

News from Senator

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1984

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
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THANKS VERY MUCH FOR THOSE GENEROUS WORDS OF INTRODUCTION.

THIS IS AN ELECTION YEAR. AS A RESULT, DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS ALIKE ARE ALL RELUCTANT SPECTATORS AS THREE MEN ENGAGE IN A FURIOUS BIDDING WAR FOR THE LEFT WING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. WHO CAN PROMISE TO PULL THE MOST AMERICAN TROOPS FROM THE MOST SENSITIVE TROUBLE SPOTS IN THE WORLD? WHO CAN MAKE THE MOST PROMISES TO THE MOST INTEREST GROUPS? WHO CAN DO THE MOST PERSUASIVE JOB DISTORTING HIS RIVAL'S PAST RECORD - OR UNDERMINING HIS OPPONENT'S CLAIM TO "NEW IDEAS"? WHO CAN SPLIT HAIRS THE FINEST? WHO CAN MISJUDGE THE TRUE MOOD OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MOST GLARINGLY?

1984 HAS ALREADY SPRUNG SOME POLITICAL SURPRISES ON ALL OF US. I WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT THEY REFLECT FAR MORE ON

THE INTERNAL TENSIONS AND PHILOSOPHICAL HESITANCIES INSIDE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THAN ON THE CONSISTENTLY HIGH LEVEL OF SUPPORT ACCORDED PRESIDENT REAGAN AND HIS BRAND OF LEADERSHIP.

A WINNING PLATFORM

LET ME SHARE A HUNCH, NAMELY THAT IN THIS YEAR OF UPSET CALCULATIONS AND DISCREDITED PUNDITRY, THE BIG SURPRISES ARE LIKELY TO TAIL OFF BY THE TIME THE GAVEL FALLS ON BOTH PARTY CONVENTIONS. THERE'S NOTHING VERY STARTLING ABOUT MY INTUITION. THE FACT IS, FOR AS LONG AS INCUMBENTS HAVE BEEN SEEKING RE-ELECTION, THEY'VE BEEN STAKING CLAIM TO PEACE AND PROSPERITY. NO BETTER PLATFORM HAS YET BEEN DEVISED. AND THOSE WHO UNDERESTIMATE RONALD REAGAN OR HIS APPEAL MIGHT REMEMBER THAT FACT. AS YOU KNOW, I'VE TAKEN EXCEPTION TO SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS. I'VE ARGUED THAT THERE ARE LIMITS BEYOND WHICH NO HUMANE NATION CAN GO IN CUTTING SOCIAL PROGRAM EXPENDITURES. I'VE STRESSED

THE NEED TO REDUCE THE FEDERAL DEFICIT - AND I'VE EVEN GONE SO FAR AS TO INTRODUCE THAT POLITICAL DIRTY WORD "TAXES" IN LOOKING FOR WAYS TO DO IT.

BUT YOU DON'T HAVE TO MARCH LOCKSTEP WITH THE WHITE HOUSE TO FEEL A SENSE OF COMMON MISSION, OR GIVE CREDIT WHERE CREDIT IS DUE. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE - WHOSE MEMORY IS NOT SO SHORT AS SOME WOULD SUGGEST - ARE UNLIKELY TO MISS THE CONTRAST BETWEEN HOW THINGS WERE IN 1980 AND HOW THEY ARE FOUR YEARS LATER. TO WIT:

THE FAIRNESS OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION

EACH MONTH'S BATCH OF LEADING INDICATORS SUGGESTS FUNDAMENTAL AND LONG-RANGE IMPROVEMENT IN THE U.S. ECONOMY. SOMEONE WHO'S NEWLY ABLE TO AFFORD A SUBURBAN MORTGAGE OR FAMILY CAR IS APT TO FEEL PRETTY GOOD ABOUT IT. AND THEY'RE LIKELY TO TAKE ISSUE WITH THOSE WHO DENOUNCE WHAT MOST PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE BELTWAY THINK OF AS A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER. FOR

THE FIRST TIME IN TWENTY YEARS, POLLSTERS ARE SHOWING A RISE IN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE GOOD SENSE AND GOOD FAITH OF THOSE ENTRUSTED WITH OUR GOVERNMENT. TWO-THIRDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPRESS SATISFACTION WITH THE QUALITY OF LIFE. NEARLY AS MANY ARE CONVINCED THAT THIS NATION'S BEST DAYS BE AHEAD. NOT EVERYONE AGREES, OF COURSE.

THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF TALK IN THIS CITY ABOUT "FAIRNESS" - TALK WHICH EQUATES PERSONAL OPPORTUNITY WITH GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. OF COURSE, TALK IS CHEAP. GOVERNMENT ISN'T.

THE OLD CONCEPT OF "FAIRNESS" WAS EPITOMIZED BY FEDERAL JOBS PROGRAMS, CETA THE BEST KNOWN IF WORST-RUN AMONG THEM. WELL, WE DON'T HAVE CETA ANYMORE. INSTEAD, WE HAVE THE JOB TRAINING PARTNERSHIP ACT, WHICH SPECIFICALLY TARGETS WOMEN RECEIVING AFDC FOR ASSISTANCE, WHICH INVOLVES PRIVATE SECTOR EXPERTISE AND WHICH DOES ALL THIS WITH FAR LESS OVERHEAD THAN WE'RE ACCUSTOMED TO. MORE IMPORTANT STILL, WE HAVE ABOUT FIVE

MILLION NEW JOBS CREATED IN LESS THAN A YEAR AND A HALF - THE PRODUCT OF AN ECONOMIC RECOVERY NOW EVOLVING INTO EXPANSION. THOSE JOBS WERE NOT LEGISLATED IN SOME CAPITOL HILL CLOAKROOM. THEY WILL OUTLAST WHATEVER PARTY MAJORITY MAY CALL THE SHOTS DURING THIS SESSION OR NEXT. THEY'RE THE LOGICAL RESULT OF INCENTIVES AS OLD AS SUPPLY AND DEMAND, AND AS NEW AS A GOVERNMENT ANXIOUS TO REWARD THE LABOR AND TOP THE INGENUITY THAT FUELS PROSPERITY.

IN THE WORDS OF BERNARD BARUCH, "GOVERNMENT IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR PEOPLE, BUT SIMPLY THE INSTRUMENT THROUGH WHICH THEY ACT. AND IF THE INDIVIDUAL FAILS TO DO HIS DUTY AS A CITIZEN, GOVERNMENT BECOMES A VERY DEADLY INSTRUMENT INDEED."

FOR HALF A CENTURY IN THIS COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT ASSERTED MORE AND MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE LIVES AND LIVELIHOOD OF ITS CITIZENS. WHAT WAS ORIGINALLY ROOTED IN GENUINE CONCERN TURNED INTO A MOCKERY OF COMPASSION. RED TAPE AND RED INK

' BECAME IRONIC YARDSTICKS WITH WHICH TO MEASURE THE DEPTH OF GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. VOTERS IN 1980 DID NOT REJECT THE IDEALS LONG HELD BY A GENEROUS NATION - ONLY THE STALE DOGMAS IRRELEVANT TO THE MODERN ECONOMY. FAIRNESS WAS NOT REDEFINED; THE METHODS USED TO ATTAIN IT WERE. BECAUSE INFLATION SINCE THEN HAS BEEN REDUCED BY TWO-THIRDS, AND OVERALL TAX BURDENS SLASHED BY OVER \$300 BILLION, THE AVERAGE FAMILY OF FOUR EARNING \$25,000 A YEAR CAN COUNT ON NEARLY \$4,000.00 IN EXTRA PURCHASING POWER. THE GAINS ARE EVEN MORE REMARKABLE IN THE LOWER INCOMES. FOR A WOMAN STRUGGLING TO RAISE TWO KIDS ALONE - AND THE GOVERNMENT ESTIMATES HER MEDIAN INCOME AT AROUND \$11,000 - THE SAME COMBINATION MEANS BETTER THAN \$900 SHE WOULDN'T HAVE HAD IF MALAISE AND THE MISERY INDEX HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO GOBBLE UP HER ADMITTEDLY MEAGER STANDARD OF LIVING. THAT'S FAIR - BUT IT HASN'T BEEN UNIVERSALLY INTERPRETED AS SUCH. NOT BY A LONG SHOT.

SIMULTANEOUSLY, AND IN CONTRAST WITH IMPRESSIONS LEFT BY MUCH OF THE MASS MEDIA, SOCIAL SERVICES HAVE NOT WITHERED AWAY. IN FACT, EXPENDITURES HAVE INCREASED FOR DOMESTIC HOUSING ASSISTANCE AND WEATHERIZATION, MEDICAL CARE AND NUTRITIONAL PROGRAMS. TODAY, THERE ARE 2 MILLION MORE HOUSEHOLDS PARTICIPATING IN THE FOOD STAMP PROGRAM THAN IN 1980. NUTRITIONAL PROGRAMS ALONE WILL RECEIVE NEARLY \$18 BILLION - COMPARED WITH ABOUT \$11 BILLION FOUR YEARS AGO. "CUTS" SO-CALLED, HAVE OCCURRED IN THE RATE OF GROWTH OF FEDERAL SPENDING, NOT AGAINST LEVELS IN FORCE BEFORE JANUARY, 1981. YOU MAY DISAGREE WITH INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS. I HAVE MYSELF. BUT LET'S AT LEAST ACKNOWLEDGE THE FALSEHOOD OF MOST HORROR STORIES AND THE CYNICISM OF THOSE WHO PLAY UPON THE FEARS THEY AROUSE. SOMETHING HISTORICALLY SIGNIFICANT IS GOING ON IN THIS COUNTRY. MAJOR CHANGES ARE PERCOLATING IN THE WAY WE ADDRESS GRASSROOTS CONCERNS. A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF AMERICANS SEEM TO APPROVE.

I' NOTE THAT IN SEVERAL RECENT CAUCUSES, "UNCOMMITTED" HAS
OUTPOLLED ALL THREE DEMOCRATIC CONTENDERS FOR PRESIDENT. IT
JUST GOES TO SHOW THAT IN SOME CONTESTS AT LEAST, YOU CAN BEAT
SOMETHING WITH NOTHING.

THE END OF AMERICA'S IDENTITY CRISIS

NO LESS DRAMATIC ARE THE CHANGES FILTERING THROUGH U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY. WHATEVER BONES YOU MAY HAVE TO PICK WITH THIS
ADMINISTRATION OVER SPECIFIC ACTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, I
THINK IT'S FAIR TO ASSERT THAT AMERICAN ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD - AND NONE COUNT FOR MORE THAN ISRAEL - ARE BETTER SERVED
BY A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH TAKES NOTE OF LEGITIMATE AMERICAN
INTERESTS AND DOES NOT SHY AWAY WHEN ADVERSARIES CHALLENGE
THOSE INTERESTS. THE SAME REALITY APPLIES TO A REJUVENATED
DEFENSE BUDGET.

UNTIL RECENTLY, THIS COUNTRY SUFFERED FROM AN IDENTITY
CRISIS. MIRED IN GUILT DATING BACK TO THE VIETNAM WAR, WE KEPT

TELLING OURSELVES THAT LOWER PROFILES WOULD TRANSLATE INTO

GREATER RESPECT. WE INDULGED IN SOME VERY COSTLY WISHFUL

THINKING. WE PERMITTED OUR DEFENSES TO GO STIFF IN THE JOINTS,

AND OUR OWN GLOBAL COMMITMENTS TO GROW FUZZY.

BUT NO MORE. AND THIS OF ALL AUDIENCES SHOULD APPRECIATE THE VALUE OF NATIONAL ASSERTIVENESS. INDEED, I LIKE TO THINK THAT OUR OWN TURNABOUT IN FOREIGN POLICY REFLECTS THE SAME KIND OF NATIONAL PURPOSE AND CLEAR-HEADED THINKING HISTORICALLY DISPLAYED BY ISRAEL HERSELF. JEAN KIRKPATRICK, OUR UN AMBASSADOR, TELLS THE STORY OF HER ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK, AND HER BEING ASKED TO DEFINE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES AND THE PREVIOUS ONE'S. AND SHE ANSWERED, "WE HAVE TAKEN OFF OUR 'KICK ME' SIGN."

"DOES THAT MEAN," SHE WAS ASKED, "THAT IF YOU'RE KICKED, YOU'LL KICK BACK?"

"NOT NECESSARILY," SHE REPLIED, "BUT IT DOES MEAN THAT IF

WE'RE KICKED, AT LEAST WE WON'T APOLOGIZE."

AMBASSADOR KIRKPATRICK HAS PROVEN TO BE A WOMEN OF HER WORD. THERE'S NO MORE DECISIVE EVIDENCE OF OUR SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL THAN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S FRANK DECLARATION THAT SHOULD THE UN EVER EXPEL THE ISRAELI REPRESENTATIVE, HE WOULD FIND OUR OWN AMBASSADOR FOLLOWING HIM THROUGH THE DOOR. NOR IS OUR COMMITMENT LIMITED TO DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES. YOU NEED NOT LOOK FURTHER THAN THE MARINES IN LEBANON, STATIONED THERE FIRST IN HOPES OF SEPARATING OPPOSING FORCES, AND ULTIMATELY OF BRINGING ABOUT A DIPLOMATIC SETTLEMENT FAVORABLE TO ISRAEL'S LONG-TERM SECURITY.

OUR LEBANON POLICY HAS BEEN ATTACKED FROM MANY SIDES. AN EXERCISE IN CONFUSION, SAY THE CRITICS. WELL, ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE TANGLED AFFAIRS OF THE MIDDLE EAST KNOWS THAT CONFUSION IS AS MUCH A PART OF THE REGION AS DESERT SAND. HISTORY REMINDS US THAT ON THE VERY DAY PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN

EXTENDED FORMAL RECOGNITION TO THE INFANT STATE OF ISRAEL, HIS OWN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED NATIONS WERE PREPARING TO VOTE FOR TRUSTEESHIP. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT HERSELF COMPLAINED OF "COMPLETE CONSTERNATION" AS A RESULT OF TRUMAN'S DECISION.

PROMISES MADE AND KEPT

LET US BE FRANK AS ONLY OLD FRIENDS CAN. I DON'T DOUBT THAT THERE'S A PERCEPTION ON THE PART OF SOME THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION HASN'T LIVED UP TO ALL ITS PROMISES MADE IN 1980. IT'S AN ASSUMPTION I'M QUICK TO CHALLENGE. FOR INSTANCE, IN HIS SPEECH THAT YEAR TO B'NAI B'RITH, PRESIDENT REAGAN CALLED ISRAEL A STRATEGIC ASSET TO THE UNITED STATES. THAT SAME POINT OF VIEW HAS RECENTLY BEEN REAFFIRMED AND CODIFIED IN AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. EARLIER IN THIS ADMINISTRATION, THERE WAS CRITICISM OF THE F-15 DEAL WITH SAUDI ARABIA. BUT IN FACT, THE F-15s WERE PART OF A MILITARY ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP THAT SPANS BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES AND

SEVERAL DECADES. IF YOU DOUBT THAT, I WOULD REMIND YOU THAT IT WAS FRITZ MONDALE WHO PUT HIS ARM AROUND MURIEL HUMPHREY JUST BEFORE THE F-15 VOTE BACK DURING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND TOLD HER "HUBERT WOULD HAVE WANTED YOU TO VOTE FOR THIS."

THE AWACS SOLD TO THE SAUDIS WERE NEW, BUT SO WAS THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION FOLLOWING THE OVERTHROW OF THE SHAH OF IRAN AND THE RISE OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI. AS PROOF THAT THE AWACS POSED NO DANGER TO ISRAELI SECURITY, ONE ONLY HAS TO LOOK BACK TO THE JUNE, 1982 RAID ON IRAQ'S NUCLEAR REACTOR. ALL THE EVIDENCE WE HAVE SUGGESTS THAT THE AWACS WERE WATCHING THE PERSIAN GULF - NOT THE ISRAELIS.

BUT LET'S EXAMINE THE BROADER PICTURE. IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL SHARE A STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP THAT WE ARE LEGITIMATELY CONCERNED OVER THE PROSPECT OF THE SOVIET BEAR LUMBERING INTO THE MIDDLE EAST. BECAUSE WE WANT TO DISCOURAGE RADICAL REGIMES FROM STEPPING UP

THE PRESSURE AGAINST ISRAEL, WE OUGHT TO GRASP THE IMPORTANCE OF AIDING MODERATE ARAB STATES TO WARD OFF SUCH FORCES. ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO HARBOR FANTASIES ABOUT INSTANT SOLIDARITY TO REGARD A MUBARAK OR HUSSEIN AS VASTLY PREFERABLE TO THE MURDEROUS COMMANDOS WHO SEEK TO TAKE THEIR PLACE. A SYRIAN ASSAULT ON JORDAN WILL DO NOTHING TO FURTHER THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ISRAEL'S FRIENDS THAT SUCH STATES REGARD THIS COUNTRY AS A RELIABLE ALLY. FOR THAT MATTER, IT ALSO SERVES TO DETER AGGRESSION BY MILITANT ARABS AGAINST THEIR MODERATE COUNTERPARTS.

THE ARAB WORLD IS NO MONOLITH - ALTHOUGH MOSCOW UNDOUBTEDLY WISHES IT WERE. SO DOES KHOMEINI. SO DOES QADDAFI. AND WHILE OUR DOORS WILL REMAIN CLOSED TO THE PLO, THAT DOES NOT MEAN WE CAN ABANDON THE SEARCH FOR LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES WHO MIGHT BE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN A MEANINGFUL DIALOGUE. ISRAEL IS UNIQUE - BUT SHE IS NOT

SEPARATE FROM THE MIDDLE EAST WHOLE. AND THOSE WHO WOULD CAST THAT COMPLEX REGION IN SIMPLE TERMS OF "WE VERSUS THEM," I FEAR, RUN THE RISK SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY.

NOR IS THAT THE ONLY DANGER ARISING FROM SUCH A READING. IN MY OWN MIND, I LONG FOR THE DAY WHEN, AS A RESULT OF A NEGOTIATED PEACE, OUR EMBASSY MAY OCCUPY THE SOIL OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF JERUSALEM. BUT I HAVE LITTLE PATIENCE WITH CANDIDATES WHO GO INTO CONTORTIONS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR NEWFOUND SUPPORT FOR SUCH A MOVE - A FEW DAYS BEFORE AN IMPORTANT PRIMARY IN A STATE WITH A LARGE JEWISH ELECTORATE. THEIR FRIENDSHIP, LIKE THEIR RELIABILITY, IS OPEN TO QUESTION. IT IS ALSO SHORTSIGHTED. OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL IS UNEQUIVOCAL. WE ARE COMMITTED TO A SECURITY BASED ON A LASTING, NEGOTIATED PEACE. TO MOVE OUR EMBASSY AT THIS TIME COULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE OUR EFFORTS AND OUR ABILITY TO ACT AS A PEACE MAKER. THAT IS NOT IN ISRAEL'S

INTEREST. WHAT IS IN ISRAEL'S INTEREST IS FOR US TO STOP
PLAYING PARTISAN POLITICS WITH ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND GET ON
WITH A TRULY BIPARTISAN EFFORT FOR PEACE IN THE REGION.

ISRAEL AND THE BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS

IF FOR ONE MOMENT I BELIEVED THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION WERE
RUNNING AFOUL OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY, OR ACTING IN ANY WAY
INIMICAL TO HER INTERESTS, I WOULD BE THE FIRST TO SAY SO -
LOUDLY AND REPEATEDLY. THE FACT IS, THAT SO FAR IN THIS
ELECTION YEAR WE'VE HEARD RELATIVELY LITTLE IN THE WAY OF
PARTISAN ATTACKS AGAINST ADMINISTRATION POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL.
I THINK THAT SAYS A LOT, BECAUSE BELIEVE ME, IF THERE WAS
ANYTHING TO ATTACK US ON, THEY'D BE DOING IT.

LET'S RECOGNIZE THAT MORE IS AT STAKE, WITH MORE IMMEDIATE
CONSEQUENCES FOR ISRAELI SECURITY THAN THE GEOGRAPHICAL
LOCATION OF ANY EMBASSY. SECURITY INVOLVES ECONOMIC AS WELL AS
MILITARY STRENGTH - AND THIS YEAR ALONE WILL PROVIDE ISRAEL

WITH \$1.2 BILLION IN GRANT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. I WILL PURSUE MY OWN EFFORTS TO CREATE A FREE TRADE ZONE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES FOR WE CANNOT MEASURE OUR COMMERCE BY WEAPONS SYSTEMS ALONE. THE BOTTOM LINE IS MORAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC. FOR WHATEVER THE FRAME OF REFERENCE, WHETHER DIPLOMATIC OR MILITARY OR ECONOMIC, WE AREN'T ABOUT TO DISCOUNT THIRTY SIX YEARS OF A VERY SPECIAL PARTNERSHIP. MY CLOSING POINT FLOWS OUT OF THAT VERY PARTNERSHIP: FOR PARTNERS CAN DISAGREE AT TIMES. GOOD FRIENDS COUNSEL ON EMERGING POLICIES. THEY DON'T HESITATE TO CRITICIZE WHAT THEY REGARD AS MISGUIDED ACTIONS. PARTNERS ENGAGE IN STRATEGIC COOPERATION - AND THAT MEANS EACH PARTY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE INTEREST OF THE OTHER. IT REQUIRES THAT EACH UNDERSTAND THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF ITS OWN BEHAVIOR, BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

DOWN THROUGH THE AGES, WHAT HISTORIAN BARBARA TUCHMAN CALLS THE MARCH OF FOLLY HAS CONSUMED MANY LANDS AND COST TENS