



## KENNEDY

### *A rebuttal on behalf of liberals everywhere*

*Senator Edward Kennedy delivered his rebuttal to President Carter's State of the Union message and his announcement of the "Carter Doctrine" at Georgetown University on Jan. 28.*

**On the Soviet Union.** All of us condemned the brutal Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. This wanton act of aggression has aroused the conscience of America and all of the world. It must be met with an appropriate response by the United States and all of our allies . . . Afghanistan is 7,000 miles away. Only 90 miles from our shores Moscow has already seized a Carter line that did not hold. Last fall, the President said that Soviet combat troops in Cuba were unacceptable, but soon he changed his mind. He charged uphill and then charged back down. The false draw in Cuba may have invited the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. . . . We must not discount the condemnation of Soviet aggression by the international community. This is important, but not because the Russians are moved by world opinion. They are not. It is important because the Soviet Union now finds itself estranged from the Third World, a result that will greatly handicap the Russians in lands they have previously regarded as their private hunting ground . . . [But] let us not foreclose every opening to the Soviet Union.

The task of statesmanship is to convince the Russians that there are reasons to fear, but also reasons to hope, in their relations with the United States . . .

**On the Persian Gulf.** A measured response to a potential threat to the Persian Gulf must reflect certain principles that will prove less hazardous and more effective than a unilateral and unlimited American commitment. First,

this is not just our problem. It is a great problem for nations that have a greater dependence on Middle East oil . . . We cannot impose policies on NATO and Japan. But together we can set a common policy. This is even truer of the Islamic states, the countries that could be most menaced by Soviet adventurism.

**On Iran.** In the same spirit of realism, we must deal with the crisis in Iran . . . We cannot afford a policy that seems headed toward a situation of permanent hostages . . . The administration continues to call for economic sanctions. I oppose them. They will only propel Iran toward the U.S.S.R. orbit . . . The administration should now support a U.N. commission to investigate Iranian grievances (against the Shah) similar to earlier commissions in other countries. The commission on Iran should be established immediately, but it should begin its work only when every American hostage has come back safely to our shores . . .

**On the draft.** In his State of the Union message, President Carter offered a new symbol. He requested funds for computer runs to register young Americans for the draft . . . If registration for the draft were essential in a real emergency there would be no dissent from me or most Americans. But I oppose registration when it only means reams of computer printouts that would be a paper curtain against Soviet troops . . .

**On energy.** Iran and Afghanistan demonstrate a fundamental truth of the American condition. We are perilously dependent on OPEC oil. A house weakened in its foundations cannot stand. Unless our energy house is in order our strength and credibility will continue to fall . . . They talk of sacrifice, but it is an unequal sacrifice . . . We must adopt a system of gasoline rationing without delay, not rationing by price, as the administration has decreed, but rationing by supply in a way that demands a fair sacrifice from all Americans . . . I want to be the president who stops seeding the earth with radioactive wastes from nuclear plants and who refused to rely on a nuclear future that may hazard the future itself . . .

**On the economy.** Just as energy insecurity weakens our national security, so inflation weakens our position in the world . . . The President should immediately impose a six-month freeze on inflation followed by mandatory controls as long as necessary across the board, not only on prices and wages but also on profits, dividends, interest rates and rent . . . I want to be the President who at last closes tax loopholes so that the free enterprise system will be free in fact . . . I am convinced that we as a people are ready to sacrifice to give something back to our country in return for all it has given us . . .