

SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BOB DOLE
SPEECH TO NATIONAL PRESS CLUB
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Comment*

AS I LOOK OUT OVER THE AUDIENCE, I CAN SEE MANY OF MY FRIENDS
IN THE FOURTH ESTATE POISED WITH PENCIL AND NOTEBOOK. ALL OF
WHICH REMINDS ME OF WHAT CALVIN COOLIDGE ONCE TOLD A SIMILAR
GATHERING OF JOURNALISTS. ONE REPORTER ASKED HIM, "DO YOU HAVE
ANY COMMENT ON TARIFFS, MR. PRESIDENT?"

"NO," SAID COOLIDGE.

"DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE FARM BILL?" ASKED A SECOND
REPORTER.

"NO," SAID COOLIDGE.

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"DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ABOUT THE NAVAL APPROPRIATION?"

ASKED A THIRD.

"NO," SAID COOLIDGE. FINALLY, THE MEETING BROKE UP. AND AS
THE REPORTERS WERE LEAVING, COOLIDGE SHOUTED AFTER THEM, "AND
DON'T QUOTE ME!"

OF COURSE, I DON'T MIND BEING QUOTED. AND IF I AVOID
TARIFFS, FARM BILLS AND NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS, IT'S ONLY BECAUSE I
THINK WE'RE ALL CONFRONTED WITH SOME MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
WORLD, FRAUGHT WITH HISTORIC POSSIBILITIES AND YET FRAGMENTED IN
THEIR IMPACT UPON THIS TOWN, WHERE HISTORY SO OFTEN TAKES A BACK
SEAT TO FRONTPAGE HEADLINES. SINCE SO MUCH OF WHAT APPEARS IN
THOSE HEADLINES IS THE DIRECT RESULT OF OUR COMMON EFFORTS, I
THOUGHT I'D TAKE A CRACK AT SOMETHING OTHER THAN DOMESTIC
DEFICITS, TAX REFORM, AND THE BATTLE FOR ELLIS ISLAND. FOR THERE

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ARE OTHER ISLANDS IN THIS WORLD, AND OTHER CONFLICTS, WITH EVEN GREATER STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE THAN THE ONE BETWEEN LEE IACOCCA AND DON HODEL. COME TO THINK OF IT, A LOT OF AMERICANS VIEW WASHINGTON, D.C. AS AN ISLAND IN ITS OWN RIGHT, CUT OFF FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF THOUGHT AND ADRIFT ON AN OCEAN OF RED INK.

DEMOCRACY, NOT DEFICITS

BUT I PROMISED I WOULDN'T TALK ABOUT DEFICITS. INSTEAD, LET ME PUT ON THE GARB OF THE DIPLOMAT FOR A FEW MINUTES -- MINUS THE STRIPED PANTS OR TORTURED RHETORIC. HAROLD MacMILLIAN ONCE SAID THAT A DIPLOMAT WAS SOMEONE FOREVER POISED MIDWAY BETWEEN A CLICHE AND AN INDISCRETION. OF COURSE, NOT ALL CLICHES ARE BAD. A LOT OF SOPHISTICATES IN THIS TOWN WOULD TELL YOU IT'S A CLICHE TO HAVE THE PRESIDENT TALKING ABOUT AMERICA AND FREEDOM AND A WORLD WHEREIN HUNGER IS NOT MEASURED BY PHYSICAL MALNUTRITION

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ALONE, BUT BY SPIRITUAL AND POLITICAL STARVATION. THOSE ARE THE SAME PEOPLE WHO COULDN'T WAIT TO GET 1984 OVER WITH, IF ONLY SO THEY COULD GO BACK TO THE WAY THINGS WERE IN 1979. FOR MORE THAN A YEAR NOW, THEY'VE EXPECTED TO DINE ON LAME DUCK -- ONLY TO BE GIVEN A STEADY DIET OF CROW INSTEAD. FRANKLY, THEY'D LIKE A CHANGE OF MENU THEMSELVES.

THEN ALONG COMES A NEW WAVE OF FREEDOM WASHING OVER HAITI AND LAPPING AT THE SHORES OF THE PHILLIPINES. IT'S THE SAME WAVE WHICH HAS SWAMPED MUCH OF LATIN AMERICA, AND WHICH THREATENS TO UNDERMINE THE ROTTING PIERS OF THE SANDINISTA REGIME IN MANAGUA -- THE SAME WAVE WHICH PROPELS JONAS SAVIMBI TOWARD THE MORAL HIGH GROUND IN ANGOLA -- THE SAME WAVE WHICH REACHES INTO THE SOVIET GULAG TO DEPOSIT ANATOLY SCHARANSKY, A FREE MAN, ON THE FREE SOIL OF ISRAEL.

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IN THE FACE OF SUCH DEVELOPMENTS, I HAVE SOME BAD NEWS FOR THOSE WHO WOULD SEEK TO REPRESS THE HUMAN SPIRIT OR TRAMPLE UPON MANKIND'S IRREPRESSIBLE DESIRE TO BE FREE: THE TIDE IS RISING, AND TIME IS RUNNING OUT. EVERYONE HAS HIS DAY, SAID WINSTON CHURCHILL, AND SOME DAYS LAST LONGER THAN OTHERS. WELL, TYRANNY'S DAY IS DRAWING TO A CLOSE. IN THE BUSH COUNTRY OF AFRICA, ON THE BEACHES OF OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, IN ASIAN JUNGLES AND IN THE POLITICAL JUNGLES OF THIS CITY, FREEDOM IS BACK IN FASHION.

THERE IS NOTHING SUDDEN ABOUT MY PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THIS CAUSE. SOME WASHINGTON PUNDITS SEEM TO THINK THAT SENATORS FROM KANSAS SHOULDN'T HAVE FOREIGN POLICIES, OR THAT WHEN THEY DO, THEY SHOULD RESTRICT THEM TO WHATEVER WILL MARKET THE GREATEST CROP OF WHEAT. BUT, AMERICA'S GREATEST CROP CAN'T BE MEASURED IN

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BUSHEL BASKETS OR IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE PACTS. MORE PRECISELY, BECAUSE AMERICAN AGRICULTURE IS SO INTERNATIONALIST IN ITS OUTLOOK, THOSE OF US WHO COME FROM THE NATION'S BREADBASKET HAVE A SPECIAL INSIGHT INTO THE WORLD BEYOND OUR SHORES.

A MAN, LIKE A NATION, IS THE SUM OF MANY EXPERIENCES. I'M NO EXCEPTION. I REMEMBER GROWING UP IN RURAL KANSAS, WHERE TIMES WERE TOUGH BUT THE PEOPLE WERE TOUGHER. A TIME WHEN THE DISTANT HORIZON WAS CHOKED WITH WINDSWEPT DUST, WHEN CROPS AND HOPE ALIKE REFUSED TO TAKE ROOT, EVEN IN SOME OF THE RICHEST AGRICULTURAL SOIL ON EARTH. A TIME WHEN A LOT OF FOLKS TURNED AWAY FROM THEIR CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL BELIEFS -- BUT NEVER THEIR FUNDAMENTAL FAITH IN EACH OTHER, OR IN THE LAND WHICH THEY LOVED SECOND ONLY TO THE GOD WHO CREATED IT.

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A CHILD LEARNS BY OBSERVING. AND WHAT I OBSERVED WAS NO DIFFERENT FROM WHAT GENERATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS SAW AS THEY PASSED MISS LIBERTY IN NEW YORK HARBOR. AMID ALL THE HARDSHIP OF THOSE DAYS, I DISCOVERED WHAT IT WAS THAT SET AMERICA APART AT HER BIRTH, AND KEEPS HER STILL A BEACON OF HOPE. IT WAS THE LOVE OF FREEDOM. THE SAME LOVE THAT DREW SO MANY TO THESE SHORES IN THE FIRST PLACE. WHICH ENCOURAGED THEM TO DREAM DREAMS AS BIG AS THE SPRAWLING LANDSCAPE. WHICH PROMPTED MEN AND WOMEN OF CONSCIENCE TO RISK THEIR LIVES IN WHAT BECAME KNOWN AS "BLOODY KANSAS" SO THAT THE BLACK MAN MIGHT ESCAPE THE BONDAGE OF SLAVERY AND SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP. FREEDOM TO BECOME ALL THAT TALENT, IMAGINATION, AND HARD WORK COULD ACHIEVE. FREEDOM TO WORSHIP AS YOU CHOOSE, TO SPEAK YOUR MIND, TO ASSOCIATE WITH OTHERS AND TO ENJOY THE FRUITS OF YOUR HONEST LABOR.

THESE MEANT ENOUGH TO EVERY GENERATION OF AMERICANS TO WARRANT THEIR FIGHTING AND SOMETIMES DYING TO PRESERVE. THEY SUPPLIED BOTH A MOTTO AND A MOTIVATION TO THOSE WHO JOINED FORCES MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO TO FORM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, AND WHO TOGETHER WITH THEIR POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL DESCENDENTS WENT ON TO ELECT SUCH MEN AS LINCOLN, THEODORE ROOSEVELT, DWIGHT EISENHOWER, AND RONALD REAGAN. FOR THEY UNDERSTOOD, AS WE DO, THAT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM GO HAND IN HAND, THAT LOVE OF COUNTRY OVERRIDES SELF-INTEREST, AND THAT PEOPLE THIRST FOR LEADERS WHO BELIEVE IN THEM AS MUCH AS THEY BELIEVE IN ONE ANOTHER.

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ASSERTIONS IN PLACE OF APOLOGIES

THINK ABOUT IT FOR A MINUTE. SINCE JANUARY OF 1981, WE HAVE STOPPED APOLOGIZING FOR OUR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS AROUND THE WORLD -- AND STARTED ASSERTING THEM. WE HAVE THROWN OFF THE BLANKET OF GUILT WOVEN BY APOLOGISTS FOR OUR ENEMIES. AND WE HAVE ONCE AGAIN ASSUMED THE ROLE FOR WHICH WE WERE SPECIALLY CAST -- THAT OF FREEDOM'S CHAMPION IN A WORLD WHERE TERRORISTS AND STREET MOBS COMPETE FOR TELEVISION TIME.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE BURDEN THAT COMES WITH THIS UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY. WE HAVE TOLD OURSELVES THAT IT IS BETTER TO SPEND FOR DEFENSE, THAN TO SPILL BLOOD ON SOME DISTANT BATTLEFIELD. NOW, THANKS TO PRESIDENT REAGAN'S VISION OF A STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, WE CAN HOPE FOR THE DAY WHEN A DEFENSE SHIELD BANISHES NUCLEAR WEAPONS THEMSELVES FROM THE FACE OF THE PLANET.

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IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, WE HAVE LEAD THE WAY TOWARD STRONG
ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND THE REVIVAL OF POLITICAL FREEDOM AROUND THE
GLOBE. WE HAVE EXPERIENCED NO IRANS ON RONALD REAGAN'S WATCH, NO
AFGHANISTANS. WE HAVE SEEN THE FIRST TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARD AN
EASING OF TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS -- ALL THE WHILE
REMINDING OURSELVES THAT SMILES AND HANDSHAKES ARE NOT TO BE
CONFUSED WITH DEEDS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THERE IS A NEW
ATMOSPHERE IN THE WORLD, NOT UNLIKE THE FRESH CLIMATE THAT
FOLLOWS A MIDWEST THUNDERSTORM -- OR A KANSAS TORNADO. YET THE
SKY IS NOT CLOUDLESS. WE STILL GRAPPLE AGAINST THE SCOURGE OF
TERRORISM. WE STILL CONFRONT THUGS WHO POSE AS NATIONAL
LIBERATORS AND MURDERERS WHO HATE WITH A BLIND PASSION.

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AS THE WORLD'S GREATEST DEMOCRACY, WE GRIEVE FOR DEMOCRACY'S FAILINGS. WE HUNGER FOR AN END TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE APPEAL TO OLD ALLIES IN MANILA TO CLEANSE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS -- BEFORE IT TARNISHES DEMOCRACY ITSELF. WE SEE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM GROWING DIMMER BY THE DAY IN MANAGUA, WHERE DICTATORS MOUTH THE PLATITUDES OF LIBERATION, ALL THE WHILE ENSLAVING THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND ENDANGERING THEIR NEIGHBORS. FORTUNATELY, WE DON'T RESTRICT OUR RESPONSE TO SUCH DEVELOPMENTS TO PIOUS WORDS. WE KNOW THAT IN THE GLOBAL ARENA AS ON THE BLOCK NEXT DOOR, YOU GET A FRIEND BY BEING A FRIEND. AND AS FREEDOM'S NUMBER ONE FRIEND, WE MUST BE PREPARED TO AID THOSE COURAGEOUS MEN AND WOMEN IN FOREIGN LANDS WHO RIGHTFULLY LOOK TO US FOR SOMETHING MORE THAN HUMANITARIAN AID.

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A FRIEND TO FREEDOM

NOW THERE ARE SOME AROUND THESE PARTS WHO ACT SURPRISED BY ALL THIS. THEY SEEM OFFENDED WHEN PEOPLE ACROSS THE OCEANS TAKE SERIOUSLY THE WORDS IN OUR CHARTERS OF NATIONHOOD -- WHEN THEY COME CALLING FOR AMERICAN HELP, AMERICAN SUPPORT, AMERICAN ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR EFFORTS. OF COURSE, SOME OF THE SAME PEOPLE ARE ANXIOUS TO DISASSOCIATE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT FROM FOREIGN REGIMES WHOSE FAILINGS STRIKE THEM AS REPUGNANT TO ALL WE BELIEVE IN. AND THEY'RE JUST PLAIN CONFUSED BY A PRESIDENT WHO IS CONSISTENT ENOUGH TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE LEGITIMACY OF A FRAUDULENT PHILLIPINE ELECTION -- AND CALL TO ACCOUNT A NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT THAT COULDN'T RUN THE RISK OF HOLDING AN AUTHENTIC POLL OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.

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IN ANY EVENT, THE STORM IN MANILA HAS PUT US ON ALERT.

THAT'S WHY I HAVE AUTHORED A RESOLUTION MANDATING THE PENTAGON TO DEVELOP CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR OUR MILITARY INSTALLATIONS ON THE PHILLIPINES. THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT THE SUBIC BAY NAVAL BASE AND THE CLARK AIR BASE ARE VITAL TO THE DEFENSE OF THE PACIFIC. THEY STAND POISED LIKE A HAMMER, READY TO STRIKE AT ANY ATTEMPTS AT MISCHIEF BY THE SOVIET UNION. THESE BASES SHOULD REMAIN ON THE ISLANDS, AND WE WILL WORK TO KEEP THEM THERE. BUT THERE'S NO REASON TO SIT ON OUR HANDS AND JUST HOPE FOR THE BEST: THERE'S TOO MUCH AT STAKE. LET'S FIND OUT THE COSTS AND THE FEASIBILITY OF A MOVE -- IF WE HAVE TO MOVE. AND SPEAKING OF MOVING, THERE WAS A RECENT EVACUATION IN HAITI THAT REMINDED ME OF THE WAY THE BALTIMORE COLTS BLEW OUT OF TOWN.

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A FEW WEEKS AGO, WHEN I LEARNED THAT THE HAITIAN PEOPLE HAD
RID THEMSELVES OF "BABY DOC," MY FIRST REACTION WAS TO SAY "GOOD
RIDDANCE!" MY SECOND REACTION IS TO SAY "GOOD RIDDANCE AND MAY
WE AMERICANS NEVER HAVE TO WELCOME SUCH A MAN TO OUR OWN
SHORES!" MONSIEUR DUVALIER SEEMS TO HAVE A TASTE FOR THE HIGH
LIFE -- I'M SURE HE CAN INDULGE IT IN THE STYLE TO WHICH HE HAS
BECOME ACCUSTOMED RIGHT WHERE HE IS.

SOME THOUGHT I WAS A BIT OUTSPOKEN IN BIDDING THE DUVALIER
REGIME A NOT SO FOND FAREWELL. BUT YOU SEE, I HAVE THIS
OLD-FASHIONED HANGUP. I DON'T MUCH LIKE DICTATORS, OF THE RIGHT
OR LEFT. NOR DO I FIND IT EASY TO MAKE APOLOGIES FOR ANYONE WHO
DEVALUES THE COIN OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

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I WOULD REMIND MY FELLOW REPUBLICANS THAT WE WERE BORN AS THE PARTY OF FREEDOM. OUR BIRTH CERTIFICATE WAS DRENCHED WITH THE BLOOD OF MILLIONS WHO FOUGHT AGAINST THE MONSTROUS CRIME OF SLAVERY. OUR EXISTENCE WAS JUSTIFIED BECAUSE OUR IDEALS WERE THE SAME AS THOSE WHICH PROPELLED THIS NATION INTO BEING. IN 1985, AS IN 1861 OR 1776, OUR MISSION IS SELF-EVIDENT. WHEREVER FREEDOM IS IMPERILLED, WE HAVE A RIGHT TO DEFEND IT. WHEREVER HUMAN LIBERTY IS SUPPRESSED, WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO SUPPORT IT. AND WHENEVER DEMOCRACY IS CORRUPTED OR HELD UP TO ABUSE, WE HAVE A DUTY TO PROTEST IT. WE CAN BE LOYAL TO OUR FRIENDS. BUT WE MUST BE FAITHFUL TO OUR CREED. FOR ONLY THEN CAN WE RIDE THE WAVE WHICH HAS YET TO CREST, THE WAVE OF FREEDOM WASHING OVER A WORLD WHICH LONGS TO BE FREE.

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