

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

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TRADITIONALLY, THE PARTY OUT OF POWER FOCUSES ITS OFF-YEAR ELECTION CAMPAIGN ON WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PARTY IN POWER. FOR A LONG, LONG TIME WE'VE GROWN ACCUSTOMED TO THIS ROLE, PERHAPS TOO COMFORTABLE WITH IT. AND THIS YEAR IS NO EXCEPTION.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ARE POINTING OUT THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ALLIES IN CONGRESS, THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY FAILURES, THE WOEFULLY INADEQUATE ECONOMIC, ENERGY, FARM, HEALTH CARE, AND URBAN INITIATIVES OF THE MAJORITY PARTY. FRANKLY, IT'S NOT HARD TO CONSTRUCT A PRETTY CONVINCING CASE AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS.

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BUT IS IT ENOUGH FOR US TO SAY THE DEMOCRATS ARE BAD AND WE'RE AVAILABLE? DON'T WE RISK PROLONGING THE PERCEPTION OF OUR PARTY AS A PARTY OF POLITICAL "AGAINSTERS", A PARTY THAT CARES FOR THE HAVES AND NOT THE HAVE-NOTS, THOSE WHO CAN HELP THEMSELVES AND NOT THOSE WHO NEED HELP? ISN'T IT TIME FOR REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS AND OFFICE HOLDERS TO TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT WE STAND FOR, NOT JUST WHAT WE ARE AGAINST?

THE FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY SHORTCOMINGS OF OUR OPPONENTS ARE WELL DOCUMENTED. YOU'VE HEARD THEM ALL BEFORE. SO I'D LIKE TO TALK ABOUT WHAT WE, AS REPUBLICANS, WANT TO DO FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, NOT JUST WHAT THE DEMOCRATS HAVE DONE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY, WE CAN PROVIDE THE COHERENCE AND STRENGTH OF PURPOSE WHICH IS SO BADLY NEEDED AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME.

AMERICAN COMMITMENT DOUBTED

AMERICANS TODAY CANNOT HELP BEING CONCERNED ABOUT THE DIRECTION IN WHICH OUR NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN MOVING BECAUSE, 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, AT PRESENT, 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. MORE AND MORE, OUR IMAGE IS BECOMING THAT OF A NATION WHICH HAS LOST ITS GRIP ON THE RUDDER OF FREE WORLD LEADERSHIP.

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THIS IS ESPECIALLY TROUBLING AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHEN WE FACE MANY CHALLENGES, MANY TESTS. WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE PRACTICAL FACT THAT COMPETITION BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND THE FORCES OF TYRANNY CONTINUES. REGARDLESS OF WHAT WE, AS A PEACEFUL PEOPLE, MAY WANT TO BELIEVE, A VERY REAL MILITARY AND IDEOLOGICAL COMPETITION CONTINUES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. NO AMOUNT OF SELF-DELUSION, OR WISHFUL THINKING ON OUR PART WILL ALTER THAT FACT. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE SIGHT OF IT AS THE ESSENTIAL CONTEXT IN WHICH ALL FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS MUST BE SHAPED.

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AN IMAGE OF RETREAT

I AM CONCERNED THAT AMERICA'S IMAGE TODAY IS ONE OF WEAKNESS AND UNCERTAINTY, RATHER THAN OF STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION OF PURPOSE. THAT IMAGE IS NURTURED BY THE DECISION TO PULL ALL AMERICAN GROUND TROOPS OUT OF SOUTH KOREA, AND THE AGREEMENT TO SURRENDER THE PANAMA CANAL AT THE BARGAINING TABLE. IT IS ENCOURAGED BY PREMATURE MOVES TOWARDS "NORMALIZATION" WITH CUBA AND VIETNAM, AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE DENY VITAL SUPPORT TO PRO-WESTERN FORCES IN RHODESIA.

AND OUR IMAGE OF WEAKNESS IS REINFORCED BY ABANDONING OUR OWN "RULE OF LAW" ON ARMS SALES ABROAD--BY LIFTING THE TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY BEFORE THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS IS DEMILITARIZED AND THE POLITICAL DILEMMA THERE IS RESOLVED.

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THE PRESIDENT IS DUE PROPER CREDIT FOR HIS ROLE IN COORDINATING A FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ALL OF US HOPE AND PRAY THAT A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT CAN BE CONCLUDED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE. YET, WE REMAIN AWARE THAT PATIENCE AND CAUTION ARE IN ORDER UNTIL THAT HOPE BECOMES A REALITY.

DEFENSE OUTLOOK

MANY OF US ARE TROUBLED BY WHAT WE SEE AS A CURRENT PATTERN OF AMERICAN CUTBACKS IN DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS. WE ARE ALARMED BY SOVIET ADVANCES IN THE MOST MASSIVE WEAPONS PROGRAM SINCE THE REARMAMENT OF NAZI GERMANY. IN THE EARLY FIFTIES, OUR DELIVERABLE NUCLEAR WARHEADS OUTNUMBERED THOSE OF THE SOVIETS BY AT LEAST TEN TO ONE. BY THE EARLY 60'S, THE RATIO WAS STILL TWO TO ONE. BY THE EARLY 70'S, THE SOVIETS HAD ACHIEVED NUCLEAR PARITY.

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TODAY THEY HAVE MORE MISSILES AND BIGGER ONES THAN WE DO. THEIR MEDIUM BOMBER FORCE OUTNUMBERS OURS TEN TO ONE. THEY HAVE PASSED US IN SUBMARINE LAUNCH TUBES AND THEY ARE FAST CATCHING UP WITH US IN NUMBERS OF MISSILE WARHEADS, SURVIVABILITY OF FORCES, AND MISSILE ACCURACY.

SALT TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

LIKE MOST AMERICANS, I HAD HIGH HOPES FOR THE 1972 STRATEGIC ARMS TREATY PRESIDENT NIXON NEGOTIATED AT MOSCOW. BUT THE SUCCESS OF THOSE ACCORDS WAS DEPENDENT ON OUR CONTINUED VIGILANCE AGAINST SOVIET VIOLATIONS AND ADVANCES IN AREAS NOT COVERED BY THEM.

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NOW THE RESULTS ARE IN. DURING THE FIVE YEARS OF SALT I, THE SOVIETS INCREASED THEIR MISSILE SUBMARINE FORCE BY MORE THAN 60 PER CENT, ADVANCING TO 909 MISSILES FROM 560 WHILE WE REMAINED STEADY AT 656.

TO MAKE POSSIBLE THIS ADVANCE WITHIN THE TERMS OF THE SALT I TREATY, THE SOVIETS RETIRED A FEW LAND-BASED MISSILES, GOING FROM 1,530 TO 1,077. WE REMAINED CONSTANT AT 1,054. THE SOVIET LONG-RANGE FORCE DROPPED FROM 140 TO 135. THE U.S. BOMBER FORCE DECLINED FROM 552 TO 441.

OUR GAIN FROM SALT WAS THE RETIREMENT OF 53 OBSOLETE SOVIET MISSILES. FOR THAT WE AGREED NOT TO EXPLOIT THE OVERWHELMING ADVANTAGE IN ANTI-MISSILE TECHNOLOGY WE HELD IN 1972.

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AND WHILE WE DEACTIVATED OUR ABM'S THE SOVIETS RETAINED THEIR OLDER SYSTEM AND HAVE EVEN NOW INCREASED FIXED AIR-DEFENSE MISSILES FROM 10,000 TO 12,000. THEIR ADVANCED CIVIL DEFENSE SYSTEM, FAR FROM INDICATING THEY BELIEVE NUCLEAR WAR UNTHINKABLE, SUGGESTS THEY SEE IT AS A VERY REAL POSSIBILITY.

NOR IS THEIR MOMENTUM SLOWING IN ANY RESPECT. THEIR LAND-BASED MISSILES ARE BEING REPLACED BY A NEW GENERATION, WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS, EQUAL TO OR BETTER THAN OURS. STILL NEWER GENERATIONS ARE IN THE PLANNING STAGES.

MOBILE SS-20'S EASILY UPGRADEABLE INTO MOBILE INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES, ARE BEING DEPLOYED WITHIN RANGE OF EUROPE. THE SOVIETS ARE STEADILY DEPLOYING THEIR BACKFIRE BOMBER AND IMPROVING THEIR CONVENTIONAL ARMY AND NAVAL FORCES.

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FORTUNATELY, THE UNITED STATES RETAINS SOME ADVANTAGES. ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT HAS UNILATERALLY SACRIFICED THE B-1 BOMBER AND THE NEUTRON BOMB, WE ARE BUILDING A NEW TRIDENT SUBMARINE AND A NEW MOBILE INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILE. AND, MOST PROMISINGLY, WE ARE DEVELOPING THE SUBSONIC--BUT VERY ACCURATE--CRUISE MISSILE.

SALT II

NOW, WITHIN A FEW WEEKS, THE SENATE WILL BE ASKED TO RATIFY A NEW ARMS LIMITATION TREATY. I BELIEVE THAT A GOOD TREATY, ONE WHICH ADEQUATELY PROTECTS THE UNITED STATES' INTEREST, WOULD BE WELCOMED AT AN EARLY DATE. BUT INDICATIONS SO FAR ARE THAT THE SALT II TREATY WILL HAVE SEVERAL MAJOR FLAWS.

THE CURRENT DRAFT AGREEMENTS WOULD PUT NO SERIOUS RESTRAINT ON THE SOVIET MIRVED ICBM FORCE, THUS INSURING THE VULNERABILITY OF OUR LAND-BASED DETERRENT.

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THE AGREEMENTS WOULD SERIOUSLY LIMIT OR PROHIBIT OUR ABILITY TO ASSURE THE SURVIVABILITY OF OUR ICBM FORCE THROUGH MOBILE-BASING OPTIONS.

THE AGREEMENTS WOULD GIVE UP THE VALUABLE OPTIONS OF GROUND-LAUNCHED AND SEA-LAUNCHED INTERMEDIATE-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES.

THE AGREEMENTS WOULD LEAVE THE SOVIET BACKFIRE INTERMEDIATE/ STRATEGIC BOMBER FREE OF ANY MEANINGFUL RESTRAINTS.

AND THE AGREEMENTS WOULD ACCEPT A STANDARD OF VERIFICATION THAT MAY REQUIRE AN UNACCEPTABLE AMOUNT OF TRUST IN SOVIET COMPLIANCE.

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THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH AND SOVIET ABILITY TO STRETCH INTERPRETATION IS TOO WELL ESTABLISHED FOR US TO ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN IRONCLAD VERIFICATION, WHICH SHOULD INCLUDE EXTENSIVE ON SITE INSPECTION BY BOTH SIDES.

I THINK WE HAVE TO KEEP IN MIND, ALL THE TIME, THAT RECOGNIZED SELF-INTEREST WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL DETERMINATION OF WHETHER OR NOT THE SOVIET UNION FULLY COMPLIES WITH ANY AGREEMENT.

IT JUST SEEMS TO ME THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO GIVE SOMETHING OF THIS MAGNITUDE A GREAT DEAL OF SOBER REFLECTION.

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THERE IS NO EASY ROAD TO PEACE, NO SIMPLISTIC FORMULA BY WHICH WE CAN ESCAPE THE DEMANDS OF VIGILANCE. INDEED, WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO OUR INTERNATIONAL ALLIES AS WELL AS TO OURSELVES, AND THE LEADERSHIP TO FULFILL THAT OBLIGATION CAN ONLY COME FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES.

UNFORTUNATELY, WE HAVE NOW REACHED A POINT WHERE, IN MANY QUARTERS, IT HAS BECOME ALMOST UNIMAGINABLE THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WOULD, IN SUPPORT OF ANY OBJECTIVE AT ALL, UNDERTAKE MILITARY ACTION ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

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THE PRESIDENT, OF COURSE, CONTINUES TO SPEAK OF OUR "COMMITMENTS". AND WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN, ISRAEL, SOUTH KOREA, AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. BUT WHO AMONG US IS TRULY CONVINCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT NOW IN WASHINGTON WOULD DO ANYTHING SUBSTANTIVE TO HONOR THOSE COMMITMENTS? WHO IN OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT EVEN THINKS WE SHOULD DO ANYTHING?

OUR DUTY, OUR OPPORTUNITY

AS THE WORLD'S FOREMOST DEMOCRATIC POWER, OUR GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES ARE NOT INSIGNIFICANT, OUR BURDEN NOT LIGHT. SO LONG AS THE FORCES OF TYRANNY THREATEN PEACE, THE UNITED STATES MUST REMAIN VIGILANT.

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WE DON'T WANT TO RETURN TO THE DAY-TO-DAY TENSION OF THE COLD WAR. WE ASK ONLY FOR REALISM IN FOREIGN POLICY, FOR FAITHFUL ADHERENCE TO AMERICAN PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND DECENCY, AND FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO BOLDLY CONFRONT THOSE WHO CHALLENGE OUR COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

OPPORTUNITY IN 1978

OUR PARTY HAS A TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY IN 1978 TO OFFER TO THE VOTERS OF AMERICA ATTRACTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO MORE-OF-THE-SAME POLICIES WHICH HAVE USHERED IN AN ERA OF HIGH TAXATION, HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION, AND OVERZEALOUS GOVERNMENT REGULATION.

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OUR RECORD--THE REPUBLICAN RECORD--IS CLEAR AND CONSISTENT, OUR COMMITMENT TO FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY AND LOWER TAXES IS WELL KNOWN. AFTER YEARS OF FIGHTING AN OFTEN FRUSTRATING BATTLE AGAINST THE ENCROACHMENT OF GOVERNMENT, AFTER YEARS OF PLEADING THE CASE AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS, THE ISSUES OF 1978 ARE OUR ISSUES, THE OPPORTUNITIES IN 1978 ARE OUR OPPORTUNITIES AND IT IS OUR OPPONENTS WHO ARE STRUGGLING MIGHTILY TO CONVINCE THE VOTERS THAT THEY STAND TODAY FOR THE SAME THINGS REPUBLICANS HAVE STOOD FOR A LONG, LONG TIME.

OUR PARTY CAN DO A LOT FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WE HAVE THE RIGHT--INDEED, THE OBLIGATION--TO OPPOSE MISDIRECTED AND UNPRODUCTIVE SPENDING AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT. BUT, TOO, AS THE PARTY OF OPPOSITION, WE HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO PUT FORWARD POSITIVE INITIATIVES, NEW APPROACHES TO THE NEEDS OF THE 20TH CENTURY.

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YOU AND I ARE HEIRS TO HISTORY'S GREATEST LEGACY, THE MOST SUCCESSFUL NATION ON EARTH. BUT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT BEING THE PARTY OF FREEDOM--DEFENDING THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, FREEING PEOPLE FROM GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND OVER-TAXATION, PROMOTING THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD--THESE ARE COMMENDABLE GOALS, BUT THEY ARE ABSTRACT GOALS. AND OUR PARTY WAS NOT FOUNDED--NOR WILL IT SURVIVE--ON ABSTRACTIONS. WE MUST ENSURE AT ALL TIMES THAT OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE STRENGTH REMAINS AT AN OPTIMUM LEVEL, AND THAT WE DEMONSTRATE OUR COMMITMENT TO PRINCIPLE IN EVERY FOREIGN POLICY DECISION, SO THAT WE CAN UPHOLD THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AGAINST ANY CHALLENGE.

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, LIKE THE UNITED STATES, WAS BORN IN A GREAT STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN LIBERTY. WE EXTENDED AND EXPANDED HUMAN FREEDOM IN A VERY REAL, TANGIBLE WAY. TIME HAS PASSED. THE WORLD IS A VERY DIFFERENT PLACE. BUT OUR FOUNDING PURPOSE--THE EXTENSION AND EXPANSION OF HUMAN LIBERTY--REMAINS THE SAME--AT HOME AND ABROAD.

AND THAT IS THE BANNER WE CARRY, THE PURPOSE WE MUST ARTICULATE THIS YEAR, NEXT YEAR, AND IN THE DECADES WHICH LIE BEFORE US.