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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FEBRUARY 29, 1988

CONTACT: PRESS OFFICE
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REMARKS BEFORE GEORGIA SENATE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SENATOR BOB DOLE
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1988

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK. THIS MAKES TWO CAPITOL SPEECHES FOR ME IN ONE DAY ... PRETTY GOOD PRACTICE FOR MY FIRST STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS.

AS I SAID TO YOUR COLLEAGUES IN THE OTHER CHAMBER, THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL HAVE A LOT OF TOUGH CHALLENGES. AND IT WILL TAKE TOUGH, TESTED LEADERSHIP TO OVERCOME THEM. NO PROBLEM IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE FEDERAL DEFICIT ... ALL #2 AND ONE HALF TRILLION OF IT. I'VE SAID IT FROM ONE END OF THIS COUNTRY TO THE OTHER: THE BUDGET DEFICIT IS PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE. IN FACT, I'VE SAID IT SO OFTEN I'VE GOT SOME OF MY OPPONENTS REPEATING IT.

THE ANNUAL INTEREST ON THE DEFICIT ALONE GOBBLER UP \$200 BILLION. IF WE COULD JUST REDUCE THE INTEREST ON THE NATIONAL DEBT BY ONE HALF, THINK OF WHAT WE COULD DO.

- WE COULD PROVIDE LONG-TERM HEALTH CARE FOR MORE THAN A MILLION OLDER AMERICANS ... PREFERABLY IN THEIR OWN HOMES.
- WE COULD ALSO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR HOME-BASED CHILD CARE FOR ANOTHER FIVE MILLION CHILDREN.
- WE COULD GIVE 20 PERCENT PAY RAISE TO ALL OF OUR TEACHERS.
- WE COULD RESEARCH, DEVELOP AND DEPLOY A SHIELD AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK TO INSURE PEACE.
- WE COULD TRIPLE OUR EFFORTS TO STAMP OUT DRUG ABUSE AND VIOLENT CRIME.

ALL THESE THINGS WILL BE IN WITHIN OUR REACH IF WE CAN ONLY PUT OUR FINANCIAL HOUSE IN ORDER ... CUT OUR DEFICIT ... CUT OUR DEBTS ... AND CUT OUR INTEREST PAYMENTS IN HALF.

I'VE PROPOSED A FAIR WAY TO DO IT ... WITHOUT RAISING INCOME TAXES. IT'S A TEMPORARY, ONE-YEAR FREEZE ON FEDERAL SPENDING. ONLY THOSE PROGRAMS THAT HELP THE MOST VULNERABLE OF OUR PEOPLE WOULD BE EXPEDITED.

AS PRESIDENT, I'LL TELL THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE PENTAGON, THE CONGRESS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAT THEY CAN SPEND NOT ONE DIME MORE THAN THEY SPENT THE YEAR BEFORE.

AND THEN I'LL GO THROUGH THE FEDERAL BUDGET LINE BY LINE,

MAKING TOUGH DECISIONS, CUTTING BACK WHERE WE CAN, ELIMINATING WASTEFUL PROGRAMS ALTOGETHER ... FORCING EVERY FEDERAL AGENCY TO JUSTIFY EVERY PENNY OF SPENDING.

IT WON'T BE EASY, BUT I'M PREPARED TO TAKE THE HEAT FROM THE SPECIAL INTERESTS ... TO STAND UP TO CONGRESS ... TO GET THE JOB DONE.

I'LL ALSO FIGHT FOR A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION AND FOR A PRESIDENTIAL LINE ITEM VETO. IT'S WORKED IN STATE AFTER STATE. THERE'S NO REASON WHY IT CAN'T WORK AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL. A LINE ITEM VETO, AUTHORIZED BY THE CONGRESS FOR ONE YEAR -- AND RESPONSIBLY USED -- WOULD HELP DEFINE PRIORITIES AND CUT WASTE. IT WOULD PROVE THAT WE CAN TACKLE THE DEFICIT WITHOUT RAISING INCOME TAXES. IT WOULD BE GOOD FOR THE PRESIDENT, GOOD FOR CONGRESS AND -- MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL -- GOOD FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IF THE CONGRESS DOESN'T AGREE, I'LL TAKE IT A STEP FURTHER. I'LL TEST THE CONCEPT IN COURT.

BUT THERE IS MORE TO PUTTING OUR FINANCIAL HOUSE IN ORDER THAN JUST TACKLING THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. THERE'S ALSO THE TRADE DEFICIT. THE PROBLEMS ARE INTERRELATED. ELIMINATING THE BUDGET DEFICIT WOULD ALLOW US TO CUT OUR INTEREST RATE BELOW SIX PERCENT.

THAT WOULD MEAN MORE AMERICAN FAMILIES ABLE TO BUY NEW HOMES, CARS AND APPLIANCES. IT WOULD ALLOW US TO DOUBLE OUR NATIONAL RATE OF SAVINGS AND INSURE OUR RETIREMENT AND SECURITY.

IT WOULD CREATE MILLIONS OF NEW JOBS ... AND IT WOULD CUT FOREIGN IMPORTS BY HALF AS WE REGAINED OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE. AT LONG LAST -- AT HOME AND ABROAD -- "BUY AMERICAN" WOULD AGAIN BE A SYMBOL OF QUALITY AND COMPETITIVE PRICING.

STANDING FIRM WITH OUR FRIENDS -- AND STANDING TALL WITH OUR ADVERSARIES -- WE CAN CREATE FAIRER TRADE, A FAIRER DIVISION OF DEFENSE BURDENS AMONG OUR ALLIES, AND A POLICY OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH, PREPAREDNESS AND HARD-HEADED BARGAINING.

I KNOW HOW IMPORTANT THAT IS. I WAS BADLY WOUNDED IN BATTLE. FOR AWHILE THERE, THE DOCTORS DIDN'T GIVE ME MUCH OF A CHANCE FOR RECOVERY. BUT MY NEIGHBORS BACK IN RUSSELL KANSAS PUT QUARTERS INTO A CIGAR BOX TO PAY FOR 30 MONTHS OF SURGERY AND THERAPY ... AND I CAME BACK.

LIFE HASN'T ALWAYS BEEN EASY. NOT FOR ME, NOT FOR MOST AMERICANS. BUT BECAUSE WE WERE BORN TO A FREE SOCIETY, WE'VE BEEN INSPIRED TO OVERCOME, TO EARN THE STRENGTH THAT COMES FROM BEING TESTED.

THAT'S WHY I AM RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT. I HAVE A BIG DEBT TO PAY MY COUNTRY AND MY COUNTRYMEN. THE BEST WAY I KNOW TO DO IT IS TO OFFER ALL I HAVE IN REPAYMENT: MY COMMITMENT, MY ABSOLUTE INTEGRITY, AND MY PROVEN, TESTED RECORD OF LEADERSHIP. REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS -- AMERICANS TOGETHER -- WE CAN MAKE THE COUNTRY OUR CHILDREN INHERIT AN EVEN BETTER ONE ... A BEACON OF HOPE, FREEDOM AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL MANKIND.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FEBRUARY 29, 1988

CONTACT: PRESS OFFICE
202/223-8424

REMARKS BEFORE GEORGIA HOUSE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SENATOR BOB DOLE
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1988

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO SPEAK IN THIS HISTORIC CAPITOL. I'VE GOT A SPECIAL FEELING FOR THIS KIND OF INSTITUTION. BACK IN 1950, I STARTED MY POLITICAL CAREER IN THE KANSAS STATE LEGISLATURE.

SO I FEEL AT HOME IN THIS CHAMBER ... AND I'M PROUD TO BE HERE.

I ALSO FEEL AT HOME IN GEORGIA ... AND IN THE SOUTH. LET ME TELL YOU WHY.

I'M FROM KANSAS. I COME FROM A SMALL FARMING TOWN. I WAS BORN AND RAISED IN THE VALUES THAT COME FROM DEEP ROOTS, DEEP FAITH AND AN ABIDING LOVE OF COUNTRY. RUSSELL, KANSAS MAY BE A LONG WAY OFF FROM ATLANTA ON THE MAP, BUT WE SHARE A LOT OF THE SAME VALUES.

WE KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY, OF NEIGHBORS HELPING NEIGHBOR, OF STICKING TOGETHER IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD.

I GREW UP DURING THE DEPRESSION. I LEARNED THE SAME LESSONS THAT PEOPLE HERE IN GEORGIA HAVE LEARNED ... THAT IF YOU WORKED HARD AND REALLY BELIEVED, YOU COULD OVERCOME HARDSHIPS AND BUILD A BETTER TOMORROW.

AND IF YOUR COUNTRY CALLED -- IN WAR OR PEACE -- YOU SERVED. NOT ONLY THAT ... YOU WERE PROUD TO SERVE. AND NO ONE ASKED IF YOU WERE DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN.

THAT'S WHAT GEORGIANS HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED. THAT'S HOW I'VE ALWAYS TRIED TO LIVE MY LIFE. AND THAT'S THE KIND OF PRESIDENT OUR COUNTRY WILL NEED TO LEAD US INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.

VALUES AND LEADERSHIP -- THAT'S WHAT THIS CRUCIAL ELECTION IS ALL ABOUT. AND, THIS YEAR, GEORGIA AND THE REST OF THE SOUTH WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE IN CHOOSING THE MAN WHO WILL SIT ACROSS THE TABLE FROM MR. GORBACHEV ... THE NEXT LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD.

NOT AS DEMOCRATS, NOT AS REPUBLICANS. BUT AS AMERICANS THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA MUST LOOK AT THE RECORD AND DECIDE WHICH CANDIDATE HAS DEMONSTRATED THE STRENGTH IT TAKES TO STAND TOUGH, TO MAKE THE HARD CHOICES, TO FORGE A CONSENSUS THAT WILL LEAD

THIS NATION FORWARD:

- WHICH CANDIDATE'S LEADERSHIP GOT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S TAX CUT PASSED;
- WHOSE LEADERSHIP STOPPED THE LIBERALS FROM REPEALING THOSE TAX CUTS;
- WHOSE LEADERSHIP PUT TOGETHER THE PLAN WHICH SAVED SOCIAL SECURITY FROM BANKRUPTCY;
- WHOSE LEADERSHIP PRODUCED A MAJORITY OF VOTES IN THE SENATE FOR AID TO THE NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS;
- WHOSE LEADERSHIP LINED UP THE VOTES TO KEEP THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ALIVE?
- AND WHOSE LEADERSHIP PRODUCED THE 1985 FARM BILL TO SAVE THE FAMILY FARM.

BOB DOLE LED EACH ONE OF THE BATTLES IN THE U.S. SENATE. AND WE WON. NO OTHER CANDIDATE IN THIS RACE CAN MATCH THAT RECORD. NO ONE.

THAT'S THE TRUE TEST OF LEADERSHIP. NOT HOW MANY JOBS WE'VE HAD ... BUT WHAT YOU'VE DONE IN THE JOBS YOU'VE HELD. AND THAT SPEAKS VOLUMES FOR WHAT YOU'LL DO AS PRESIDENT.

THERE'S NO INSTANT, MAGIC FORMULA TO MAKE THE DEFICIT VANISH. BUT, WITH THE RIGHT LEADERSHIP, WE CAN START SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

THERE'S NO MIRACLE CURE TO MAKE FREEDOM SAFE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD. BUT THE RIGHT LEADERSHIP CAN DO IT.

THERE'S NO QUICK FIX TO MAKE AMERICA COMPETITIVE AGAIN ... AN OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY WHERE ALL OUR PEOPLE CAN RISE AS HIGH AS THEIR GOD-GIVEN TALENTS WILL TAKE THEM. BUT LEADERSHIP CAN MAKE IT HAPPEN.

THERE'S NO EASY WAY OUT OF THE PLAGUE OF DRUG ABUSE, THE DECLINE IN VALUES AND EDUCATION, THE HIGH COST OF HEALTH CARE AND SO MANY OTHER URGENT PROBLEMS. BUT THEY CAN BE SOLVED.

THESE ARE ALL TOUGH CHALLENGES. IT'S GOING TO TAKE TOUGH, DEDICATED, UNDERSTANDING LEADERSHIP TO OVERCOME THEM. EVERYONE WHO SERVES IN THIS CHAMBER UNDERSTANDS THAT ... AND SO DO I.

I BELIEVE THAT I CAN DELIVER THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE NEED. I BELIEVE I HAVE THE EXPERIENCE, THE INTEGRITY AND THE TESTED TRACK RECORD NOT ONLY TO BE PRESIDENT ... BUT TO BE A PRESIDENT WHO WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FEBRUARY 27, 1988

CONTACT: PRESS OFFICE
202/223-8424

SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS ASSOCIATION
GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA
SENATOR BOB DOLE
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1988

WE ALL KNOW THE WORLD HAS CHANGED A LOT SINCE FOLKS OF MY GENERATION FIRST WENT OUT TO FIND A JOB.

IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS YOU WENT DOWN TO THE FACTORY, AND YOU SAID YOU WANTED TO WORK. YOU WERE HIRED. THE PAY WAS PRETTY GOOD. AND YOU COULD PRETTY MUCH STAY AS LONG AS YOU LIKED.

WE ALL KNOW THAT'S NOT THE WAY IT IS ANYMORE. COMPANIES MERGE. COMPANIES DISAPPEAR. FACTORIES SHUT DOWN. PRODUCTION IS TRANSFERRED OVERSEAS. AND THE WORKER IS LOST IN THE SHUFFLE.

PAINFUL STATISTICS

YOU DON'T HAVE TO LOOK FAR TO SEE THE PAIN. THE CATERPILLAR PLANT IN IOWA SHUTS DOWN, AND 2,000 JOBS ARE LOST FOREVER. THE GENERAL MOTORS PLANTS IN MASSACHUSETTS CLOSES

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ITS DOORS. FIVE THOUSAND JOBS ARE LOST.

IN JUST THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, WE'VE BEEN BLEEDING AWAY A MAJOR PART OF OUR NATION'S MANUFACTURING INFRASTRUCTURE. CORNING GLASS CLOSES A PLANT IN RADFORD, VIRGINIA. AT&T SHUTS ITS TELEPHONE ASSEMBLY PLANT IN SHREVEPORT AND MOVES TO SINGAPORE. NCR LOCKS THE DOORS OF ITS PLANT IN CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA. TEXAS INSTRUMENTS SCALES BACK ITS PLANTS IN DALLAS AND JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE. JOHN DEERE PULLS THE PLUG ON ITS ASSEMBLY LINE IN THE QUAD CITIES AREA OF IOWA AND ILLINOIS.

MEANWHILE, GENERAL ELECTRIC AND RCA STICK THEIR LABELS ON VCR'S AND TV'S MADE WITH CHEAPER, FOREIGN LABOR. THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS LOSE THEIR JOBS. THE LUCKY ONES ARE FORCED INTO LOWER-PAYING SERVICE JOBS. AND THEY DON'T NEED A WEATHERMAN TO TELL WHICH WAY THE TRADE WINDS ARE BLOWING.

WHEN YOU TAKE A STEP BACK AND LOOK AT THE TRADE FIGURES, THE PICTURE IS NO BRIGHTER. OUR TRADE DEFICIT WAS AN ASTOUNDING \$171 BILLION LAST YEAR, AND EVEN THE OPTIMISTS DON'T BELIEVE IT WILL BE BETTER THAN \$140 BILLION THIS YEAR.

INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIES ARE IN EVEN WORSE SHAPE. TODAY, FOREIGN PRODUCERS HAVE 82 PERCENT OF OUR LEATHER SHOE MARKET; 54 PERCENT OF OUR MACHINE TOOL MARKET; 60 PERCENT OF OUR TELEVISION MARKET; AND MORE THAN 69 PERCENT OF OUR SEMICONDUCTOR COMMODITY MARKET. WE'VE LOST A THIRD OF OUR AUTOMOBILE MARKET AND, A QUARTER OF OUR STEEL SALES.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

AS YOU KNOW FIRSTHAND IN THIS STATE, THE TEXTILE AND APPAREL INDUSTRY HAS ALSO TAKEN A HEAVY HIT. IN 1986, IMPORTS WERE THREE TIMES WHAT THEY HAD BEEN IN 1980. IMPORT PENETRATION IN APPAREL AND APPAREL FABRIC IS NOW OVER 50%. OUR TRADE DEFICIT IN THESE PRODUCTS IS MORE THAN \$20 BILLION, AND SINCE 1980 THIS INDUSTRY HAS LOST MORE THAN 300,000 JOBS.

THIS POUNDING HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY HARD ON THE DISADVANTAGED. IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY, ABOUT ONE HALF THE WORKERS ARE WOMEN; ONE QUARTER ARE FROM MINORITY GROUPS.

THERE ARE A LOT OF REASONS WHY THE PROMISE WHICH WAS MADE TO THIS INDUSTRY AND ITS WORKERS HASN'T BEEN KEPT. THEY WERE TOLD THAT THE GROWTH IN IMPORTS WOULD BE RELATED TO THE GROWTH IN THE DOMESTIC MARKET. IN FACT, THE GROWTH IN IMPORTS HAS LAPPED THE DOMESTIC FIELD SIX TIMES. IN PRACTICE IT'S PROVEN TO BE EASY FOR THE SUPPLYING COUNTRIES TO AVOID COMPLYING WITH THE COMMITMENTS WHICH OUR NEGOTIATORS THOUGHT THEY HAD SECURED. FOREIGN PRODUCERS JUST MOVE BETWEEN PRODUCTS OR, WHEN NECESSARY, MOVE TO ANOTHER COUNTRY. IN SOME CASES OUTRIGHT FRAUD HAS PREVAILED.

WHILE ALMOST EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD PRODUCES TEXTILES AND APPAREL, FEW ARE READY TO BE CONSUMERS. MAJOR CONSUMERS LIKE THE EC AND JAPAN HAVE EXPERIENCED NOWHERE NEAR THE GROWTH IN IMPORTS THAT THE U.S. HAS. IN SHORT, WE HAVE BECOME A DUMPING GROUND AND THE MARKET OF ONLY RESORT FOR MUCH OF THIS TRADE.

BUT I SAY, THE TIME HAS COME TO DUMP ALL THE SLOGANS AND THE SPEECHES. IT'S TIME FOR A NEW COMMITMENT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE PROBLEM. LET'S FACE IT, THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF

TRADEWORK INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS JUST HADN'T WORKED.

DOLE SUPPORT FOR TEXTILE BILL

I SUPPORTED THE TEXTILE BILL IN 1985 IN HOPES THAT IT WOULD SEND A STRONG SIGNAL FOR POLICY CHANGE. UNFORTUNATELY, THAT CHANGE HASN'T HAPPENED. WE STILL NEED A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM WHICH WILL GIVE THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND ITS WORKERS A PERIOD OF CERTAINTY IN WHICH TO MAKE BASIC DECISIONS ABOUT THE SHAPE OF THIS INDUSTRY. WE NEED TO STAND UP AND TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT WHAT OUR TEXTILE POLICY IS, AND WE NEED TO QUIT MAKING PROMISES TO THE INDUSTRY AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT ITS PROBLEMS.

AS I ANNOUNCED EARLIER THIS WEEK, I AM SUPPORTING THE 1997 TEXTILE BILL. I NOT ONLY INTEND TO SUPPORT IT BUT, WORKING WITH STROM THURMOND, I INTEND TO HELP LEAD THE FIGHT FOR THIS LEGISLATION UNTIL IT BECOMES LAW.

CAUSES

THERE ARE A LOT OF CAUSES FOR OUR TRADE DEFICIT. THE DOLLAR WAS TOO HIGH TOO LONG. IT OPENED THE DOOR FOR FOREIGN PRODUCERS TO GRAB THE LION'S SHARE OF OUR MARKET. AT THE SAME TIME, MANY FOREIGN MARKETS HUNG OUT A "CLOSED" SIGN WHEN AMERICAN BUSINESS CAME KNOCKING. FURTHERMORE, OUR ALLIES, ESPECIALLY JAPAN AND GERMANY, HAVE FAILED TO STIMULATE THEIR OWN ECONOMIES TO ABSORB MORE IMPORTS. AND, WE AMERICANS HAVE

SOMETIMES NOT DONE ENOUGH TO BE MORE COMPETITIVE OVERSEAS.

THE PRESCRIPTION FOR OUR TRADE WOES IS THE SAME AS THAT FOR ANY SERIOUS NATIONAL PROBLEM -- IT IS LEADERSHIP -- TOUGH LEADERSHIP; LEADERSHIP THAT CAN AND WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

LET'S NOT FOOL OURSELVES INTO THINKING THIS CRISIS WILL GO AWAY SOON -- IT WON'T.

WE MUST RESIST THE QUICK FIX, THE SIMPLE SOLUTION. WE CAN'T EMBRACE PROTECTIONISM. WE CAN'T BUILD A WALL AROUND AMERICA. THE REPHARDT AMENDMENT ISN'T THE ANSWER EITHER. IT WOULD ONLY BE SOUNDING THE TRUMPET OF DEFEAT.

SOLUTIONS

FIRST, WE MUST GET OUR BUDGET DEFICIT UNDER CONTROL: IT'S STILL PUBLIC ENEMY #1. THE FEDERAL DEFICIT MUST BE REDUCED IF WE'RE EVER GOING TO PUT OUR ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER. AND ITS CONTROL IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SOLVING UNCLE SAM'S TRADE PROBLEMS.

SECOND, WE NEED TO DO MORE TO MAKE OURSELVES COMPETITIVE. WE MUST IMPROVE EDUCATION, BOOST RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND MAKE THE GOVERNMENT DO MORE TO HELP OUR COMPANIES MARKET OVERSEAS. BUT EVEN THESE STEPS WON'T BE ENOUGH. WE MUST ALSO ADDRESS THE BASIC UNFAIRNESS IN OUR TRADING SYSTEM. WHILE WE WELCOME IMPORTED GOODS INTO OUR MARKET, TOO OFTEN THE DOOR IS SLAMMED SHUT IN OUR FACE OVERSEAS.

UNFAIR TRADE

THE HORROR STORY LIST IS A BIG ONE: IN MANY CASES, BRAZIL WON'T IMPORT ANY PRODUCT WHICH CAN BE PRODUCED AT HOME. AND IT'S "INFORMATICS POLICY" HAS VIRTUALLY CLOSED THE BORDER TO ALL ELECTRONIC EXPORTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

JAPAN HAS CRUSHING IMPORT QUOTAS ON RICE, CITRUS, BEEF, AND MANY OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS. IT OFTEN REFUSES TO IMPORT HIGH TECH PRODUCTS THAT HAVE BEEN TARGETED FOR DEVELOPMENT AT HOME, SUCH AS SUPER COMPUTERS AND FIBER OPTICS. AND OUR CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY HAS BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY DENIED THE ABILITY TO EVEN BID ON PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS.

KOREA AND TAIWAN HAVE SKYHIGH TARIFFS ON MUCH OF OUR TRADE, SOME AS HIGH AS 100 PERCENT. THEY ALSO PEG THEIR CURRENCY TO OURS SO THEY WON'T BE AFFECTED WHEN THE DOLLAR DROPS IN VALUE.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY ADDS INSULT TO INJURY. IT PROTECTS DOMESTIC PRODUCERS THROUGH ITS VARIABLE LEVY SYSTEM FROM ANY IMPORT COMPETITION AND SUBSIDIZES THESE SAME PRODUCERS TO TAKE AWAY U.S. EXPORT MARKETS. THEIR TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY IS NO BETTER.

INDEED, OUR CURRENT OFFICIAL LIST OF FOREIGN BARRIERS TO U.S. TRADE PUBLISHED 360 PAGES THICK. IT'S TIME FOR CHANGE.

MORE MUSCLE NEEDED

IN THE DOLE ADMINISTRATION, IT EITHER WILL CHANGE, OR WE WILL USE THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENCY TO REDUCE ACCESS TO OUR MARKET BY THE OFFENDING COUNTRIES. THIS OBJECTIVE MUST

BECOME A TOP PRIORITY -- IT CAN'T BE RELEGATED TO SECOND STRING BEHIND FOREIGN POLICY OR SOME OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS.

WE MUST BE MUCH MORE FORCEFUL IN USING CURRENT LAWS TO STOP UNFAIR TRADE AND TO OPEN MARKETS ABROAD. AND WE MUST IMPROVE OUR OWN TRADE STATUTES.

DURING THE SENATE DEBATE ON THE TRADE BILL LAST SUMMER, I INTRODUCED THE SO-CALLED "BYRD-DOLE" AMENDMENT. IT REQUIRES THE GOVERNMENT TO IDENTIFY THOSE COUNTRIES THAT ARE RESTRICTING OUR TRADE, AND TO NEGOTIATE THE ELIMINATION OF ALL UNFAIR BARRIERS. OUR AMENDMENT GIVES THE PRESIDENT THE POWER TO TAKE ACTION IF THESE COUNTRIES REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH - AND HE IS GIVEN BROAD AUTHORITY TO DO SO.

I ASSURE YOU THAT AS PRESIDENT I WILL USE THIS AUTHORITY, AND I WILL ACT.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES

MY CHIEF RIVAL OPPOSES THIS AMENDMENT, AS HE HAS OTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR TOUGH ACTION TO OPEN FOREIGN MARKETS. HE HAS CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED TOUGH MEASURES AND HE HAS SPECIFICALLY OPPOSED -- AND STILL OPPOSES -- THE TEXTILE BILL.

THROUGHOUT THIS CAMPAIGN I HAVE TRIED TO POINT OUT POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE REPUBLICAN FRONTRUNNER AND MYSELF. WELL, DEALING WITH THE TRADE MESS CLEARLY DEFINES WHERE THE CANDIDATES STAND ON THE ISSUES. DIFFERENT FROM MY OPPONENT, I WILL DEMAND RECIPROCAL ACCESS TO FOREIGN MARKETS,

AND I WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY TO MAKE IT HAPPEN. I
WON'T DUCK THE ISSUES AND I WON'T LET FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS
WATER DOWN OUR RESPONSE.

AMERICA HAS LET ITS TRADE BALANCE GET OUT OF HAND. IT
IS TIME WE TOOK CONTROL AGAIN. WE NEED TOUGH ACTION AND THAT
CALLS FOR LEADERSHIP. WE OWE NO LESS TO OUR WORKERS AND OUR
CONSUMERS.

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TALKING POINTS

CONNECTICUT STATE LEGISLATURE

o THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR INVITING ME TO
SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

o I FEEL AT HOME IN LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS -- I
STARTED MY POLITICAL CAREER AS A MEMBER OF THE
KANSAS STATE LEGISLATOR 35 YEARS AGO. IT WAS MY
KIND OF PLACE -- 105 REPUBLICANS AND 20
DEMOCRATS.

o BECOMING A REPUBLICAN WAS NOT A DIFFICULT
CHOICE FOR ME. BOTH THE DEMOCRATS AND THE
REPUBLICANS WERE COURTING ME TO RUN FOR OFFICE

--

I WAS A YOUNG, ENERGETIC FELLOW, JUST RETURNED FROM WORLD WAR II. BUT WHEN I FOUND OUT THAT REPUBLICANS OUTNUMBERED DEMOCRATS __ TO __. THE CHOICE SEEMED OBVIOUS. I'VE OFTEN BEEN CALLED A PRAGMATIC POLITICIAN.

o I RAN FOR THE LEGISLATURE WHILE I WAS STILL IN LAW SCHOOL. WE WERE PAID \$4 -- AND PROBABLY OVERPAID.

o BUT I'VE ALWAYS ENJOYED THE KIND OF
CAMARADERIE, THE UNITY OF PURPOSE YOU FIND IN
LEGISLATURES -- WHETHER IT'S HERE AT THE STATE
LEVEL, OR IN WASHINGTON.

o THEY CALL THE SENATE THE WORLD'S MOST
EXCLUSIVE CLUB. WELL, IT'S A LOT MORE THAN A CLUB.
WHEN IT WORKS WELL, AND WHEN THERE ARE

CRITICAL ISSUES FACING THE NATION IT OFTEN DOES
RISE TO THE OCCASION, CONGRESS IS ABLE TO SET
ASIDE PARTISAN DIFFERENCES AND COME UP WITH
SOLUTIONS THAT ARE IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE
NATION.

o UNFORTUNATELY, CONGRESS HAS NOT BEEN
ABLE TO MUSTER THE DETERMINATION, THE WILL, TO
TACKLE WHAT IS CLEARLY THE MOST PRESSING ISSUE
FACING

THIS COUNTRY -- THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. AND IT IS NOT JUST BOB DOLE SAYING THIS IS THE NUMBER ONE ISSUE FACING THE COUNTRY. A POLL JUST TAKEN BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT SHOWS THAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS STATE RATE THE DEFICIT AS THEIR NUMBER ONE CONCERN -- NUMBER ONE.

o SO WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT. WELL, I'VE SAID PRECISELY WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRESIDENT.

o FIRST, I WILL IMPOSE A ONE-YEAR FREEZE IN
SPENDING -- AND THAT MEANS EVERYTHING,
EVERYTHING EXCEPT PROGRAMS THAT AFFECT THE
MOST VULNERABLE IN SOCIETY AND MUST BE
PROTECTED.

o WE NEED TO ACT -- SOON AND DECISIVELY -- IF
WE DO, WE CAN PROBABLY PREVENT ANY SERIOUS
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND WHAT'S MOST IMPORTANT
--

WE CAN ASSURE THAT THE ECONOMY KEEPS
EXPANDING, PROVIDING MORE JOBS, MORE
OPPORTUNITIES , MORE PROSPERITY FOR ALL
AMERICANS.

o BUT SAYING YOU WANT TO SLASH THE DEFICIT,
AND DOING IT, ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. I KNOW.
I'VE BEEN THERE. I'VE BEEN INVOLVED IN EVERY MAJOR
BUDGET BATTLE SINCE 1981. I KNOW WHAT'S IN THE
FEDERAL BUDGET -- I KNOW THE SACRED COWS, AND

THE PROGRAMS THAT HAVE OUTLIVED THEIR
USEFULNESS, AS WELL AS THE ONES THAT DESERVE
MORE MONEY, BUT WON'T GET IT. AND I KNOW THE MEN
AND WOMEN SIT AROUND THE TABLE AND MAKE THOSE
DECISIONS. I KNOW WHAT THEY'RE WILLING TO DO AND
WHAT THEY WON'T DO.

o THAT'S WHY THE SPENDING FREEZE MAKES SO
MUCH SENSE. IT REPRESENTS THE KIND OF
COMPROMISE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN
UNDERSTAND AND WILL KNOW IS FAIR WE CAN GET IT
DONE QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY AND GET THE
DEFICIT-CUTTING PROCESS IN MOTION. A FREEZE
WOULD BE A PACT BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND THEIR LEADERS IN WASHINGTON.

o BUT A FREEZE IS ONLY A FIRST STEP. IT WOULD
BUY TIME FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW
CONGRESS TO COME UP WITH A RATIONAL SPENDING
BLUEPRINT: A BUDGET PLAN THAT WOULD SET
PRIORITIES, THAT WOULD CALL FOR REAL CUTS AND
REAL REFORMS IN SOME PROGRAMS -- AND MAYBE
EVEN ELIMINATE SOME ALTOGETHER.

o A BUDGET FREEZE IS NOT A PANACEA, IT'S A
PLUG IN THE DIKE.. IT'S A WAY TO GET US FROM HERE
TO WHERE WE WANT TO BE. AND MY LONG EXPERIENCE
IN DEALING WITH THE BUDGET, AND WITH CONGRESS,
TELLS ME THAT WE ARE GOING TO NEED THAT KIND OF
BRIDGE IF WE ARE GOING TO GET THE JOB DONE.

o THE BUDGET DEFICIT IS NOT THE ONLY JOB THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST TACKLE. THERE IS THE TRADE DEFICIT AS WELL.

o THE DEMOCRATS WOULD HAVE US FALL INTO THE PROTECTIONIST TRAP. THAT MAY BE THE EASY WAY, BUT IT'S NOT THE RIGHT WAY. AND PROTECTIONIST POLICIES WOULD BACKFIRE JUST THE WAY THEY DID IN THE 1930'S WHEN THEY TRIGGERED THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

o WHAT WE NEED TO DO IS OPEN NEW FOREIGN MARKETS TO AMERICAN GOODS, NOT SEAL OUR SHORES. A U.S. PRESIDENT HAS POWERS TO EXERT PRESSURE ON FOREIGN NATIONS. IT IS UP TO HIM TO EXERT THAT LEADERSHIP -- CAREFULLY, BUT FORCEFULLY. IF HE DOES NOT, THEN CONGRESS WILL TRY TO WREST THE POWER AWAY -- AS THE GEPHARDT AMENDMENT WOULD DO.

o THE BUDGET AND TRADE DEFICITS ARE BOTH
CASES THAT SHOW HOW IMPORTANT IT WILL BE FOR THE
NEXT PRESIDENT -- WHOEVER HE IS -- WHATEVER HIS
PARTY -- TO WORK WITH THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH. AS
MEMBERS OF THIS LEGISLATIVE BODY, YOU KNOW THE
DIFFERENCE IT MAKES WHEN YOU HAVE SOMEONE
SITTING IN THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION UNDERSTANDS
HOW THIS BODY WORKS -- UNDERSTANDS THE
LEGISLATIVE GIVE AND TAKE.

o WELL, THE NEXT PRESIDENT IS GOING TO HAVE
TO UNDERSTAND THAT TOO. CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS
NEED THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT AS MUCH AS
HE NEEDS THEIR TRUST AND COOPERATION. BOTH
MUST BE EARNED.

o CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION IS NECESSARY
TO INSURE THAT NOT JUST THE PRESIDENT, NOT JUST
THE CONGRESS, BUT AMERICA IS BEHIND DECISIONS
MADE IN WASHINGTON.

o THE CHALLENGES FACING THE U.S. IN THE NEXT
DECADE WILL BE ENORMOUS. AND THE MAN WHO
LEADS THIS NATION MUST BE SENSITIVE ENOUGH TO
CARE AND STRONG ENOUGH TO ACT WHEN ACTION IS
NEEDED -- HE

MUST KNOW WHAT THE PROBLEMS OF THE MAN IN THE
STREET ARE IN HIS HEART, NOT JUST HIS HEAD -- HE
MUST LISTEN AND THEN LEAD. I BELIEVE I CAN BE THAT
KIND OF PRESIDENT.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FEBRUARY 6, 1988

CONTACT: KATIE BOYLE
(515) 245-5489

IOWA AG SPEECH
FEBRUARY 7, 1988

TWO DAYS AND COUNTING

IT'S TWO DAYS AND COUNTING. TWO DAYS BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF IOWA SEND A LOUD AND CLEAR SIGNAL TO THE REST OF AMERICA. TWO DAYS BEFORE THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF IOWANS VENTURE OUT ON A MONDAY EVENING WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS TO TALK ABOUT CANDIDATES AND WHO MIGHT BE THE NEXT LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD.

IT'S A HUGE RESPONSIBILITY, BUT THE PEOPLE OF IOWA HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN THAT RESPONSIBILITY VERY SERIOUSLY. THEY GET TO KNOW THE CANDIDATES AND THEIR RECORDS UP CLOSE AND PERSONAL. I BELIEVE IN THE PROCESS. AND I BELIEVE IN THE PEOPLE.

I'M READY TO TAKE THE HOPES AND CONCERNS AND BELIEFS OF THOSE PEOPLE NOT ONLY TO NEW HAMPSHIRE, BUT ALL THE WAY TO OUR NOMINATING CONVENTION. THE PEOPLE OF IOWA KNOW MORE THAN JUST MY RECORD. I BELIEVE YOU KNOW ME AS A PERSON.

A NEW COMMITMENT

I AM PROUD OF MY RECORD. IT'S ALMOST 30 YEARS DEEP. IT SAYS I HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE. IT'S A RECORD OF COMING THROUGH WHEN THE CHIPS WERE DOWN.

BUT I WANT TO DO MUCH MORE. I AM NOT LOOKING AT THE PAST. I AM LOOKING AT THE FUTURE, PLEDGING A NEW COMMITMENT TO EXCELLENCE FOR AMERICA.

SO LET ME TELL THIS AUDIENCE TODAY: MY PLEDGE WILL FEATURE -- RIGHT UP FRONT -- A NEW COMMITMENT TO RURAL AMERICA.

A COMMITMENT TO BRING NEW CONFIDENCE TO AMERICAN AGRICULTURE; NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SMALL BUSINESS; AND NEW HOPE FOR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO WANT TO RAISE THEIR FAMILIES IN THE TRADITIONAL VALUES OF SMALL TOWN AMERICA.

BUT TO GET THE JOB DONE, IT'S GOING TO TAKE SOMEONE WHO UNDERSTANDS RURAL AMERICA. SOMEONE WHO DOESN'T NEED A TRANSLATOR TO TALK TO FARMERS, OR TO SHOPKEEPERS ON MAIN STREET.

-MORE-

1985 FARM BILL

NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THE PAST SEVEN YEARS HAVE BEEN TOUGH ONES FOR THE HEARTLANDS. BUT WORKING TOGETHER, WE HAVE MADE REAL SOME PROGRESS. THERE'S STILL A LONG WAY TO GO, BUT WE'RE TURNING THE CORNER AT LAST.

ONE OF THE TURNING POINTS WAS THE PASSAGE OF THE 1985 FARM BILL. AND IT CAME ON MY WATCH AS SENATE MAJORITY LEADER. WE SPENT ELEVEN LONG MONTHS ON THAT BILL, AND STILL ALMOST COULDN'T GET IT DONE. BUT WE CUT THROUGH THE POLITICS AND DELIVERED A PACKAGE THAT BEGAN THE RESCUE OF RURAL AMERICA.

I WANT TO BE THAT PRESIDENT

AND REMEMBER THIS: THE NEXT FARM BILL WILL BE WRITTEN IN 1990; THAT MEANS THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD ON THE MOMENTUM WE STARTED TWO YEARS AGO. AND I WANT TO HAVE THAT OPPORTUNITY. AND I WANT TO BE THAT PRESIDENT!

OUR NEW COMMITMENT TO RURAL AMERICA WILL BE FUELED BY FRESH APPROACHES TO OLD PROBLEMS; NEW INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO HELP BRING RURAL AMERICA INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.

FOR STARTERS, WE NEED IMMEDIATE ACTION ON RURAL REDEVELOPMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, AND ALTERNATIVE FUELS SUCH AS ETHANOL.

RURAL REVITALIZATION

FIRST, OUR SMALL TOWNS AND COMMUNITIES HAVE NOT SHARED IN SOME OF THE RECENT GOOD ECONOMIC NEWS FROM THE FARM FRONT. THE SHAKEOUT ALONG MAIN STREET IS CONTINUING, AND YOUNG FAMILIES AND CHILDREN ARE LEAVING FOR BIGGER TOWNS AND CITIES.

A SAGGING ECONOMIC BASE, PLUS THE GRAYING OF THE RURAL POPULATION, HAS MADE FOR SOME DEMANDING CHALLENGES FOR LOCAL, STATE, AND FEDERAL OFFICIALS. HOW IN THE WORLD ARE WE GOING TO REPAIR OUR ROADS AND BRIDGES, OR KEEP UTILITY RATES DOWN, OR PROVIDE ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE IF THE ECONOMIC BASE IS SHOT?

I BELIEVE IN RURAL AMERICA; AND IN ITS PEOPLE: WHEN TIMES ARE TOUGH, THEY ARE ALWAYS TOUGHER. BUT THEY CAN'T DO IT ALONE. AS PRESIDENT, I WILL INSIST ON A NEW PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS. RURAL AMERICA WILL BE A PRIORITY, NOT A MYSTERY LAND.

THE DOLE PLAN

I HAVE ALREADY TAKEN A FIRST STEP WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF OF THE "RURAL RECOVERY AND REVITALIZATION ACT."

THE CENTERPIECE OF MY LEGISLATION IS A "RURAL FUND FOR DEVELOPMENT" WHICH WOULD USE \$1 BILLION IN SURPLUS, GOVERNMENT-OWNED FARM COMMODITIES AS COLLATERAL TO BACKSTOP LOAN GUARANTEES TO LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND BUSINESSES. STATES AND LOCAL LENDING INSTITUTIONS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO PARTICIPATE. PRIORITY WOULD BE GIVEN TO PROJECTS WHICH BRING NEW JOBS AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITY TO RURAL COMMUNITIES. IT'S COMMON SENSE: WHY NOT USE OUR AGRICULTURAL ABUNDANCE TO HELP KEEP RURAL BUSINESSES GOING AND GROWING?!

-MORE-

THIS ACT ALSO INCLUDES PROVISIONS FOR SETTING UP A NATIONAL RURAL INFORMATION CLEARINGHOUSE; AND EXISTING FEDERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WOULD ALSO BE REVIEWED TO GUARANTEE AGRICULTURE GETS ITS FAIR SHARE OF BENEFITS.

CONSERVATION

ONE OF THE BEST FEATURES OF THE '85 FARM BILL -- A FEATURE I INSISTED ON BEEFING-UP -- IS THE LONG-TERM CONSERVATION RESERVE PROGRAM. USDA SAYS IT HAS NOW ENROLLED ABOUT 23 MILLION ACRES IN THE RESERVE PROGRAM, ON THE WAY TO 40 TO 45 MILLION ACRES BY 1990.

TAKING EROSION-PRONE ACREAGE OUT OF PRODUCTION ON A TEN-YEAR BASIS MAKES GOOD SENSE, BOTH ECONOMICALLY AND ENVIRONMENTALLY.

AS MORE LAND HAS BEEN IDLED UNDER VARIOUS FEDERAL PROGRAMS., HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT USDA IS COMPETING FOR ACREAGE WITH THE COMMODITY PROGRAMS IN THE FARM BILL. IF WE TAKE TOO MUCH LAND OUT, WE WILL CONTINUE THE DISTURBING TREND OF TURNING OUR FOREIGN MARKETS OVER TO COMPETITORS LIKE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, WHO ARE STILL EXPANDING PRODUCTION. AND WHAT ABOUT PROBLEMS THAT ARE JUST COMING TO LIGHT, SUCH AS GROUNDWATER POLLUTION?

THE DOLE PLAN

ONE ANSWER I HAVE DEVELOPED IS THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION ACREAGE RESERVE PROGRAM -- LET'S CALL IT "E-CARP", FOR SHORT -- THAT WOULD TARGET LOCAL AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS NOT COVERED BY THE '85 BILL. THE SIZE OF THIS RESERVE WOULD BE FROM 5 TO 20 MILLION ACRES.

TO PREVENT UNDUE COMPETITION WITH THE FARM PROGRAMS FOR ACREAGE, I AM PROPOSING THAT TOTAL LAND IDLED UNDER BOTH RESERVES TOTAL 80 PERCENT OF ACREAGE IDLED UNDER ALL FEDERAL PROGRAMS, INCLUDING THE ANNUAL ACREAGE REDUCTION AND PAID DIVERSION PROGRAMS.

A NUMBER OF FARM AND INDUSTRY GROUPS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED SUPPORT FOR THE DIRECTION OF MY INITIATIVE: THIS WEEK, THE NATIONAL CORN GROWERS ASSOCIATION, THE NATIONAL PORK PRODUCERS COUNCIL, THE NATIONAL WHEAT GROWERS ASSOCIATION, AND THE FERTILIZER INSTITUTE EACH APPROVED THE ECARP CONCEPT.

ETHANOL

LET ME ADDRESS ANOTHER ISSUE THAT IS NOT ONLY CRUCIAL TO RURAL AMERICA, BUT TO EVERY SECTION OF THIS COUNTRY: ENERGY.

THE CONTINUING TENSION IN THE PERSIAN GULF SHOULD BE MORE THAN ENOUGH WARNING THAT AMERICA CAN NO LONGER HAVE ITS ENERGY LIFELINE IN THE HANDS OF THE AYATOLLAHS OF THE WORLD.

IN A DOLE ADMINISTRATION, THERE WILL BE A NEW COMMITMENT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY. AND IT WILL INCLUDE STRONG SUPPORT FOR ALTERNATIVE FUELS -- ENERGY MADE IN THE U.S.A.. AND WE CAN START WITH A NEW COMMITMENT TO ETHANOL.

-MORE-

I'VE BEEN BOOSTING THIS ALL-AMERICAN FUEL SOURCE FOR 17 YEARS. IN 1969, WE CALLED IT "WHEATAHOL" IN KANSAS. IN 1978, I WAS AN ORIGINAL COSPONSOR OF THE LEGISLATION THAT SET THE FIRST INCENTIVE FOR ETHANOL PRODUCTION -- THE PARTIAL EXEMPTION TO THE GASOLINE EXCISE TAX.

THE DOLE PLAN

I'VE LED OR SUPPORTED EVERY EFFORT IN CONGRESS OVER THE PAST DECADE TO INCREASE AND EXTEND THE ETHANOL PROGRAM. LAST YEAR, I INTRODUCED A BILL TO EXTEND THE CURRENT ETHANOL EXEMPTION THROUGH THE YEAR 2,000.

PREVIOUSLY, THIS IS ONE AREA WHERE SUPPORTERS OF ETHANOL HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE ADMINISTRATION EVERY STEP OF THE WAY. EVERY BUDGET SUBMITTED BY THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET, UP TO THIS YEAR, HAS PROPOSED SCRAPPING THE ETHANOL TAX EXEMPTION.

IN OTHER WORDS, SCRAPPING THE U.S. ETHANOL INDUSTRY. WE'VE HEARD THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WILL ENCOURAGE THE BIG CITIES TO USE ALTERNATIVE FUELS SUCH AS ETHANOL TO CLEAN UP THEIR AIR POLLUTION. BUT WITHOUT THE ETHANOL PROGRAM, THIS NEW DEMAND WOULD BE MET WITH FOREIGN IMPORTED ETHANOL OR METHANOL PRODUCED FROM FOREIGN NATURAL GAS.

I'VE ASKED THE PRESIDENT TO DROP ADMINISTRATION OPPOSITION TO THE ETHANOL PROGRAM IN ITS NEW BUDGET, DUE LATER THIS MONTH: I UNDERSTAND HE HAS. NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THAT IS A POSITIVE STEP, BUT IT'S STILL LIKE SHIFTING FROM REVERSE INTO NEUTRAL.

IF OTHER CANDIDATES WHO SAY THEY SUPPORT THE LONG-TERM GROWTH OF THE ETHANOL INDUSTRY REALLY WANT TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTION, THEY WOULD ENDORSE MY EFFORT TO EXTEND THE EXCISE TAX EXEMPTION THROUGH THE BALANCE OF THIS CENTURY. THAT WOULD BE THE ONLY STEP THAT ENSURES STABLE CONDITIONS FOR GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION IN THIS VITAL AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

CONCLUSION

SO LET ME CONCLUDE THAT I AM OPTIMISTIC; NOT JUST ABOUT MONDAY EVENING IN IOWA, BUT FOR THE FUTURE OF RURAL AMERICA. IT HAS BEEN A GREAT EXPERIENCE -- AND AN HONOR -- REPRESENTING AMERICA'S HEARTLAND ON CAPITOL HILL.

IN MY VIEW, WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY. SOMETIMES IT'S BEEN ROUGH: WE'VE HAD A LONG RIDE TOGETHER ON THE FARM ECONOMY ROLLER COASTER. BUT IT'S TIME FOR STABILITY; TIME FOR LOOKING AHEAD; AND A TIME FOR A NEW COMMITMENT TO RURAL AMERICA.

THAT'S A PROMISE BOB DOLE HAS ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO MAKE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

EMBARGOED UNTIL NOON
JANUARY 29, 1987

CONTACT: DALE TATE/TIM ARCHIE
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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
"NEW COMMITMENT"
NASHUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE
JANUARY 29, 1988

THERE ARE SIX OF US REPUBLICANS STOMPING AROUND THE COUNTRY VYING FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. SIX OF US SAYING WE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE AND THE ABILITY, THE VISION AND THE SENSITIVITY TO BE THE LEADER OF THE GREATEST NATION IN THE FREE WORLD.

AND ALL OF US ARE TALKING ABOUT THE NUMBER ONE PROBLEM FACING THE COUNTRY -- WHAT POLLS SHOW THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BELIEVE IS THE NUMBER ONE PROBLEM FACING THE COUNTRY -- THE DEFICIT.

BUT THERE'S ONLY ONE OF US, ONLY ONE OF US, WHO IS LAYING OUT ANY REAL SOLUTIONS. THERE'S ONLY ONE OF US WHO HAS THE BACKGROUND AND THE BACKBONE TO DO WHAT IT'S GOING TO RID OURSELVES OF THE DEFICIT PLAGUE.

I PLEDGE TO YOU RIGHT HERE AND NOW THAT WHEN I TAKE OFFICE, THERE'S GOING TO BE A LOT OF SNAP, CRACKLE AND POP. THINGS ARE GOING TO START HAPPENING. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- YOU AND YOUR FAMILIES -- WANT ACTION. SO, HERE'S MY PLAN OF ATTACK.

PLAN OF ATTACK

FIRST, I WILL IMPOSE A ONE-YEAR FREEZE IN SPENDING -- AND THAT MEANS EVERYTHING, EVERYTHING EXCEPT PROGRAMS THAT AFFECT THE NEEDIEST IN SOCIETY AND MUST BE PROTECTED.

SECOND, I WILL TEST CONGRESS' WILL TO SPEND. FOR SEVEN YEARS PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS SAID HE WANTED THE SAME FISCAL TOOL THAT 43 GOVERNORS HAVE, THE LINE-ITEM VETO. CONGRESS HAS REFUSED TO GIVE HIM THAT ABILITY -- THE ABILITY TO STRIKE OUT SPECIFIC ITEMS IN BIG SPENDING BILLS. AND BELIEVE ME, WHEN I GET IT, I'LL USE IT SO OFTEN MY DESK TOP WILL LOOK LIKE IT'S COVERED WITH CONFETTI.

- 2 -

ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL AND EFFECTIVE STATEMENTS THE PRESIDENT MADE THE OTHER NIGHT IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS WAS WHEN HE POINTED TO THE HUGE STACK OF PAPERS CONGRESS HAD SENT RIGHT BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR AND PLEDGED NEVER AGAIN SIGN SUCH A MASSIVE SPENDING BILL.

WELL, I'M MAKING A NEW COMMITMENT TO THAT PLEDGE. EVEN IF I HAVE TO SHUT DOWN THE GOVERNMENT AND CLOSE DOWN THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT, I WILL NOT SIGN AN OMNIBUS, PORK-BARREL SPENDING BILL. AND I'LL HOLD OUT UNTIL WE AGREE ON A WAY TO CUT THE DEFICIT.

"LINE ITEM VETO"

AND I WILL MAKE ANOTHER PLEDGE. THERE'S A PROVISION IN THE CONSTITUTION WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN TESTED, BUT WHICH SOME SCHOLARS BELIEVE COULD BE USED BY THE PRESIDENT TO, IN EFFECT, LINE-ITEM VETO SPECIFIC ITEMS IN A SPENDING BILL. ARTICLE I, SECTION 7, CLAUSE 3 OF THE CONSTITUTION SAYS THAT THE PRESIDENT IS GUARANTEED THE RIGHT TO VETO EVERY "ORDER, RESOLUTION OR VOTE" IN A PIECE OF LEGISLATION. NO PRESIDENT HAS EVER USED THAT AUTHORITY, BUT IT MIGHT BE WORTH A TRY.

I DON'T WANT CONFRONTATIONS WITH CONGRESS. I WANT TO WORK WITH CONGRESS. AND I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANYONE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL FIELD WHO IS BETTER EQUIPPED TO DO THAT THAN ME. BUT I WANT EVERY MEMBER TO KNOW THAT I MEAN BUSINESS. AND IF IT MEANS TESTING THE USE OF THIS SECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION WHEN I GET A BILL LARDED WITH FAT, I WILL DO IT. THEN, WE'LL LET THE COURTS DECIDE.

FINALLY, I WILL WORK WITH THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSION -- A PROPOSAL I SPONSORED -- TO COME UP WITH LONG-TERM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DEALING WITH THE DEFICIT. THE PANEL IS PATTERNED AFTER THE SOCIAL SECURITY COMMISSION, ON WHICH I WAS PROUD TO SERVE. IN 1983, THIS NON-PARTISAN COMMISSION CAME UP WITH A PLAN THAT I SHEPHERDED THROUGH THE SENATE, PUTTING THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM ON SOUND FINANCIAL FOOTING INTO THE 21ST CENTURY. I BELIEVE THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSION CAN MAKE THE SAME KIND OF POSITIVE INPUT.

THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT YOU WANT A PRESIDENT WHO CARES ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY, WHO CARES ENOUGH, WHO KNOWS ENOUGH, WHO IS COMMITTED ENOUGH TO GET THE JOB DONE. I BELIEVE I AM THAT MAN.

MIDWESTERNERS AND NEW ENGLANDERS / COMMON GROUND

MIDWESTERNERS AND NEW ENGLANDERS SHARE A LOT IN COMMON. THE PEOPLE OF RUSSELL, KANSAS AND THE MEN AND WOMEN OF NASHUA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, WANT PRETTY MUCH THE SAME THINGS. WE SHARE THE SAME SENSE OF COMMUNITY, THE BELIEF IN KNOWING OUR NEIGHBORS AND TAKING CARE OF THEM WHEN THEY NEED HELP.

AND LIKE NEW ENGLANDERS, MIDWESTERNERS BELIEVE IN BASIC VALUES AND ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT -- THE WORK ETHIC. WE DON'T BELIEVE IN SQUANDERING OUR RESOURCES, IN PILING ON DEBT. IF YOU WANT SOMETHING AND YOU DON'T HAVE THE MONEY, YOU KEEP ON WORKING UNTIL YOU HAVE ENOUGH.

YOU CAN'T BUY A HOUSE WITH A VISA CARD, OR BUY A CAR WITH A MASTER CARD, BUT THAT'S WHAT WASHINGTON'S BEEN DOING FOR YEARS.

- 3 -

THIS IS ONE AREA WHERE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE WAY OUT IN FRONT OF THE WASHINGTON CURVE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND, YOU UNDERSTAND, AND YOU KEEP ASKING WASHINGTON: "WHY DON'T YOU? WHY DON'T YOU FINALLY DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT?"

THE TRUTH IS, IF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD ONLY USED SOME OLD-FASHIONED NEW ENGLAND COMMON SENSE, WE WOULDN'T BE IN THE MESS WE'RE IN. WE WOULDN'T HAVE ACCUMULATED A \$2.4 TRILLION NATION DEBT. WE WOULDN'T BE SPENDING ABOUT \$200 BILLION DOLLARS EVERY YEAR JUST TO PAY THE INTEREST ON THAT DEBT. THAT'S RIGHT -- \$200 BILLION.

DO IT NOW

WE'VE BEEN LUCKY SO FAR. WE'VE MANAGED TO KEEP THE ECONOMY GROWING, INFLATION UNDER CONTROL, INTEREST RATES LOW, AND UNEMPLOYMENT DOWN. BUT, IT'S NOT MORNING IN AMERICA ANY MORE -- IT'S HIGH NOON -- AND IT'S GOING TO BE A HOT SPRING IN WASHINGTON AFTER I TAKE OFFICE. BECAUSE THE MOMENT OF TRUTH IS HERE. WE HAVE THE OPTION OF FACING DOWN THE DEFICIT ENEMY NOW -- AND EXTENDING THE LONGEST PEACETIME ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN HISTORY -- OR LETTING IT GET THE DRAW ON US.

THAT'S WHY WE HAVE TO ACT -- SOON AND DECISIVELY IF WE DO, WE CAN PROBABLY PREVENT ANY SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND WHAT'S MOST IMPORTANT -- WE CAN ASSURE THAT THE ECONOMY KEEPS EXPANDING, PROVIDING MORE JOBS, MORE OPPORTUNITIES, MORE PROSPERITY FOR ALL AMERICANS.

BUT, AS I SAID, SAYING YOU WANT TO SLASH THE DEFICIT, AND DOING IT ARE TWO DIFFERENT THINGS. I KNOW. I'VE BEEN THERE. I'VE BEEN INVOLVED IN EVERY MAJOR BUDGET BATTLE SINCE 1981. I KNOW WHAT'S IN THE BUDGET -- I KNOW THE SACRED COWS, AND THE PROGRAMS THAT HAVE OUTLIVED THEIR USEFULNESS, AS WELL AS THE ONES THAT DESERVE MORE MONEY BUT DON'T GET IT. AND I KNOW THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO SIT AROUND THE TABLE AND MAKE THOSE DECISIONS. I KNOW WHAT THEY'RE WILLING TO DO, AND WHAT THEY WON'T DO.

FREEZE SPENDING

THAT'S WHY THE SPENDING FREEZE MAKES SO MUCH SENSE. THERE ARE LOTS OF DIFFERENT FREEZE FORMULAS WE COULD USE, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THEY HAVE IN COMMON IS THAT THEY REPRESENT THE KIND OF COMPROMISE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN UNDERSTAND AND WILL KNOW IS FAIR. WE CAN GET IT DONE QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY AND GET THE DEFICIT-CUTTING PROCESS IN MOTION. A FREEZE WOULD BE A PACT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERS IN WASHINGTON.

YOU MIGHT ASK: HOW CAN A SIMPLE, SHORT-TERM FREEZE IN SPENDING MAKE A DIFFERENCE? THE ANSWER IS THAT WE ARE INCREASING GOVERNMENT SPENDING AT AN INCREDIBLE PACE. SO, FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE GOVERNMENT JUST SPENT THE SAME AMOUNT THIS YEAR AS IT DID LAST YEAR, WE COULD CUT THE DEFICIT BY \$70 BILLION IN ONE YEAR ALONE.

SOME MIGHT ARGUE THAT WE REALLY CAN'T FREEZE SPENDING IN ABSOLUTE DOLLAR AMOUNTS. BUT LET ME GIVE YOU A COUPLE OF OTHER FREEZE OPTIONS THAT ARE LESS ONEROUS, MORE REASONABLE.

IF WE DO NOTHING ELSE THAN SIMPLY LIMIT GROWTH IN SPENDING TO JUST 2 PERCENT FOR ONE YEAR, WE COULD SAVE \$50 BILLION IN THE FIRST YEAR ALONE.

IF WE LEFT THE TAX LAWS ALONE, LEFT SOCIAL SECURITY AND OTHER RETIREMENT COLA'S THE WAY THEY ARE, AND KEPT ON PAYING THE INTEREST ON THE FEDERAL DEBT, WE COULD GET THE BUDGET BALANCED BY 1993 IF WE JUST HELD ALL OTHER GOVERNMENT SPENDING TO 2 PERCENT A YEAR. THAT WOULD MEAN 2 PERCENT FOR MEDICARE, AND 2 PERCENT FOR EVERYTHING ELSE.

AND LET ME MAKE ONE POINT HERE ABOUT RAISING TAXES. SOME OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS DON'T SEEM TO HAVE LEARNED THEIR LESSON. THEY STILL WANT TO RAISE TAXES TO CUT THE DEFICIT. WELL, THE NUMBERS SHOW THAT WE ARE TAKING THE SAME AMOUNT OF MONEY OUT OF THE ECONOMY IN TAXES THAT WE HAVE HISTORICALLY OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS. TAXES ARE NOT THE PROBLEM, AND TAXES ARE NOT THE SOLUTION.

THE TWO-PERCENT SOLUTION IS NOT THE ONLY POSSIBLE ANSWER. BUT IT HAS A LOT GOING FOR IT. IT IS SOUND ECONOMICALLY, IT IS SOUND FROM A POLICY PERSPECTIVE AS WELL. AND IT SHOWS THAT A SOLUTION BASED ON A FREEZE CONCEPT CAN REALLY WORK. IT'S NOT JUST A PIE-IN-THE-SKY NOTION IT CAN BE PUT IN PLACE QUICKLY, AND ABOVE ALL IT'S FAIR NO ONE CAN COMPLAIN THAT DEFENSE GOT MORE THAN EDUCATION, OR TRANSPORTATION MORE THAN HEALTH CARE.

A PLUG IN THE DIKE

A FREEZE IS NOT THE BEST WAY -- AND NOT MY PREFERRED WAY -- OF DOING BUSINESS. BUT A FREEZE WOULD DO TWO VERY IMPORTANT THINGS: FIRST, IT WOULD SAVE MONEY -- A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF MONEY -- EVEN IN THE SHORT RUN -- AND IT WOULD CUT THE DEFICIT WITHOUT HAVING TO RAISE TAXES.

BUT SECOND, AND PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT, IT WOULD SIMULTANEOUSLY BUY TIME FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW CONGRESS TO COME UP WITH A RATIONAL SPENDING BLUEPRINT: A BUDGET PLAN THAT WOULD SET PRIORITIES, THAT WOULD CALL FOR REAL CUTS AND REAL REFORMS IN SOME PROGRAMS -- AND MAYBE EVEN ELIMINATE SOME ALTOGETHER.

A BUDGET FREEZE IS NOT A PANACEA, IT'S A PLUG IN THE DIKE. IT'S A WAY TO GET US FROM HERE TO WHERE WE WANT TO BE. AND MY LONG EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE BUDGET, AND WITH CONGRESS, TELLS ME THAT WE ARE GOING TO NEED THAT KIND OF BRIDGE IF WE ARE TO GET THE JOB DONE.

NOT AN END...A BEGINNING!

THERE ARE PLENTY OF DOOM AND GLOOMERS OUT THERE WHO WRING THEIR HANDS AND SAY IT CAN'T BE DONE -- WHETHER IT'S THE DEFICIT, OR THE ENVIRONMENT, OR EDUCATION.

FOR EXAMPLE, SCHOLARS LIKE PROFESSOR PAUL KENNEDY OF YALE, IN A RECENT BOOK LIKENS TODAY'S AMERICA TO THE END OF GREAT BRITAIN AS A WORLD EMPIRE. ENGLAND, HE SAID, "FOUND ITSELF IN VERY SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES: ITS ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL ASCENDANCY BEING ERODED, ITS PRE-EMINENT POSITION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD COMING UNDER CHALLENGE, ITS MILITARY OBLIGATIONS BEING FAR IN EXCESS OF ITS CAPACITY TO FULFILL THEM ALL "

WELL, THAT'S POPPYCOCK. MR. KENNEDY WAS BORN AND EDUCATED IN GREAT BRITAIN, AND DOESN'T SEEM TO UNDERSTAND SOMETHING CALLED THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. WE'VE BEEN DOWN BEFORE, REALLY DOWN -- MANY OF YOU PROBABLY STILL REMEMBER THE DEPRESSION. BUT WE DID TWO THINGS: FIRST, WE PICKED OURSELVES UP AND STARTED OVER AGAIN -- AND DID IT WITH A BANG. AND SECOND, WE LEARNED SOME VERY IMPORTANT LESSONS -- AS INDIVIDUALS, AND AS A NATION.

WE LEARNED THAT YOU DON'T LET THINGS GET AWAY FROM YOU -- THINGS LIKE THE DEFICIT. YOU TAKE CARE OF PROBLEMS -- WHEN THEY HAPPEN -- BEFORE THEY TAKE CARE OF YOU.

SO, LIKE GARY COOPER STARING DOWN THE BAD GUYS ON MAIN STREET, ITS TIME FOR US TO STARE DOWN THE DEFICIT. WE CAN DO IT WITHOUT ANY ONE BEING HURT OR STOPPED IN THEIR TRACKS, AND WE CAN DO IT IN A THOUGHTFUL AND EQUITABLE WAY.

BUT DO IT WE MUST. BECAUSE IT'S NOT JUST OUR FUTURE AT STAKE. IT'S OURS AND OUR CHILDREN'S AND THEIR CHILDREN'S AS NEW ENGLANDERS, BLESSED WITH GOOD COMMON SENSE, YOU WOULD NEVER SADDLE YOUR CHILDREN WITH A STACK OF BILLS THAT HAVEN'T BEEN PAID FOR YEARS. IF YOU DID, THEY COULDN'T FULFILL THEIR DREAMS.

AMERICA STILL HAS PLENTY OF RESERVES OF COMMON SENSE, AND THAT'S WHY I DISAGREE WITH THE NAYSAYERS. AMERICA'S GREATNESS STILL LIES AHEAD. THE IDEAL NATION OUR FOREFATHERS ENVISIONED MORE THAN 200 YEARS AGO IS YET TO BE ACHIEVED. WE'VE MADE GREAT PROGRESS TOWARD THAT GOAL -- MORE, PERHAPS THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND.

BUT WE CAN DO BETTER YET. AND I WANT THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE TO IT THAT THE UNITED STATES LIVES UP TO ITS ENORMOUS POTENTIAL.

CONTROLLING THE DEFICIT THROUGH AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD FREEZE IS ONLY ONE FACTOR IN MAKING SURE IT CAN HAPPEN -- BUT IT'S A VERY IMPORTANT ONE. WITHOUT ECONOMIC STABILITY, WE CAN'T MAKE PROGRESS IN ANY IMPORTANT ARENA -- WHETHER IT'S EDUCATION, OR HEALTH, OR NATIONAL SECURITY. SO, AS PRESIDENT, MY FIRST PRIORITY WILL BE TO WRESTLE DOWN THAT DEFICIT. BECAUSE I WANT YOUR CHILDREN TO HAVE NOT ONLY THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES YOU AND I HAD BUT BIGGER AND BETTER ONES.

THERE'S NOTHING WE CAN'T DO IN AMERICA ONCE WE DECIDE TO DO IT. ALL WE NEED IS TO SUMMON THE NATIONAL WILL -- TO FORGE A NATIONAL COMMITMENT -- COMMITMENT OF THE PEOPLE, COMMITMENT OF CONGRESS AND COMMITMENT IN THE OVAL OFFICE.

TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE THAT HAPPEN.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

LEADERSHIP - WHERE WAS BUSH?

THIS ELECTION IS ALL ABOUT LEADERSHIP. WHICH
CANDIDATE HAS DEMONSTRATED THE STRENGTH IT
TAKES TO STAND TOUGH, TO MAKE THE DIFFICULT
CHOICES, TO FORGE A CONSENSUS THAT WILL LEAD
THIS NATION FORWARD INTO THE 21ST CENTURY? NOT
TALK ABOUT LEADERSHIP, NOR CLAIMS OF LEADERSHIP;
BUT DEMONSTRATED LEADERSHIP.

-2-

- LEADERSHIP WHICH GOT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S

TAX CUT PASSED?

- LEADERSHIP WHICH SUCCESSFULLY STOPPED THE

DEMOCRATS FROM REPEALING THE TAX CUTS?

- LEADERSHIP WHICH PUT TOGETHER THE PLAN

WHICH SAVED THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM FROM

BANKRUPTCY?

- LEADERSHIP WHICH PRODUCED A MAJORITY OF

VOTES IN THE SENATE FOR AID TO THE NICARAGUAN

FREEDOM FIGHTERS?

-3-

- LEADERSHIP WHICH LINED UP THE VOTES TO KEEP
THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE ALIVE?

- LEADERSHIP WHICH PRODUCED THE 1985 FARM
BILL PASSED TO SAVE THE FAMILY FARM?

I LED EACH ONE OF THESE BATTLES. AND WE WON.

AND THAT'S WHAT LEADERSHIP IS ALL ABOUT. NO
OTHER CANDIDATE IN THIS RACE CAN MATCH THIS
RECORD. NO ONE. LEADERSHIP IS NOT ABOUT HOW

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MANY JOBS WE'VE HAD. IT'S ABOUT WHAT WE'VE DONE
IN THE JOBS WE'VE HELD. AND THAT SPEAKS VOLUMES
ABOUT WHAT WE'LL DO AS PRESIDENT.

NOW SOME PEOPLE SAY I'M TOO TOUGH.

WELL, THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
BETTER BE TOUGH, IF HE'S GOING TO MAKE THE
DECISIONS A PRESIDENT HAS TO MAKE EVERYDAY.

TAXES

HE BETTER BE TOUGH IF HE'S GOING TO STAND UP
TO THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS IN WASHINGTON WHO
BELIEVE THE ONLY WAY TO BALANCE THE BUDGET IS ON
THE BACKS OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER. AS CHAIRMAN
OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND REPUBLICAN LEADER,
I WORKED LONG AND HARD TO PASS PRESIDENT
REAGAN'S TAX CUTS. I FOUGHT OFF THE NUMEROUS
DEMOCRATIC ATTEMPTS TO CANCEL PORTIONS OF
THOSE TAX CUTS.

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IF YOU WANT TO SEE TOUGHNESS, LET THE DEMOCRATS
RAISE TAXES. JUST LET THEM TRY. AS PRESIDENT, I
PLEDGE TO YOU THAT I WILL VETO ANY ATTEMPT -- ANY
ATTEMPT -- TO INCREASE INCOME TAX RATES.

MOST AMERICAN FAMILIES ARE ALREADY PAYING
THEIR FAIR SHARE OF TAXES. YOU SHOULDN'T BE
ASKED TO PAY MORE. BUT IF I FIND, AS I DID IN 1982 AND
1984, THAT LARGE CORPORATIONS OR VERY WEALTHY
INDIVIDUALS ARE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF UNINTENDED

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LOOPHOLES IN THE TAX CODE, I'M GOING TO DO
SOMETHING ABOUT IT. NOW IF MY OPPONENT WANTS
TO SAY THAT MEANS I'M GOING TO RAISE TAXES, I CAN'T
STOP HIM. I SAY YOU'RE PAYING ENOUGH. AND IF
THEY'RE NOT, THEY SHOULD.

MY OPPONENT SAYS HE WON'T RULE OUT RAISING
TAXES TO BALANCE THE BUDGET. BUT I'VE TOLD YOU
WHERE I STAND AND I'LL REPEAT IT: I WILL VETO ANY
ATTEMPT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET ON THE BACKS OF
THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER. PERIOD.

BUDGET FREEZE

BECAUSE THERE'S A BETTER WAY TO STOP ALL THIS
TALK ABOUT RAISING YOUR TAXES -- BALANCE THE
BUDGET.

I'VE PROPOSED A FAIR WAY TO GO ABOUT IT -- A
TEMPORARY ONE-YEAR FREEZE ON FEDERAL SPENDING
-- WITH EXCEPTIONS ONLY FOR PROGRAMS WHICH HELP
THE MOST VULNERABLE GROUPS. I'LL TELL THE
PENTAGON AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE
CONGRESS AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAT

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THEY CAN SPEND NOT ONE DIME MORE THAN THEY
SPENT THIS YEAR. THAT ALONE WILL SAVE BILLIONS AND
BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. AND THEN I'LL GO THROUGH
THAT FEDERAL BUDGET LINE BY LINE -- MAKING THE
TOUGH DECISIONS, CUTTING BACK WHERE WE CAN,
ELIMINATING WASTEFUL PROGRAMS ALTOGETHER,
FORCING EVERY FEDERAL AGENCY TO JUSTIFY EVERY
PENNY OF SPENDING. IT WON'T BE EASY. BUT I'M
PREPARED TO TAKE THE HEAT FROM THE SPECIAL
INTERESTS, TO STAND UP TO THE CONGRESS, TO GET
THE JOB DONE.

ALLIES - TRADE

AND I'LL BE TOUGH WITH OUR TRADING PARTNERS
WHO SEEM TO THINK THAT THEY CAN EXPORT ANYTHING
THEY WANT INTO AMERICA AND STILL CLOSE THEIR
MARKETS TO OUR PRODUCTS AND SERVICES. UNDER A
DOLE ADMINISTRATION, THEY'RE GOING TO START
ADHERING TO THE RULES OF THE GAME, IF THEY CAN
OFFER US COMPETITIVE GOODS AND SERVICES, WE'LL

WELCOME THEM. BUT, IF -- AND ONLY IF -- THEY LET US
SELL OUR COMPETITIVE GOODS AND SERVICES TO THEIR
CONSUMERS.

ALLIES - BURDEN SHARING

I'LL ALSO INSIST THAT OUR ALLIES DO MORE TO
DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THE FREE WORLD. OUR
DEFICIT IS SO BIG PARTIALLY BECAUSE WE'RE PAYING
TOO LARGE A SHARE OF THE FREE WORLD'S DEFENSE
BILL. JAPAN AND OUR FRIENDS IN WESTERN EUROPE

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HAVE ROBUST ECONOMIES. YET WHILE WE'RE
SPENDING TENS OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR
TO DEFEND THEM, THEIR OWN DEFENSE BUDGETS ARE
BUT A TINY PORTION OF THEIR GOVERNMENT
SPENDING. IT'S BEEN OVER 40 YEARS SINCE THE END OF
WORLD WAR II. AS A SUPERPOWER, WE RECOGNIZE OUR
PRIMARY ROLE IN DEFENDING FREEDOM AND FIGHTING
COMMUNIST EXPANSIONISM. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO DO
IT ALONE. AND WE SHOULDN'T BE EXPECTED TO. JUST
AS WITH

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INTERNATIONAL TRADE, OUR ALLIES MUST RECOGNIZE
THAT AN ALLIANCE IS A TWO-WAY STREET. THEY CAN
AFFORD TO PICK UP A BIGGER SHARE OF THE COST OF
DEFENDING FREEDOM. UNDER A DOLE
ADMINISTRATION, THEY WILL.

U.S. SOVIET RELATIONS

TALKING STRAIGHT WITH OUR ALLIES ON TRADE
AND DEFENSE, OF COURSE, IS THE BEST WAY TO
STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCES. BUT WHEN WE'RE
DEALING WITH OUR ADVERSARIES IN THE KREMLIN

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STRAIGHT TALK IS THE ONLY WAY. WE SHOULDN'T BE
RELUCTANT TO TALK WITH THE SOVIETS. BUT WHEN WE
TALK, WE SHOULD SPEAK PLAINLY AND FORCEFULLY.
AND WE SHOULD EXPECT THE SAME FROM THEM. IF MR.
GORBACHEV REALLY WANTS BETTER RELATIONS WITH
THE WEST, IF HE REALLY WANTS WHAT WE WANT --
PEACE -- LET HIM DEMONSTRATE IT WITH DEEDS, NOT
WORDS. BRING HIS TROOPS HOME FROM
AFGHANISTAN. STOP EXPORTING COMMUNISM TO
NICARAGUA AND THE REST OF CENTRAL AMERICA. GIVE
THE PEOPLES OF POLAND AND ALL OF EASTERN
EUROPE THEIR FREEDOM. TEAR DOWN THE BERLIN
WALL.

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WHEN WE TALK, WE SHOULD INSIST THAT THE NEXT
ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT REQUIRE THE SOVIETS TO
REDUCE THEIR OVERWHELMING SUPERIORITY IN TANKS
AND TROOPS AND ARTILLERY WHICH THREATENS
WESTERN EUROPE. THEN -- AND ONLY THEN -- SHOULD
WE PURSUE A TREATY WHICH REDUCES LONG RANGE
STRATEGIC MISSILES. BECAUSE, UNLESS WE GET SOVIET
CONVENTIONAL FORCES DOWN TO MANAGEABLE

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SIZE ANY STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY COULD
COMPROMISE THE VERY DETERRENCE THAT PROTECTS
US FROM SOVIET ATTACK AND PRESERVES THE PEACE.

TOUGH JOB

LET'S FACE IT. BEING PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES IS A TOUGH JOB. THE VOICES CLAMORING FOR
ATTENTION, FOR WIDELY DIFFERENT ANSWERS TO OUR
PROBLEMS, ARE MANY. A PRESIDENT MUST BE TOUGH

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AND DECISIVE IF HE'S TO SUCCEED. HE'S GOT TO BE

WILLING TO LISTEN, TO STAND UP FOR HIS

CONVICTIONS, AND TO MAKE THE TOUGH CHOICES.

I HAVE, I CAN AND I WILL.

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

CITIZEN SP

SO. DAK. ~~Saturday~~

TRADE

DRUGS - ~~today~~

BUSH LOY

STUMP

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in P lang

in 25. out

o / Brooks / Jackson
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EMBARGOED TO 12:00 P.M.

FEBRUARY 10, 1988

CONTACT: DALE TATE/
TIM ARCHIE
(202) 223-8424

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
CHILDREN'S ISSUES

CHILDREN ARE OUR MOST PRECIOUS ASSET. THEY ARE OUR FUTURE, OUR HOPE, THE KEY TO OUR DESTINY. IT IS OUR COLLECTIVE OBLIGATION -- AS PARENTS, CITIZENS, COMMUNITY LEADERS, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS -- TO ENSURE THAT EVERY AMERICAN CHILD IS ADEQUATELY CARED FOR.

UNFORTUNATELY, FOR FAMILIES WITH LIMITED INCOMES, AND PARTICULARLY SINGLE PARENT HOUSEHOLDS, THIS OBLIGATION CAN BE DIFFICULT TO MEET. THE REASON IS THE LACK OF SAFE, AFFORDABLE DAY CARE.

THE PROBLEM

THERE HAVE BEEN DRAMATIC CHANGES IN OUR LABOR FORCE SINCE THE 1950'S. THERE ARE CURRENTLY OVER 53 MILLION WOMEN IN THE WORKFORCE. MOREOVER, THE GROWTH IN THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE HAS OCCURRED PRIMARILY AMONG WOMEN WITH VERY YOUNG CHILDREN, MANY OF WHOM MUST WORK OUT OF ECONOMIC NECESSITY. INDEED, 50 PERCENT OF WORKING MOTHERS HAVE CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE AND OF THESE, 25 PERCENT ARE SINGLE PARENTS. THE NATION'S SUPPLY OF QUALITY DAY CARE SERVICE HAS FAILED TO KEEP PACE WITH THIS DEMOGRAPHIC REALITY.

WHAT IS THE IMPACT ON FAMILIES OF MODEST MEANS? SOME ARE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO FIND FACILITIES WHICH PROVIDE SAFE, AFFORDABLE, COMPASSIONATE CARE BY WELL-TRAINED, LICENSED PROVIDERS. ALL TOO OFTEN, HOWEVER, DESPERATE PARENTS ARE LEFT WITH DESPERATE CHOICES. A MECHANIC IN CHICAGO HAS TO TAKE A NIGHT SHIFT SO HE CAN BE AT HOME DURING THE DAY WITH HIS TWO YEAR OLD WHILE HIS WIFE IS AT HER JOB.

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A NURSE IN ATLANTA HAS TO GET UP AT 5:00 EVERY MORNING TO DRIVE FIFTY MILES TO HER MOTHER'S HOUSE TO DROP OFF HER THREE YEAR OLD DAUGHTER BEFORE SHE GOES TO WORK. AND THESE PEOPLE CONSIDER THEMSELVES LUCKY. FOR ALL TOO MANY PARENTS ARE LEFT WITH THE STARK ALTERNATIVES OF LEAVING THEIR CHILDREN WITH UNTRAINED WORKERS AT UNLICENSED FACILITIES OR LETTING THEIR YOUNG ONES BECOME "LATCHKEY CHILDREN," LEFT TO THEIR OWN DEVICES.

A NATIONAL PLAN

THIS IS A NATIONAL PROBLEM, AND WE NEED A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO DEAL WITH IT. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN'T PROVIDE ALL THE ANSWERS, BUT I BELIEVE IT CAN AND SHOULD PLAY A ROLE. I HAVE PROPOSED SETTING UP A FEDERAL PROGRAM TO PROVIDE CHILD CARE GRANTS TO THE STATES. THE PURPOSE OF THE GRANTS WOULD BE TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF QUALITY CHILD CARE SERVICES FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME FAMILIES.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE GRANTS COULD BE USED FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CHILD CARE CENTERS AND AFTER-SCHOOL CHILD CARE PROGRAMS. THEY COULD ALSO BE USED TO HELP SMALL BUSINESSES START PROVIDING DAY CARE SERVICES FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES, JUST AS LARGE EMPLOYERS AND MANY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES HAVE ALREADY BEGUN DOING.

IN ADDITION, THE FUNDS COULD BE USED TO RECRUIT AND TRAIN DAY CARE WORKERS, WITH SPECIAL EFFORTS BEING MADE TO REACH OUT TO SENIOR CITIZENS AND DISABLED PERSONS. INDEED, I BELIEVE THE GROWTH OF THE DAY CARE INDUSTRY MAY OPEN UP SIGNIFICANT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THESE TWO GROUPS. AND I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER RESOURCE TO DRAW UPON TO PROVIDE LOVING CARE TO OUR NATION'S YOUNG.

OTHER POSSIBLE USES FOR THE GRANTS WOULD BE TO HELP FAMILY-BASED CHILD CARE PROVIDERS MEET STATE LICENSING STANDARDS, AND VOUCHERS TO HELP LOW-INCOME PARENTS WITH CHILD CARE COSTS. I ENVISION A PROGRAM THAT WOULD PROVIDE AROUND \$300 TO \$400 MILLION IN ASSISTANCE. WE COULD PAY FOR IT BY PHASING OUT THE CHILD CARE TAX CREDIT, BEGINNING WITH FAMILIES WHO EARN OVER \$50,000 A YEAR AND PHASING IT OUT COMPLETELY FOR FAMILIES EARNING OVER \$80,000 PER YEAR. CURRENTLY, THE WEALTHIEST OF FAMILIES ARE ELIGIBLE FOR THE CREDIT. AND IN THESE BUDGETARY TIMES, WE HAVE TO SET PRIORITIES.

A FEDERAL EXAMPLE

WHILE BUSINESSES AND CORPORATIONS ARE STARTING TO RESPOND TO THE NEED FOR EMPLOYEE DAY CARE SERVICES, AT THIS POINT, ONLY 3,000 OUT OF 6 MILLION AMERICAN EMPLOYERS STILL PROVIDE ANY KIND

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OF DAY CARE FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES. I BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT THIS IS ONE AREA WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD PROVIDE A LEADING EXAMPLE.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, IF ELECTED PRESIDENT, I WOULD INSTITUTE A GOVERNMENT-WIDE POLICY THAT WOULD REQUIRE ALL AGENCIES TO ENSURE THAT DAY CARE SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE FOR THEIR EMPLOYEES. IN MANY INSTANCES, IT MAY BE THAT THIS REQUIREMENT CAN BE MET THROUGH PRIVATE AGENCIES OR NON-PROFIT GROUPS. HOWEVER, IF THE PRIVATE SECTOR CANNOT MEET THE NEED FOR SERVICES, I WOULD REQUIRE FEDERAL AGENCIES TO PROVIDE THE SPACE AND INITIAL START-UP FUNDS FOR A DAY CARE FACILITY LOCATED AT THE WORK-SITE.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION HAS ALREADY DONE MUCH GOOD WORK IN THIS AREA. I MIGHT MENTION THAT ONE OF THE FIRST AGENCIES TO PROVIDE EMPLOYEE DAY CARE WAS THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION UNDER ELIZABETH'S LEADERSHIP. I WOULD CONTINUE THIS GOOD WORK AND FORMALIZE A POLICY APPLICABLE TO ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

REGRETTABLY, CHILD CARE IS NOT THE ONLY MAJOR NATIONAL PROBLEM AFFECTING OUR YOUNG. FOR EVEN AS THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS HAVE EMBARKED ON BETTER, MORE PROSPEROUS TIMES AS A RESULT OF RONALD REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP, 13 MILLION CHILDREN HAVE STILL BEEN LEFT BEHIND. BUT POVERTY IS JUST PART OF IT. NEGLECT, HUNGER, DRUG ABUSE, TEEN PREGNANCIES AND SUICIDES -- ALL ARE PROBLEMS THAT PLAGUE OUR NATION'S YOUTH.

THERE ARE ALREADY SCORES OF FEDERAL PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS. BUT THEY ARE SCATTERED THROUGHOUT A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES, WITH NO CENTRAL COORDINATION. WHAT'S MORE, SINCE CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS ARE OFTEN TIMES SECONDARY TO THE PRIMARY MISSION OF THE DEPARTMENT OR AGENCY THAT ADMINISTERS THEM, THEY DO NOT ALWAYS RECEIVE THE PRIORITY ATTENTION THEY DESERVE.

I BELIEVE WE NEED ONE VOICE WITHIN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SPEAK ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN AND ENSURE THEIR INTERESTS ARE PROTECTED. THAT IS WHY I HAVE PROPOSED TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL ON CHILDREN'S ISSUES WHICH WOULD REPORT DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDENT AND BE RESPONSIBLE FOR COORDINATING ALL FEDERAL CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS.

A PLEDGE TO OUR CHILDREN

CHILDREN NEED AN OFFICIAL, NATIONAL ADVOCATE -- ONE WITH DIRECT ACCESS TO THE PRESIDENT. BUT MORE THAN THAT, THEY NEED A

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COMMITMENT FROM THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT THAT WE WILL PRESERVE AND PROTECT THEIR FUTURE, EVEN IF THAT MEANS MAKING TOUGH, POLITICALLY UNPOPULAR CHOICES RIGHT NOW.

PLEDGES ARE COMMON IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS. SOMETIMES, THEY DON'T MEAN A WHOLE LOT, BUT HERE'S ONE THAT I AM VERY SERIOUS ABOUT AND WHICH, I THINK, PRETTY MUCH SUMS UP WHAT SHOULD BE AN OVERRIDING CONCERN IN THIS CAMPAIGN.

I PLEDGE TO GIVE OUR CHILDREN BACK THEIR ECONOMIC DESTINY BY DOING EVERYTHING IN MY POWER TO ELIMINATE THE FEDERAL DEFICIT AND BRING DOWN THE NATIONAL DEBT.

I PLEDGE TO ACCOMPLISH THIS NOT BY CUTTING PROGRAMS THAT HELP POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY VULNERABLE GROUPS, BUT WITH SPENDING RESTRAINTS IN OTHER PROGRAMS, INCLUDING DEFENSE, THAT ARE ACROSS-THE-BOARD AND FAIR.

I PLEDGE TO CONTINUE AND STRENGTHEN PROGRAMS THAT WILL COMPLETE THE JOB RONALD REAGAN STARTED AND BRING ALL SEGMENTS OF AMERICA INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

I PLEDGE THAT A DOLE ADMINISTRATION WILL BE COMMITTED TO THE FOLLOWING GOAL: THAT BY THE YEAR 2000, EVERY AMERICAN CHILD WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO GROW UP IN A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT, PROTECTED FROM ABUSE AND NEGLECT, WITH ENOUGH TO EAT, ADEQUATE HOUSING AND HEALTH CARE.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY

FEBRUARY 10, 1988

Subjects: education and drugs

I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO BE HERE AT
EXETER TODAY. I'M NOT EXACTLY THE PREP SCHOOL
CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT THIS YEAR. BUT RUNNING

2

FOR PRESIDENT MEANS SHOWING SOME CAPACITY FOR
LEADERSHIP -- AND THIS SCHOOL HAS PRODUCED MORE
THAN ITS SHARE OF OUR NATION'S LEADERS. (note: insert
some examples.)

AND THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR NEXT PRESIDENT IS
GOING TO BE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT TO YOU, THE
YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE THE FUTURE. WHAT THE
PRESIDENT DOES OVER THE NEXT DECADE IS GOING TO
HELP SHAPE THE KIND OF WORLD YOU INHERIT AS
AMERICA ENTERS THE 21ST CENTURY.

O

ONE THING IS ALREADY SURE: YOU AND I ARE
AMONG THE LUCKIEST PEOPLE ON THIS EARTH --
BECAUSE WE LIVE IN THE GREATEST COUNTRY ON THIS
EARTH.

LAST FALL, I VISITED CENTRAL AMERICA. MOST OF
THE PRESS COVERAGE FOCUSED ON A RATHER BIZARRE
CONFRONTATION WITH DANIEL ORTEGA. BUT THE REALLY
MEMORABLE PART OF THE TRIP FOR ME WAS A VISIT TO A
NICARAGUAN REFUGEE CAMP IN HONDURAS, HOUSING
THOUSANDS WHO HAD FLED THE SANDINISTA REGIME.

THE MOST HEART-RENDING SCENES OF ALL WERE OF THE
YOUNG PEOPLE -- MANY OF THEM YOUNGER EVEN THAN
YOU -- VICTIMS OF WAR; VICTIMS OF TYRANNY; VICTIMS
OF ALMOST TOTAL HOPELESSNESS.

IT TAKES THAT KIND OF EXPERIENCE TO REALLY
DRIVE HOME WHAT IT MEANS TO LIVE IN THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

O

I'VE BEEN IN PUBLIC LIFE MORE THAN 30 YEARS. AND
DURING THAT TIME, I'VE RECEIVED HUNDREDS AND
HUNDREDS OF LETTERS FROM PEOPLE WHO WANT TO
COME TO THIS COUNTRY; OR WANT THEIR PARENTS, OR
CHILDREN, OR HUSBANDS, OR WIVES TO COME TO THIS
COUNTRY.

BUT I HAVE RECEIVED NOT A SINGLE LETTER FROM
ANYONE WHO WANTS TO LEAVE AMERICA.

6

THIS IS THE BEST PLACE ON EARTH. OUR GOAL
MUST BE TO KEEP IT THAT WAY; AND TO MAKE IT EVEN
BETTER.

O

THERE ARE SO MANY CHALLENGES AND
OPPORTUNITIES OUT THERE IN AMERICA THAT IT WOULD
BE IMPOSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT ALL OF THEM TODAY. SO
LET ME JUST SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT TWO THINGS
THAT I THINK MIGHT BE OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO YOU
AS YOUNG AMERICANS.

O

FIRST, I WANT TO REPEAT TO YOU A COMMITMENT I
HAVE BEEN MAKING ALL AROUND AMERICA: AS
PRESIDENT, I WILL HAVE NO HIGHER PRIORITY IN SOCIAL
POLICY THAN ELIMINATING THIS NATION'S "EDUCATION
DEFICIT" -- THE GAP BETWEEN THE KIND OF EDUCATION
OUR NATION'S YOUTH NEEDS AND DESERVES; AND THE
KIND OF EDUCATION THEY ARE GETTING TODAY.

WE NEED A NEW COMMITMENT TO EDUCATIONAL
EXCELLENCE; A COMMITMENT WHICH STARTS WITH A
DYNAMIC NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM; BUT ALSO
INCLUDES THE RECOGNITION THAT THE WHOLE ANSWER
IS NOT GOING TO COME FROM THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT. I HAVE LONG BELIEVED THAT EDUCATION
SHOULD BE A NATIONAL CONCERN, A STATE
RESPONSIBILITY, AND A LOCAL FUNCTION.

SO THE BASIC PRESCRIPTION IS: FEDERAL
EDUCATION PROGRAMS SHOULD SERVE AS MODELS;
NOT BE IMPOSED AS MOLDS.

O

AND LET ME ADD THAT THE SOLUTIONS TO OUR
EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS WILL NOT COME JUST FROM
SPENDING MORE MONEY. IN FACT, WE ARE SPENDING A
GREAT DEAL OF MONEY RIGHT NOW -- \$310 BILLION LAST
YEAR ALONE, MORE THAN WE SPENT ON OUR NATIONAL

DEFENSE. OVERALL, WE SPEND A HIGHER PERCENTAGE
OF OUR GNP ON EDUCATION THAN JAPAN DOES -- YET
WE ALL SEE JAPAN OUTPERFORMING US IN SO MANY
ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ARENAS.

SO THE ANSWER IS NOT JUST MORE SPENDING -- BUT
THE ANSWER DOES INCLUDE BETTER VALUE, FOR THE
MONEY WE DO SPEND.

O

THERE IS A VITAL ROLE THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN, AND MUST, PLAY. A ROLE WHICH WILL IMPACT ON THE WHOLE GAMUT OF EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS, FROM PRIMARY SCHOOL THROUGH GRADUATE EDUCATION; FROM ELIMINATING ILLITERACY THROUGH PROVIDING ADVANCED SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL DEGREES.

OUR EMPHASIS MUST BE IN ENCOURAGING SUCH PROMISING CONCEPTS AS MAGNET SCHOOLS, MASTER TEACHERS, AND MERIT PAY -- ALL WAYS TO REWARD, AND

THEREBY STIMULATE, EXCELLENCE IN OUR SCHOOLS.

AND IT MUST BE GROUNDED ON A RENEWED EMPHASIS

ON BASICS -- ENGLISH, MATH, SCIENCE, GEOGRAPHY,

HISTORY AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES; AND, LET ME ADD,

THE "NEW BASIC" OF THE 1980'S, COMPUTER TRAINING.

O

AND WE MUST ALSO CONTINUE TO INSURE THAT

PROMISING STUDENTS AT THE SECONDARY LEVEL -- LIKE

ALL OF YOU -- HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE HIGHEST

QUALITY TECHNICAL AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN THE
WORLD. ALL, OR ALMOST ALL, OF YOU WILL BE GOING
OFF TO COLLEGE; AND YOU'RE GOING TO BUMP UP
AGAINST A VERY HARD FACT OF LIFE -- THE PRICE TAG ON
A COLLEGE EDUCATION DURING THE 1980'S HAS BEEN
RISING AT TWICE THE RATE OF INFLATION.

WE CERTAINLY DO NOT HAVE THE MONEY, AT ANY
LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, TO MEET THE FULL NEED. THAT,
TOO, IS A HARD FACT OF LIFE. BUT WE MUST DO

MORE. LET ME CITE JUST TWO PROGRAMS I HAVE
PROPOSED WHICH COULD DIRECTLY BENEFIT SOME IN
THIS AUDIENCE.

O

I HAVE SUGGESTED CREATION OF EDUCATION
SAVINGS ACCOUNTS -- A PLAN UNDER WHICH PARENTS
COULD CONTRIBUTE UP TO \$1,000 A YEAR TO A SPECIAL,
TAX-DEFERRED ACCOUNT; A KIND OF "IRA FOR

EDUCATION." FUNDS IN THE ACCOUNT COULD BE USED
ONLY FOR COLLEGE OR OTHER POST-SECONDARY
EDUCATION.

AND I HAVE ENDORSED A GRADUATED RISE IN PELL
GRANTS, FROM \$2,100 A YEAR IN 1986 TO \$3,200 IN 1991;
A MORE THAN 50% INCREASE. I HAVE ALSO URGED THAT
PELL GRANTS BE LIMITED TO FAMILIES WHICH TRULY
NEED THEM -- THOSE WITH INCOMES OF LESS THAN
\$30,000 PER YEAR, AFTER TAXES.

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THE BOTTOM LINE IS: EDUCATION IS THE BEST
INVESTMENT AMERICA CAN MAKE IN OUR FUTURE. AND
YOU ARE THAT FUTURE.

SO THAT IS ONE BIG CHALLENGE.

O

AND A SECOND ONE IS WIPING OUT THE SCOURGE
OF ILLEGAL DRUGS FROM OUR SOCIETY. MORE PEOPLE --
MORE YOUNG PEOPLE -- ARE SAYING "NO" TO DRUGS.

FOR EXAMPLE, COCAINE USE AT THE HIGH SCHOOL LEVEL HAS DROPPED BY A THIRD OVER THE PAST YEAR. THAT IS THE GOOD NEWS.

BUT THERE IS FAR, FAR TOO MUCH BAD NEWS TO GO WITH IT. 23 MILLION AMERICANS USED ILLEGAL DRUGS LAST MONTH; MORE THAN 10% OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES. "CRACK" NOW IS AVAILABLE IN 60% OF AMERICA'S SCHOOLS. THE AVERAGE AGE FOR "FIRST USE" OF ILLEGAL DRUGS HAS NOW DROPPED TO LESS THAN 13 YEARS OLD.

DRUGS DON'T GIVE ANY REWARDS; THEY ROT THE
BODIES AND MINES OF OUR MOST PRECIOUS NATURAL
RESOURCE -- OUR MEN, AND WOMEN, AND CHILDREN.
USING DRUGS ISN'T DARING; IT IS DEADLY.

O

SOME PEOPLE USED TO CLAIM THAT COCAINE WAS
"RELATIVELY HARMLESS." NOW WE KNOW THAT IT IS
INCREDIBLY ADDICTIVE; AND CAN TRIGGER HEART
ATTACKS, STROKES AND LIVER DAMAGE. SEIZURES AND
DEATH CAN RESULT FROM A SINGLE USE.

SOME PEOPLE USED TO CLAIM MARIJUANA WAS A MILD AND HARMLESS DRUG. BUT THE MARIJUANA BEING MARKETING TODAY IS, ON AVERAGE, NINE TIMES MORE POTENT THAN A DECADE AGO. TAKEN ALONE, IT EFFECTS THE BRAIN, CAN DAMAGE BOTH SHORT AND LONG-TERM MEMORY, AND CAN HARM THE IMMUNE AND REPRODUCTIVE SYSTEMS. SPIKED WITH CHEMICALS LIKE PCP, AS IT OFTEN IS, IT BECOMES A LOADED GUN, READY TO DO DEADLY DAMAGE.

O

THE PROBLEM IS REAL, AND ENORMOUS. AND THERE
ARE NO EASY ANSWERS.

WE CERTAINLY NEED BETTER LAW ENFORCEMENT.
THE FACT THAT THOUSANDS OF CONVICTED DRUG
DEALERS ANNUALLY ARE LET OFF WITH ONLY PROBATION
-- NO PRISON SENTENCE AT ALL -- IS A SCANDAL. WHEN
FEDERAL LAWS ARE BROKEN, WE NEED TOUGH, MINIMUM
SENTENCES -- SENTENCES MULTIPLIED FOR REPEAT
OFFENDERS.

DRUG DEALERS, MONEY LAUNDERERS AND THOSE
WHO LIVE OFF AND PROFIT FROM THEM -- THEY ARE ALL,
COLLECTIVELY, PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE. LET'S GET
THEM OFF THE STREETS, AND BEHIND BARS -- WHERE
THEY BELONG.

AND EVEN THOUGH WE MANAGED SOME
INTERDICTION SUCCESSES SUCH AS THE SEIZURE OF 140
TONS OF COCAINE LAST YEAR, THE FEDERAL EFFORT TO

STOP THE IN-FLOW OF DRUGS INTO THIS COUNTRY HAS
BEEN BADLY MANAGED AND ACHIEVED TOO FEW HARD
RESULTS. IT NEEDS TO BE REINVIGORATED, WITH NEW
PRIORITY AND LEADERSHIP.

O

BUT LAW ENFORCEMENT IS FAR FROM THE WHOLE
ANSWER. WE HAVE TO REVERSE 20 YEARS OF
INSUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO THE DRUG PROBLEM; 20
YEARS OF "MIXED MESSAGES" RESULTING FROM DRUG
USERS BEING SEEN AS "CHIC," AND DRUG USE BEING
VIEWED AS "RECREATIONAL."

THE WAR ON DRUGS MUST START WITH EDUCATION;
EDUCATION WHICH STARTS IN THE HOME, AND IS
INTRODUCED INTO OUR SCHOOLS CURRICULUM AT THE
POINT WHERE THE PROBLEM REALLY POPS UP -- NOT IN
COLLEGE; NOT IN HIGH SCHOOL; BUT IN ELEMENTARY
SCHOOL.

IN THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN YEAR, WE HEAR A
GREAT DEAL ABOUT "TARGETING VOTERS;" TRYING TO
FIND THOSE AMERICANS WHO ARE MOST LIKELY TO VOTE,

AND BE MOST RESPONSIVE TO OUR MESSAGES. WELL,
FOR THE DRUG DEALER, THE TARGET AUDIENCE IS EIGHT,
OR NINE, OR TEN YEARS OLD -- NOT OLD ENOUGH TO
VOTE; SOMETIMES, NOT EVEN OLD ENOUGH TO CROSS
THE STREET ALONE. THAT'S WHERE THE EDUCATION HAS
TO START. WAITING UNTIL HIGH SCHOOL IS JUST TOO
LATE.

O

WE ALSO HAVE TO STOP TOLERATING, EVEN
GLAMORIZING DRUG-USE IN OUR SOCIETY. LET'S FACE
IT: WHEN PUBLIC FIGURES, POLITICIANS, ATHLETES,
ENTERTAINERS -- WHEN THEY TALK ABOUT, JOKE ABOUT,
FLAUNT THEIR DRUG USE, AND JUST GET AWAY WITH IT --
WHEN THAT HAPPENS, WE ARE JUST WASTING THE
MONEY WE SPEND IN FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS
WHICH SEND THE RIGHT MESSAGE.

WHEN ROLE MODELS SAY DRUG USE IS OK, IT
DOESN'T MATTER IF TEACHERS SAY IT ISN'T.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HAVE OUR CHILDREN "JUST
SAY NO" TO DRUGS; WE HAVE TO "JUST SAY NO MORE"
TO LIFESTYLES AND PERSONALITIES WHICH INFECT OUR
CHILDREN WITH THE MOST DANGEROUS VIRUS OF ALL:
THE DRUG TOLERATION VIRUS.

O

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: LET ME TELL YOU
SOMETHING THAT THE YOUNG PEOPLE HERE ALREADY
KNOW.

IT'S A TOUGH WORLD OUT THERE FOR THESE YOUNG
PEOPLE. THEY DO FACE A REAL PROBLEM WITH DRUGS.
THEY DO FACE A REAL CHALLENGE, GETTING A GOOD
EDUCATION AND FINDING THE RESOURCES TO PAY FOR
IT.

THEY NEED OUR HELP, OUR SUPPORT, OUR
UNDERSTANDING.

AND THEY DESERVE IT.

THEY ARE NOT ONLY OUR PRIDE AND JOY.

THEY ARE ALSO OUR FUTURE.

EMBARGOED UNTIL 1:00 P.M.

FEBRUARY 9, 1988

CONTACT: DALE TATE/
TIM ARCHIE
(202) 223-8424

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
JOINT SESSION - NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE
CONCORD, N.H. -- FEBRUARY 9, 1988

I WANT TO THANK ALL OF YOU FOR ALLOWING ME TO MAKE THIS MY FIRST APPEARANCE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE SINCE LAST NIGHT'S IOWA RESULTS. IT IS PERHAPS APPROPRIATE THAT WE ARE HERE BEFORE THIS VERY UNIQUE CITIZEN LEGISLATURE. I'VE GOT A SPECIAL FEELING FOR THIS KIND OF INSTITUTION, BECAUSE IT'S WHERE I STARTED MY POLITICAL CAREER BACK IN 1950.

I MIGHT POINT OUT THAT STATE LEGISLATURES HAVE BEEN THE PROVING GROUNDS FOR SOME FINE PRESIDENTIAL TIMBER IN YEARS PAST -- THEY ARE CLOSEST TO THE PEOPLE .

ABRAHAM LINCOLN WON ELECTION TO THE ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT THE AGE OF 26.

TEDDY ROOSEVELT WAS 24 WHEN HE WON A SEAT IN THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY.

AND I WON MY FIRST TERM IN THE KANSAS LEGISLATURE AT THE AGE OF 26 AND IN 1952, MY BOYHOOD HERO, DWIGHT EISENHOWER, WON THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY THAT CATAPULTED HIM TO THE HEAD OF THE REPUBLICAN TICKET.

TODAY -- THE DAY AFTER IOWA -- IT'S A BRAND NEW CONTEST IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. AND A WEEK FROM TODAY, THE VOTERS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE WILL PLAY A MONUMENTAL PART IN THE AMERICAN DRAMA OF CHOOSING OUR NEXT PRESIDENT.

EXACTLY THREE MONTHS AGO TODAY (NOVEMBER 9), WHEN THIS CAMPAIGN FORMALLY BEGAN IN MY HOME TOWN OF RUSSELL, KANSAS, I SAID I WANTED TO LEAD AMERICA INTO AN EVEN GREATER ERA OF OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR PEOPLE AND SECURITY FOR OUR NATION. I

OFFERED A WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD, TO HANG TOUGH, TO GO THE DISTANCE. AND I OFFERED THE STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION TO BRING COMMON-SENSE ANSWERS TO THE COMPLEX PROBLEMS FACING AMERICA IN ITS THIRD CENTURY.

TODAY, I'M RENEWING MY COMMITMENT TO THOSE GOALS.

AMERICA'S GREATNESS STILL LIES AHEAD. THE IDEAL NATION OUR FOUNDERS ENVISIONED MORE THAN 200 YEARS AGO IS YET TO BE ACHIEVED. WE'VE MADE GREAT PROGRESS -- MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. BUT WE CAN DO BETTER YET.

FIRST, HOWEVER, WE MUST COMMIT OURSELVES ANEW TO DEALING WITH THE SINGLE GREATEST THREAT TO A PROSPEROUS AND SECURE AMERICA: THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT. MOST OF US WHO ARE CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY HAVE BEEN TALKING A GOOD GAME, POINTING WITH ALARM TO THE DEFICIT.

BUT ONLY ONE OF US IS LAYING OUT ANY REAL SOLUTIONS -- INCLUDING AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD FREEZE ON FEDERAL SPENDING FROM MY FIRST WEEK IN OFFICE. ONLY ONE OF US IS READY, WILLING AND ABLE TO MAKE THE DIFFERENCE. ONLY ONE OF US HAS THE BACKGROUND AND THE BACKBONE TO SHRINK THE DEFICIT -- AND TO DO SO WITHOUT RAISING TAX RATES ON INDIVIDUALS OR CORPORATIONS.

AS ONE WHO FORGED A CONSENSUS ON THE PLAN TO SAVE SOCIAL SECURITY FROM BANKRUPTCY IN 1983, I AM THE ONE CANDIDATE WHO HAS DEMONSTRATED HIS COMMITMENT TO KEEPING THOSE BROWN ENVELOPES COMING -- WITH A CHECK INSIDE.

GETTING RID OF THE DEFICIT IS JUST AS IMPORTANT FOR AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION AS IT IS FOR OUR WELL-BEING HERE AT HOME. THE REST OF THE WORLD KNOWS -- THE SOVIETS KNOW, THE JAPANESE KNOW, OUR ADVERSARIES AND OUR ALLIES ALL KNOW -- THAT WE CANNOT HOLD OUR OWN IN TODAY'S WORLD UNLESS WE DEMONSTRATE THE POLITICAL WILL TO DEAL WITH THE DEFICIT.

THIS PAST DECADE -- THE 1980s -- HAS BEEN A DECADE OF GROWTH, PROSPERITY AND PEACE FOR AMERICA, THANKS TO THE LEADERSHIP OF ONE MAN, RONALD REAGAN.

BUT THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST BE PREPARED TO DEAL WITH A VASTLY DIFFERENT WORLD THAN WE HAVE FACED OVER THE PAST QUARTER OF A CENTURY. NOT SINCE THE YEARS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II HAVE WE FACED A CHALLENGE SO GREAT AND SO POTENT. HOW WE RESPOND TO THAT CHALLENGE WILL DETERMINE WHETHER OUR SECURITY, OUR PROSPERITY AND OUR STATURE IN THE WORLD WILL FLOURISH INTO THE NEXT CENTURY OR WHETHER WE WILL RETREAT AND DECLINE.

AS MUCH AS IN THOSE DARK AND DANGEROUS POST-WORLD WAR II YEARS, OUR RESPONSE WILL DEMAND STRONG, DECISIVE LEADERSHIP, IMAGINATION AND COURAGE.

IN BRINGING THAT KIND OF RESOLVE, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO START WITH SOME BASICS -- BASICS LIKE FREEDOM AND COMMUNISM. I HAVE GRAPPLED WITH ISSUES OF U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS THROUGHOUT THREE DECADES OF PUBLIC LIFE. I HAVE VISITED THE SOVIET UNION. I HAVE MET MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. AND, BASED ON ALL THAT, I CAN TELL YOU TWO THINGS

WHATEVER GLASNOST IS, IT IS NOT DEMOCRACY.

WHATEVER ELSE GORBACHEV MAY BE, HE IS STILL A HARD AS NAILS COMMUNIST.

WHEN MIKHAIL GORBACHEV LEFT WASHINGTON A FEW WEEKS BACK, WITH MANY STILL IN THE GRIP OF GLASNOST FEVER, HE FLEW BACK TO A GODLESS COMMUNIST STATE, WITH VERY LITTLE FREEDOM AND A MISERABLE STANDARD OF LIVING--THAT'S WHERE MIKHAIL GORBACHEV WOKE UP THE NEXT DAY .

BUT WE -- ALL OF US -- WE WOKE IN FREEDOM; IN THE FREEST AND MOST JUST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT DIFFERENCE.

SO WHEN WE DEAL WITH THE SOVIETS, -- IT MUST BE FROM STRENGTH.

WHEN WE TALK TO MR. GORBACHEV, AS WE SHOULD -- IT SHOULD NEVER BE IN BLIND FAITH.

SO LET ME MENTION FOUR ALL IMPORTANT ISSUES:

ISSUE NUMBER ONE IS CENTRAL AMERICA. THE HOUSE VOTE TO CUT OFF AID TO THE CONTRAS WAS A GRIEVOUS STRATEGIC MISTAKE.

THE ISSUE IN CENTRAL AMERICA IS NOT THAT DANIEL ORTEGA'S ARMY THREATENS THE TEXAS BORDER. IT IS THAT SOVIET BASES, AND INTELLIGENCE FACILITIES AND ADVISERS -- AND SOON, PERHAPS, SOVIET AIRCRAFT AND SUBMARINES -- MAY THREATEN THE FRAGILE SMALL DEMOCRACIES OF THE AMERICAS, THE PANAMA CANAL -- AND AMERICA'S OWN SECURITY.

IT IS NOT AMERICA WHICH CAUSES WAR IN CENTRAL AMERICA; BUT SOVIET INTERVENTION IN OUR HEMISPHERE.

AT OUR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN 1984, ONE OF OUR MOST DEDICATED AND ABLE NATIONAL LEADERS FORMER U.N. AMBASSADOR

JEANE KIRKPATRICK SAID IT AS CLEARLY AND ELOQUENTLY AS IT CAN BE SAID: THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE IN AMERICA WHO "ALWAYS BLAME AMERICA FIRST."

WE CANNOT ABANDON THE FIELD TO THOSE PEOPLE. WE CANNOT LET THIS HOUSE VOTE STAND AS THE FINAL ACT OF THIS DRAMA.

REGARDLESS OF WHAT A BARE MAJORITY OF HOUSE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS WANT, WE CANNOT STAND BY AND WATCH AMERICA'S OWN NATIONAL SECURITY BE COMPROMISED BY NAIVE FAITH IN A MARXIST DICTATOR LIKE DANIEL ORTEGA. AMERICA IS ALWAYS READY TO GIVE PEACE A CHANCE. WHEN WILL ORTEGA? WHEN WILL GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV?

I AM PROUD OF THIS LETTER WHICH I RECEIVED YESTERDAY FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN, SALUTING MY LEADERSHIP IN WINNING THE SENATE VOTE ON CONTRA AID.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MAY BE WILLING TO THROW IN THE TOWEL ON FREEDOM; BUT BOB DOLE ISN'T; AND AMERICA ISN'T. I HAVE ALREADY SENT MY CONTRIBUTION FOR FREEDOM, AND TODAY I URGE ALL PRIVATE AMERICANS TO JOIN ME IN THIS LEGAL, ABOVE-BOARD EFFORT TO PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT TO THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF NICARAGUA.

THEN THERE IS THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF ARMS CONTROL.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: THE HEADLONG RUSH TOWARD ACHIEVING A STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY MAY PUT US ON STRATEGIC THIN ICE.

SO LET ME SAY FLATLY: I WOULD SIGN NO FURTHER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION UNTIL WE ARE ABSOLUTELY, 110% SURE OF TWO THINGS. FIRST, THAT THEY CAN BE VERIFIED. AND, SECOND, THAT THEY WILL NOT UNDERMINE THE DETERRENCE POWER OF THE UNITED STATES -- BEYOND ANY SHADOW OF A DOUBT.

AND LET ME ADD, TOO: THE NEXT ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT SHOULD BE A CONVENTIONAL ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT. BECAUSE -- UNTIL WE GET SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES DOWN TO MANAGEABLE SIZE -- ANY STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY CAN COMPROMISE THE VERY DETERRENCE THAT PROTECTS US FROM SOVIET ATTACK, AND PRESERVES THE PEACE. WE MUST LINK ANY SO CALLED START AGREEMENT TO RESOLVING THE OVERWHELMING SOVIET ADVANTAGE IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

WE MUST ALSO INSIST THAT OUR ALLIES CARRY THEIR FAIR SHARE OF THE LOAD IN GLOBAL PEACEKEEPING. OUR EUROPEAN AND ASIAN ALLIES DESERVE FIRST CONSIDERATION IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATIONS. BUT THEY MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT AN ALLIANCE IS A TWO-WAY STREET. WHEN AMERICA COMES TO THE DEFENSE OF A MUTUAL FRIEND, WE HAVE THE RIGHT TO INSIST WE NOT BE THERE ALONE.

AND, FINALLY, THERE IS PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE CONTRIBUTION OF PRESIDENT REAGAN TO PRESERVING AMERICA'S LONG-TERM SECURITY, THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE -- S.D.I.

SCUTTling OUR ONLY NUCLEAR DEFENSE INSURANCE POLICY REMAINS ONE OF THE VERY HIGHEST PRIORITIES FOR MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. AND GORBACHEV'S BEST CHANCE TO KILL S.D.I. IS TO GET AMERICANS TO BUY THE PHONY PROPOSITION THAT GIVING S.D.I. TO GET A START AGREEMENT WOULD BE A GOOD TRADE FOR AMERICA.

S.D.I. SHOULD NOT BE ON THE TABLE IN THE START TALKS, PERIOD.

WE SHOULD NOT BE NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIETS ON OUR OWN MILITARY R&D OPTIONS. WE SHOULD NOT BE TYING OUR OWN HANDS UNILATERALLY, THROUGH SELF-IMPOSED LEGISLATIVE RESTRAINTS ON THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT TO PURSUE S.D.I. WHEREVER IT LEADS US.

FOR THOSE REPUBLICANS WHO ARE CAMPAIGNING TO PICK UP THE NATIONAL SECURITY LEGACY THAT RONALD REAGAN WILL LEAVE BEHIND -- I CHALLENGE THEM TO JOIN ME IN THIS CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL PLEDGE: I WILL DEVELOP S.D.I. I WILL TEST S.D.I. I WILL DEPLOY S.D.I.

I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE BY RECALLING FOR YOU AN EXPERIENCE THAT ELIZABETH AND I HAD WHEN WE VISITED THE SOVIET UNION A FEW YEARS AGO -- AN EXPERIENCE I WILL NEVER FORGET.

WE WENT TO THE BASEMENT OF OUR EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, AND TALKED WITH TWO FAMILIES FROM SIBERIA WHO HAD SOUGHT ASYLUM FROM RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

IN ATTEMPTING TO REACH OUR EMBASSY'S GATES, ONE OF THE YOUNG SONS WAS CAUGHT BY RUSSIAN GUARDS, BEATEN IN FULL SIGHT OF THE TWO FAMILIES, AND THEN DRAGGED AWAY. NOT UNTIL THREE WEEKS LATER DID THEY LEARN THAT HE HAD BEEN THROWN ON A TRAIN BACK TO SIBERIA. IT WAS NEARLY FIVE YEARS -- SEPARATED FROM THEIR FRIENDS AND FAMILY AND LIVING IN THE BASEMENT OF THAT EMBASSY -- BEFORE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ALLOWED THOSE FAMILIES TO EMIGRATE TO ISRAEL.

AS WE DROVE UP TO THE AIRPORT TO BEGIN OUR LONG TRIP HOME, I LOOKED AT THAT AIRPLANE SITTING ON THE RUNWAY WITH "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" EMBLAZONED ON ITS SIDE. IT WAS A STIRRING SIGHT THAT FILLED ME WITH LOVE FOR OUR COUNTRY. I JUST THANKED GOD I COULD COME HOME TO AMERICA. HOME TO FREEDOM, HOME TO DEMOCRACY. AND I RESOLVED AS I STOOD ON THAT SOVIET AIRFIELD. THAT I WOULD DO EVERYTHING IN MY POWER NOT ONLY TO SECURE OUR FREEDOM BUT SPREAD ITS LIGHT AROUND THE WORLD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: WE HAVE SOME TOUGH CHALLENGES.

BUT WE'RE TOUGH PEOPLE.

WE'VE BEEN THROUGH WARS; THROUGH DEPRESSION, THROUGH NATIONAL
CRISES; AND NATIONAL TRAGEDIES.

WE'RE STILL AMERICA.

AND THAT STILL MEANS SOMETHING.

BEING HERE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. WHERE YOUR STATE MOTTO IS "LIVE
FREE OR DIE:" BEING HERE IN THIS STATE LEGISLATURE -- I SEE: I
SENSE: I KNOW WHAT AMERICA MEANS.

IT MEANS INDIVIDUALS -- PROUD INDIVIDUALS. IT MEANS GROUPS
AND COMMUNITIES, WORKING TOGETHER. IT MEANS PARTIES AND
POLITICIANS, COMPETING FREELY.

IT MEANS FREEDOM, RINGING LOUDLY.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
FEBRUARY 11, 1988

THREE MONTHS AGO, WHEN THIS CAMPAIGN
FORMALLY BEGAN IN MY HOME TOWN OF RUSSELL,
KANSAS, I SAID I WANTED TO LEAD AMERICA INTO AN
EVEN GREATER ERA OF OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR PEOPLE
AND SECURITY FOR OUR NATION.

I OFFERED A WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD, TO
HANG TOUGH, TO GO THE DISTANCE. AND I OFFERED
THE STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION TO BRING
COMMON SENSE ANSWERS TO THE COMPLEX
PROBLEMS FACING AMERICA IN ITS THIRD CENTURY.

AMERICA'S GREATNESS STILL LIES AHEAD. THE
IDEAL NATION OUR FOUNDERS ENVISIONED MORE THAN
200 YEARS AGO IS YET TO BE ACHIEVED. WE'VE MADE
GREAT PROGRESS -- MORE THAN ANY OTHER NATION
YET. BUT WE CAN DO BETTER.

WHAT'S AHEAD FOR YOU

WE MUST DO BETTER IF YOU ARE TO HAVE THE
SAME OPPORTUNITY, THE SAME CHANCE THAT I HAD,
AND YOUR PARENTS HAD, TO ACHIEVE THE AMERICAN
DREAM

WHETHER YOU CAN WILL LARGELY DEPEND ON THE
MAN WHO SITS IN THE OVAL OFFICE STARTING NEXT
JANUARY. THE FATE OF THIS NATION'S ECONOMY, AND
ALL THE OTHERS INEXTRICABLY LINKED TO IT, RESTS
NOT IN HIS HANDS ALONE -- BUT TO PARAPHRASE
HARRY TRUMAN, THAT IS WHERE THE BUCK STOPS.

RIGHT NOW THE ECONOMY IS SPINNING ALONG.
DESPITE THE OCTOBER 19 WALL STREET TUMULT, THE
U.S. IS NOW IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF UNINTERRUPTED
ECONOMIC GROWTH. INFLATION IS LOW, INTEREST
RATES ARE DOWN, UNEMPLOYMENT IS AT THE LOWEST
LEVELS IN THE PAST DECADE.

AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY HAS, IN THIS PERIOD, BEEN IMPRESSIVELY SUCCESSFUL AS A JOB-GENERATING MACHINE. THE JOBS AND LIVING STANDARD THAT GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT PRODUCES ARE THE BOTTOM LINE OF ECONOMIC POLICY.

BUT THERE ARE DARK CLOUDS HOVERING ON THE HORIZON -- NONE DARKER THAN THE TWIN DEFICITS -- BUDGET AND TRADE. AND IT WILL TAKE A STEADY AND EXPERIENCED HAND ON THE TILLER IF WE ARE TO SAIL AROUND, OR PERHAPS EVEN THROUGH, THOSE ROUGH WATERS.

EARNED MY SEA LEGS

WELL, I'VE EARNED MY SEA LEGS IN ECONOMIC
BATTLES. I KNOW THE PROBLEMS, I KNOW THE PLAYERS,
AND I KNOW THE POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS. SOME PEOPLE
SPEAK FRENCH AND ITALIAN AS WELL AS ENGLISH, WELL
I CAN SPEAK TAX CODE AND BUDGETESE -- I HAVE HAD
27 YEARS OF "SCHOOL OF HARD KNOCKS" COURSES IN
BOTH.

THE REAGAN REVOLUTION IS LARGELY AN
ECONOMIC REVOLUTION. AND I AM PROUD TO SAY, I
HAD A DIRECT HAND IN ACHIEVING MOST OF ITS MAJOR
ACCOMPLISHMENTS. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE
FINANCE COMMITTEE I SAT ACROSS THE TABLE FROM
DANNY ROSTENKOWSKI, CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE
WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE, AND HAMMERED OUT
THE DETAILS OF THE 1981 TAX CUT -- THE LARGEST IN
THIS NATION'S HISTORY, AND WE DID THE SAME TO
COME UP WITH THE BIG DEFICIT CUTTING PACKAGES IN
1981, 82, AND 84.

I WAS SENATE MAJORITY LEADER IN 1985, AND
SPENT LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF HOURS, PUTTING
TOGETHER A BUDGET PACKAGE THAT -- HAD IT BEEN
IMPLEMENTED -- WOULD HAVE BALANCED THE BUDGET
IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO. THAT DIDN'T HAPPEN. BUT
DURING MY TENURE AS MAJORITY LEADER, WE DID PASS
AND MAKE THE LAW OF THE LAND,
GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS -- NAMED AFTER MY GOOD
FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, YOUR SENATOR, WARREN

RUDMAN. AND AS A RESULT OF THAT LAW, CONGRESS
HAS TAKEN THE FIRST, CRUCIAL STEPS, IN MEETING THE
DEFICIT CHALLENGE. WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO, BUT
GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS PUT US ON THE STRAIGHT
AND NARROW.

SOCIAL SECURITY

ONE OF THE MOST REWARDING EXPERIENCES OF
MY CAREER WAS SERVING ON PRESIDENT REAGAN'S
SOCIAL SECURITY COMMISSION. TALKING ABOUT THIS
GIVES ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REFUTE SOME
ASSERTIONS MADE BY MY OPPONENTS ON SOCIAL
SECURITY. THE RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

- 11 -

IN 1982, THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM WAS
TEETERING ON THE EDGE OF BANKRUPTCY. DEEP
DIVISIONS IN CONGRESS OVER HOW TO SAVE THE
SYSTEM SEEMED TO POSE INSURMOUNTABLE
OBSTACLES FOR REACHING AGREEMENT. SO WE
FORMED A BIPARTISAN COMMISSION MADE UP OF
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS AND OUTSIDE EXPERTS.
THEY HAD MEETING AFTER MEETING, BUT NO
AGREEMENT. MANY WANTED TO GIVE UP. BUT I SAID
NO. AND WE TRIED AGAIN. AND WE DID REACH
CONSENSUS.

I INTRODUCED THE RESCUE PACKAGE AND PUSHED IT THROUGH THE SENATE. AND AS A RESULT, THE SYSTEM STAYED AFLOAT AND NOT ONE SENIOR CITIZEN MISSED A CHECK. SOCIAL SECURITY IS NOW ON SOUND FINANCIAL FOOTING, WITH A SURPLUS OF ABOUT \$70 BILLION.

JACK KEMP OPPOSED THAT PACKAGE. HE WOULD HAVE LET THE SYSTEM GO DOWN THE TUBES. SO IT'S MORE THAN A LITTLE IRONIC THAT HE IS CRITICIZING ME FOR MY COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL SECURITY.

OIL IMPORT FEE

AND SINCE I'M SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT,
SOME HAVE MISREPRESENTED MY POSITION ON AN OIL
IMPORT FEE AS WELL.

THE FACTS ARE THAT I HAVE NEVER ADVOCATED AN
OIL IMPORT FEE. I HAVE SAID THAT I WOULD CONSIDER
ONE -- BUT ONLY AS A MEANS OF STABILIZING OIL
PRICES AND PROMOTING CONSERVATION -- AND ONLY IF
MOST, IF NOT ALL -- OF THE MONEY RAISED WERE USED
TO PROVIDE TAX CREDITS OR REBATES TO CONSUMERS
WHO USE HOME HEATING OIL OR PETROLEUM BASED
AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS.

I REJECT IMPOSING AN OIL IMPORT FEE SOLELY AS
A MEANS OF DEFICIT REDUCTION, AND MY VOTING
RECORD DOCUMENTS THAT. IN FACT, IN 1980, I LEAD
THE SUCCESSFUL FIGHT TO DEFEAT JIMMY CARTER'S
ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE AN OIL IMPORT FEE AS A WAY TO
HELP BALANCE THE BUDGET.

THE ONLY REASON I HAVE SAID I WOULD CONSIDER
THE FEE IS THAT IN THE EVENT OF A COLLAPSE IN OIL
PRICES, THE FEE COULD HELP TO MAINTAIN STABILITY
AND AVOID ECONOMIC DEVASTATION IN OUR DOMESTIC
OIL PRODUCING REGIONS, WHICH ULTIMATELY IMPACTS
THE ENTIRE NATION'S ECONOMY.

TAXES NO WAY TO BALANCE THE BUDGET

WHETHER IT'S AN OIL IMPORT FEE, OR A
CONSUMPTION TAX, OR DOING A WAY WITH INDEXING
TAX RATES TO INFLATION -- A PROVISION I SPONSORED
IN 1981 -- TAX INCREASES ARE SIMPLY NOT THE WAY TO
BALANCE THE BUDGET. OUR PROBLEM IS NOT THAT
TAXES ARE TOO LOW, BUT THAT SPENDING IS TOO HIGH.

SOME PEOPLE SAY I'M TOUGH. YOU HAVE TO BE
TOUGH TO STAND UP TO THE DEMOCRATS IN
WASHINGTON WHO WANT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET
ON THE BACKS OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER

IF YOU WANT TO SEE TOUGHNESS, LET THE
DEMOCRATS TRY TO RAISE TAXES. JUST LET THEM TRY
TO SCUTTLE THE LOWER TAX RATES THE REPUBLICANS
IN CONGRESS GOT THROUGH FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN.

AS PRESIDENT, I PLEDGE THAT I WILL VETO ANY
ATTEMPT -- ANY ATTEMPT -- TO INCREASE INCOME TAX
RATES.

BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE, AS ONE OF MY REPUBLICAN
OPPONENTS DOES, THAT CUTTING THE CAPITAL GAINS
TAX WILL INCREASE REVENUES. EVERY ECONOMIC
ANALYSIS I HAVE EVER SEEN SHOWS THAT PROPOSAL
WILL LOSE REVENUES, MILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH.
TO SAY THAT YOU CAN CUT THE DEFICIT BY LOWERING
THE CAPITAL GAINS RATE ISN'T VODOO ECONOMICS,
ITS HOUDINI ECONOMICS.

GIMMICKS ARE NOT GOING TO DO THE TRICK. THE
NEXT PRESIDENT SHOULD BE ABLE TO USE EVERY
FISCAL WEAPON IN THE ARSENAL -- AND THAT IS WHY I
STRONGLY SUPPORT GIVING THE NEXT PRESIDENT LINE
ITEM VETO AUTHORITY. AND YOU CAN BE SURE I'D USE
IT, FORCEFULLY AND AGGRESSIVELY. AND I ALSO
BELIEVE WE MUST ADOPT THE CONSTITUTIONAL
AMENDMENT TO BALANCE THE BUDGET.

BUT IF WE ARE GOING TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH
THE DEFICIT, THEN WE HAVE TO CONFRONT IT
HEAD-ON. THERE ARE WAYS, HOWEVER, TO DO IT SO
THAT GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PERFORM ITS VITAL
FUNCTIONS AND WAYS THAT DON'T HURT ANYONE.

THE FREEZE

THAT'S WHY I FAVOR A "QUICK FREEZE" AS THE FIRST STEP IN THE DOLE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORT TO ERADICATE THE DEFICIT. I HAVE LAID OUT A NUMBER OF FREEZE OPTIONS -- FROM A FLAT, ACROSS-THE-BOARD FREEZE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PROGRAMS AFFECTING THE NEEDY -- TO THE 2 PERCENT SOLUTION, A FORMULA THAT WOULD ALLOW PROGRAMS TO GROW 2 PERCENT A YEAR.

THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THESE FREEZE
OPTIONS SHARE IS THAT THEY REPRESENT THE KIND OF
COMPROMISE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN
UNDERSTAND AND WILL KNOW IS FAIR. WE CAN GET A
FREEZE IN PLACE QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY AND GET
THE DEFICIT -CUTTING PROCESS IN MOTION. A FREEZE
WOULD BE A PACT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR
LEADERS IN WASHINGTON.

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BUT THE FREEZE IS JUST A STARTING POINT -- IT
DOES NOT TAKE A STRONG LEADER OFF THE HOOK FOR
MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT THE BUDGET AND GETTING
THEM TO STICK.

EVERY DOLLAR OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING IS NOT
THE SAME. SOME ARE BETTER THAN OTHERS.

ALLOCATED WISELY, GOVERNMENT SPENDING IS LIKE AN
INVESTMENT. IN FACT, IT IS AN INVESTMENT IN THE
PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF OUR NATION.

EDUCATING OUR CHILDREN TO BE TECHNICALLY
LITERATE. GETTING PEOPLE OFF WELFARE AND INTO
THE LABOR FORCE. IMPROVING OUR CAPITAL PLANT.
GUARANTEEING THAT OUR NATION'S DEFENSE IS
MODERN AND EFFECTIVE. THESE ARE THE KINDS OF
SPENDING THAT BUILD THE FIBER AND
COMPETITIVENESS OF AMERICA.

BUT ULTIMATELY, THE KEY TO THE BUDGET IS NOT
CUTTING, BUT CHOOSING.

- 24 -

THAT'S THE JOB OF THE PRESIDENT -- TO TEACH, TO
SPREAD THE WORD ABOUT PRIORITIES AND TO MAKE
THE TOUGH CHOICES WHEN NEEDED. I'VE HAD A LOT
OF PRACTICE DOING ALL THREE. UNLIKE OTHERS, I
BELIEVE THAT CONGRESS BOTH TEACHES AND TESTS
YOUR LEADERSHIP ABILITIES. EVERY DAY YOU HAVE TO
MAKE CHOICES -- CHOICES ON BEHALF OF YOUR
CONSTITUENTS, CHOICES FOR YOUR REGION, FOR THE
COUNTRY, CHOICES THAT DETERMINE THE UNITED
STATES STATURE IN THE WORLD OF NATIONS. THERE'S
NO DUCKING, NO HIDING BEHIND BUREAUCRATS ON
CAPITOL HILL. YOUR RECORD IS THERE, FOR GOD AND
MAN TO SEE.

COMPETITIVENESS

AND THE NEXT LEADER OF THIS COUNTRY, THE
GREATEST COUNTRY ON EARTH, MUST BLAZE THE TRAIL
FOR 21ST CENTURY. HE MUST SEE TO IT THAT THE U.S.
IS NOT JUST A COMPETITOR, BUT A WINNER IN THE
WORLD ECONOMY.

THERE IS A LITTLE BIT OF GOOD IN EVERYTHING.
AND THE LITTLE BIT OF GOOF IN THE CURRENT TRADE
DEFICIT IS THAT IT HAS ALREADY MADE MANY OF OUR
INDUSTRIES LEANER AND TOUGHER.

I REJECT POLICIES THAT EXHIBIT WEAKNESS BY
SAYING TO OTHER COUNTRIES: "BE NICE TO US." WE
HAVE TO FIGHT FOR OPEN MARKETS. COMPETITION IS
GOOD FOR EVERYONE. THAT IS A CARDINAL TENET OF
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. IT IS ONE OF THE CRITICAL
DIFFERENCES IN PERSPECTIVE AND EMPHASIS THAT
DISTINGUISHES US FROM THE DEMOCRATS.

PRESIDENT REAGAN IS "RIGHT ON" IN PRESSING
HARD FOR MORE OPEN WORLD MARKETS. THE
OSTRICH-LIKE POLICIES OF SOME OF THE DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATES ARE BAD FOR RICH AND POOR ALIKE.

WE NEED TO CREATE NEW OPPORTUNITY, NEW
HOPE FOR AMERICAN BUSINESSES. WE NEED TO BE AS
AGGRESSIVE -- AS AGGRESSIVE AS THE JAPANESE AND
KOREANS AND GERMANS WE ARE COMPETING AGAINST.

LEADERSHIP MAKES A DIFFERENCE

WE NEED TO BE AGGRESSIVE BECAUSE WE WANT TO WIN. WINNING IS WHAT AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT. AND TO WIN, YOU NEED A STRONG, RESILIENT, EXPERIENCED LEADER -- WHETHER IT IS IN SPORTS, BUSINESS, OR GOVERNMENT. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS FORTUNATE THAT ANY ONE OF ITS POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES HAS MORE EXPERIENCE, MORE ABILITY, MORE STRENGTH, THAN ANY ONE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

BUT THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE WILL DEMAND A
PRESIDENT WITH SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS. IT WILL
DEMAND A LEADER WHO IS NOT ONLY STRONG AND
THOUGHTFUL AND COMPASSIONATE, BUT MOST OF ALL
-- A LEADER WHO KNOWS HOW, WHO IS COMMITTED TO
GETTING THE JOB DONE. I'VE BEEN TACKLING TOUGH
PROBLEMS AND SOLVING THEM FOR THE PAST 30
YEARS. I HAVE A TRACK RECORD. A RECORD OF
ACHIEVEMENT THAT I AM PROUD OF -- A RECORD OF
ACHIEVEMENT THAT HAS MADE A DIFFERENCE, A
POSITIVE DIFFERENCE, FOR MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. I
HOPE YOU WILL GIVE ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO
CONTINUE TO WORK AND TO WIN FOR AMERICA.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
A PRACTICAL APPROACH TO TRADE
SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE -- NEW ORLEANS
FEBRUARY 12, 1988

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. IT'S GREAT TO BE HERE
FOR A MID-WINTER PREVIEW OF OUR PARTY'S NATIONAL
NOMINATING CONVENTION IN THIS GREAT CITY IN THE
SUPERDOME NEXT AUGUST.

WE ALL KNOW THE WORLD HAS CHANGED A LOT
SINCE FOLKS OF MY GENERATION FIRST WENT OUT TO
FIND A JOB.

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IN THOSE DAYS YOU WENT DOWN TO THE FACTORY
OR THE CORPORATION OR THE SMALL BUSINESS AND
YOU SAID YOU WANTED TO WORK. YOU WERE HIRED.
THE PAY WAS PRETTY GOOD. AND YOU COULD PRETTY
MUCH STAY AS LONG AS YOU LIKED.

WE ALL KNOW THAT'S NOT THE WAY IT IS ANYMORE.
COMPANIES MERGE. COMPANIES DISAPPEAR.
FACTORIES SHUT DOWN. PRODUCTION IS
TRANSFERRED OVERSEAS. AND THE WORKER IS LOST IN
THE SHUFFLE.

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YOU DON'T HAVE TO LOOK FAR TO SEE THE PAIN.

THE CATERPILLAR PLANT IN IOWA SHUTS DOWN, AND
2,000 JOBS ARE LOST FOREVER. THE GENERAL MOTORS
PLANT IN MASSACHUSETTS CLOSES ITS DOORS. FIVE
THOUSAND JOBS ARE LOST.

IN JUST THE LAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, WE'VE
BEEN BLEEDING AWAY A MAJOR PART OF OUR NATION'S
MANUFACTURING INFRASTRUCTURE. CORNING GLASS
CLOSES A PLANT IN RADFORD, VIRGINIA. AT&T SHUTS
ITS TELEPHONE ASSEMBLY PLANT IN SHREVEPORT AND

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MOVES IT TO SINGAPORE. NCR LOCKS THE DOORS OF ITS PLANTS IN CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA. TEXAS INSTRUMENTS SCALES BACK ITS PLANTS IN DALLAS AND JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE. JOHN DEERE STOPS ITS ASSEMBLY LINE IN THE QUAD CITIES AREA OF IOWA AND ILLINOIS.

MEANWHILE, GENERAL ELECTRIC AND RCA ATTACH THEIR LABELS TO VCR'S AND TV'S MADE WITH CHEAPER, FOREIGN LABOR. MANY AMERICANS ARE FORCED INTO LOWER-PAYING SERVICE JOBS. AND THEY SUFFER. AND

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THEY DON'T NEED A WEATHERMAN TO TELL WHICH WAY
THE TRADE WINDS ARE BLOWING.

SO PEOPLE START LOOKING FOR A SCAPEGOAT.
AND IT'S EASY TO FIND ONE. JUST LOOK OVERSEAS.
LOOK AT THE UNFAIR TRADE PRACTICES OF OUR
TRADING PARTNERS. LOOK AT THE BALLOONING TRADE
DEFICIT.

BUT THE EASY WAY IS NOT THE BEST WAY.

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IT WAS A WISE PERSON WHO FIRST SAID THAT
THOSE WHO REFUSE TO LEARN FROM THE PAST ARE
CONDEMNED TO REPEAT ITS MISTAKES. THAT'S GOOD
ADVICE, AND WE OUGHT TO PAY ATTENTION --
ESPECIALLY WHEN DEALING WITH THE TRADE DEFICIT.

PARALLELS WITH THE PAST

IN 1930, THE GOOD TIMES WERE ENDING. THE
STOCK MARKET HAD COLLAPSED. INVESTORS
REMAINED NERVOUS. COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD
BEGAN TO

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CLOSE THEIR MARKETS. IN RESPONSE, THE U.S.
CONGRESS PASSED THE SMOOT-HAWLEY ACT -- THE
MOST PROTECTIONIST LEGISLATION IN HISTORY. AND
THE WORLD WAS PLUNGED INTO THE GREAT
DEPRESSION.

SOME SEE PARALLELS BETWEEN THEN AND NOW.
THEY CITE THE BIG DROP IN THE STOCK MARKET IN
OCTOBER. THEY POINT, IN PARTICULAR, TO THE
ENORMOUS U.S. TRADE DEFICIT. THEIR SOLUTION: TO
REPEAT THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST. TO RETALIATE,

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TO CLOSE OUR BORDERS TO FOREIGN GOODS. IN
SHORT, PROTECTIONISM -- THE KIND THAT COULD BRING
US TO ANOTHER DEPRESSION.

CONSIDER WHAT HAPPENED NOT TOO MANY YEARS
AGO. NEWSREELS SHOWED AMERICAN ATTACKING
JAPANESE CARS WITH SLEDGE HAMMERS BECAUSE
THEY CUT INTO DOMESTIC CAR SALES. WE IMPOSED
QUOTAS ON JAPANESE CARS. THEIR SALES WENT DOWN
-- BUT

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OUR PRICES WENT UP, AND SO DID THEIR PROFITS. AND
THE TRADE GAP WIDENED. IT MIGHT HAVE MADE US
FEEL GOOD BUT IT DIDN'T SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

THERE ARE PLENTY OF OTHER EXAMPLES WE
COULD TALK ABOUT, BUT LET ME PICK A COUPLE FROM
AGRICULTURE.

JAPAN USES A VARIETY OF MEASURES TO RESTRICT
U.S. EXPORTS. FRUIT, FOR EXAMPLE. ONLY A FEW
JAPANESE FIRMS ARE ALLOWED TO IMPORT FLORIDA
ORANGES AND GEORGIA PEACHES AND ALABAMA
MELONS.

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THESE FIRMS USE THEIR NEAR-MONOPOLY TO MAKE
HUGE PROFITS. THE RESULT IS THAT IN TOKYO, AN
AMERICAN-GROWN WATERMELON COSTS \$55. NOT
MANY JAPANESE WANT TO BUY U.S. FRUIT AT THOSE
PRICES.

JAPAN'S POWERFUL FARM LOBBY ALSO HAS
ERECTED BARRIERS TO U.S. BEEF -- AND OUR CHEAPER
RICE -- GROWN IN TEXAS OR ARKANSAS OR LOUISIANA --
CAN ONLY BE BROUGHT INTO JAPAN 25 POUNDS AT A
TIME . . . AS A GIFT.

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AND JAPAN ARBITRARILY REFUSES TO PERMIT
AMERICAN BUSINESS TO COMPETE IN VIRTUALLY EVERY
SECTOR OF THEIR ECONOMY, FROM PUBLIC WORKS
PROJECTS TO SUPERCOMPUTER AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS MARKETS.

THE LIST GOES ON, AND I DON'T MEAN TO SINGLE
OUT THE JAPANESE. BUT THEY DO REPRESENT A THIRD
OF THE TRADE DEFICIT -- AND THEIR TRADE PRACTICES
ARE IMITATED BY OTHER NATIONS. AND THE NET
RESULT IS THAT FOREIGN COMPANIES ARE STEALING
OUR

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MARKETS WHILE THEIR GOVERNMENTS ARE DENYING
U.S. EXPORTERS FAIR ACCESS TO THEIR MARKETS. AND
IT'S TIME FOR THIS DOUBLE-DEALING TO STOP.

I WANT TO TURN THIS ONE-WAY TRADE TRAFFIC
AROUND, BUT I DON'T WANT TO DO IT THROUGH
PROTECTIONISM. I WANT TO DO IT THROUGH
LEADERSHIP.

A THREE-POINT PROGRAM
IN A DOLE ADMINISTRATION, OUR TRADE POLICIES
WILL BE FRAMED BY THREE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVES:

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- O AGGRESSIVE REFORM AND ENFORCEMENT
OF EXISTING LAWS WHICH GOVERN
INTERNATIONAL TRADE.
- O CREATION OF NEW MARKETS FOR AMERICAN
EXPORTS.
- O A COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT RIGHT HERE AT
HOME TO PUSH FOR UNEQUALED AMERICAN
COMPETITIVENESS.

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BROAD REFORM OF TRADE LAWS WAS A MAJOR
PART OF MY WORK AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE
FINANCE COMMITTEE, WHICH DEALS WITH EVERY
ASPECT OF INTERNATIONAL TARIFFS AND EXPORT
TAXES.

I SUPPORTED AND SPONSORED LEGISLATION TO
STIMULATE U.S. EXPORTS. I ENDORSED INNOVATIVE
PROGRAMS -- LIKE THE ISRAELI FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT. THE CARIBBEAN BASIN INITIATIVE AND THE
U.S. CANADIAN FREE TRADE AREA.

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I INTRODUCED A PROPOSAL, THAT WAS ADOPTED
BY THE SENATE, KNOWN AS "SUPER 301" -- NAMED
AFTER THE ENFORCEMENT PROVISION OF THE GENERAL
AGREEMENTS OF TARIFFS AND TRADE, WHICH WE CALL
GATT.

THIS STIPULATION TOUGHENS GATT BY FORCING
ACTION AGAINST COUNTRIES THAT REPEATEDLY TAKE
ADVANTAGE OF OUR GOOD WILL BY ERECTING
BARRIERS

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TO U.S. EXPORTS. IT IS PART OF MY LONG COMMITMENT
TO INSURING THAT U.S. LAWS ARE ADEQUATE AND
FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH TRADE
INEQUITIES.

WHILE THE U.S. CANNOT INSIST ON
SECTOR-BY-SECTOR RECIPROCITY, WE CAN DEMAND
BASIC FAIR PLAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. IN TODAY'S
HIGHLY INTERDEPENDENT MARKETS, WE CAN NO
LONGER TOLERATE ONE-WAY TRADE RELATIONSHIPS.

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COOPERATION, NOT COERCION

WE CAN ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE LIVE IN A
GLOBAL MARKET -- AND BEGIN ADJUSTING TO IT AS A
PERMANENT FACT OF LIFE.

WHEN THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE FELL 500
POINTS ON MONDAY, MARKETS AROUND THE WORLD
REELED ON TUESDAY.

WHEN THE DOLLAR FALLS AGAINST THE YEN OR THE
POUND ON WEDNESDAY, THE STOCK MARKET HERE
TAKES A DIVE ON THURSDAY.

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WE NEED TO WORK WITH OUR TRADING PARTNERS
TO STABILIZE THE DOLLAR. IN 1985, AN AMERICAN IN
PARIS GOT 10 FRENCH FRANCS FOR HIS DOLLAR. A
TYPICAL MEAL IN TOKYO COST \$25.00)?) AMERICANS
GOT A TASTE FOR FOREIGN GOODS, AND FOREIGN
TRAVEL.

TODAY, THE AMERICAN TOURIST GETS ABOUT FOUR
FRANCS FOR HIS DOLLAR AND PAYS \$60.00 (?) FOR HIS
TOKYO DINNER. I REPEAT: IT'S TIME TO STABILIZE

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THE DOLLAR, AND WE'VE GOT TO START BY WEANING
AMERICANS FROM THE FOREIGN GOODS WE CAN NO
LONGER AFFORD.

WE'VE GOT TO WORK WITH OUR FRIENDS,
PARTICULARLY IN JAPAN AND WEST GERMANY, TO
ALLOW THEIR PEOPLE TO BUY MORE. AS IT IS NOW,
THOSE COUNTRIES USE HIGH INTEREST RATES AND
OTHER POLICIES TO HOLD DOWN DEMAND.
CONSUMERS CAN'T BUY OUR GOODS WHEN THEIR OWN
GOVERNMENTS DISCOURAGE THEM.

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IF OUR TRADING PARTNERS WANT FULL ACCESS TO
OUR MARKET, WE MUST HAVE FULL ACCESS TO THEIRS.
THAT DOESN'T MEAN TIT FOR TAT ON EVERY MACHINE
TOOL OR TENNIS RACKET. NOR SHOULD WE INSIST ON
PERFECTLY BALANCED TRADE WITH EVERY COUNTRY.
THAT WILL ONLY LEAD TO A MERRY-GO-ROUND OF
RETALIATION AND EVERYONE WILL LOSE.

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BUT WE NEED TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS, AND
INSIST ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY. AND THE NEXT
PRESIDENT NEEDS THE FLEXIBILITY, THE WISDOM AND
THE EXPERIENCE TO MAKE THIS COMPLEX POLICY
WORK.

CREATING NEW OPPORTUNITIES

ONE BIG ROADBLOCK TO A EASIER WORLDWIDE
TRADE IS THIRD WORLD DEBT, PARTICULARLY IN LATIN
AMERICA. THOSE COUNTRIES USED TO BE AMONG OUR

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BEST MARKETS. BOATLOAD AFTER BOATLOAD OF U.S.
CARS AND MANUFACTURED ITEMS USED TO DOCK AT
PORTS IN DEVELOPING NATIONS.

NO MORE. A MOUNTAIN DEBT HAS STRANGLED
THIRD WORLD DEMAND. MOST OF IT IS OWED TO
AMERICAN BANKS. WE NEED TO PURSUE IMAGINATIVE
SOLUTIONS -- LIKE DEBT EQUITY SWAPS -- TO RESTORE
THE PURCHASING POWER OF THESE COUNTRIES.

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LARGE, NEW YORK BANKS NEED TO BE REMINDED --
AND REMINDED FORCEFULLY -- THAT THE REST OF
AMERICA WILL NOT RESCUE THEM FROM THEIR
MISTAKES. AND IT WON'T BE EASY. IT WILL TAKE
STRONG LEADERSHIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE TO BROKER
A DEAL BETWEEN THE BANKS AND THIRD WORLD
DEBTORS. BUT IT MUST BE DONE.

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WE'VE ALSO GOT TO LOOK FOR MARKETS THAT
WE'VE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY. SOME ECONOMISTS
EXPECT CHINA TO BECOME THE WORLD'S SECOND
BIGGEST ECONOMY BY THE YEAR 2000. THEY'LL BE
BUYING A LOT -- AND WE BETTER BE SURE THEY HAVE
THE CHANCE TO BUY AMERICAN. BECAUSE THE
JAPANESE AND THE KOREANS AND THE GERMANS ARE
ALREADY GETTING IN LINE.

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AND THAT GOES FOR THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL.

IF GORBACHEV PREVAILS, THE RUSSIANS WILL BE
OPENING THEIR MARKETS TO OUTSIDERS. AND WITHIN
THE CONSTRAINTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY, WE'VE GOT
TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THAT.

BUILDING ON OUR COMPETITIVE TRADITION

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BUT WHILE WE ENCOURAGE OUR COMPETITORS TO
LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD, WE'VE GOT SOME WORK TO
DO TO HERE AT HOME. BECAUSE THE PLAIN FACT IS:
NOT ALL THE REASONS FOR OUR TRADE DEFICIT CAN BE
PLACED AT THE FEET OF FOREIGNERS.

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN "MADE IN AMERICA"
MEANT RELIABILITY AND QUALITY, AND "MADE IN JAPAN"
MEANT SHODDY. NOW, THE JAPANESE WON'T BUY MANY
OF OUR GOODS. THEY SAY OUR PRODUCTS ARE
SHODDY. AND TO BE BLUNT ABOUT IT, MANY
AMERICANS AGREE.

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ONE OUT OF FOUR CARS SOLD IN AMERICA IS FOREIGN. SOME OF OUR MANUFACTURERS HAVE SQUANDERED THE U.S. REPUTATION FOR QUALITY. AND I THINK IT'S TIME FOR AMERICAN MANAGEMENT TO SPEND MORE TIME ON QUALITY OF OUTPUT AND LESS ON TAKEOVERS AND GOLDEN PARACHUTES.

ANOTHER PLACE WE'RE HANDICAPPING OURSELVES IS IN EDUCATION. I'VE PREVIOUSLY LISTED A NUMBER OF REFORMS AND INITIATIVES THAT AMERICA SHOULD

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UNDERTAKE TO BRING ITS SCHOOLS UP TO THE
STANDARDS OF SOME OF OUR TRADE PARTNERS. THE
LIST INCLUDES BEEFING UP MATH AND SCIENCE AND
KEEPING GOOD TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM, AND
INSISTING ON HIGHER STANDARDS FOR THE HIGH
SCHOOL DIPLOMA.

JAPAN IS GRADUATING SIX TIMES THE NUMBER OF
ENGINEERS THAT THE U.S. PRODUCES. IN BUSINESS,
FOREIGNERS COME UP WITH ALMOST HALF OF ALL U.S.

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PATENTS. WE REMAIN THE MOST PRODUCTIVE NATION
IN THE WORLD, BUT RELATIVE TO OUR COMPETITORS,
OUR LEAD IS SLIPPING AWAY QUICKLY.

THE TRADE DEFICIT IS A CHALLENGE TO EVERY
SINGLE AMERICAN. WE ALL HAVE A STAKE AS
INDIVIDUALS.

IN 1930, AMERICANS RAN FROM THE CHALLENGE.
THEY TOOK THE EASY, POPULAR WAY OUT. THEY
ACCEPTED PROTECTIONISM. AND AMERICA SUFFERED.

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I DON'T INTEND TO CUT AND RUN, BECAUSE I
BELIEVE IN AMERICA'S ECONOMIC MIGHT. I BELIEVE IN
THE FUTURE. I BELIEVE WE CAN MEET THE TRADE
CHALLENGE. ALL IT TAKES IS A LITTLE LEADERSHIP. AND
A LOT OF HELP FROM AMERICANS. I KNOW WE CAN
SOLVE THIS PROBLEM TOGETHER, SO LET'S GET ON
WITH IT.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.