

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
GEORGIA JAYCEE MOCK LEGISLATURE

STATE CAPITOL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OCTOBER 22, 1977

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE IN ATLANTA. I RECALL THAT ON MY LAST VISIT TO YOUR BEAUTIFUL STATE -- A LITTLE OVER A YEAR AGO -- I SPOKE TO POLITICAL GATHERINGS IN ATLANTA AND MACON. I THEN WAS ASSURED BY THE ENTHUSIASTIC CROWDS WHICH GREETED US THAT THE FORD-DOLE TICKET WOULD CRACK THE SOLID SOUTH AND MIGHT EVEN CARRY THE HOME STATE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE. WELL, THINGS DIDN'T QUITE TURN OUT THAT WAY.

THE SOLID SOUTH DIDN'T CRACK. PRESIDENT FORD DIDN'T CARRY GEORGIA. AND JIMMY CARTER WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT.

TODAY, AFTER NINE MONTHS IN OFFICE HE IS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD. TO BE SURE, NINE MONTHS IN THE MOST DIFFICULT OFFICE IN THE WORLD HAS LEFT ITS MARK ON YOUR FELLOW GEORGIAN.

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THE BURDEN OF THE PRESIDENCY SHOWS ITSELF AS JIMMY CARTER TRIES TO SORT OUT THE BAD IDEAS FROM THE GOOD ONES, THE POLICIES WHICH WILL LEAD TO WORLD STABILITY, NOT CHAOS. AND AN ECONOMIC COURSE WHICH LEADS TO PROSPERITY, NOT RECESSION. IT'S A DIFFICULT JOB. AND WE ALL -- REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS, CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS -- HOPE HE IS SUCCESSFUL.

FOR HE IS NOT JUST A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT OR A SOUTHERN PRESIDENT. HE IS THE PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE. HE'S MY PRESIDENT TOO. AND EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE BEEN AND ARE POLITICAL ADVERSARIES, I KNOW I JOIN ALL AMERICANS IN WISHING HIM WELL IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD AS HE MAKES THE DIFFICULT DECISIONS FOR AMERICA.

AND, REALLY, THAT IS THE ESSENCE OF AMERICAN STATECRAFT.

EVERY TWO YEARS OR EVERY FOUR YEARS WE ENGAGE IN TOUGH -- OFTEN HOTLY CONTESTED -- CAMPAIGNS IN WHICH YOU, THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE MUST DECIDE WHO IS BEST QUALIFIED TO LEAD YOUR CITY, YOUR STATE, AND YOUR NATION. IN AMERICA, THERE ARE STILL TWO GREAT POLITICAL PARTIES WHICH VIE FOR THE REINS OF LEADERSHIP. RIGHT NOW, MY PARTY -- THE REPUBLICANS -- HAS YIELDED THE PREDOMINANT POSITION TO THE DEMOCRATS. IT HASN'T ALWAYS BEEN

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THAT WAY -- AND IT WON'T ALWAYS BE THAT WAY IN THE FUTURE.

NATIONAL STABILITY -- OF THE KIND WE HAVE KNOWN FOR OVER TWO CENTURIES -- CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. AND ALTHOUGH I AM NOT HERE TO GIVE A POLITICAL RECRUITMENT SPEECH, I CAN'T THINK OF A BETTER PLACE TO STRESS THE VIRTUES OF A TWO-PARTY DEMOCRACY THAN TO THE JAYCEE'S MOCK STATE LEGISLATURE. I HAPPEN TO THINK THAT MY PARTY -- ITS PHILOSOPHY, ITS HOPES AND DREAMS FOR THE FUTURE-- BEST REPRESENTS THE VIEWS OF MANY, IF NOT MOST, GEORGIANS. AND I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT OUTSTANDING COMMUNITY LEADERS LIKE YOURSELVES WILL WORK DILIGENTLY IN THE PARTY OF YOUR OWN CHOOSING TO BUILD A STRONG TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN GEORGIA.

TREMENDOUS CHALLENGES CONFRONT THE FUTURE LEADERS OF GEORGIA AND THE NATION. SO, TOO, WILL THERE BE TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUTSTANDING, PATRIOTIC AND DEDICATED AMERICANS, LIKE YOURSELVES. ON ANY NUMBER OF ISSUES -- FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL -- THE NATION CRIES OUT FOR LEADERSHIP. AND THERE IS A NEED FOR STRONG LEADERS IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES, ON BOTH SIDES OF IMPORTANT PUBLIC ISSUES. AS COMMUNITY LEADERS THROUGHOUT GEORGIA, YOUR FELLOW CITIZENS WILL BE LOOKING TO YOU FOR LEADERSHIP.

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NOW LET ME TURN TO A SPECIFIC AREA OF VAST NATIONAL AND WORLD SIGNIFICANCE -- FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY AND S.A.L.T. IN PARTICULAR.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS PROVIDED THE NATION WITH NEW FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HARDLY BEEN ABLE TO KEEP UP WITH THESE NEW DEPARTURES, TUMBLING FROM THE WHITE HOUSE ONE AFTER THE OTHER: WITHDRAWAL FROM KOREA, DOWNGRADING OF TAIWAN, RECOGNITION OF CUBA AND VIETNAM, THE PRESIDENT'S UN AMBASSADOR WARMLY PRAISING THE VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE OF NORTH VIETNAM AND THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION DIRECTOR ATTENDING THE NORTH VIETNAMESE VICTORY CELEBRATION, BRINGING THE SOVIETS BACK INTO THE MIDDLE EAST WITH A JOINT DECLARATION, CANCELLING THE B-1, AND OF COURSE, THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY.

THE POPULAR OUTCRY HAS BEEN LOUDEST ON THE CANAL TREATY, PERHAPS BECAUSE THE PEOPLE SEE IT AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF WITHDRAWAL AND APOLOGY.

BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION NATIONAL SECURITY DEPARTURES HAS YET TO RECEIVE WIDE NOTICE.

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SO AS INDICATED, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK WITH YOU BRIEFLY ABOUT S.A.L.T., THE NEGOTIATIONS THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN CONDUCTING WITH THE RUSSIANS.

IT IS A PARADOX THAT THIS MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL NATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SEEMS THE MOST ELUSIVE AND COMPLICATED IN DETAIL. TO MASTER ITS COMPLEXITY REQUIRES THE LEARNING OF A NEW LANGUAGE OF MIRVS AND MARVS, OF ALCMS AND SLCM, MLBMS, SSNX-18S AND SNDVS. BUT ONCE MASTERED, THIS LANGUAGE REVEALS SALT TO BE LIKE ALL POLICY MATTERS, AMENABLE TO APPLIED COMMON SENSE. LET US REVIEW THE SIMPLE ISSUES OF SALT, STRIPPED OF JARGON AND ASK SOME COMMON SENSE QUESTIONS.

THE FIRST MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION MUST BE: WHAT IS IT WE SEEK TO ACHIEVE THROUGH SALT NEGOTIATIONS? THE ANSWER CAN ONLY BE TO ACHIEVE INCREASED SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES. THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION WILL BE THE SOLE CRITERION BY WHICH WE IN THE U.S. SENATE MUST JUDGE THE COMING SALT TREATY.

BY WHICH ISSUES DO WE JUDGE THE FAIRNESS AND BALANCE OF THE TREATY LIMITATIONS TO FIND WHETHER IT INCREASES OR DECREASES OUR SECURITY?

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FOUR CRITERIA

FRED IKLE, RECENT DIRECTOR OF THE ARMS CONTROL AGENCY HAS SUGGESTED THE FOUR CRITERIA BY WHICH WE SHOULD MEASURE THAT SUCCESS OR FAILURE IN A SALT TREATY.

FIRST, A SALT TREATY OUGHT TO STRENGTHEN DETERRENCE. DETERRENCE SIMPLY MEANS DISSUADING THE SOVIETS FROM ATTACKING US OR OUR ALLIES BY PERSUADING THEM THAT THE CONSEQUENCES TO THEM OF ATTACKING US ARE WORSE THAN ANYTHING THEY COULD GAIN BY DOING SO. SALT SHOULD STRENGTHEN THAT DISSUASION.

SECOND, SALT MUST SECURE AN EVEN BALANCE -- REAL SELF-EVIDENT EQUALITY OR PARITY.

THIRD, SALT SHOULD ACHIEVE SOME REDUCTION IN NUCLEAR ARSENALS AND EASE THE BURDEN ON THE TAXPAYERS, NOT INCREASE IT.

FOURTH, THE TREATY MUST BE STRICTLY ENFORCEABLE AND VERIFIABLE WITHOUT HAVING TO PLACE BLIND TRUST IN THE RUSSIANS.

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NOW LET US TURN TO WHAT ACTUAL LIMITATIONS SEEM NEAR TO AGREEMENT. THE SENATE AS A WHOLE HAS NOT BEEN BRIEFED, SO FOR DETAILS ON WHAT HAS NOW BEEN AGREED WE MUST RELY ON RECENT NEWS ARTICLES QUOTING "INFORMED SOURCES". TO COMPARE WHERE WE STARTED FROM, WE HAVE THE MARCH PROPOSAL MADE PUBLIC BY THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF:

CEILING ON STRATEGIC LAUNCH VEHICLES, ICBMS, SUB-LAUNCHED SLBMS,
AND LONG-RANGE BOMBERS

- CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH A CEILING OF 1800
- THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ON 2250
- REPORTED "COMPROMISE" 2250

CEILING ON MULTIPLE WARHEAD VEHICLES

- CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH A CEILING OF 1100
- THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ON 1320
- REPORTED "COMPROMISE" 1320

CEILING ON LAND-BASED ICBMS

- CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH A CEILING OF 550
- THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ON 850
- REPORTED "COMPROMISE" 850

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LIMITS ON SOVIET HEAVY MISSILES (SIX TIMES THE PAYLOAD OF THE U.S. MINUTEMAN)

---	CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH	U.S. - 0
		SOVIETS - 150
---	THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ON	308
---	REPORTED "COMPROMISE"	U.S. - 0
		SOVIETS - 308

LIMITS ON SOVIET BACKFIRE LONG-RANGE SUPERSONIC BOMBER

CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH STRICT NUMERICAL LIMITS ON BACKFIRE

THE RUSSIANS INSISTED THERE BE NO LIMITS OTHER THAN ASSURANCES THEY WOULD NOT USE IT AGAINST THE U.S.

REPORTED "COMPROMISE": NO LIMITS OTHER THAN ASSURANCES

LIMITS ON U.S. SEA-LAUNCHED AND GROUND-LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES

CARTER PROPOSED IN MARCH THERE BE NO LIMITS ON U.S. MEDIUM RANGE (UP TO 2500 KM) CRUISE MISSILES

THE RUSSIANS INSISTED ALL SLCMS AND GLCMS BE LIMITED TO 600 KM RANGE (320 MILES)

REPORTED "COMPROMISE": ALL SLCMS AND GLCMS LIMITED TO 600 KM RANGE.

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IF THE FACTS OF THIS NEW AGREEMENT AS REPORTED IN NEWSWEEK AND ELSEWHERE ARE TRUE, THEN DOING SOME SIMPLE ARITHMETIC ON MY TABLECLOTH, WE FIND THAT THIS TREATY WOULD LEAVE US WITH THE FOLLOWING BALANCE SHEET BY 1985:

	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>SOVIET</u>
ICBM PAYLOAD	2.5 MILLION LBS.	9 MILLION LBS.
ICBM WARHEADS	1650	6000
LONG-RANGE BOMBERS	120 B-52S	UNLIMITED BACKFIRES (ABOUT 500 BY 1985)

MEASURE UP

RETURNING TO THE FOUR ISSUES OF FORMER ARMS CONTROL DIRECTOR IKLE, HOW DO THESE TERMS MEASURE UP?

FIRST, DETERRENCE: IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW SUCH A RECORD OF U.S. CONCESSIONS RESULTING IN SUCH LOP-SIDED NUMBERS COULD STRENGTHEN SOVIET FEAR OF U.S. COUNTERATTACK. IT WOULD SEEM TO ME DETERRENCE WOULD BE WEAKENED, NOT STRENGTHENED.

SECOND, EVEN BALANCE: THE IMBALANCE WOULD SEEM TO BE STAGGERING.

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THIRD, REDUCTIONS: THERE ARE INDEED U.S. REDUCTIONS, BUT NET SOVIET INCREASES.

FOURTH, ENFORCEABLE AND VERIFIABLE: IT IS AGREED IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY THAT A 600 KM LIMIT ON CRUISE MISSILES IS NOT VERIFIABLE, BUT OTHER ENFORCEMENT ARRANGEMENTS SEEM SO FAR TO HAVE BEEN A SUBJECT DEFERRRED BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT ANY PRESIDENT COULD BE SO ILL-ADVISED AS TO CONCLUDE SUCH A TREATY AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. LET US HOPE THESE MANY AUTHORITATIVE NEWS STORIES ARE WRONG.

My
A TREATY, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED EXCEPT BY LIMITATIONS UNEQUAL AND UNFAIR TO THE U.S., OR BY TERMS UNENFORCEABLE AND BUILT ONLY ON SOVIET ASSURANCES OF GOOD INTENTIONS, THEN THE ANSWERS TO OUR OPENING QUESTION IS AN OBVIOUS NO. U.S. SECURITY WILL NOT BE ENHANCED BY RATIFYING SUCH A TREATY, AND A BIPARTISAN MAJORITY OF THE SENATE WILL REJECT IT WITHOUT HESITATION.

LET US HOPE THAT THESE EVENTS DO NOT OCCUR. ALL OF US WOULD PREFER TO CURB ARMS COMPETITION AND REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR, BUT

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NONE OF US WILL DO SO AT THE RISK OF FUTURE U.S. SECURITY.
IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL OF US TO MAKE SPECIAL EFFORTS
TO INFORM OURSELVES IN THESE DIFFICULT MATTERS. THE ADVICE
OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE JUDGMENT OF THE SENATE MUST BE BASED
ON A REASONED UNDERSTANDING OF STRATEGIC ISSUES.