

REMARKS BY SENATOR BOB DOLE  
NATIONAL YOUNG REPUBLICAN CONVENTION  
PALMER HOUSE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
JUNE 22, 1985

THANK YOU MARILYN. I UNDERSTAND THAT YOU ARE RUNNING FOR  
HIGHER OFFICE LATER TODAY. AND I WANT TO WISH YOU WELL.

THIS IS A REFRESHING CHANGE FOR ME. FIRST TO BE OUTSIDE OF  
THE WASHINGTON BELTWAY -- YOU KNOW THE WASHINGTON BELTWAY--  
MOTORISTS USE IT, TIP O'NEILL WEARS IT. AND TO SPEAK TO A GROUP,  
WHO WHEN THEY ARGUE ABOUT COLAS, ARE DEBATING PEPSI VERSUS COKE,  
NOT SOCIAL SECURITY.



I'M NOT GOING TO QUOTE BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN LINES. BUT I AM GLAD TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- THE FUTURE OF OUR PARTY AND WHAT WE'RE DOING -- NOT JUST TALKING ABOUT --IN WASHINGTON.

OVER THE PAST DECADE, SINCE 1980 , WHEN WE GAINED CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE SENATE, REPUBLICANS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN PUTTING AMERICA BACK ON COURSE -- A COURSE THAT PAVES THE WAY TO SUCCESS.

#### THE CHALLENGE TO LEAD

BY ANY STANDARD OF MEASUREMENT, IT'S A GOOD TIME TO BE A REPUBLICAN, AND WE HAVE A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY TO ROUND OUT THE 1980'S AS A REPUBLICAN DECADE. NOT SIMPLY BY OFFERING ATTRACTIVE CANDIDATES -- BUT BY OFFERING UP A VISION TO MATCH. AS REPUBLICANS, WE HAVE ALWAYS STOOD FOR BUDGETS THAT WERE LEAN AND TAXES THAT WERE LOW. WE HAVE ALWAYS RALLIED ROUND A



STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE - NOT JUST AS MEASURED BY OUR WEAPONS OF WAR, BUT ALSO IN BUSTLING FACTORIES AND HEALTHY FARMS, AND ALL ACROSS THE ECONOMIC FRONTLINES ON WHICH A NATION'S ULTIMATE SECURITY MUST DEPEND. TODAY, WE STAND CLOSER THAN EVER TO BEING AMERICA'S MAJORITY PARTY - NOT JUST BECAUSE AN IMMENSELY POPULAR PRESIDENT PERSONIFIES THE STRENGTHS WE LIKE TO THINK OF AS UNIQUELY OUR OWN - BUT ALSO BECAUSE MOST AMERICANS HAVE COME TO IDENTIFY WITH THESE POSITIONS AS WE HAVE ARTICULATED THEM AND WRITTEN THEM INTO LAW.

OVER THESE PAST FOUR AND A HALF YEARS, THANKS TO A GREAT MANY LEADERS - INCLUDING MY FRIENDS GEORGE BUSH AND JACK KEMP - WE'VE TAMED INFLATION WHILE UNLEASHING ECONOMIC GROWTH. THE WORLD IS A LESS DANGEROUS PLACE TODAY THAN IN 1980, THE DESPERATE TACTICS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISTS NOTWITHSTANDING. WHY? BECAUSE THE BALANCE OF POWER HAS TILTED BACK TOWARD AN EQUILIBRIUM. AFTER A



WORRISOME TIME OF DRIFT AND DISARRAY, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT ONLY REBUILT HER DEFENSES - SHE HAS REGAINED HER SENSE OF CONFIDENCE. SHE HAS STOPPED APOLOGIZING, AND STARTED ASSERTING HER VITAL INTERESTS. SHE HAS RAISED HER GLOBAL PROFILE - AND SHE WILL NEVER AGAIN LOWER HER FLAGS IN THE FACE OF STREET MOBS OR TINHORN TYRANTS.

### ODYSSEY OF TERROR

IN PLANNING FOR THIS APPEARANCE, I HAD INITIALLY INTENDED TO GIVE YOU MY VIEWS ON THE STATE OF OUR ECONOMY, OUR EFFORTS TO CUT FEDERAL DEFICITS AND THE CAMPAIGN FOR TAX REFORM.

BUT OUTSIDE EVENTS HAVE INTERVENED, AND IT IS CLEAR, FROM THE QUESTIONS I HAVE HEARD OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF DAYS, THAT SOMETHING ELSE IS UPPERMOST IN THE MINDS OF MOST AMERICANS THESE DAYS - THE ISSUE OF TERRORISM AND WHAT WE CAN DO TO COPE WITH



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IT. I HAVE REPEATEDLY BEEN ASKED, BY THE PRESS AND BY VISITORS, OVER THE PAST 48 HOURS - WHAT SHOULD WE DO TO CONFRONT THIS TERRIBLE PROBLEM? WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

WELL, LET ME SAY AT THE OUTSET, I DON'T HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. BUT I DO THINK THERE ARE SOME PRINCIPLES THAT OUGHT TO GUIDE OUR REACTION IN THESE KINDS OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE SITUATION IS DANGEROUS, DELICATE, AND POTENTIALLY TRAGIC. ONE AMERICAN HAS ALREADY BEEN BRUTALLY MURDERED IN BEIRUT AND ABOUT 40 OTHERS - MORE THAN 30 FROM THE TWA HIJACKING AND SEVEN WHO WERE EARLIER KIDNAPPED OFF THE STREETS OF BEIRUT - ARE BEING HELD HOSTAGE BY MISGUIDED AND FANATICAL TERRORISTS. THREE OF THOSE HOSTAGES ARE FROM THIS CITY; SEVERAL OTHERS ARE FROM NEARBY TOWNS. ALMOST SIMULTANEOUSLY, SIX OTHER AMERICANS - FOUR MARINES, TWO CIVILIANS - HAVE BEEN ASSASSINATED IN EL SALVADOR, IN A VICIOUS MACHINE-GUN ATTACK IN WHICH SEVEN SALVADORANS WERE ALSO KILLED.



ALL OF THE VICTIMS WERE TOTALLY INNOCENT OF ANY CRIMES OR OFFENSES AGAINST THEIR ATTACKERS. THE ONLY THING MOST OF THEM ARE "GUILTY" OF IS BEING AMERICANS, OF CITIZENSHIP IN A COUNTRY WHICH BELIEVES IN CERTAIN THINGS, REPRESENTS CERTAIN VALUES AND ISN'T USED TO SETTLING DIFFERENCES THROUGH VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED.

TODAY, THOSE VALUES ARE UNDER ATTACK. SO ARE WE, AS A NATION AND AS INDIVIDUALS. AND, LIKE ANY PEOPLE SO THREATENED, WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES: HOW CAN WE DEFEND OUR COUNTRY? OUR PEOPLE? OUR PRINCIPLES?

IN OUR OUTRAGE - OUR JUSTIFIABLE OUTRAGE - WE ARE ALL SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO RESPOND. CERTAINLY, WE HAVE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE AS A NATION CANNOT - WILL NOT - TOLERATE TERRORISM. ALL OF US SHARE THE FEELING THAT MURDERS AND KIDNAPPINGS CANNOT GO UNPUNISHED AND MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.



BUT STATING OUR REACTION IS THE EASY PART. THE HARD PART IS DECIDING WHAT TO DO. WITHOUT THE COMPLETE INFORMATION AVAILABLE ONLY TO THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISERS IN THE EXECUTIVE, IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, DANGEROUS FOR ME TO PRESCRIBE THIS COURSE OR THAT. BUT I DO THINK I CAN LAY OUT SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GUIDE OUR ACTIONS.

FIRST, WE HAVE TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO WORK OUT THE SAFE RETURN OF THOSE WHO ARE BEING HELD HOSTAGE. IT WOULD BE TEMPTING TO YIELD TO OUR ANGER AND CALL FOR SWIFT REVENGE, REGARDLESS OF THE CONSEQUENCES. BUT THAT WOULD NOT BE CONSISTENT WITH THE VERY REAL AND CONCRETE RESPONSIBILITY WE AS AMERICANS HAVE TO EACH OTHER. IF WE SET ASIDE THAT COMPACT IN THIS DANGEROUS WORLD, ALL OF US WILL EVENTUALLY BE THE LOSERS.



SECOND, WE HAVE TO BE SURE OF WHERE WE ARE - WHAT WE KNOW, WHAT WE CAN FIND OUT THROUGH INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER MEANS, WHAT OUR REAL OPTIONS ARE. WE HAVE TO BE SURE ABOUT ALL THIS. WE HAVE TO THINK BEFORE WE SPEAK OR ACT. TO JUST LASH OUT IN FRUSTRATION OR THREATEN SOME ACTION THAT WE CAN'T, OR AREN'T WILLING TO UNDERTAKE WOULD ONLY MAKE MATTERS WORSE.

THIRD, HAVING DECIDED WHAT WE CAN AND WANT TO DO, WE MUST MOVE DECISIVELY AND IN A UNIFIED FASHION. THE PRESIDENT HAS ANNOUNCED A STEPPED-UP PROGRAM OF ACTION IN EL SALVADOR. I AM PREPARED TO SUPPORT HIM, AND I HOPE - EXPECT - THAT THE ENTIRE CONGRESS WILL, AS WELL.

IF OUR NATION EVER NEEDED A UNIFIED PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT, IT IS NOW. THIS IS NO TIME TO EXPLOIT THESE TRAGEDIES FOR NARROW POLITICAL OR OTHER PURPOSES. PROTECTING OUR COUNTRY, OUR PEOPLE,



AND OUR PRINCIPLES IS THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE NATIONAL OBLIGATION.  
NOW, AS NEVER BEFORE, WE ARE ENTRUSTED WITH CARRYING OUT THAT  
OBLIGATION.

FOURTH, WE HAVE TO THINK AHEAD, AND NOT JUST FOR THE MOMENT.  
WHATEVER WE DO, THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE A REACTION. THE  
STRONGER OUR ACTION, THE STRONGER THAT REACTION. SO WHEN WE DO  
RESPOND TO THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS, LET'S BE SURE THAT WE ARE  
PREPARED TO DEAL WITH ANY NEW CRISES THAT OUR REACTION ITSELF MAY  
CAUSE. IF WE ARE GOING TO PUNISH A COUNTRY OR A GROUP, LET'S BE  
AWARE THAT THEY ARE NOT POWERLESS TO STRIKE BACK, AND LET'S DO  
WHATEVER WE CAN TO PREEMPT OR NEUTRALIZE THEIR CAPABILITIES TO DO  
SO.



THIS IS A TIME OF TESTING: FOR OUR NATION, ITS LEADERS AND ITS PEOPLE. OUR PATIENCE IS BEING TESTED. OUR WILL IS BEING TRIED. OUR STRENGTH, AND, MOST OF ALL, OUR WISDOM IS UNDER SIEGE - JUST AS SURELY AS THE HOSTAGES OF FLIGHT #847 AND THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN SUFFERING FROM EARLIER TERRORISTS.

WHEN IT IS TIME TO ACT, OUR GOAL SHOULD BE, NOT JUST TO PUNISH SOMEBODY - BUT TO PUNISH THOSE WHO HAVE ATTACKED US, OR WHO HAVE ABETTED THOSE ATTACKS, OR WHO THREATEN TO IN THE FUTURE.

WHEN WE ACT, IT MUST BE IN THE BEST TRADITIONS OF AMERICA - IN THE INTERESTS OF JUSTICE, IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, AND IN THE SPIRIT OF MAKING THE WORLD A SAFER AND BETTER PLACE FOR ALL.

#### THE REAGAN LEGACY

A STRONG SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE: HERE IS ONE LEGACY OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY. THERE IS ANOTHER, HOWEVER, ONE OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM. AND THAT IS A REPUBLICAN



PARTY ABLE TO COMMUNICATE THE VALUES AND IDEALS IT SHARES WITH WORKING MEN AND WOMEN. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO TELL PEOPLE YOU'RE ON THEIR SIDE. YOU HAVE TO SHOW THEM. YOU HAVE TO SEARCH OUT THE THREADS THAT BIND YOU TOGETHER, AND SET ASIDE THE DIFFERENCES THAT MIGHT OTHERWISE INSPIRE A COLLECTION OF WARRING FACTIONS, AS DIVIDED AS THE DEMOCRATS AND AS UNABLE TO SEND A COHERENT MESSAGE TO INSPIRE HOPE OR KINDLE ACTION. AND THAT'S NOT ALL. WHILE STANDING UP FOR WHAT YOU BELIEVE IN, YOU HAVE TO REACH OUT TO THOSE WHO MAY NOT ENTIRELY AGREE.

OUT OF POWER, IT'S ALL TOO EASY TO FORGET THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT'S RIGHT AND WHAT'S SELF-RIGHTEOUS. IN THE PROCESS, YOU CAN INADVERTENTLY TURN OFF MORE PEOPLE THAN YOU ATTRACT INTO YOUR RANKS. IN POWER, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO PERFORM, NOT POSTURE - TO PUT OUR PRINCIPLES TO WORK, AND MILLIONS OF CITIZENS TOO.



THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE'VE DONE SINCE 1981. AND ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMISTS, WE CAN PUT ANOTHER SEVEN MILLION AMERICANS ON THE JOB BY TACKLING THE PRESENT DEFICIT. UP UNTIL NOW, WE'VE MADE HARD CHOICES SO THAT OUR FELLOW CITIZENS COULD ENJOY SOME LASTING PROSPERITY. FOLLOWING IN THE PRESIDENT'S FOOTSTEPS, FOUR YEARS AGO BILL ARMSTRONG AND I INTRODUCED TAX INDEXING - THE FIRST STEP IN A PROCESS OF REFORMING A SYSTEM THAT IS ANYTHING BUT SYSTEMATIC. WILL ROGERS USED TO SAY THAT THE INCOME TAX MADE MORE LIARS OUT OF AVERAGE AMERICANS THAN ANYTHING - WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF GOLF. TO PUT AN END TO THAT, THE PRESIDENT HAS COME FORWARD WITH A REFORM PLAN BOTH COURAGEOUS AND HISTORIC. A PLAN THAT BUILDS ON OUR EARLIER EFFORTS TO LOWER INDIVIDUAL RATES AND OVERHAUL DEPRECIATION. NOW THE PRESIDENT WOULD TAKE THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP, BY ESTABLISHING A "LEVEL



PLAYING FIELD" FOR ALL KINDS OF BUSINESSES, AND ELIMINATING TAX CONSIDERATIONS AS A PRIME FACTOR IN MAKING DECISIONS AS TO SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT.

### HEADLINES AND HISTORY

NOW, A PRESIDENT OF ANY PARTY CAN MAKE HEADLINES, ANY DAY HE WANTS. BUT A PRESIDENT WHOSE VISION AND VALUES SURPASS STYLE ALONE, ONE WHO EMBRACES THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE - HE CAN FORGE HISTORY AND A MAJORITY PARTY. WE'VE COME SO FAR ALREADY. THE TIDE HAS TURNED OUR WAY, HERE AT HOME AND IN A WORLD WHERE TYRANNY IS ON THE RUN AND FREEDOM IS SHOULDERING DICTATORSHIP TO ONE SIDE. CONFIDENCE HAS BEEN RESTORED. LIMITS HAVE BEEN IMPOSED ON WHAT GOVERNMENT CAN DO - SO THAT NO LIMITS CAN EXIST ON WHAT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES CAN ACCOMPLISH.



IT'S THIS MESSAGE OF SURGING HOPE AND BOUNDLESS OPPORTUNITY THAT CAN SOLIDIFY OUR HOLD ON THE SENATE NEXT YEAR. HERE IN THE MIDWEST, OUR PROSPECTS ARE EXCELLENT, WITH SOME STRONG INCUMBENTS AND A GOOD SHOT AT PICKING UP SEATS. WE CAN REALIZE ALL THOSE PROSPECTS BY ATTENDING TO UNFINISHED BUSINESS: BY TACKLING THE DEFICIT, SLICING INTEREST RATES, EASING THE DOLLAR, REFORMING THE TAX CODE, BOOSTING FARM EXPORTS, RESTORING OUR COMPETITIVE POSITION IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE, AND EXTENDING THE ECONOMIC MIRACLE OF RECENT YEARS TO THE MAIN STREETS OF RURAL AMERICA. HISTORY WILL NOT LOOK KINDLY ON THOSE WHO SACRIFICE TOMORROW FOR TODAY. NEITHER WILL THE VOTERS. ON THEIR BEHALF, WE MUST ACT NOW. FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF THOSE ACTIONS WILL ECHO DOWN FOR YEARS TO COME.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.