

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
UNITED CONSERVATIVE APPEAL DINNER
MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1987
WILLARD HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

HERE WE GO AGAIN. SINCE THE FIRST DAY OF THE 100TH CONGRESS, IT'S BEEN CLEAR THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY HAS CHARTED A SHARP LEFT-HAND TURN FOR AMERICA. WE'RE BACK TO THE DAYS OF BIG PROGRAMS, BIG SPENDING AND BIG HEADACHES FOR THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER. IF THE DEMOCRATS SUCCEED, IT WILL MEAN THE DEATH OF THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE REAGAN REVOLUTION.

WE'VE ALL BEEN HERE BEFORE, MANY TIMES OVER. WHEN I FIRST CAME TO CONGRESS IN 1961, ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY WAS INSISTING ON THE SAME KIND OF SPEND AT HOME/APPEASE ABROAD NONSENSE.

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH THE NEW FRONTIER, THE GREAT SOCIETY AND, MOST RECENTLY, JIMMY CARTER'S MALAISE AND MISERY INDEX. FOR EVERY DOMESTIC PROBLEM THERE WAS ONE LIBERAL ANSWER: SPEND. AND FOR EVERY INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGE, ONE LIBERAL RESPONSE: BLINK.

WE'VE LOST SOME AND WE WON SOME. BUT IT WASN'T UNTIL 1981 THAT WE FINALLY PUT TOGETHER THE WINNING COMBINATION: A STRONG CONSERVATIVE IN THE WHITE HOUSE BACKED BY A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IN THE SENATE. TOGETHER, WE PUT THE COUNTRY ON THE CONSERVATIVE, COMMON SENSE PATH YOU AND I HAD BEEN DEMANDING. DESPITE EVERY GIMMICK THE LIBERALS COULD DREAM UP, THE REPUBLICAN SENATE

DELIVERED -- DELIVERED ON CONSERVATIVE APPOINTMENTS TO THE FEDERAL BENCH, KEEPING THE LID ON TAX INCREASES, PASSING REAL TAX REFORM, CONTRA AID, AND PROTECTING DEFENSE AND SDI. BUT ALL OF THOSE GAINS MAY SLIP THROUGH OUR FINGERS IF WE DO NOT HANG TOUGH.

THE GATHERING STORM

LET'S FACE IT, IN THE WAKE OF THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR, CONSERVATIVE GOALS AND PROGRAMS WILL BE MORE VULNERABLE THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE 1980. THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY IS WINDING DOWN, AND DEMOCRATS, MOST OF THEM LIBERAL, CONTROL BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

WITH THE PRESIDENT IN OUR CORNER, WE START FROM A BASE OF STRENGTH. HE CAN STILL BE DECISIVE IN RALLYING PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND SPECIFIC POLICIES. AND HE HAS HIS VETO PEN AT THE READY ON THOSE ISSUES ON WHICH HE CAN'T PREVAIL OUTRIGHT. BUT AS WE'VE LEARNED, PAINFULLY, THE VETO DOESN'T ALWAYS WORK. TWICE SINCE JANUARY, PRESIDENTIAL VETOES HAVE BEEN OVERRIDEN. AS THE SAYING GOES: "THE PRESIDENT ONLY PROPOSES, THE CONGRESS DISPOSES."

CONSERVATIVE HOPES PINNED ON SENATE

WE CONSERVATIVES ARE NOT WITHOUT CLOUT IN THE CONGRESS. WE HAVE SOME OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES IN THE HOUSE. BUT WHILE THEY CAN MAKE OUR CASE, THEY CAN'T PUT IT INTO LAW. THEY JUST DON'T HAVE THE VOTES OR THE INFLUENCE.

OUR REAL HOPE ON CAPITOL HILL IS THE SENATE, WHERE OUR NUMBERS -- THOUGH FAR FROM WHERE WE'D LIKE THEM TO BE -- ARE A LOT BETTER. WE'VE GOT 46 REPUBLICANS WHO WE CAN COUNT ON MOST OF THE TIME. AND, AS REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE SENATE, I HAVE THE ENORMOUS ADVANTAGE OF WORKING WITH SUCH OUTSTANDING CONSERVATIVES AS BILL ARMSTRONG AND JESSE HELMS IN KEY LEADERSHIP POSITIONS.

WE'VE ALREADY SHOWN THAT WHEN WE'RE READY, WHEN WE'RE PREPARED, WHEN WE WORK TOGETHER, WE CAN WIN. THE VOTE TO CONTINUE AID TO THE NICARAGUAN CONTRAS PROVED THAT.

BUT WE'VE GOT TO KEEP OUR ACT TOGETHER. THE LIBERALS ARE CHOMPING AT THE BIT TO GRAB THE POLICY-MAKING REINS FROM THE PRESIDENT, SO THEY CAN ENACT THEIR SPEND-AND-APPEASE IDEAS.

THE DOMESTIC CHALLENGE

ON THE HOME FRONT, LIBERALS ARE PREPARED TO THROW THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS DEFICIT REDUCTION LAW INTO THE TRASH CAN. TO UNDO TAX REFORM AND TAKE DEAD AIM ON THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS OF APPOINTMENT.

SO WE BETTER BE READY TO USE ALL OUR INGENUITY, AND EVERY PARLIAMENTARY OPTION AVAILABLE, TO MAKE SURE THEY DON'T SUCCEED. WE BETTER KEEP THE HEAT ON THE REALLY KEY ISSUES.

LOOMING ABOVE EVERYTHING ONCE AGAIN IS THE FEDERAL DEBT, WHICH NOW APPROACHES A FRIGHTENING \$2.3 TRILLION DOLLARS. WE SIMPLY CAN'T LIVE WITH IT, AND I KNOW OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN WON'T BE ABLE TO LIVE WITH IT, EITHER.

THAT'S WHY IT'S SO IMPORTANT TO SAVE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS, NOT TO THROW IN THE TOWEL, LIKE THE DEMOCRATS WANT TO DO. BECAUSE THE ECONOMY IS AT STAKE.

BETTER YET, WE OUGHT TO HAVE THE SAME KIND OF TOUGH FISCAL DISCIPLINE WRITTEN INTO THE CONSTITUTION. AS I HAVE FOR THE PAST EIGHT YEARS, THE BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT WILL BE AT THE TOP OF MY AGENDA.

AND THE LINE ITEM VETO IS ANOTHER SOUND BUDGET TOOL THE PRESIDENT SHOULD HAVE. IF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WANT TO LOAD-UP APPROPRIATIONS BILLS WITH PORK, THAT'S FINE. BUT THE MAN IN THE OVAL OFFICE SHOULD BE ABLE TO SLICE OFF THE FAT. I FIRST PROPOSED THE LINE ITEM VETO IN 1977. AFTER ALL, 43 GOVERNORS HAVE LINE ITEM POWER AND THERE'S NO REASON THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. SHOULDN'T HAVE IT TOO.

THERE ARE PLENTY OF OTHER ISSUES ON THE DOMESTIC AGENDA THIS YEAR, AND WE DO NOT HAVE TO CONCEDE A SINGLE ONE TO THE DEMOCRATS, INCLUDING EXTENDING A HELPING HAND TO THE LESS FORTUNATE. I BRISTLE WHEN I HEAR CLAIMS THAT OUR PARTY IS INSENSITIVE TO THE POOR, THE DISABLED, THE FARMER AND OUR VETERANS. THAT'S LIBERAL BALONEY.

THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT CONSERVATIVES -- AND I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS-- UNDERSTAND THAT SENSITIVITY IS NOT MEASURED BY WHO CAN WASTE THE MOST TAXPAYER DOLLARS ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS.

IF WE'RE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT CUTTING SPENDING AND REDUCING THE DEFICIT, WE WILL HAVE TO HAVE THE COURAGE TO MAKE THE TOUGH CHOICES. THIS COMING WEEK, AS THE SENATE BEGINS DEBATING THE 1988 BUDGET, WILL BE A REAL TEST.

WE'LL SEE WHETHER THIS DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED SENATE HAS THE KIND OF COURAGE OUR REPUBLICAN SENATE DISPLAYED ON MAY 10, 1985 WHEN IT VOTED TO TERMINATE FOURTEEN FEDERAL PROGRAMS AND TO SLASH GOVERNMENT SPENDING BY A WHOPPING \$135 BILLION OVER THREE YEARS, WITHOUT RAISING TAXES! IT DEMONSTRATED LOUD AND CLEAR THAT REPUBLICANS WOULD MAKE THE TOUGH CHOICES BY PROVIDING REAL LEADERSHIP ON THE NUMBER ONE DOMESTIC ISSUE.

THAT BUDGET NEVER WENT ANYWHERE. BUT WE CAN'T -- AND I WON'T -- GIVE UP. ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE 100TH CONGRESS, I INTRODUCED A VERY SIMPLE RESOLUTION THAT SAID: IF YOU WANT TO CUT THE DEFICIT, KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF OUR TAX REFORM BILL. IT SEEMS STRANGE THAT WE WOULD NEED SUCH A MEASURE. BUT THE DEMOCRATS ARE STILL TALKING ABOUT DEALING WITH THE DEFICIT BY MAKING THE TAX CODE EVEN MORE 'FAIR'-- BY RAISING TAX RATES. WELL, THEY CAN FORGET IT.

SO THE BOTTOM LINE ON OUR DOMESTIC AGENDA IS THIS: DEMOCRACY, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE HAVE MADE THIS A GREAT COUNTRY. IT'S UP TO US TO KEEP IT THAT WAY.

BUT, LET'S FACE IT, THAT'S ONLY HALF THE JOB. AND, REALLY, THE SECOND HALF.

FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY AROUND THE GLOBE

BECAUSE -- BEFORE WE EVEN GET TO THE POINT OF DEFINING AND IMPLEMENTING A DOMESTIC AGENDA -- WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE THAT A FREE AMERICA CAN SURVIVE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD, AND IN THE FACE OF A POWERFUL ADVERSARY. WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE THAT AMERICA IS STRONG ENOUGH, DETERMINED ENOUGH TO CARRY ON THE FIGHT TO KEEP ALIVE THE DREAM OF FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY FOR PEOPLE ALL AROUND THE GLOBE.

IT'S NOT GOING TO BE EASY.

BUT IT CAN BE DONE.

RIGHT NOW, THE FOCUS IS ON ARMS CONTROL AND THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INF AGREEMENT. I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANYONE IN THIS ROOM WHO WOULD NOT WELCOME AN AGREEMENT WHICH TRULY ENHANCES THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND REDUCES THE RISK OF NUCLEAR WAR. BUT I AM CERTAIN THERE IS NO ONE IN THIS ROOM WHO WILL SUPPORT AN AGREEMENT THAT DOES ANYTHING LESS.

WHAT DO WE WANT -- NO; WHAT SHOULD WE IN THE SENATE, WHO WILL HAVE TO APPROVE ANY AGREEMENT, DEMAND -- FROM IT?

LET'S START WITH THE BASICS. WE HAVE TO KNOW THE SOVIETS WILL ABIDE BY ITS PROVISIONS. IT MUST BE VERIFIABLE.

I DON'T KNOW HOW ELSE TO PUT IT BUT STRAIGHT OUT: I DON'T TRUST GORBACHEV; I DON'T TRUST HIS KREMLIN CRONIES; AND I NEVER WILL.

THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO BOOBY-TRAP TOYS AND DROP THEM OUT OF AIRPLANES IN AFGHANISTAN, SO THEY WILL BLOW THE ARMS AND LEGS OFF AFGHAN CHILDREN. THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO THROW THEIR OWN COUNTRYMEN INTO JAIL, FOR THE TERRIBLE CRIME OF WANTING TO EMIGRATE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO DRESS UP AND PAINT UP A BUNCH OF FLOOZIES, AND TURN THEM INTO MODERN-DAY MATA HARI'S, TARGETTED AT OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW.

AND, MOST DIRECTLY TO THE POINT, THESE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE MASSIVELY AND REPEATEDLY VIOLATED EVERY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT THEY HAVE EVER SIGNED.

ARMS CONTROL VERIFICATION

NOW, ON VERIFICATION, LET ME MAKE ONE PARTICULAR POINT: AS A TECHNICAL MATTER, VERIFICATION AT THE 0-0 LEVEL -- NO MATTER WHAT SYSTEMS YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT -- WILL BE MUCH EASIER THAN VERIFICATION AT 100-100 OR ANY HIGHER LEVEL. THAT OUGHT TO BE OUR GOAL -- FOR LONGER RANGE AND SHORTER RANGE INF SYSTEMS.

BUT LET ME ADD ONE OTHER THING, TOO. IF IT IS OUR GOAL, I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW GEORGE SHULTZ THINKS WE'RE GOING TO ACHIEVE IT, IF HE GOES AROUND ANNOUNCING IN ADVANCE TO THE WORLD -- AND TO MOSCOW -- THAT WE'RE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR LESS? IT'S BAD ENOUGH THAT WE MAKE UNWARRANTED AND UNNECESSARY CONCESSIONS. IT'S RIDICULOUS THAT WE ANNOUNCE IN ADVANCE THAT WE WILL.

SO, VERIFICATION, FIRST AND FOREMOST.

AND THE OTHER MAJOR QUESTION TO ASK IS: WHAT DOES THIS AGREEMENT DO TO THE MILITARY BALANCE AND TO THE NATO ALLIANCE? ARE WE -- AS AMERICANS, AND AS MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE -- BETTER OFF, OR WORSE OFF, BY PUTTING THIS AGREEMENT INTO EFFECT?

ON INF, WE'RE JUST NOT SURE YET -- SINCE WE DON'T YET KNOW THE DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT BE SHAPING UP. BUT, AT A MINIMUM, ANY AGREEMENT THE SENATE APPROVES MUST LEAVE US WITH A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENT IN EUROPE. "NUCLEAR-FREE" MIGHT SOUND NICE TO SOME PEOPLE. BUT THE FACT IS THAT OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT IN EUROPE DOESN'T THREATEN PEACE; IT INSURES IT.

SO WE SHOULD NOT HAVE OUR NON-INF NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE -- MAJOR FORCES, ARMED WITH OVER 4,000 NUCLEAR WARHEADS -- THEY SHOULD NOT BE ON THE BARGAINING TABLE NOW. AND WE SHOULD NOT PUT THEM ON THE TABLE. NOT UNTIL AND UNLESS WE DO SOMETHING SERIOUS ABOUT THE VAST SOVIET ADVANTAGE IN CONVENTIONAL AND CHEMICAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

ANY AGREEMENT WE SIGN MUST NOT UNDERMINE IN ANY WAY THE COHESION OR EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE. THERE MUST BE NO DOUBT IN THE MINDS OF ANY ALLIED LEADER THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REGARD A SOVIET STRIKE AGAINST ANY OF OUR NATO ALLIES AS A DIRECT ASSAULT ON THE VITAL NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES -- DEMANDING A FULL RETALIATORY AMERICAN RESPONSE.

AND LET ME SAY THIS LAST WORD ABOUT AN INF AGREEMENT -- OR, FOR THAT MATTER, ANY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT.

I THINK WE CAN GET A GOOD AGREEMENT -- PROBABLY ON INF; MAYBE EVEN ON STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. BUT WE CAN GET THAT KIND OF AGREEMENT ONLY IF WE REMAIN STRONG; BARGAIN TOUGH; AND STAY UNITED.

ONE THING IS FOR SURE: WE CAN'T ACHIEVE ANYTHING -- IF WE GIVE AWAY EVERYTHING. IF WE GIVE IT AWAY IN NEGOTIATIONS IN MOSCOW OR GENEVA; OR WE LEGISLATE IT AWAY ON THE FLOOR OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

GORBACHEV IS DIFFERENT. HE WOULD HAVE BUGGED OUR NEW EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, TOO. BUT HE MIGHT HAVE DONE IT SO SMOOTHLY HE WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN CAUGHT.

THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE BETWEEN US AND THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL THE SAME -- DESPITE GLASNOST, DESPITE GORBACHEV. THE ISSUE IS FREEDOM

FREEDOM ON THE LINE

AND FREEDOM IS STILL ON THE LINE, EVERY DAY, AND IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE. WHETHER WE'RE CONFRONTING THE SOVIETS ACROSS THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN MOSCOW, OR SOME SOVIET SURROGATES ON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF NICARAGUA, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE OR AFGHANISTAN.

AND WE'RE GOING TO WIN THOSE FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM ONLY IF WE ARE REALISTIC, DEDICATED AND DETERMINED.

WE HAVE ACHIEVED SOME PROGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL BECAUSE WE WERE STRONG; WE STUCK TO OUR GUNS; AND WE DIDN'T GIVE AWAY THE STORE. WE CAN DO NO LESS IN OTHER AREAS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY.

WISHFUL THINKING AND A FEW MILLION DOLLARS IN AID TO CENTRAL AMERICA IS NOT GOING TO KEEP DANIEL ORTEGA FROM CONSOLIDATING A SOVIET BASE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

NEW TALKS WITH THE MPLA AND VAGUE FORMULAS FOR SENDING A FEW CUBANS HOME IS NOT GOING TO END CASTRO'S ADVENTURISM IN ANGOLA.

SENDING A NEW AMBASSADOR, WHO REGARDS FREEDOM FIGHTERS AS BANDITS AND THE MARXISTS DESPOTS IN MAPUTO AS A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT, IS NOT GOING TO BRING FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE.

AND THIRD-HAND TALKS AND VAGUE PROMISES OF AN EVENTUAL SOVIET WITHDRAWAL WILL NOT END THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN.

ONCE AND FOR ALL, LET'S END THE ABSURDITY OF MURKY GOALS; MIXED-UP POLICIES; MUSHY STRATEGIES; AND MESSED-UP DIPLOMACY AROUND THE GLOBE.

LET'S BREAK RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN AND NICARAGUA -- NOW. LET'S TERMINATE TALKS WITH THE MPLA, AND TELL CHEVRON ITS TIME TO CLOSE UP SHOP IN CABINDA -- NOW. LET'S QUIT TRYING TO BRIBE THE MARXISTS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND RECOGNIZE RENAMO FOR WHAT IT IS -- THE MOST SUCCESSFUL INSURGENCY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AND LET'S STAND FAST FOR AN AGREEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN THAT SENDS ALL THE SOVIET KILLERS HOME -- NOW.

WE KNOW THE TASKS. LET'S GET ON WITH THEM.

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