FEW MONTHS LATER.

THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN MARYLAND AND ACROSS THE NATION CAN BE BRIGHT. BUT IT WON'T BE UNLESS WE LET THE PEOPLE KNOW WHERE WE STAND, WHY WE STAND THERE, AND CONVINCE THEM THAT WE HAVE THEIR BEST INTEREST AT HEART. AND WE WON'T DO THAT BY SIMPLY MOUNTING A FORMIDABLE DRIVE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE EVERY FOUR YEARS. IT TAKES DAY TO DAY WORK BY OUR ELECTED OFFICIALS AND PARTY WORKERS. IF WE ARE TO BUILD A STRONG PARTY--A POTENT AND VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE--WE MUST START NOW ATTRACTING OUTSTANDING CANDIDATES FOR THE STATE HOUSES, COURT HOUSES, AND THE CITY HALLS. WE NEED TO BUILD A STRONG PARTY FROM THE GROUND UP, NOT FROM THE TOP DOWN. AND I KNOW THAT IS JUST WHAT THE MARYLAND FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN IS TRYING TO DO. -4-

FACING REALITY

I THINK THE PEOPLE OF MARYLAND AND ALL AMERICANS ARE LOOKING FOR STRONG LEADERS, MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE PROUD OF THEIR PHILOSOPHY AND WILLING TO WORK WITH EVERYONE FOR THE BEST INTEREST OF STATE AND UNION. THAT MEANS FACING UP TO THE REALITY OF A DEMOCRATIC WHITE HOUSE, HUGH DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES IN CONGRESS, IN BOTH THE MARYLAND HOUSE OF DELEGATES AND STATE SENATE, AND A DEMOCRAT IN THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE IN ANNAPOLIS.

PROPOSING ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

WE NEED TO PROPOSE <u>CONCRETE</u> ALTERNATIVE POLICIES--AT THE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LEVELS. WE SHOULD SPEND MORE TIME TELLING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT WE'RE <u>FOR</u>, NOT JUST WHAT WE ARE <u>AGAINST</u>. AND WE SHOULDN'T HESITATE TO FORM TEMPORARY ALLIANCES WITH LABOR, WITH BUSINESS, YES, EVEN WITH DEMOCRATS. I KNOW GLENN BEALL AND I HAVE NOT HESITATED TO WORK WITH OUR DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUES WHEN WE AGREED WITH THEM. I HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH GEORGE McGOVERN ON FOOD STAMP REFORM AND FEDERAL NUTRITION LEGISLATION JUST AS GLENN WORKED WITH HIS DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUES ON THE BUDGET AND LABOR COMMITTEES. -5-

CARTER'S ENERGY PROGRAM

ON PRESIDENT CARTER'S HIGHLY-TOUTED ENERGY BILL, REPUBLICANS HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH THE AFL-CIO <u>AND</u> THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TO OPPOSE ITS MORE UNWORKABLE AND ILL-CONCEIVED PROVISIONS.

DURING SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE HEARINGS ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S ENERGY PROPOSAL, I WAS IMPRESSED THAT HARDLY A SINGLE WITNESS EXCEPT THOSE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTED THE CARTER ENERGY PROGRAM. IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF HIS CAMPAIGN PLEDGE, PRESIDENT CARTER IS PROPOSING A THINLY-DISGUISED TAX INCREASE FOR NEARLY EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN AMERICA. TO PUT IT QUITE BLUNTLY, AND MEANING NO DISRESPECT TO THE PRESIDENT, HIS ENERGY PLAN IS AWEUL AND WOULD DO LITTLE, IF ANYTHING TO DECREASE OUR EVER GROWING RELIANCE ON IMPORTED FUELS.

ALTHOUGH WE ARE A MINORITY IN CONGRESS, WE HAVE ALREADY HAD A CONSIDERABLE IMPACT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENERGY PROGRAM. WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN SIDE-TRACKING THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSED TAX ON FAMILY SIZED CARS, AS REGRESSIVE A TAX AS HAS EVER BEEN PROPOSED BY ANY U.S. PRESIDENT. AND WE BEAT BACK ADMINISTRATION ATTEMPTS TO INCREASE BY \$7 BILLION THE TAX LOAD ON THOSE WHO ITEMIZE THEIR TAX RETURNS THROUGH ELIMINATION OF THE DEDUCTION FOR STATE AND LOCAL GASOLINE TAXES. -6-

CONSERVATION AND PRODUCTION

WE WANT AN ENERGY PROGRAM WHICH ENCOURAGES CONSERVATION BY RICH AND POOR ALIKE AND WHICH ENCOURAGES DEVELOPMENT OF NEW DOMESTIC ENERGY SUPPLIES. THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHES NEITHER OF THESE GOALS.

FOREIGN POLICY

AND IF ENERGY IS AN AREA WHERE PRESIDENT CARTER IS PURSUING THE WRONG POLICY, OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS IS AN AREA THIS ADMINISTRATION APPEARS TO PURSUING <u>NO</u> CONSISTENT POLICY. IN A SHORT TIME IN OFFICE, PRESIDENT CARTER HAS MANAGED TO THROW OUR ENTIRE FOREIGN POLICY STRUCTURE INTO A STATE OF DISARRAY. WHERE THERE WAS ONCE STABILITY, WE NOW HAVE CHAOS. THE ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS OUR ALLIES IN WESTERN EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA, AND TOWARD OUR ADVERSARIES IN CUBA AND VIETNAM HAS MANAGED TO CONFUSE JUST ABOUT EVERYONE.

WHEN THIS ADMINISTRATION CAME TO POWER, THE U.S. WAS MILITARILY STRONG AND UNIVERSALLY RESPECTED. A NEW S.A.L.T. AGREEMENT HAD NEARLY BEEN COMPLETED. 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, WEST GERMANY, AND ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE OUR ALLIES SAID 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.

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THE PANAMA CANAL

THE LATEST IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY FUMBLES IS ITS EFFORT TO FORCE EARLY CONSIDERATION OF A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY. -8 -

TREATIES UNACCEPTABLE

THERE'S NO DOUBT THAT THE PUBLIC IS DISENCHANTED WITH THE PACTS. DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, I HAVE MADE AN ACTIVE EFFORT TO FAMILIARIZE MYSELF WITH ALL THE DETAILS OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. AND, AFTER HAVING DISCUSSED THE TREATIES WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, PRESIDENT FORD, GOVERNOR REAGAN, AND A VARIETY OF DIPLOMATS AND SCHOLARS, I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT I CANNOT SUPPORT THE TWO TREATIES IN THEIR PRESENT FORM.

SO, I HAVE INTRODUCED A NUMBER OF AMENDMENTS AND RESERVATIONS TO THE CANAL TREATIES. EACH WAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND FORMU-LATED TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST INHERENT RISKS IN BOTH TREATIES: THEY ARE NOT BASED ON BLIND EMOTION. NOR SHOULD THE SENATE CONSIDER THE TREATIES IN SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

-9-

NO MATTER HOW THE TREATIES ARE ULTIMATELY DISPOSED OF, I THINK THERE IS ONE MESSAGE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT DELIVERED TO GENERAL TORRIJOS AND HIS BUDDIES IN PANAMA: IT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER REDUCE ITS PRESENCE IN THE CANAL ZONE BECAUSE OF VEILED THREATS OR DIRECT PRESSURES. PANAMA MUST KNOW THAT WE INTEND TO RESERVE THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE WHEN THE SECURITY OF THE CANAL IS THREATENED, AND THAT WE EXPECT TO SEE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

BRIGHT FUTURE

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THERE WILL BE DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN OUR OWN PARTY ON THE CANAL ISSUE JUST AS WE DON'T ALWAYS SEE EYE TO EYE ON EVERY OTHER ISSUE WHICH COMES BEFORE US. BUT I, FOR ONE, DON'T THINK THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD BE ALARMED BY SUCH DIFFERENCES OF OPINION. I THINK OUR PARTY CAN GROW AND PROSPER DESPITE SUCH DISAGREEMENTS. -10-

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ONLY AT A LOW EBB IN ONE RESPECT, AND THAT IS <u>NUMBERS</u>. THROUGH ENTHUSIASM AND HARD WORK, WE CAN MAKE UP A LOT OF GROUND ON OUR MORE COMPLACENT, AND HIGHLY FACTIONALIZED OPPONENTS. IF WE DON'T CATALYZE OUR PARTY'S VIEWS INTO A NARROW AND UNYIELDING POSTURE, WE CAN BE CATALYZED INTO ACTION.

OUR OPPONENTS MAY HAVE US OUTNUMBERED. BUT NEXT YEAR THEY WILL BE UP AGAINST A MID-TERM ELECTION IN WHICH THEY HOLD THE WHITE HOUSE, AND PARTIES IN THAT POSITION ALMOST <u>ALWAYS</u> LOSE SEATS. THEY WILL HAVE TO TRY TO CARRY MANY INCUMBENTS ELECTED IN THE DEMOCRATIC HEYDAY OF WATERGATE.

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IN MY VIEW, THE CANAL TREATIES WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER SENT TO CAPITOL HILL CONTAIN SERIOUS DEFECTS, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW IT.

TREATIES UNACCEPTABLE

I CAN UNDERSTAND THE PUBLIC'S DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE PACTS. DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, I HAVE MADE AN ACTIVE EFFORT TO FAMILIARIZE MYSELF WITH ALL THE DETAILS OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, AND I FIND THEM LACKING IN LOGIC AND GUARANTEES FOR OUR FUTURE NATIONAL SECURITY. AFTER HAVING DISCUSSED THE TREATIES WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, PRESIDENT FORD, GOVERNOR REAGAN, AND A VARIETY OF DIPLOMATS AND SCHOLARS, I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT I CANNOT SUPPORT THE TWO TREATIES IN THEIR PRESENT FORM.

I BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO MOVE BEYOND THE POINT OF BLIND EMOTION ON THIS CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE. I BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO FOCUS ATTENTION UPON SPECIFIC WEAKNESSES IN THE CANAL TREATIES.

I HAVE INTRODUCED A NUMBER OF AMENDMENTS AND RESERVATIONS TO THE CANAL TREATIES. EACH WAS CAREFULLY CONSIDERED AND FORMULATED TO PROTECT THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST INHERENT RISKS IN BOTH TREATIES.

NO APOLOGIES

IF THERE IS ONE MESSAGE THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT DELIVERED TO GENERAL TORRIJOS AND HIS BUDDIES IN PANAMA, IT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NEVER REDUCE ITS PRESENCE IN THE CANAL ZONE BECAUSE OF VEILED THREATS OR DIRECT PRESSURES. PANAMANIAN OFFICIALS MUST KNOW THAT WE INTEND TO RESERVE ALL RIGHTS TO INTERVENE WHEN THE SECURITY OF THE CANAL IS THREATENED, AND WE EXPECT PRIORITY PASSAGE FOR OUR SHIPS DURING PERIODS OF CRISIS. THEY MUST BE TOLD THAT WE EXPECT TO SEE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND, ABOVE ALL, WE DO NOT INTEND TO PAY EXORBITANT AMOUNTS OF MONEY FOR THE PURPOSE OF TURNING OVER CONTROL OF THE CANAL AND CANAL ZONE. I BELIEVE MY AMENDMENTS AND RESERVATIONS WILL SPEAK FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THIS RESPECT. WE SHOULD SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS.

BRIGHT FUTURE

I CAN HONESTLY TELL YOU THIS EVENING THAT OUR FUTURE AS A PARTY LOOKS BRIGHT.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ONLY AT A LOW EBB IN ONE RESPECT, AND THAT IS <u>NUMBERS</u>. THROUGH ENTHUSIASM AND HARD WORK, WE CAN MAKE UP A LOT OF GROUND ON OUR MORE COMPLACENT, AND HIGHLY FACTIONALIZED OPPONENTS. IF WE DON'T CATALYZE OUR PARTY'S VIEWS INTO A NARROW AND UNVIELDING POSTURE, WE CAN BE CATALYZED INTO ACTION.

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