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CONTACT: WALT RIKER (202) 224-5358

RNC MEETING

<u>"THE PARTY OF PROMISE -- PROMISE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM"</u> SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER BOB DOLE -- REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY <u>HYATT REGENCY UNION STATION</u> ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

THIS WEEK'S RNC MEETING IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE ONES WE'VE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO.

FOR TWENTY OF THE PAST TWENTY-FOUR YEARS, WE'VE HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE OF HAVING THE LEADER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD BE THE SAME PERSON. AND WHEN IT CAME TO DECISIONS REGARDING PARTY MACHINERY AND PLATFORMS, WE PROUDLY TOOK OUR CUES FROM OUR PRESIDENT.

AND I KNOW EVERYONE HERE IN THIS ROOM WAS HOPING THAT THIS MEETING WOULD BE NO EXCEPTION...THAT WE WOULD SOUND THE TRUMPET FOR FOUR MORE YEARS OF SERVING AND SUPPORTING PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH.

OF COURSE, THAT'S NOT HOW THINGS WORKED OUT. SO, INSTEAD OF SOUNDING TRUMPETS, WE FIND OURSELVES PREPARING FOR FOUR YEARS OF LISTENING TO THE SAXOPHONE--WHICH IS, SO FAR, BADLY OUT OF TUNE. DISAPPOINTING THE DOOM-AND-GLOOMERS

NO DOUBT ABOUT IT. THIS IS THE MOST CLOSELY-WATCHED RNC MEETING OF THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY. THE MEDIA ARE HERE IN LARGE NUMBERS--SOME DESPERATELY WANTING TO FILE STORIES ABOUT A PARTY IN SHAMBLES, OR A PARTY SPLITTING APART. IF PAST HISTORY IS ANY INDICATION, THEY'LL BE SORELY DISAPPOINTED.

I'VE BEEN AROUND LONG ENOUGH TO REMEMBER 1965, WHEN THERE WEREN'T MANY REPUBLICANS LEFT STANDING AFTER THE LBJ LANDSLIDE. WE ELECTED A BRILLIANT REPUBLICAN NAMED RAY BLISS AS OUR CHAIRMAN, AND THE NEXT YEAR WE SWEPT THE MID-TERM ELECTIONS, AND TWO YEARS AFTER THAT WE WON THE WHITE HOUSE.

AND THEN THERE WAS 1977. ONCE AGAIN, THE DEMOCRATS CONTROLLED ALL THE LEVERS OF GOVERNMENT. AND WE TURNED THE REINS OF THE PARTY OVER TO BILL BROCK. ONE YEAR LATER, WE MADE IMPORTANT GAINS, AND TWO YEARS AFTER THAT, WE WERE BACK IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

RNC CHAIRMANSHIP

AND THIS WEEK, WE WILL BEGIN TO PROVE THAT LIGHTNING CAN STRIKE THREE TIMES.

I AM A FRIEND OF ALL THOSE WHO SEEK TO BE CHAIRMAN AND CO-CHAIRMAN. ANY OF THEM WILL DO AN OUTSTANDING JOB.

I SUSPECT THAT ALL OF THE CANDIDATES...AND ALL OF YOU...HAVE JOINED ME IN DOING A LOT OF LISTENING THESE PAST MONTHS. IN COUNTLESS LETTERS, PHONE CALLS, AND MEETINGS, I'VE HEARD FROM THE HEART AND SOUL OF OUR PARTY--THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO WALK THE PRECINCTS, AND WRITE THE CHECKS.

PRECINCTS, AND WRITE THE CHECKS. EVERY ONE OF THEM WAS SADDENED BY THE LOSS OF THE WHITE HOUSE. AND THERE WERE MANY EXPRESSIONS OF UNDERSTANDABLE FRUSTRATION AND SOME MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACKING. BUT OUR FOCUS HAS NOW CHANGED. WE'RE NOT LOOKING BACK. WE'RE LOOKING AHEAD--LOOKING TO THE FUTURE--READY TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE--FOR OUR PARTY, AND FOR AMERICA. <u>'93 & '94: JUMPSTARTING THE GOP COMEBACK</u>

AND THE FUTURE IS JUST WHERE WE HAVE TO LOOK, FOR NEW RACES ARE ALREADY BEGINNING. I DON'T MEAN 1996. I MEAN 1993 WITH GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS IN VIRGINIA AND NEW JERSEY.

I MEAN 1994 WITH MID-TERM ELECTIONS, INCLUDING 34 SEATS IN THE SENATE--22 OF THEM HELD BY DEMOCRATS.

I MEAN THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WHERE DEMOCRATS WON DOZENS OF SEATS BY SMALL PERCENTAGES.

I MEAN STATE LEGISLATURES AND COUNTY COMMISSIONS ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

THESE ARE THE DATES, THE RACES, AND THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT WILL JUMPSTART OUR COMEBACK.

(MORE)

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DESPITE LOSING THE WHITE HOUSE, REPUBLICANS HAD SOME SUCCESSES, AS WELL. ALTHOUGH DEMOCRATS WERE LICKING THEIR CHOPS AT THE THOUGHT OF A WIPE-OUT ON CAPITOL HILL, WE HELD OUR OWN IN THE SENATE; WE PICKED UP 10 SEATS IN THE HOUSE; AND WE MADE SOME IMPORTANT GAINS AT THE STATE LEVEL--INCLUDING, I'M PROUD TO SAY, TAKING BACK THE KANSAS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND STRENGTHENING OUR MAJORITY IN THE STATE SENATE TO A 27-13 MARGIN. I WOULD ADD THAT 11 OF THOSE 27 REPUBLICAN SENATORS ARE WOMEN.

THERE ARE 43 REPUBLICANS IN THE U.S. SENATE--AFTER THE TEXAS ELECTION IN MAY, I HOPE TO MAKE THAT 44. THERE'S A LOT YOU CAN DO WITH 43 OR 44.

PROVIDING MAINSTREAM ANSWERS

SO, WHAT DO WE DO? WELL, ONE ROAD WE CAN TAKE IS TO SIT IN THE CORNER AND THROW ROCKS AT PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE DEMOCRAT MAJORITY. BUT THAT ROAD WOULD LEAD US NOWHERE. THE RIGHT ROAD IS TO PROVIDE ANSWERS TO AMERICA'S

PROBLEMS...ANSWERS TRUE TO OUR MAINSTREAM PRINCIPLES--LESS SPENDING...LOWER DEFICITS...LOWER TAXES...LESS REGULATION ...FEWER MANDATES...MORE DECISIONS MADE BY ORDINARY CITIZENS AND NOT BUREAUCRATS... AND MAKING OUR STREETS AND NEIGHBORHOODS SAFE FROM CRIMINALS AT HOME AND FROM TYRANTS ABROAD.

WE WISH PRESIDENT CLINTON WELL, AND HOPE TO BE HELPFUL AS HE DEALS WITH THE CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA.

BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. WHEN WE THINK HE'S GOING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION, WE'RE GOING TO STAND UP FOR AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS.

AND GIVEN SOME OF HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES, I EXPECT WE'LL BE STANDING UP QUITE FREQUENTLY.

WHAT KIND OF "CHANGE"?

YES, SOME OF HIS PROMISES, IF FULFILLED, WOULD MOVE AMERICA IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION--SUCH AS CUTTING THE DEFICIT IN HALF IN FOUR

YEARS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE'S ALREADY BACKPEDALED ON THAT ONE. THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE OTHER PROMISES INVOLVE MORE SPENDING, MORE MANDATES, MORE TAXES, OR A COMBINATION OF ALL THREE. AND THAT'S NOT THE KIND OF "CHANGE" AMERICANS THOUGHT THEY WERE VOTING FOR.

I'M ALL FOR CHANGE--IF IT'S CHANGE FOR THE BETTER. I'M NOT FOR--AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT FOR--CHANGE BACK TO THE FAILED POLICIES OF THE PAST--POLICIES THAT MADE TAXES HIGHER, OUR WALLETS THINNER, OUR BUREAUCRACY BIGGER, AND OUR NATIONAL SECURITY WEAKER.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT CHANGE FOR THE BETTER .. AND WE ALL KNOW THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE PARTY OF CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

<u>"CHANGE" UNDER REAGAN & BUSH</u> JUST LOOK AT ALL WE CHANGED AND ALL WE ACCOMPLISHED UNDER PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN AND PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH.

WHEN THE REAGAN-BUSH ERA BEGAN IN JANUARY 1981, AMERICA WAS IN DANGER AND DECLINE. OUR ECONOMY WAS IN SHAMBLES. LONG GAS LINES AND LONGER UNEMPLOYMENT LINES. INTEREST RATES AND INFLATION THROUGH THE ROOF. ABROAD, AMERICANS WERE HELD HOSTAGE, AND THE SOVIET EMPIRE WAS BRISTLING WITH NUCLEAR ARMS AND HOSTILE INTENTIONS.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE TWELVE YEARS HAVE MADE. THANKS TO RONALD REAGAN AND GEORGE BUSH, AMERICA MADE A REMARKABLE COMEBACK--A COMEBACK WHICH INCLUDED THE BIGGEST AND LONGEST ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN INTEREST RATES HAVE BEEN CUT IN HALF AND THEN SOME, U.S. HISTORY. INFLATION PRACTICALLY NON-EXISTENT.

AND THE COLD WAR WAS FINALLY BROUGHT TO AN END, AS COMMUNISM COLLAPSED UNDER THE WEIGHT OF ITS OWN INCOMPETENCE AND THE STEELY

RESOLVE OF RONALD REAGAN, GEORGE BUSH, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. OUR ALLIES AGREE THAT AMERICA IS THE ONLY REMAINING UNDISPUTED MILITARY AND MORAL SUPER POWER ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH. AND OUR ADVERSARIES HAVE NO DOUBT THAT AMERICA WILL STAND UP FOR FREEDOM ACROSS THE GLOBE. AND THANKS TO PRESIDENT BUSH'S VISION, HISTORIC TREATIES HAVE BEEN SIGNED WHICH HAVE PERMANENTLY MOVED BACK THE HANDS ON THE NUCLEAR DOOMSDAY CLOCK.

THESE ARE FACTS, AND WILL BE REMEMBERED IN HISTORY--NO MATTER HOW HARD BITTER PARTISANS TRY TO RE-WRITE IT.

IT'S AN OUTSTANDING RECORD, BUT WE CAN DO EVEN MORE. AND WE MUST DO EVEN MORE.

FAR TOO MANY AMERICANS ARE JOBLESS, AND HAVE NOT YET FELT THE EFFECTS OF THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY. A STAGGERING DEFICIT THREATENS THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THIS GENERATION, AND THAT OF OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN. COUNTLESS AMERICANS CAN NOT AFFORD EVEN BASIC HEALTH CARE FOR THEIR FAMILIES. AND DESPITE THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE WORLD IS STILL A VERY DANGEROUS PLACE, FULL OF DICTATORS AND TYRANTS WHO PREY ON THEIR OWN CITIZENS, AS WELL AS OTHER NATIONS.

(MORE)

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CRIME: DEMOCRATS OBSTRUCTING CHANGE

AND LET ME ADD HERE THAT FOR FOUR YEARS, PRESIDENT BUSH AND SENATE REPUBLICANS FOUGHT TO PASS TOUGH ANTI-CRIME LEGISLATION--LEGISLATION THAT CREATED AN ENFORCEABLE FEDERAL DEATH PENALTY...THAT IMPOSED STIFF MANDATORY SENTENCES FOR CRIMES WITH GUNS...THAT PUT A LIMIT TO THE SEEMINGLY ENDLESS APPEALS BY CONVICTED DEATH ROW MURDERERS...AND THAT SAYS AN HONEST MISTAKE BY A COP ISN'T REASON ENOUGH TO LET AN OBVIOUSLY GUILTY CRIMINAL BACK ON THE STREET.

THE DEMOCRAT MAJORITIES IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE REFUSED TO PASS THEY IGNORED THE PEOPLE AND LISTENED TO THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATION. THE LIBERAL SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS WHO SEEM TO BE MORE INTERESTED IN THE RIGHTS OF THE CRIMINAL THAN THE PLIGHT OF VICTIMS.

MEANWHILE, THE AMERICAN CRIME CLOCK KEEPS TICKING. ONE MURDER EVERY 21 MINUTES. ONE RAPE EVERY 5 MINUTES. ONE ROBBERY EVERY 46 ONE MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT EVERY 19 SECONDS. ONE BURGLARY SECONDS. EVERY 10 SECONDS.

AND, AS KANSANS KNOW, CRIME IS NOT JUST A URBAN PROBLEM--IT'S A SUBURBAN PROBLEM AND A RURAL PROBLEM. THE LATEST CRIME STATISTICS FOR KANSAS SHOW A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN MURDER, RAPE, ROBBERY, AND OTHER VIOLENT CRIMES.

THE REPUBLICAN MESSAGE IS SIMPLE: WHEN IT COMES TO CRIME, THE TIME HAS LONG SINCE PASSED FOR TOUGH TALK. IT'S TIME FOR TOUGH MEDICINE. AND TWO OF THE FIRST FIVE BILLS I INTRODUCED AS REPUBLICAN LEADER--A COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-CRIME BILL AUTHORED BY SENATOR HATCH, AND THE SEXUAL ASSAULT PREVENTION ACT -- WHICH I HAVE INTRODUCED TWICE BEFORE--ARE TOUGH MEDICINE FOR THOSE WHO REFUSE TO OBEY THE RULES OF A CIVILIZED SOCIETY.

GOP OFFERS CHANGE FOR THE BETTER

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WE ALL KNOW THE DEMOCRAT FORMULA TO SOLVING AMERICA'S PROBLEMS. MORE SPENDING. MORE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS. MORE MANDATES. MORE POWER TO THOSE WHO LIVE ON THE BANKS OF THE POTOMAC, AND LESS POWER TO THOSE WHO LIVE ON THE BANKS OF THE MISSOURI, THE MISSISSIPPI, THE HUDSON, AND THE COLUMBIA. THAT'S NOT THE MEDICINE AMERICA NEEDS. THOSE ARE NOT THE

SOLUTIONS AMERICANS WANT.

WHAT DO REPUBLICANS OFFER AS AN ALTERNATIVE?

WE OFFER CHANGE FOR THE BETTER.

WE OFFER A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT, A LINE ITEM VETO, AND A MESSAGE TO THE BIG SPENDERS ON CAPITOL HILL THAT THE JOYRIDE IS OVER.

WE OFFER A GROWING ECONOMY, WHERE EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES ARE TREATED WITH RESPECT, AND WHERE THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM IS ALLOWED TO OPERATE WITH MINIMAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION. WE OFFER MEN AND WOMEN THE POWER TO MAKE THE DECISIONS THAT

AFFECT THEIR JOB, THEIR HEALTH CARE, AND THEIR CHILD'S EDUCATION.

WE OFFER A CLEAR-EYED AND REALISTIC VIEW OF THE WORLD AND OF THE DANGERS THAT STILL EXIST, AND A COMMITMENT TO NEVER LET DOWN OUR GUARD.

AND, MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT--WE OFFER A HELPING HAND TO THE VICTIMS OF CRIME, AND SWIFT AND SURE PUNISHMENT TO THOSE WHO PREY ON LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS, AND WHO SEEK TO ENSLAVE OUR CHILDREN WITH DRUGS.

PROMISES VS. PROMISE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, INSTEAD OF OFFERING PROMISES, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS PROMISE. THE PROMISE OF THE AMERICAN DREAM. THE PROMISE OF THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM. THE PROMISE OF WHAT INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS CAN DO IF GOVERNMENT GETS OUT OF THE WAY.

THOSE ARE THE POLICIES THAT CAN THAT'S WHAT REPUBLICANS OFFER. CHANGE AMERICA FOR THE BETTER.

BUT THE FACT IS THAT WE'RE GOING TO HAVE A TOUGH TIME PUTTING THESE POLICIES INTO EFFECT AS THE MINORITY PARTY. AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO CHANGE OUR MINORITY STATUS IF WE BECOME PREOCCUPIED WITH LITMUS TESTS THAT WOULD EXCLUDE ANYONE FROM OUR PARTY.

LAST WEEK, FOR WHAT IT'S WORTH, A CAPITOL HILL NEWSPAPER RATED ALL THE SENATORS FROM 1-100, WITH ONE BEING THE MOST LIBERAL, AND 100 BEING THE MOST CONSERVATIVE. THE MOST LIBERAL REPUBLICAN SENATOR WAS MARK HATFIELD AT 33. THE MOST CONSERVATIVE WAS JESSE HELMS AT 100. THE REST OF US WERE SOMEWHERE IN BETWEEN. I WAS 86.

THE POINT I'M MAKING IS THAT WE WANT A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN 1995. WE WANT NANCY KASSEBAUM--AND NOT TED KENNEDY--TO BE CHAIR OF THE LABOR COMMITTEE...ORRIN HATCH--AND NOT JOE BIDEN--CHAIRING THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE. AND THAT'S NOT LIKELY TO HAPPEN IF THERE'S NO PLACE IN THE SENATE FOR REPUBLICANS WHO MAY BE MORE LIBERAL OR MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN ME.

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<u>NO MORE HYPHENS: PROUD TO BE JUST PLAIN "REPUBLICANS"</u> THAT SAME LOGIC APPLIES TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. AS RONALD REAGAN SAID NEARLY 28 YEARS AGO:

"WE CAN'T MEET THE PROBLEMS OF A DIVIDED WORLD AND A DIVIDED NATION WITH A SPLINTER PARTY. FOR TOO LONG, YOU AND I HAVE BEEN REPUBLICANS COMPLETE WITH DESCRIPTIVE ADJECTIVES AND HYPHENS. WE'VE BEEN MODERATE REPUBLICANS, LIBERAL REPUBLICANS, CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS, AND MAIN STREET REPUBLICANS. THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS WE'VE BEEN SUCKER REPUBLICANS. OUR OPPONENTS GAVE US THOSE ADJECTIVES AND THOSE LABELS, AND ITS HIGH TIME WE BUNDLED THEM UP AND GAVE THEM BACK."

RONALD REAGAN WAS RIGHT. IT'S TIME TO ELIMINATE THE HYPHENS AND THE ADJECTIVES. IT'S TIME WE TOOK PRIDE IN CALLING OURSELVES "REPUBLICANS"--NOTHING LESS, NOTHING MORE. JUST PLAIN "REPUBLICANS."

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, BY TALKING SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE...BY FIGHTING FOR CHANGE FOR THE BETTER...BY FOCUSING ON WHAT UNITES US AS A PARTY...I BELIEVE THAT THE BEST DAYS OF "JUST PLAIN REPUBLICANS"--AND THE BEST DAYS OF AMERICA--ARE YET TO COME.

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