

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
KANSAS REPUBLICAN VETERANS CLUB

TOPEKA, KANSAS
SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1980

PRESIDENT CARTER'S BRAVURA MEDIA PERFORMANCE WEDNESDAY NIGHT HELPED TO ALERT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO THE DANGEROUS CRISIS THREATENING THE ULTIMATE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT AMONG THOSE WHO ARE WELL-VERSED IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AMONG THOSE WHOSE BUSINESS IT IS TO BE EXPERTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY, THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WAS DISTURBINGLY SPARSE ON SPECIFICS. MOSCOW'S ONLY RESPONSE HAS BEEN TO TURN THE BELLIGERENT TONE OF JIMMY CARTER'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE INTO A PROPAGANDA PLOY AGAINST THE UNITED STATES -- TRYING TO PICTURE OUR NATION AS THE COUNTRY OF WAR WHILE DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THEIR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

DOES THE PRESIDENT REALLY BELIEVE THAT SUCH RHETORIC WILL IMPRESS THE SOVIET UNION? THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD AMPLE OCCASION TO HEAR IT ALL BEFORE. THE RUSSIANS AREN'T FOOLS. THEY KNOW WHAT THE FACTS ARE EVEN IF THE GENERAL PUBLIC HERE IS NOT AWARE OF THEM. THEY KNOW THAT PRESIDENT CARTER -- FAR FROM THE PICTURE HE TRIED TO PAINT LAST WEDNESDAY -- HAS DONE MORE TO DISARM THIS COUNTRY THAN ANY PRESIDENT IN THIS CENTURY EXCEPT FOR HARDING'S WASHINGTON NAVAL CONFERENCE.

IN THE LAST THREE YEARS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CUT THE DEFENSE BUDGET PRESIDENT FORD PROJECTED THROUGH THE 1983 PERIOD BY OVER 57 BILLION DOLLARS! HE SLASHED THE STRATEGIC BUDGET BY 24 BILLION DOLLARS, CUT THE FUND FOR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES BY 25 BILLION DOLLARS, AND REDUCED OUR VITAL, LONG-TERM RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FUND BY 10 BILLION DOLLARS.

IN TERMS OF SPECIFIC PROGRAMS, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS CANCELLED THE B-1 PROGRAM, CUT BACK THE TRIDENT SUBMARINE PROCUREMENT -- THUS DELAYING ITS DEPLOYMENT BY TWO YEARS --, CANCELLED THE NEUTRON BOMB WHICH WOULD HAVE ADDED TO THE SECURITY OF OUR NATO FLANK, AND DELAYED THE M-X PROGRAM BY UP TO FIVE YEARS.

FURTHERMORE, ALL OUR FOREIGN POLICY SIGNALS TO THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE. PRESIDENT CARTER PLEDGED TO RETREAT FROM OUR WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES IN PANAMA (BY GIVING AWAY THE CANAL), IN TAIWAN (BY CANCELING OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY), IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES (BY REDUCING OUR TROOPS STATIONED THERE). HE FAILED TO CHALLENGE RUSSIAN AND CUBAN-PROXY AGGRESSION IN AFRICA. HE SOUGHT RESTRAINT IN OUR DEALINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAM AND CUBA. HE FAILED TO SUPPORT THE SHAH OF IRAN AND MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF HIS GOVERNMENT. AND TWENTY MONTHS AGO HE FAILED TO MAKE ANY PROTEST WHEN THE COMMUNISTS FIRST SEIZED POWER IN PREVIOUSLY NEUTRAL AFGHANISTAN.

THE UNITED STATES NEEDS ACTION AND DECISION -- NOT WORDS.
THE PRESIDENT HAD A LOT OF CATCHING UP TO DO IN HIS
STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH. HE MUST BEAR THE DIRECT AND VERY
HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDITION OF AMERICA'S RESPONSE
TO THE SOVIET CHALLENGE. IF THINGS GO ON AS THEY HAVE BEEN,
I AM AFRAID WE WILL SEE RUSSIANS IN THE IRANIAN OIL FIELDS
NEXT YEAR AT THIS TIME.

THE PRESIDENT IS FINALLY BEGINNING TO RECOGNIZE THE
SEVERITY OF THE DANGER. NEVERTHELESS, HIS CHARACTERISTIC
INDECISION, MASKED BY THE FIRM BUT POTENTIALLY EMPTY WORDS
OF WEDNESDAY NIGHT, FAILED TO PROVIDE THE UNITED STATES WITH
STRONG, NO-NONSENSE PROPOSALS TO COUNTER SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

THERE ARE MANY QUESTIONS THAT REMAIN UNANSWERED BY THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

HE CLAIMED MANY THINGS THE OTHER NIGHT WHEN HE PROMISED TO PROTECT BY MILITARY FORCE THE "PERSIAN GULF REGION". BUT WHAT SPECIFICALLY DID HE MEAN BY THAT? WHAT COUNTRIES OR AREAS ARE SPECIFICALLY INCLUDED IN THAT REGION? WHAT KIND OF THREATS AND HOW MUCH FORCE WILL THE U.S. RESPOND TO? DOES HE MEAN ONLY RUSSIAN TROOP INVASIONS OR THE INSURRECTIONS LED BY NATIVE COMMUNIST PARTIES? WHAT DOES HE CONSIDER "AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE PERSIAN GULF" TO MEAN? DOES THE PRESIDENT PLAN -- AS HE SHOULD -- MORE SPECIFIC PROGRAMS TO COUNTER THE SOVIET BUILD-UP? DOES THE U.S. HAVE ANY SUPPORT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, AND, IF SO, HOW MUCH? WILL THEY ACCEPT A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE OR NOT? WILL OUR ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEPENDENT ON MID-EAST OIL, PROVIDE COOPERATION? AND, MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, WITH ALL THE DEFENSE CUTBACK THE PRESIDENT HAS SPONSORED, WITH WHAT MILITARY FORCES, SPECIFICALLY, ARE WE GOING TO RESPOND?

- PRESIDENT RISKS WAR -

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH WAS A FIRST STEP IN HIS RE-EDUCATION,
BUT ITS PURPOSE WAS TO SERVE AS A WARNING TO THE SOVIET UNION.
WITHOUT CONCRETE SPECIFICS, HOWEVER, IT DOES NOTHING TO DETER
FURTHER SOVIET ACTIONS THAT MIGHT BE BASED ON REAL MISCALCULATIONS
OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES WILL AND CAN DO. THIS ADMINISTRATION'S
PAST POLICIES AND ACTIONS CERTAINLY DO NOT PROVIDE SUCH A
DETERRENT.

- WHAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD HAVE DONE -

IF THE PRESIDENT REALLY MEANT BUSINESS, HE COULD HAVE ANNOUNCED WHAT OUR ALLIES AND THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION INTEND TO DO TO BACK US, BECAUSE HE WOULD HAVE COORDINATED IT BEFOREHAND. HE WOULD HAVE SENT YET ANOTHER AIRCRAFT CARRIER INTO THE INDIAN OCEAN. HE WOULD HAVE ANNOUNCED CONTINGENCY PLANS TO CALL UP RESERVISTS IN CRITICAL SPECIALITIES, HE WOULD HAVE PUT PRODUCTION LINES ON A 24-HOUR SCHEDULE FOR PRODUCING AND REPLACING AMMUNITION AND MILITARY PARTS SUPPLIES. HE WOULD HAVE STATIONED AIR FORCE SQUADRONS ON PAKISTANI SOIL. HE WOULD HAVE SENT U.S. GROUND TROOPS TO FORWARD BASES IN THE REGION, BY GETTING THE COOPERATION OF TURKEY, EGYPT AND ISRAEL, OR, PERHAPS, OMAN OR PAKISTAN. INSTEAD OF HIS LOOSELY WORDED CALL FOR REGISTRATION, HE WOULD HAVE ENUNCIATED A CLEARLY THOUGHT-OUT PROGRAM THAT WOULD HAVE UNITED THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO MIGHT BE EVENTUALLY CALLED UP, BY ELIMINATING THOSE ASPECTS OF PREVIOUS DRAFT PROGRAMS WHICH WERE UNFAIR AND DISCRIMINATORY AGAINST SOME SEGMENTS OF OUR SOCIETY.

INSTEAD, WE FIND NO SPECIFICS IN THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH. WE FIND NO ACTIONS AND DEEDS TO BACK UP HIS RHETORIC. THREE DAYS AFTER THE SPEECH, THIRTY-ONE DAYS AFTER THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, EIGHTY-TWO DAYS AFTER THE HOSTAGES WERE SEIZED, WHAT ACTIONS SHOW THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING STEPS TO COMMIT ITS WILL AND POWER TO BACK ITS STRATEGIC INTERESTS? WE HAVE EMBARGOED OUR FARMERS' GRAIN SO THAT ARGENTINA COULD SELL THEIRS TO THE RUSSIANS INSTEAD OF US. WE HAVE SAID WE WOULD BOYCOTT THE OLYMPICS INSTEAD OF ORGANIZING AN ALTERNATIVE. THE SOVIET UNION IS SUPERIOR TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE THINGS THAT COUNT IN CRISES: CONVENTIONAL FORCES, AND NOW, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE INVENTED IN THIS COUNTRY, THEY ARE ARGUABLY SUPERIOR IN STRATEGIC FORCES. RUSSIA IS HARDLY LIKELY IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES TO HEED SYMBOLIC GESTURES AND FINE-SOUNDING RHETORIC.

WITHOUT A WARNING TO RUSSIA THAT IS HIGHLY SPECIFIC, I FEAR THE SOVIET UNION WILL DISREGARD THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE AS AN ATTEMPT AT INTIMIDATING PROPAGANDA. THIS WOULD BE INCORRECT, BUT SUCH MISCALCULATIONS CAN LEAD TO DANGEROUS CONFRONTATIONS AND UNINTENTIONED WARS.

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← Ruth

Fairly

1. Pleasant Trip

2. Apply Daniel

3. Page .. (Adams Man)

4. → Put "Prairie Park"
in Lake

11/17/68