

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

NATIONAL BLACK REPUBLICAN COUNCIL

SHOREHAM HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR THAT VERY KIND INTRODUCTION.

I'M NOT SURE I DESERVE ALL THOSE GENEROUS WORDS, BUT IT SURE IS NICE TO HEAR THEM ANYWAY.

I JUMPED AT THE CHANCE OF COMING HERE TODAY TO SPEAK BECAUSE IT GIVES ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SOUND OFF ABOUT SOMETHING I'VE ADVOCATED FOR A LONG TIME. THAT IS, THE NEED TO BROADEN THE BASE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. THE NEED TO REMOVE THE LINGERING PERCEPTION OF OUR PARTY AS THE CADRE OF THE WEALTHY AND ELITE. THE NEED FOR THE PARTY OF LINCOLN TO REACH OUT TO BLACK AMERICA AND CONVINCING OUR OLD FRIENDS THAT

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WE SHARE THEIR COMMITMENT TO FAIRNESS AND EQUALITY OF  
OPPORTUNITY.

THE TEST OF PROGRESS

REPUBLICANS DON'T OFTEN QUOTE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.  
BUT FDR SAID SOMETHING ONCE THAT SUMS UP NEATLY WHAT I  
BELIEVE -- AND WHAT I THINK BLACK AMERICA BELIEVES IN AS  
WELL.

"THE TEST OF OUR PROGRESS," HE SAID, "IS NOT WHETHER WE  
ADD MORE TO THE ABUNDANCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE MUCH; IT IS  
WHETHER WE PROVIDE ENOUGH FOR THOSE WHO HAVE TOO LITTLE".

HOWEVER, ECONOMIC FIGURES ALONE PROVIDE AN INADEQUATE  
MEASUREMENT OF THOSE WHO HAVE MUCH AND THOSE WHO HAVE  
LITTLE. A PEOPLE DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE CANNOT MAKE THEIR

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VOICE HEARD, OR EXPECT THEIR ASPIRATIONS TO BE HEEDED. THEY CANNOT ELECT REPRESENTATIVES OF ANY PARTY TO CARRY THEIR BANNER AND CONVEY THEIR AGENDA FOR CHANGE. A PEOPLE WHO CANNOT VOTE HAVE VERY LITTLE INDEED - AND NO REALISTIC PROSPECT OF HAVING MORE IN THE FUTURE.

AND SO IT IS THAT OF ALL THE STEPS TAKEN IN MY PUBLIC LIFE - A CAREER SPANNING 30 OR SO YEARS - I'VE NEVER BEEN PROUDER THAN FIGHTING FOR AN EXTENDED VOTING RIGHTS ACT. I'VE NEVER BEEN ENGAGED IN A LEGISLATIVE EFFORT MORE WORTHWHILE, AND I'VE NEVER BEEN MORE SATISFIED WITH THE RESULTS. WE EXTENDED THE ACT FOR AN UNPRECEDENTED 25 YEARS AND AT THE SAME TIME, STRENGTHENED ITS KEY ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS. WHAT'S MORE, THE OVERWHELMING BIPARTISAN SUPPORT BEHIND THE EXTENSION MEASURE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED THAT CIVIL RIGHTS IS SOMETHING TO WHICH OUR PARTY REMAINS COMMITTED.

SHARED IDEALS

WHATEVER DIFFERENCES MAY BE HARBORED OVER SPECIFIC BUDGET CUTS, THE HAND OF RONALD REAGAN IS OUTSTRETCHED. FOR HE TOO HAS AN IDEAL, AND IT IS NOT SO VERY DIFFERENT FROM ALL THAT BLACK AMERICA HOLDS SACRED. IT IS THE IDEAL OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY - ALONG WITH THE LEGAL AND ECONOMIC TOOLS TO MAKE THE MOST OF THAT RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS THE IDEAL THAT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES, NEIGHBORHOOD PEOPLE, SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND WOMEN, KNOW BETTER THAN WASHINGTON'S BUREAUCRACY HOW TO REVIVE HOPE AND RESTORE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY IN URBAN POCKETS OF DESPAIR. IT IS THE IDEAL OF INVITING BLACK AMERICANS IN FROM THE ECONOMIC RESERVATION TO WHICH PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS, HOWEVER NOBLE THEIR INTENTIONS, CONDEMNED THEM. AND ITS AN IDEAL FUNDAMENTAL TO THE HISTORY OF OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY: THAT NO MAN CAN BE FREE SO LONG AS HIS NEIGHBOR IS IN BONDAGE.

A NEW KIND OF SLAVERY

SLAVERY IN AMERICA WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN PUT TO DEATH MORE THAN A CENTURY AGO, BUT IT OUTLIVED ABRAHAM LINCOLN. IT INFESTED OUR SOCIETY AND MOCKED OUR PRETENSIONS TO SELF-RULE. IT BLUNTED THE ECONOMIC AMBITIONS OF MILLIONS. IT DELIVERED NOTHING MORE THAN SECOND-CLASS CITIZENSHIP, IN THE ASSEMBLY LINE AND VOTING BOOTH. IT IS WITH US STILL, IN 50% UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG BLACK TEENAGERS, IN A POPULATION THAT IS 11% BLACK, AND ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS THAT NUMBER BARELY 1% OF BLACK FACES AMONG THEIR RANKS.

FOR MILLIONS OF BLACKS, THE AMERICAN DREAM OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY HAS BEEN A ONE-WAY STREET, BLOCKED BY A "DO NOT ENTER" SIGN. BUT IN SEEKING TO TEAR DOWN SUCH BARRIERS, GOVERNMENT HAS SPOILED MANY GOOD INTENTIONS THROUGH BAD ADMINISTRATION. IT CLAIMED TO BE

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COMPASSIONATE - BUT FORGOT THE EFFECT OF DOUBLE DIGIT  
INFLATION ON THE POOR. IT CLAIMED TO BE GENEROUS - BUT  
FORGOT THAT MOST PEOPLE WOULD PREFER JOBS IN A HEALTHY  
PRIVATE SECTOR TO WELFARE CHECKS.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE GOVERNMENT HAS REGARDED EVERY URBAN  
PROBLEM AS A TEST OF ITS OWN MANHOOD, AND OVERLOOKED THE  
POTENTIAL OF PEOPLE AT THE GRASSROOTS TO FASHION BETTER  
IDEAS. EACH YEAR, THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY DONATE NEARLY  
\$50 BILLION TO GOOD CAUSES. I REGARD THAT AS ONLY A DOWN  
PAYMENT ON THE IDEALISM WHICH IS THE ESSENCE OF THE AMERICAN  
CHARACTER - AN IDEALISM THAT THE PRESIDENT'S PRIVATE SECTOR  
INITIATIVE IS MEANT TO ENLIST.

FAIRNESS IS THE BOTTOM LINE

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THE FEDERAL BUDGET HAS BECOME BLOATED, AND SHOULD BE CUT BACK, IF WE ARE TO UNPLUG THE ECONOMY AND GENERATE THE POTENTIALLY ENORMOUS BENEFITS OF LOWER TAXES AND LOWER INTEREST RATES. BUT I ALSO BELIEVE THAT FAIRNESS MUST BE THE BOTTOM LINE FOR ANY PROPOSED CUT.

THERE IS NO DOUBT FAIRNESS WAS THE FINAL TEST IN THE RECENT ENACTMENT OF THE TAX BILL, WHEN WE SIGNALLED TO AMERICA THAT WE WERE NOT GOING TO BALANCE THE BUDGET ON THE BACKS OF THE POOR, BUT THAT EVERYONE WAS GOING TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY. WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE WOULD NOT, ON THE ONE HAND, TAKE 12 DOLLARS IN FOOD STAMPS AWAY FROM A SINGLE, WORKING MOTHER, AND ON THE OTHER HAND ALLOW UPPER INCOME AMERICANS TO UTILIZE LOOPHOLES TO SOCK THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS AWAY TAX FREE.

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THE RECENTLY SIGNED "TAX EQUITY AND FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT OF 1982", IS AN INNOVATIVE PACKAGE THAT BRINGS LONG OVERDUE FAIRNESS AND REFORM TO THE TAX SYSTEM. THE PREMISE WAS SO SIMPLE THAT IT IS SHOCKING THAT CONGRESS HADN'T ACTED EARLIER TO TACKLE THESE PROBLEMS IN THE TAX CODE. THE PREMISE IS THIS: BEFORE WE IMPOSE ANY NEW TAXES ON THOSE WHO PAY THEIR SHARE, LET'S MAKE SURE WE COLLECT FROM THOSE WHO ARE SUPPOSED TO BE PAYING, BUT AREN'T. INDEED, 80% OF THE \$100 BILLION TAX BILL COMES FROM COLLECTING TAXES ALREADY OWED, CLOSING LOOPHOLES, AND TAXING BIG CORPORATIONS AND THE WEALTHY.

ONCE CONGRESS REALIZED THE SIMPLE LOGIC BEHIND THIS BILL -- FAIRNESS AND REFORM -- IT WASN'T HARD TO DO THE RIGHT THING.

CONCLUSION

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A LOT OF PEOPLE WERE SURPRISED THAT WE PASSED THESE TAX REFORMS DURING AN ELECTION YEAR, AND WERE EVEN MORE SURPRISED THAT REPUBLICANS WERE LEADING THE CHARGE. BUT THEY WERE SURPRISED ONLY BECAUSE THEY BLINDLY ACCEPTED THIS PERCEPTION OF THE PARTY AS ONE FAVORING THE RICH. ENACTMENT OF THE TAX BILL, PERHAPS MORE THAN ANY OTHER LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE IN THIS CONGRESS, PROVED THAT THE PERCEPTION IS FALSE. WE DEMONSTRATED THAT IN COMMON WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE WANT AN END TO SPECIAL TAX RELIEF AT THE EXPENSE OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. WE WANT THE TAX BURDEN TO BE MORE FAIR. WE WANT TO SEE THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY TO PUT ITS NEWFOUND BOUNTY TO WORK. WE WANT AN END TO THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF TAXATION FOR WORKING PEOPLE AND TAXATION FOR THE SOPHISTICATED PLANNER OR EXPLOITER OF TAX SHELTERS.

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NOW EVERY SPEAKER LIKES TO COMPLIMENT THE GROUP THAT INVITED HIM AND TELL THEM THAT IT IS AN HONOR TO SPEAK AT THEIR EVENT. BUT THIS GROUP REALLY IS SOMETHING SPECIAL.

I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT OTHER BLACK AMERICANS WILL FOLLOW YOUR LEAD. I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT EVERY BLACK AMERICAN WILL KEEP THEIR MINDS AS WELL AS THEIR DOORS OPEN TO US. I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THEY, TOO, WILL LISTEN TO THEIR CONSCIENCE IN JUDGING THE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM AND THAT THEY WILL TAKE A HARD LOOK AT REPUBLICAN EFFORTS FOR VOTING RIGHTS SECURED, AND A TAX SYSTEM, REFORMED. THE LIGHT OF CONSCIENCE HAS NOT GONE OUT IN AMERICA. THE DOOR TO OPPORTUNITY IS NOT BEING SHUT. THE PARTY OF LINCOLN IS LIVING UP TO ITS TRADITION AND ITS STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY AND FAIRNESS WILL NOT CEASE.