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trade

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.

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 TRANSFERED 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 PLANS 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 MOVES IT 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 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 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.

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BUT THE EASY WAY IS NOT THE BEST WAY.

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 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, 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 AMERICANS ATTACKING JAPANESE CARS WITH

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SLEDGE HAMMERS BECAUSE THEY CUT INTO DOMESTIC CAR SALES. WE IMPOSED QUOTAS ON JAPANESE CARS. THEIR SALES WENT DOWN -- BUT 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. 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 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.

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A THREE-POINT PROGRAM

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

- AGGRESSIVE REFORM AND ENFORCEMENT OF EXISTING LAWS WHICH GOVERN INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

- CREATION OF NEW MARKETS FOR AMERICAN EXPORTS.

- A COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT RIGHT HERE AT HOME TO PUSH FOR UNEQUALED AMERICAN COMPETITIVENESS.

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.

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.

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

COOPERATION, NOT COERSION

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.

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.

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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 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.

IF OUR TRADING PARTNERS WANT FULL ACCESS TO OUR MARKET, WE MUST HAVE FULL ACCESS TO THEIR'S. 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.

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.

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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 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.

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.

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

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 AMERICAN AGREE.

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 ITS 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 UNDERTAKE TO BRING ITS

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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. 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.

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.

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TALKING POINTS ON TRADE

• Today, when a young worker lands a job, there's no guarantee how long he'll be able to work.

• That's because companies merge or disappear. Factories shut down. Production goes overseas. Too often, the worker is lost in the shuffle.

• A Caterpillar plant in Iowa shuts down and 2,000 jobs are lost forever.

• AT&T closes a telephone assembly plant in Shreveport and moves it to Singapore.

• NCR shuts its doors in Clemson, South Carolina. Texas Instruments scales back operations in Texas and Tennessee.

• GE and RCA slap their own labels on TV sets made with cheaper, foreign labor.

• This is the real-life fallout from the trade wars. American workers too often get the shaft.

• And so people start looking for a scapegoat. And it's easy to find one. Just look overseas. Look at all those unfair trade practices. Here's a book put out by the U.S. Trade Representative that has 200 pages of documented trade barriers put up against U.S. products.

• So people want to do what we did in 1930. Pass another Smoot-Hawley Act -- the most protectionist legislation in history.

• But the <u>easy</u> way isn't the <u>best</u> way. A revival of protectionism could backfire, just as it did in the 1930s when it triggered the Great Depression.

• If we refuse to learn from the past, we may repeat its mistakes. That's good advice, especially when dealing with the trade deficit.

Now, I don't like it when foreign companies are stealing <u>our</u> markets while their governments deny American exporters fair access to <u>their</u> markets. I want to turn this one-way trade traffic around, but I don't want to do it through <u>protectionism</u>. I want to do it through <u>leadership</u>.

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• In a Dole Administration, trade policies will be driven by three clear-cut objectives:

• Aggressive reform and enforcement of existing laws that govern international trade.

• Creation of new markets for American exports.

• A comprehensive effort right here at home to push for unequalled American competitiveness.

• As Senate Finance chairman, I pushed for laws to stimulate U.S. exports -- the Israeli Free Trade Agreement, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Area.

• We've got to work with our friends -- especially Japan and West Germany -- to allow their people to buy more from the U.S. We must defend our interests, and insist on equal access.

• We've got to reduce Third World debt so that developing nations can afford to buy American. And we've got to look more closely at new markets -- China, the Soviet Union.

• We've got to rebuild our competitive tradition. We need to once again make the words "Made in America" synonymous with quality and reliability. To be blunt, many foreigners -- and many American consumers -- say American products are often just plain shoddy.

• Finally, we've got to shore up our educational standards, so that American high school graduates are the equal of their foreign counterparts.

• In 1930, Americas ran from the challenge. They took the easy way out. They accepted protectionism. And America suffered.

• I don't intend to cut and run. I believe in America's economic might. 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.

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WELLBORN

2/8/88

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
A NEW COMMITMENT TO CITIZEN SERVICE

OF ALL THE CHALLENGES FACING THIS COUNTRY IN 1988 -- TRADE AND ARMS CONTROL, EDUCATION AND HEALTH -- NONE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN REGENERATING AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL SENSE OF COMMUNITY. THE NEED IS ESPECIALLY URGENT IN THIS AGE OF HIGH-TECHNOLOGY -- AND IN A SOCIETY THAT OFTEN SEEMS PERMANENTLY STUCK ON FAST-FORWARD.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST RECAPTURE ON A NATIONAL SCALE THAT OLD SENSE OF BELONGING TO A COMMON ENTERPRISE, THAT SPECIAL BOND THAT THRIVES IN PRAIRIE VILLAGES AND URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS ALIKE. IT IS AN INCLUSIVE -- NOT AN EXCLUSIVE -- SOCIETY, A LAND OF OPEN DOORS AND OUTSTRETCHED HANDS.

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WHAT BETTER WAY TO RESTORE THAT SPIRIT THAN BY TAPPING INTO THAT SOLID CORE OF ENERGETIC AND TALENTED AMERICANS WHO, IF ENCOURAGED WOULD GLADLY GIVE -- NOT MONEY, BUT OF THEMSELVES -- TO MAKE THIS WORLD A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE?

THAT IS WHY AS PRESIDENT I WOULD SET FORTH A BLUEPRINT FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ''CITIZEN SERVICE.''

AMERICANS ARE IDEALISTIC PEOPLE, WHETHER THEY CHOOSE TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY BY WEARING A UNIFORM -- AS I DID -- OR WHETHER THEY USE THEIR TALENTS TO HELP OTHERS OUTSIDE THE ARMED FORCES. THE CITIZEN SERVICE WOULD EXIST TO PROMOTE VOLUNTARY SERVICE BY ALL AMERICANS -- IN WHATEVER FORM IS BEST SUITED TO THE INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEER. THERE WILL BE NO COERSION -- ONLY ENCOURAGEMENT.

CITIZEN SERVICE WILL HAVE THREE OVERRIDING GOALS:

- TO LINK THROUGH A CENTRAL INFORMATION BANK GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AND EXPAND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS.

- TO ENCOURAGE STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO DESIGN VOLUNTEER OR CHARITY PROGRAMS TO MEET THEIR OWN SPECIAL NEEDS.

- TO CREATE FEDERAL VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS WHERE A SPECIFIC, UNFULFILLED NEED EXISTS.

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INITIALLY, CITIZEN SERVICE WOULD TARGET AT YOUNG AMERICANS ENTERING ADULTHOOD, PROVIDING OPPORTUNITY FOR VOLUNTARY COMMUNITY SERVICE. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS INITIATIVE INFUSE THE NATION AND THE WORLD WITH THE VIBRANCE OF AMERICA'S YOUTH. IT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE YOUNG PERSONS WITH NEEDED AVENUES OF NEW RESPONSIBILITY. IT WOULD ALLOW THEM TO LEARN THE TRUE MEANING OF DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S WORDS: ''THE ONLY ONES AMONG YOU WHO WILL BE REALLY HAPPY ARE THOSE WHO WILL HAVE SOUGHT AND FOUND HOW TO SERVE.''

EVENTUALLY, IT MAY BE CONSIDERED AN AMERICAN RITE OF PASSAGE FOR YOUNG PERSONS TO HAVE DONE SOME KIND OF CITIZEN SERVICE. AND OLDER AMERICANS TOO WILL BE WELCOMED TO THE VOLUNTEER CORPS IN THEIR POST-RETIREMENT AND ''EMPTY NEST'' YEARS.

SUCH SERVICE COULD BE PERFORMED THROUGH MILITARY DUTY OR THROUGH EXISTING FEDERAL PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE PEACE CORPS, ACTION OR VISTA, OR IN THE MANY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COMMUNITY SERVICE EFFORTS IN LOCALITIES ACROSS THE NATION.

A GLANCE AT THE HEADLINES OR A WALK DOWN MANY AMERICAN STREETS WILL IMMEDIATELY DOCUMENT THE NEED FOR A NEW SPIRIT OF VOLUNTEERISM.

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THE HOMELESS STREET PERSON, THE CHILD RUNAWAY, THE TEENAGE DRUG ADDICT, THE OLDER PERSON DEPENDENT ON DELIVERY OF A HOT MEAL, THE MENTALLY RETARDED PERSON WHO NEEDS HELP IN GETTING STARTED IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE AN INSTITUTION -- THESE ARE THE VERY REAL AND HUMAN PROBLEMS -- THE KIND THAT CAN BEST BE MET BY PERSON-TO-PERSON EFFORTS RATHER THAN BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES.

THE DOLE ADMINISTRATION WILL AIM TO HAVE THE CITIZEN SERVICE PROGRAM IN PLACE WITHIN ONE YEAR.

A BROAD-GAUGED WORKING GROUP NAMED BY THE PRESIDENT -- INCLUDING EDUCATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ARMED FORCES, LABOR UNIONS, NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE NAMED TO DEVELOP THE DETAILS OF HOW THE PROGRAM WOULD OPERATE. BUT FOR STARTERS, I BELIEVE THAT PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE STRICTLY VOLUNTARY, AND ANY NEW SPENDING SHOULD BE LIMITED. I WANT TO SEE A LEAN, FOCUSED AND EFFICIENT PROGRAM.

THE POTENTIAL VALUE OF THE CITIZEN SERVICE IS INCALCULABLE. WHILE THERE ARE LIMITS ON WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN ACCOMPLISH, PARTICULARLY IN THIS TIME OF BUDGETARY RESTRAINT, THERE IS NO LIMIT TO THE CAPACITIES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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EVIDENCE OF THIS GROWING EFFORT IS ALREADY BUILDING UP. NEARLY 50 PERCENT OF AMERICANS IN A RECENT GALLUP POLL SAY THEY ARE INVOLVED IN CHARITY OR VOLUNTEER WORK, AN INCREASE FROM 31 PERCENT IN 1984.

SOME 600 COMPANIES HAVE ORGANIZED PROGRAMS TO ENCOURAGE WORKER INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY SERVICE, TWICE AS MANY COMPANY PROGRAMS THAN EXISTED IN 1979. ACROSS THE BOARD, THESE COMPANIES SAY SUCH EFFORTS PAY OFF IN INCREASED EMPLOYEE MORALE, BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEMS IN THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY, AND AN IMPROVED CORPORATE IMAGE.

MY HOPE AND EXPECTATION IS THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE CITIZEN SERVICE ALSO WILL BRING TO LIGHT A VAST AND UNDERUTILIZED RESOURCE -- AMERICA'S SENIOR CITIZENS. TODAY THERE ARE 28 MILLION SENIORS -- BY THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE 35 MILLION. THESE PEOPLE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE, THE ABILITY, THE DESIRE, AND THE TIME TO GIVE TO THEIR COMMUNITIES.

DURING THE SAME TIME PERIOD, 3 TO 4 MILLION YOUNG AMERICANS WILL TURN 18 EACH YEAR. AND ACCORDING TO A 1986 FORD FOUNDATION STUDY, NEARLY 3.5 MILLION TASKS COULD BE PERFORMED BY YOUNG PEOPLE.

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AMONG THOSE WHERE A MAJOR NEED FOR MODERN-DAY GOOD SAMARITANS ALREADY EXISTS:

--EDUCATION, WHERE TUTORS, TEACHERS' AIDES AND LITERACY WORKERS ARE IN CONSTANT DEMAND.

--HEALTH CARE, SUCH AS HOSPITAL AIDES AND ASSISTANTS IN NURSING HOMES, HOSPICES AND FACILITIES FOR THE HANDICAPPED.

--HELP FOR OLDER AMERICANS, INCLUDING MEALS-ON-WHEELS, TRANSPORTATION ASSISTANCE AND COMPANIONSHIP.

--CHILD CARE, INCLUDING DAY-CARE FACILITY VOLUNTEERS, TRANSPORTATION WORKERS AND READING HELPERS.

--ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND MAINTENANCE, SUCH AS REPLANTING OF FORESTS, SOIL CONSERVATION, AND CONSTRUCTION AND CARE OF RECREATION AREAS.

I'M SURE THAT ONCE CITIZEN SERVICE IS INITIATED, MANY ADDITIONAL AREAS WHERE VOLUNTEER SERVICE MAKES SENSE WILL BECOME APPARENT. THERE IS NO DOUBT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE

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MORE THAN 100,000 NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA WOULD BE DRAMATICALLY ENERGIZED BY CITIZEN SERVICE.

WHILE VOLUNTARY EFFORTS BY ALL AMERICANS WILL BE ENCOURAGED, I WANT TO SPEAK BRIEFLY TO THOSE WHO WILL MOST DIRECTLY BENEFIT -- YOUNG AMERICANS. IT IS THEY WHO NEED TO LEARN EARLY TO BE COMMITTED TO THEIR COMMUNITIES SO THAT THEY CARRY THAT PRACTICE THROUGH THEIR LIVES. AND WE HAVE A GREAT FOUNDATION TO BUILD ON.

DESPITE THE PREOCCUPATION OF SOME COMMENTATORS WITH ISOLATED BUT NOTORIOUS EXAMPLES OF GREED AND ARROGANCE ON WALL STREET AND IN WASHINGTON, MORE THAN FORTY STATE AND LOCAL YOUTH CORPS PROJECTS OPERATE FULL-TIME ACROSS THE COUNTRY, WITH A COMBINED BUDGET EXCEEDING $100 MILLION AND INCLUDING MORE THAN 23,000 YOUNG PEOPLE.

THE GROWING SUCCESS OF SUCH EFFORTS MIGHT SURPRISE THE MORE CYNICAL. BUT THE POLLSTER GEORGE GALLUP HAS CONDUCTED STUDIES THAT LED HIM TO CONCLUDE:

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''THE YOUTH POPULATION HAS BEEN MISNAMED THE SELF-CENTERED GENERATION. THERE'S A STRONG DESIRE TO SERVE OTHERS. THE PROBLEM WE FACE IN AMERICA TODAY IS NOT A LACK OF WILLINGNESS TO SERVE OR TO HELP OTHERS, BUT TO FIND THE APPROPRIATE OUTLET FOR THIS.''

THE CITIZEN SERVICE CAN PROVIDE THAT OUTLET FOR BOTH YOUNG AND OLD -- NOT BY PROMULGATING REGULATIONS FROM WASHINGTON, BUT BY EMPOWERING AND ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO WORK IN THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

THE CITIZEN SERVICE ALSO WILL HELP TO RESTORE THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND COMPASSION I FOUND GROWING UP IN RUSSELL, KANSAS -- WHERE YOU MIGHT NOT KNOW THE NAME OF YOUR CONGRESSMAN, BUT YOU KNEW THE NAME OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOUR NEIGHBORS. THE CITIZEN SERVICE WILL ALLOW US TO HELP ONE ANOTHER, AND THEREBY HELP US ALL.

WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AT OUR BEST WHEN SUMMONED TO PURPOSES LARGER THAN OURSELVES.

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THE NEXT PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT MUST BE TO CARING CONSERVATISM -- THE KIND TYPIFIED BY CITIZEN SERVICE. CONSERVATIVES RIGHTFULLY DEPLORE WASTE -- WASTED DOLLARS, WASTED LIVES. WE BELIEVE IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS THAT COME WITH COMPETITION.

BUT TO BE FAIR, THE CONTEST MUST BE OPEN TO ALL ON AN EQUAL BASIS, AND THE SAME SET OF RULES MUST BE APPLIED ACROSS THE BOARD. ANYTHING LESS THAN THIS IS A DENIAL OF ALL THAT SETS AMERICA APART IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

CITIZEN SERVICE WILL HELP US APPLY THE RULES FAIRLY, TO HELP EQUALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS.

AND WE'LL DO IT -- BECAUSE NOT TO DO IT IS A WASTE OF HUMAN POTENTIAL:

THE BLACK TEENAGE DROPOUT IN NEWARK IS WASTED POTENTIAL. A VOLUNTEER BIG BROTHER OR BIG SISTER CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

THE DISPLACED STEEL WORKER IN BIRMINGHAM IS WASTED POTENTIAL. A JOB RETRAINING PROGRAM STAFFED BY VOLUNTEERS CAN KEEP SUCH A WORKER PRODUCTIVE.

THE ILLITERATE FARM LABORER IN OREGON WHO WANTS TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR HIS FAMILY IS WASTED POTENTIAL. A VOLUNTEER TUTOR CAN HELP HIM FIND A BETTER JOB.

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THE MOTHER IN WICHITA WHO CAN'T FIND DAY CARE FOR HER YOUNG SON IS WASTED POTENTIAL. SO IS THE COLLEGE-EDUCATED WOMAN IN SPARTENBURG WHOSE CHILDREN ARE GROWN BUT WHO CAN'T FIND A OUTLET THAT CAN USE HER SKILLS PART-TIME. BUT VOLUNTARY EFFORTS CAN RESCUE THESE PEOPLE FROM OTHERWISE UNFULFILLED LIVES.

WE CAN'T AFFORD TO WASTE HUMAN CAPITAL ANY MORE THAN WE CAN WASTE ECONOMIC CAPITAL. AND CITIZEN SERVICE WILL FIND OUTLETS FOR USING HUMAN CAPITAL.

IT WAS EDMUND BURKE WHO ONCE SAID THAT ALL YOU NEED FOR THE WRONG TO TRIUMPH IS FOR GOOD PEOPLE TO DO NOTHING. AND CITIZEN SERVICE WILL GIVE OPEN THE DOORS FOR ALL PEOPLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS NATION AND THE WORLD.

IT WAS DANTE WHO SAID THAT THE HOTTEST PLACE IN HADES WOULD BE RESERVED FOR THOSE WHO REMAIN INDIFFERENT, OR APATHETIC, OR NEUTRAL WHEN THERE WAS A GREAT MORAL CHALLENGE AND CRISIS CONFRONTING THEIR SOCIETY.

CITIZEN SERVICE WILL PROVIDE AN AVENUE FOR THE EXPRESSION OF THE HUMANITARIAN INSTINCTS THAT ALL AMERICANS HAVE, AND THE PAYOFF WILL BENEFIT UNTOLD GENERATIONS TO COME.

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WHILE DARING GREATLY

IT IS NOT THE CRITIC WHO COUNTS; NOT THE MAN WHO POINTS HOW THE STRONG MAN STUMBLED, OR WHERE THE DOER OF DEEDS COULD HAVE DONE THEM BETTER. THE CREDIT BELONGS TO THE MAN WHO IS ACTUALLY IN THE ARENA; WHOSE FACE IS MARRED BY DUST AND SWEAT AND BLOOD; WHO STRIVES VALIANTLY; WHO ERRS AND COMES SHORT AGAIN AND AGAIN; WHO KNOWS THE GREAT ENTHUSIASMS, THE GREAT DEVOTIONS, AND SPENDS HIMSELF IN A WORTHY CAUSE; WHO AT THE BEST KNOWS IN THE END THE TRIUMPH OF HIGH ACHIEVEMENT; AND WHO AT THE WORST, IF HE FAILS, AT LEAST FAILS WHILE DARING GREATLY; SO THAT HIS PLACE SHALL NEVER BE WITH THOSE COLD AND TIMID SOULS WHO KNOW NEITHER VICTORY NOR DEFEAT.

...THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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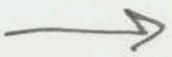
STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

IT'S TIME TO SEND THIS NO-NONSENSE, NO-BLUFF, NO-COMPROMISE MESSAGE TO PANAMA: "THE UNITED STATES HAS HAD ENOUGH OF NORIEGA; AND WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH ANY PHONY CIVILIAN, NORIEGA-PUPPET GOVERNMENT."



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AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, NORIEGA SHOULD HAVE HAD HIS LAST 'MIDNIGHT PHONE CALL' FROM ANYONE IN WASHINGTON, INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION, OR OUT.

WE MUST STAY IN TOUCH WITH RESPONSIBLE PANAMANIANS, WHO WANT DEMOCRACY IN THEIR COUNTRY, AND GOOD RELATIONS WITH US. WE MUST COME DOWN STRONG, UNAMBIGUOUSLY ON THE SIDE OF PRESIDENT DELVALLE (del-vai-yea) AND HIS EFFORTS TO RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

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AND LET NORIEGA GET THIS MESSAGE, TOO: KEEP YOUR HANDS OFF THE PANAMA CANAL! IF YOU MAKE A MOVE AGAINST THE CANAL -- IF YOU THINK YOU CAN PUT THE "HEAT ON US" BY MEDDLING AROUND WITH THE CANAL -- WE WILL DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY, INCLUDING USE OF MILITARY FORCE, TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY INTERESTS, AND THE LIVES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS -- AND REMEMBER: THERE ARE 50,000 AMERICANS IN PANAMA.

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FRANKLY, A BIG PART OF THE PROBLEM WE'RE HAVING IS THAT WE'VE BEEN SENDING MIXED MESSAGES TO NORIEGA FOR YEARS. PEOPLE HAVE BEEN PLAYING FOOTSIE WITH THIS GUY. PEOPLE WHO KNEW, OR BY VIRTUE OF THEIR JOBS AND RESUMES, OUGHT TO HAVE KNOWN, THAT HE WAS UP TO HIS EYEBALLS IN "DIRTY DRUGS" AND ANTI-AMERICAN POLITICS.

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THINKING THAT NORIEGA WAS THE CHANNEL TO MAKE AMERICA'S CASE TO CASTRO, IS ABOUT ON A LEVEL WITH THINKING THAT BRIBING THE AYATOLLAH WAS THE WAY TO WIN THE RELEASE OF AMERICANS HELD HOSTAGE IN LEBANON.

AND WE'VE ALSO BEEN PLAGUED WITH A FEW PEOPLE -- WHO USED TO HOLD BIG JOBS IN ~~WHO USED TO HOLD BIG JOBS IN~~ WASHINGTON, AND STILL HAVE BIG CONNECTIONS IN GOVERNMENT -- WHO

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HAVE BEEN RUNNING AROUND PANAMA, PRACTICING A RECKLESS PRIVATE DIPLOMACY -- TELLING NORIEGA HE COULD "STAY ON;" TELLING HIM HE HAS "FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES."

WHAT THEY'VE REALLY ACCOMPLISHED IS UNDERMINING THE STRONG, 100% CORRECT MESSAGE THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS SENDING: THE UNITED STATES WANTS NOTHING TO DO WITH NOREIGA'S KIND.

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TEN YEARS AGO, ALMOST TO THE DAY, WHILE WE WERE DEBATING THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES IN THE SENATE, I SAID THE FOLLOWING: "SINCE RATIFICATION OF THESE TREATIES WILL DEFINITELY STRENGTHEN THE STATUS OF THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO KNOW IN ADVANCE IF WE WILL BE BOLSTERING A CORRUPT GOVERNMENT, WHICH FACILITATES TRANSPORT OF ILLEGAL DRUGS TO OUR OWN SHORES."

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~~IMPORTANT PART~~ BECAUSE OF THOSE KINDS OF CONCERNS, I DID NOT SUPPORT THE TREATIES. I WAS RIGHT THEN -- ABOUT THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT, AND ABOUT THE CANAL.

AND I'M RIGHT TODAY.

NORIEGA'S GOTTA GO -- IN THE INTERESTS OF DEMOCRACY, PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE PANAMA CANAL MUST BE KEPT SECURE -- IN THE INTERESTS OF EVERYONE WHO WANTS PEACE AND ~~INTERESTS OF EVERYONE WHO WANTS PEACE AND~~ STABILITY IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

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THOSE HAVE BEEN MY GUIDING PRINCIPLES; AND THEY OUGHT TO BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR AMERICAN POLICY, IN THE DAYS AND YEARS AHEAD.

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JEANE KIRKPATRICK

IN SPITE OF ALL THE TALK ABOUT "GLASNOST", THE SOVIET UNION STILL HASN'T CHANGED ITS SPOTS. IT IS STILL A GODLESS COMMUNIST STATE. AND IT'S STILL THE MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE AND FREEDOM AROUND THE GLOBE.

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THE BIG QUESTION OF 1988 IS: AFTER RONALD REAGAN, WHO WILL SIT ACROSS THE TABLE FROM MIKHAIL GORBACHEV? AND WILL THE NEXT PRESIDENT BE EXPERIENCED ENOUGH; DECISIVE ENOUGH; AND TOUGH ENOUGH TO SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF AMERICA AND THE FREE WORLD?

IF ANYONE OUGHT TO KNOW THE ANSWER TO THIS CRUCIAL QUESTION, IT IS AMBASSADOR JEANE KIRKPATRICK. AND, TODAY, SHE'S MADE A VERY SERIOUS DECISION.

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MORE THAN ANY OTHER PERSON, JEANE KIRKPATRICK SYMBOLIZES THE SOUL OF THE REAGAN REVOLUTION: JEANE SHOWED US HOW TO STAND UP TO THUGS, BULLIES AND TERRORISTS. AT THE U.N., SHE SHOWED US HOW TO STAND UP FOR AMERICA.

SHE'S INSPIRED THE PRESIDENT -- AND ALL OF US -- WITH HER STRENGTH, HER ABSOLUTE INTEGRITY, HER WISDOM, AND THE ELOQUENCE SHE BRINGS TO THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM.

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JEANE KIRKPATRICK HAS ALWAYS PUT A STRONG AMERICA ABOVE PARTY POLITICS. ONCE A DEMOCRAT, SHE SAW THAT PARTY ABANDON ITS LEGACY, AND ABANDON HER. AS DID SO MANY OTHER DEMOCRATS, JEANE KIRKPATRICK FOUND A HOME IN RONALD REAGAN'S REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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JEANE...YOU COULDN'T HAVE SENT A MORE CONVINCING MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE "REAGAN REVOLUTION" SAYS THE BEST WAY TO PRESERVE -- AND STRENGTHEN -- THE REAGAN LEGACY IS TO VOTE FOR BOB DOLE.

WE READ YOU LOUD AND CLEAR, JEANE.....AND WE THANK YOU FOR JOINING OUR CRUSADE.

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FOR RELEASE
JANUARY 19, 1988

CONTACT: KATIE BOYLE
(515) 245-5489

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE UNTIL 5:30 PM CENTRAL TIME

NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES OF THE 1990'S
FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

49 YEARS AGO, A FINE YOUNG ATHLETE FROM THIS UNIVERSITY TRAVELED TO NEW YORK -- TO RECEIVE AN AWARD AS THE BEST COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYER IN THE LAND. WITH WAR ALREADY RAGING IN EUROPE, NILE KINNICK ACCEPTED THE HEISMAN TROPHY WITH THESE WORDS: "I THANK GOD I WAS BORN TO THE GRIDIRONS OF THE MIDDLE WEST -- AND NOT TO THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE."

NOT LONG AFTER, AMERICA WAS AT WAR, TOO. AND NILE KINNICK, AND THOUSANDS OF OTHER YOUNG AMERICANS, WENT OFF TO FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY.

BOB DOLE WAS AMONG THAT CROWD. WE WEREN'T ANXIOUS TO GO OFF TO WAR. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO STAY AT HOME; TO FINISH OUR EDUCATIONS; TO GET GOOD JOBS.

BUT WE DIDN'T HAVE THAT OPTION. NILE KINNICK DIDN'T. BOB DOLE DIDN'T.

OUR COUNTRY WAS AT WAR.
THERE WAS NO CHOICE.
SO WE WENT TO WAR, TOO.

SACRIFICE

I WAS AMONG THOSE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO RETURN; TO RESUME A LIFE WHICH HASN'T ALWAYS BEEN EASY -- BUT WHICH, FINALLY, HAS BROUGHT ME HERE TO IOWA CITY TODAY.

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NILE KINNICK WAS NOT SO LUCKY. AS A NAVY PILOT, OPERATING OFF THE CARRIER LEXINGTON, NILE KINNICK'S PLANE WAS LOST AT SEA.

AND, TODAY, THINKING BACK ON THE SACRIFICE THAT NILE KINNICK MADE; THINKING BACK ON MY OWN EXPERIENCE, IN THE WAR AND AFTER -- IF THERE IS ONE THING ABOVE ALL THAT I LEARNED, IT IS THIS: THE ONLY THING MORE TERRIBLE THAN WAR -- IS TO LOSE YOUR FREEDOM.

FREEDOM

FREEDOM IS WHAT THIS UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT.

AND RIGHT NOW, FREEDOM IS FACED WITH A WHOLE NEW SET OF CHALLENGES -- CHALLENGES I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY.

FIRST, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE CHALLENGE OF REDUCING NUCLEAR ARMS -- WITHOUT INVITING AGGRESSION; THE VERY AGGRESSION WE SOUGHT TO DETER, BY ACQUIRING THOSE ARMS IN THE FIRST PLACE.

INF

RONALD REAGAN'S ARMS CONTROL STRATEGY HAS YIELDED A MILESTONE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT: THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY.

IT IS THE FIRST AGREEMENT TO ACTUALLY REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN THE WORLD; THE FIRST TO WIPE OUT AN ENTIRE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

AND, IMPORTANTLY, THE FIRST TO REFLECT THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE: IT IS NOT REDUCTIONS, PER SE, WHICH MAKE THE WORLD SAFER; BUT ONLY REDUCTIONS WHICH MORE NEARLY EQUALIZE THE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS -- AND THUS CREATE GREATER STABILITY. THAT IS THE ESSENTIAL LOGIC BEHIND THE INF TREATY.

I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK ON THIS TREATY. AND BECAUSE I HAVE, I CAN SAY TO YOU CATEGORICALLY: THIS IS A GOOD TREATY. IT CAN BE VERIFIED. AND IT WILL ENHANCE THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS A GOOD TREATY; WHICH WILL BE STRENGTHENED FURTHER IN THE SENATE; AND THEN SHOULD BE APPROVED.

AND BECAUSE I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- AND THE SENATE REPUBLICANS I LEAD KNOW I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- I CAN MAKE TO YOU TODAY THE SAME PLEDGE I MADE TO RONALD REAGAN: I WILL LEAD THE FIGHT TO WIN SENATE APPROVAL OF THE INF TREATY.

AND THE TREATY WILL BE APPROVED -- WITH AN OVERWHELMING, BIPARTISAN VOTE.

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CAUTION

BUT INF IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP; BECAUSE THIS TREATY -- AS WELCOME AND IMPORTANT AS IT IS -- AFFECTS ONLY 6% OF THE TOTAL NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IT AFFECTS NOT AT ALL THOSE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AIMS AT THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS A BEGINNING. BUT THE JOURNEY AHEAD IS LONG AND UNCERTAIN.

NOW LET ME SAY: WE MUST GO FORWARD ON THAT JOURNEY. I DO WANT A START AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD YIELD 50% CUTS IN LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THAT IS A GOOD GOAL; AN ACHIEVABLE GOAL.

BUT I MUST ALSO SAY THIS: WE MUST GO FORWARD CAUTIOUSLY -- KNOWING CLEARLY WHERE WE WANT TO GO; AND KNOWING CLEARLY HOW TO GET THERE SAFELY.

WE CANNOT FINALIZE A START AGREEMENT UNTIL WE ARE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN OF TWO THINGS.

FIRST, THAT THE AGREEMENT CAN BE VERIFIED. AND THERE IS A LIGHT YEAR OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VERIFYING AN INF AGREEMENT WHICH REDUCES LEVELS TO ZERO; AND A START AGREEMENT WHICH, EVEN FULLY IMPLEMENTED, WOULD LEAVE HALF OF EXISTING STRATEGIC SYSTEMS IN PLACE.

AND LET ME SOUND THIS SMALL ALARM, TOO: UNLESS WE MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SHORE UP OUR TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES TO VERIFY NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS -- I HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THAT ANY VERIFICATION REGIME THE SOVIETS WILL AGREE TO WILL BE ADEQUATE TO THE TASK OF VERIFYING START.

DETERRENT

SO VERIFICATION IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL. BUT IT IS FAR FROM OUR ONLY CONCERN; IT IS NOT THE WHOLE ANSWER.

A BAD AGREEMENT, EVEN IF IT IS VERIFIABLE, IS STILL A BAD AGREEMENT.

SO, SECOND, AND IN ADDITION TO AIRTIGHT VERIFICATION, WE ALSO HAVE TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT THE AGREEMENT LEAVES US WITH A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENT. ANY START AGREEMENT FROM THE ON-GOING GENEVA TALKS MUST MEET THIS VITAL STANDARD -- THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE ON THIS POINT, PERIOD.

LET US AGAIN RECALL THE AXIOM I MENTIONED BEFORE. REDUCTIONS, PER SE, MAY NOT BE STABILIZING; MAY NOT MAKE US SAFER; MAY NOT REDUCE THE CHANCES OF WAR.

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INDEED, IF THE RESIDUAL FORCES ON EACH SIDE ARE MISALIGNED; IF OURS ARE LEFT MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY THEIRS; OR IF WE FAIL TO ADEQUATELY FUND PROGRAMS WHICH INSURE THE SURVIVABILITY AND UTILITY OF OUR DETERRENT FORCES -- UNDER ANY OF THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR DETERRENCE WOULD BE REDUCED, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE FEWER WEAPONS.

AND, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT WE HAVE NO START AGREEMENT AT ALL.

CAVEATS

LET ME ADD JUST TWO ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS IN THE START CONTEXT. (1) UNDERSCORING MY CONCERNS ON START IS THE OVERWHELMING SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES -- AN IMBALANCE WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH IN ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS OR FUTURE SUMMITS WITH THE SOVIETS. I WILL SPEAK MORE ABOUT CONVENTIONAL ARMS IN A MOMENT.

AND (2) IN MY VIEW, THE AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF S.D.I., LEADING TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT, IS THE SINGLE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO INSURING THE CREDIBILITY OF AMERICAN DETERRENCE.

SO THIS, THEN, IS THE FIRST CHALLENGE: MOVING FORWARD ON NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS -- BUT IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES DETERRENCE AND ENHANCES OUR SECURITY.

GORBACHEV

AND THE SECOND GREAT CHALLENGE IS: HOW TO MANAGE SUCCESSFULLY OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AS WE TRAVERSE THE NEXT DECADE, AND ENTER THE NEXT CENTURY. AND AS WE CONFRONT WHAT, TRULY, ARE SOME NEW MODES OF THINKING IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND A NEW STYLE LEADER IN MR. GORBACHEV.

GORBACHEV IS DYNAMIC; HE'S ARTICULATE; HE'S SMART.

AND HE WILL BE A MORE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE COMPETITOR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEST FOR RESPECT AND CREDIBILITY.

I'M NOT MUCH OF A BELIEVER IN POLLS, BUT I AM ALARMED BY POLLS SHOWING GORBACHEV REGARDED BY MANY IN THE NATO COUNTRIES AS A "PEACEMAKER."

AND WHAT ALARMS ME MOST IS THAT MR. GORBACHEV, FOR ALL THAT HE BRINGS THAT IS NEW, ALSO BRINGS SOMETHING THAT IS VERY, VERY OLD: THE CONVICTIONS OF A COMMITTED, DEDICATED, TOUGH-AS-NAILS COMMUNIST.

HE IS A COMMUNIST STILL. IN HIS HEAD. IN HIS HEART.

COMMUNISM

NOW, MR. GORBACHEV IS A GOOD SALESMAN -- BUT WE CAN NEVER LET THE WORLD FORGET: HIS PRODUCT IS COMMUNISM.

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NO ONE IS GOING TO BUY THE SOVIET BRAND OF OPPRESSION, OR THE SOVIET MODEL OF ECONOMIC STAGNATION. NOT IF THEY CAN GET THROUGH THAT NICE WRAPPING PAPER THAT GORBACHEV USES, AND SEE WHAT'S INSIDE THE BOX.

AND THAT'S ONE BIG JOB OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: TO RE-ARTICULATE TO THE WORLD WHAT SOVIET COMMUNISM IS ALL ABOUT; WHAT FREEDOM IS ALL ABOUT; AND WHAT'S AT STAKE -- WHAT'S STILL AT STAKE -- IN THE COMPETITION BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS.

TO REMIND THE WORLD THAT A NATION THAT REFUSES TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS; THAT REPRESSES RELIGION; THAT INVADES ITS NEIGHBORS; AND THAT SOWS SEEDS OF VIOLENCE AND HATE AROUND THE WORLD -- THAT SUCH A NATION IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM US.

THAT'S NOT COLD WAR RHETORIC; IT'S A COLD, HARD FACT.

SUPERPOWERS

NOW LET ME STRESS HERE: I AM BY NO MEANS SUGGESTING THAT WE CAN'T, OR SHOULDN'T TRY TO, WORK WITH THE SOVIETS.

IN FACT, I WOULD SAY THE OPPOSITE: THE EMERGENCE OF MR. GORBACHEV IS A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO WORK EVEN HARDER FOR NEW AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE SOVIETS.

I DON'T TRUST MR. GORBACHEV OR ANYONE ELSE IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

BUT THAT DOESN'T CHANGE THE FACT THAT WE HAPPEN TO RESIDE ON THE SAME PLANET, AND CAN'T AVOID DEALING WITH EACH OTHER.

AND THERE MAY BE SOME AREAS WHERE GORBACHEV WILL BE MORE OPEN TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION THAT HIS PREDECESSORS. HE DOES HAVE SOME NEW, AND MORE SOPHISTICATED, NOTIONS ABOUT WHAT CAN SERVE SOVIET INTERESTS. HE IS MORE DECISIVE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS WERE. AND HE APPEARS TO HAVE A GREATER UNDERSTANDING THAN THEY DID OF THE URGENCY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT COMMUNISM HAS WROUGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION.

SO IT IS IN OUR INTEREST -- AMERICA'S INTEREST -- TO SEE WHAT MAY BE POSSIBLE. TO SEE IF WE CAN ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS WHICH SERVE AMERICAN SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

AND LET ME REPEAT HERE A SUGGESTION ON MANAGING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT I HAVE MADE BEFORE. RONALD REAGAN HAS ACHIEVED GREAT PROGRESS IN HIS SUMMITS WITH MR. GORBACHEV. BUT THE ADVENT OF A POTENTIALLY LONG-TERM, STABLE SOVIET LEADERSHIP GIVES US THE CHANCE TO REPLACE THE ROLLER-COASTER OF ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN SUMMITRY -- WITH THE MORE BUSINESSLIKE, AND PRODUCTIVE, COURSE OF REGULARLY SCHEDULED, ANNUAL SUMMITS.

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I HAVE ALREADY HAD A TASTE OF DEALING WITH MR. GORBACHEV. HE'S A WORTHY ADVERSARY.

BUT WE HAVE A BETTER CASE. WITH CONTINUED STRONG LEADERSHIP, WE CAN SELL THAT CASE AROUND THE WORLD.

ALLIES

SO THAT IS CHALLENGE NUMBER TWO: DEALING PRODUCTIVELY WITH A CHANGING SOVIET UNION -- WITHOUT FORGETTING SOME FUNDAMENTALS THAT HAVE NOT CHANGED.

AND THAT BRINGS ME TO THE THIRD AND FINAL CHALLENGE: MAKING SURE THAT THE FREE WORLD -- THE ALLIANCE STRUCTURE THAT HAS KEPT US FREE AND AT PEACE -- MAKING SURE IT, TOO, IS READY TO TACKLE THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE 1990'S.

SO LET ME CONCLUDE BY TOUCHING ON WHAT I SEE AS THE THREE MOST PRESSING TASKS FACING NATO AND THE U.S.-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

FIRST, WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE WE'RE ON THE SAME ESSENTIAL WAVELENGTH, IN CONFRONTING SUCH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AS ARMS CONTROL, DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS, AND TERRORISM.

LET ME SAY THIS FRANKLY. IN HANDLING OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONS, THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE SOME MISTAKES. ON ARMS CONTROL, WE MUST NOT ONLY CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES -- WE MUST DO SO SERIOUSLY AND VISIBLY; AND BEFORE OUR PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED TO THE SOVIETS.

AND THERE IS JUST NO EXCUSE FOR THE DISASTROUS ARMS SALES TO THE AYATOLLAH -- OR TO ANYONE ELSE IN IRAN. THOSE SALES KNOCKED INTO A COCKED-HAT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE FORMAL U.S. POLICY OF NO CONCESSIONS TO TERRORISTS.

SO WE HAVE BEEN DOING SOME FENCE-MENDING. AND I COMMEND THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS DILIGENT EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

BUT THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE. THAT IS WHY I HAVE URGED, AND I URGE AGAIN HERE TODAY, THAT THE NEXT SUMMIT BE AN ALLIANCE SUMMIT; BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV.

AND I AM PLEASED THAT BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER HAS JUST ENDORSED THIS PROPOSAL; AND THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS NOW SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING IT.

CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE

THE SECOND URGENT PROBLEM FOR THE ALLIANCE IS DEALING WITH THE THEATER FORCE IMBALANCE IN A POST-INF EUROPE -- INCLUDING THE CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMBALANCE I MENTIONED BRIEFLY BEFORE.

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DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM MEANS, INITIALLY, THAT WE DRAW THIS FIRM LINE IN THE SAND: THERE CAN BE NO MORE DRAWDOWNS IN RESIDUAL NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE, UNTIL THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IS RECTIFIED. OUR BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS; OUR DUAL PURPOSE AIRCRAFT -- THEY MUST REMAIN IN PLACE.

AND THEN WE NEED TO GIVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IN FORCES TO ACHIEVE MORE NEARLY EQUAL LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES. AND THE REDUCTIONS MUST BE REAL, WHOLE UNIT ELIMINATION OF THE MOST THREATENING FORCES: DIVISIONS, TANKS, ARTILLERY, AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS. NOT JUST SHAM WITHDRAWALS, SEVERAL HUNDRED MILES TO THE EAST.

BURDEN-SHARING

THE THIRD ALLIANCE PROBLEM WHICH NEEDS WORK IS BURDEN-SHARING. BURDEN-SHARING IS NOT JUST A SLOGAN -- IT IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF ANY PARTNERSHIP.

BUT RIGHT NOW, THERE JUST ISN'T ENOUGH SHARING GOING ON.

THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE MISTAKES; BUT WE HAVE NEVER AVOIDED OUR RESPONSIBILITIES, OR BEEN AFRAID TO ASSUME THE RISKS. WE HAVE NEVER FAILED TO PAY OUR SHARE -- AND A LOT MORE.

WE HAVE IOU'S -- MONETARY IOU'S; MILITARY IOU'S; POLITICAL IOU'S -- SCATTERED ALL OVER THIS GLOBE.

IT IS TIME TO CALL THEM IN.

IT IS TIME FOR COUNTRIES WHO OWE THEIR FREEDOM TO AMERICA'S DEFENSE SHIELD; WHO OWE THEIR PROSPERITY TO AMERICA'S FOREIGN AID AND TRADE -- IT IS TIME FOR THEM TO REALIZE THAT THERE IS A "DEPOSIT" WINDOW, AS WELL AS A "WITHDRAWAL" WINDOW, AT ALLIANCE BANKS.

I KNOW THAT SOME OF OUR ALLIES ARE MEETING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. I KNOW THAT MORE THAN A FEW ARE MAKING SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, IN TERMS OF DOLLARS, OR MANPOWER, OR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HOST FOREIGN BASES AND FORCES.

BUT I ALSO KNOW -- AND, MORE IMPORTANT, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER KNOWS -- THAT WHEN IT IS ALL TOTED UP: UNCLE SAM PAYS MORE THAN HE SHOULD. IN DOLLARS, IN RISK, IN RESPONSIBILITIES.

PLAN OF ACTION

I HAVE SOME IDEAS ON HOW THE ALLIES COULD PAY THEIR MORE EQUITABLE SHARE:

-- THROUGH AN ALLIANCE STRATEGIC OIL RESERVE, FINANCED BY WEALTHY NATIONS LIKE JAPAN;

-- THROUGH INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO RECIPIENT NATIONS LIKE THE PHILIPPINES, WHO NOW RELY PRIMARILY ON U.S. AID;

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-- BY PAYING A GREATER PORTION OF THE COST OF STATIONING AMERICAN TROOPS OVERSEAS;

-- BY INCREASING THE OPERATIONAL AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR TROOPS;

-- AND BY DEDICATING A PORTION OF THE REVENUES FROM THEIR GROWING TRADE SURPLUSES TO ALLIANCE NEEDS.

OTHERS MAY HAVE OTHER IDEAS. BUT THE KEY IS: LET'S GET THIS DONE, NOW.

U.S. BASES

AND, AS A FINAL WORD ON BURDEN-SHARING, LET ME POINT OUT THAT OUR ALLIES -- BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND AS A UNIT IN NATO -- MUST BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE, AND RESPONSIBLE, IN ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF AMERICAN BASES. SPAIN CAN'T CLAIM THE BENEFIT OF AMERICA'S DETERRENT POWER -- WHILE THROWING OUT THE HARDWARE AND PERSONNEL WHICH ARE THE ESSENCE OF THAT POWER. AND NATO CAN'T DEMAND THAT AMERICA BE THERE IN A CRUNCH -- BUT THEN PRETEND THAT THE BASES WHICH ARE THE CENTERS OF OUR PRESENCE ARE NOT THE BUSINESS OF NATO; BUT ONLY A BILATERAL AFFAIR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SPAIN.

WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER. AND WE BETTER START ACTING THAT WAY.

SUMMARY

SO THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES:

MOVING FORWARD RESPONSIBLY ON ARMS CONTROL.

REDRESSING THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS IMBALANCE.

FORGING REALISTIC, CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

AND KEEPING OUR ALLIANCES UP TO THE TASKS OF THE 1990'S.

THE KINNICK CHALLENGE

FIVE DECADES AGO, NILE KINNICK JUST WANTED TO STAY HERE IN IOWA -- AND MAKE A LIFE. BUT HE HAD TO GO FIGHT IN A WAR -- THAT COST HIM HIS LIFE.

NILE KINNICK HAD A CHALLENGE -- TO STAND UP FOR HIS COUNTRY. NILE MET THAT CHALLENGE.

NOW IT'S OUR TURN.

AS WE ENTER THE LAST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY, AS WE FACE UP TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEXT -- LET US REMEMBER NILE KINNICK'S EXAMPLE; AND LET US DO OUR DUTY, AS WELL AS HE DID HIS.

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IOWA CITY SPEECH

READING COPY

49 YEARS AGO, A FINE YOUNG ATHLETE FROM THIS UNIVERSITY TRAVELED TO NEW YORK -- TO RECEIVE AN AWARD AS THE BEST COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYER IN THE LAND. WITH WAR ALREADY RAGING IN EUROPE, NILE KINNICK ACCEPTED THE HEISMAN TROPHY WITH THESE WORDS: "I THANK GOD I WAS BORN TO THE GRIDIRONS OF THE MIDDLE WEST -- AND NOT TO THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE."

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NOT LONG AFTER, AMERICA WAS AT WAR, TOO. AND NILE KINNICK, AND THOUSANDS OF OTHER YOUNG AMERICANS, WENT OFF TO FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY.

BOB DOLE WAS AMONG THAT CROWD. WE WEREN'T ANXIOUS TO GO OFF TO WAR. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO STAY AT HOME; TO FINISH OUR EDUCATIONS; TO GET GOOD JOBS.

BUT WE DIDN'T HAVE THAT OPTION. NILE KINNICK DIDN'T. BOB DOLE DIDN'T.

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OUR COUNTRY WAS AT WAR.

THERE WAS NO CHOICE.

SO WE WENT TO WAR, TOO.

I WAS AMONG THOSE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO RETURN; TO RESUME A LIFE WHICH HASN'T ALWAYS BEEN EASY -- BUT WHICH, FINALLY, HAS BROUGHT ME HERE TO IOWA CITY TODAY.

NILE KINNICK WAS NOT SO LUCKY. AS A NAVY PILOT, OPERATING OFF THE CARRIER LEXINGTON, NILE KINNICK'S PLANE WAS LOST AT SEA.

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AND, TODAY, THINKING BACK ON THE SACRIFICE THAT NILE KINNICK MADE; THINKING BACK ON MY OWN EXPERIENCE, IN THE WAR AND AFTER -- IF THERE IS ONE THING ABOVE ALL THAT I LEARNED, IT IS THIS: THE ONLY THING MORE TERRIBLE THAN WAR -- IS TO LOSE YOUR FREEDOM.

FREEDOM IS WHAT THIS UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT.

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AND RIGHT NOW, FREEDOM IS FACED WITH A WHOLE NEW SET OF CHALLENGES -- CHALLENGES I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY.

FIRST, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE CHALLENGE OF REDUCING NUCLEAR ARMS -- WITHOUT INVITING AGGRESSION; THE VERY AGGRESSION WE SOUGHT TO DETER, BY ACQUIRING THOSE ARMS IN THE FIRST PLACE.

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RONALD REAGAN'S ARMS CONTROL STRATEGY HAS YIELDED A MILESTONE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT: THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY.

IT IS THE FIRST AGREEMENT TO ACTUALLY REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN THE WORLD; THE FIRST TO WIPE OUT AN ENTIRE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

AND, IMPORTANTLY, THE FIRST TO REFLECT THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE: IT IS NOT REDUCTIONS, PER SE, WHICH MAKE THE WORLD SAFER; BUT ONLY REDUCTIONS MORE NEARLY EQUALIZE THE NUCLEAR

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CAPABILITY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS -- AND THUS CREATE GREATER STABILITY. THAT IS THE ESSENTIAL LOGIC BEHIND THE INF TREATY.

I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK ON THIS TREATY. AND BECAUSE I HAVE, I CAN SAY TO YOU CATEGORICALLY: THIS IS A GOOD TREATY. IT CAN BE VERIFIED. AND IT WILL ENHANCE THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS A GOOD TREATY; WHICH WILL BE STRENGTHENED FURTHER IN THE SENATE; AND THEN SHOULD BE APPROVED.

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AND BECAUSE I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- AND THE SENATE REPUBLICANS I LEAD KNOW I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- I CAN MAKE TO YOU TODAY THE SAME PLEDGE I MADE TO RONALD REAGAN: I WILL LEAD THE FIGHT TO WIN SENATE APPROVAL OF THE INF TREATY.

AND THE TREATY WILL BE APPROVED -- WITH AN OVERWHELMING, BIPARTISAN VOTE.

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BUT INF IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP; BECAUSE THIS TREATY -- AS WELCOME AND IMPORTANT AS IT IS -- AFFECTS ONLY 6% OF THE TOTAL NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IT AFFECTS NOT AT ALL THOSE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AIMS AT THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS A BEGINNING. BUT THE JOURNEY AHEAD IS LONG AND UNCERTAIN.

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NOW LET ME SAY: WE MUST GO FORWARD ON THAT JOURNEY. I DO WANT A START AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD YIELD 50% CUTS IN LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THAT IS A GOOD GOAL; AN ACHIEVABLE GOAL.

BUT I MUST ALSO SAY THIS: WE MUST GO FORWARD CAUTIOUSLY -- KNOWING CLEARLY WHERE WE WANT TO GO; AND KNOWING CLEARLY HOW TO GET THERE SAFELY.

WE CANNOT FINALIZE A START AGREEMENT UNTIL WE ARE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN OF TWO THINGS.

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FIRST, THAT THE AGREEMENT CAN BE VERIFIED. AND THERE IS A LIGHT YEAR OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VERIFYING AN INF AGREEMENT WHICH REDUCES LEVELS TO ZERO; AND A START AGREEMENT WHICH, EVEN FULLY IMPLEMENTED, WOULD LEAVE HALF OF EXISTING STRATEGIC SYSTEMS IN PLACE.

AND LET ME SOUND THIS SMALL ALARM, TOO: UNLESS WE MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SHORE UP OUR TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES TO VERIFY NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS -- I HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THAT ANY VERIFICATION REGIME THE SOVIETS WILL AGREE TO WILL BE ADEQUATE TO THE TASK OF VERIFYING START.

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SO VERIFICATION IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL. BUT IT IS FAR FROM OUR ONLY CONCERN; IT IS NOT THE WHOLE ANSWER.

A BAD AGREEMENT, EVEN IF IT IS VERIFIABLE, IS STILL A BAD AGREEMENT.

SO, SECOND, AND IN ADDITION TO AIRTIGHT VERIFICATION, WE ALSO HAVE TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT THE AGREEMENT LEAVES US WITH A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENT. ANY START AGREEMENT FROM

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THE ON-GOING GENEVA TALKS MUST MEET THIS VITAL STANDARD -- THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE ON THIS POINT, PERIOD.

LET US AGAIN RECALL THE AXIOM I MENTIONED BEFORE. REDUCTIONS, PER SE, MAY NOT BE STABILIZING; MAY NOT MAKE US SAFER; MAY NOT REDUCE THE CHANCES OF WAR.

INDEED, IF THE RESIDUAL FORCES ON EACH SIDE ARE MISALIGNED; IF OURS ARE LEFT MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY THEIRS; OR IF WE FAIL TO ADEQUATELY FUND PROGRAMS WHICH INSURE THE

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SURVIVABILITY AND UTILITY OF OUR DETERRENT FORCES -- UNDER ANY OF THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR DETERRENCE WOULD BE REDUCED, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE FEWER WEAPONS.

AND, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT WE HAVE NO START AGREEMENT AT ALL.

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LET ME ADD JUST TWO ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS IN THE START CONTEXT. (1) UNDERSCORING MY CONCERNS ON START IS THE OVERWHELMING SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES -- AN IMBALANCE WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH IN ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS OR FUTURE SUMMITS WITH THE SOVIETS. I WILL SPEAK MORE ABOUT CONVENTIONAL ARMS IN A MOMENT.

AND (2) IN MY VIEW, THE AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF S.D.I., LEADING TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT, IS THE SINGLE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO INSURING THE CREDIBILITY OF AMERICAN DETERRENCE.

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SO THIS, THEN, IS THE FIRST CHALLENGE: MOVING FORWARD ON NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS -- BUT IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES DETERRENCE AND ENHANCES OUR SECURITY.

AND THE SECOND GREAT CHALLENGE IS: HOW TO MANAGE SUCCESSFULLY OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AS WE TRAVERSE THE NEXT DECADE, AND ENTER THE NEXT CENTURY. AND AS WE CONFRONT WHAT, TRULY, ARE SOME NEW MODES OF THINKING IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND A NEW STYLE LEADER IN MR. GORBACHEV.

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GORBACHEV IS DYNAMIC; HE'S ARTICULATE; HE'S SMART.

AND HE WILL BE A MORE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE COMPETITOR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEST FOR RESPECT AND CREDIBILITY.

I'M NOT MUCH OF A BELIEVER IN POLLS, BUT I AM ALARMED BY POLLS SHOWING GORBACHEV REGARDED BY MANY IN THE NATO COUNTRIES AS A "PEACEMAKER."

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AND WHAT ALARMS ME MOST IS THAT MR. GORBACHEV, FOR ALL THAT HE BRINGS THAT IS NEW, ALSO BRINGS SOMETHING THAT IS VERY, VERY OLD: THE CONVICTIONS OF A COMMITTED, DEDICATED, TOUGH-AS-NAILS COMMUNIST.

HE IS A COMMUNIST STILL. IN HIS HEAD. IN HIS HEART.

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NOW, MR. GORBACHEV IS A GOOD SALESMAN -- BUT WE CAN NEVER LET THE WORLD FORGET: HIS PRODUCT IS COMMUNISM.

NO ONE IS GOING TO BUY THE SOVIET BRAND OF OPPRESSION, OR THE SOVIET MODEL OF ECONOMIC STAGNATION. NOT IF THEY CAN GET THROUGH THAT NICE WRAPPING PAPER THAT GORBACHEV USES, AND SEE WHAT'S INSIDE THE BOX.

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AND THAT'S ONE BIG JOB OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: TO RE-ARTICULATE TO THE WORLD WHAT SOVIET COMMUNISM IS ALL ABOUT; WHAT FREEDOM IS ALL ABOUT; AND WHAT'S AT STAKE -- WHAT'S STILL AT STAKE -- IN THE COMPETITION BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS.

TO REMIND THE WORLD THAT A NATION THAT REFUSES TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS; THAT REPRESSES RELIGION; THAT INVADES ITS NEIGHBORS; AND THAT SOWS SEEDS OF VIOLENCE AND HATE AROUND THE WORLD -- THAT SUCH A NATION IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM US.

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THAT'S NOT COLD WAR RHETORIC; IT'S A COLD, HARD FACT.

NOW LET ME STRESS HERE: I AM BY NO MEANS SUGGESTING THAT WE CAN'T, OR SHOULDN'T TRY TO, WORK WITH THE SOVIETS.

IN FACT, I WOULD SAY THE OPPOSITE: THE EMERGENCE OF MR. GORBACHEV IS A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO WORK EVEN HARDER FOR NEW AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE SOVIETS.

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I DON'T TRUST MR. GORBACHEV OR ANYONE ELSE IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

BUT THAT DOESN'T CHANGE THE FACT THAT WE HAPPEN TO RESIDE ON THE SAME PLANET, AND CAN'T AVOID DEALING WITH EACH OTHER.

AND THERE MAY BE SOME AREAS WHERE GORBACHEV WILL BE MORE OPEN TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION THAT HIS PREDECESSORS. HE DOES HAVE SOME NEW, AND MORE SOPHISTICATED, NOTIONS ABOUT WHAT CAN SERVE SOVIET INTERESTS. HE IS MORE DECISIVE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS WERE. AND HE APPEARS TO HAVE A GREATER UNDERSTANDING

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THAN THEY DID OF THE URGENCY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT COMMUNISM HAS WROUGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION.

SO IT IS IN OUR INTEREST -- AMERICA'S INTEREST -- TO SEE WHAT MAY BE POSSIBLE. TO SEE IF WE CAN ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS WHICH SERVE AMERICAN SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

AND LET ME REPEAT HERE A SUGGESTION ON MANAGING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT I HAVE MADE BEFORE. RONALD REAGAN HAS ACHIEVED GREAT PROGRESS IN HIS SUMMITS WITH MR. GORBACHEV. BUT

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THE ADVENT OF A POTENTIALLY LONG-TERM, STABLE SOVIET LEADERSHIP GIVES US THE CHANCE TO REPLACE THE ROLLER-COASTER OF ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN SUMMITRY -- WITH THE MORE BUSINESSLIKE, AND PRODUCTIVE, COURSE OF REGULARLY SCHEDULED, ANNUAL SUMMITS.

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AS I SAID, I HAVE ALREADY HAD A TASTE OF DEALING WITH MR. GORBACHEV. HE'S A WORTHY ADVERSARY.

BUT WE HAVE A BETTER CASE. WITH CONTINUED STRONG LEADERSHIP, WE CAN SELL THAT CASE AROUND THE WORLD.

SO THAT IS CHALLENGE NUMBER TWO: DEALING PRODUCTIVELY WITH A CHANGING SOVIET UNION -- WITHOUT FORGETTING SOME FUNDAMENTALS THAT HAVE NOT CHANGED.

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AND THAT BRINGS ME TO THE THIRD AND FINAL CHALLENGE: MAKING SURE THAT THE FREE WORLD -- THE ALLIANCE STRUCTURE THAT HAS KEPT US FREE AND AT PEACE -- MAKING SURE IT, TOO, IS READY TO TACKLE THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE 1990'S.

SO LET ME CONCLUDE BY TOUCHING ON WHAT I SEE AS THE THREE MOST PRESSING TASKS FACING NATO AND THE U.S.-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

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FIRST, WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE WE'RE ON THE SAME ESSENTIAL WAVELENGTH, IN CONFRONTING SUCH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AS ARMS CONTROL, DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS, AND TERRORISM.

LET ME SAY THIS FRANKLY. IN HANDLING OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONS, THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE SOME MISTAKES. ON ARMS CONTROL, WE MUST NOT ONLY CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES -- WE MUST DO SO DO SO SERIOUSLY AND VISIBLY; AND BEFORE OUR PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED TO THE SOVIETS.

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AND THERE IS JUST NO EXCUSE FOR THE DISASTROUS ARMS SALES TO THE AYATOLLH -- OR TO ANYONE ELSE IN IRAN. THOSE SALES KNOCKED INTO A COCKED-HAT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE FORMAL U.S. POLICY OF NO CONCESSIONS TO TERRORISTS.

SO WE HAVE BEEN DOING SOME FENCE-MENDING. AND I COMMEND THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS DILIGENT EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

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BUT THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE. THAT IS WHY I HAVE URGED, AND I URGE AGAIN HERE TODAY, THAT THE NEXT SUMMIT BE AN ALLIANCE SUMMIT; BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV.

AND I AM PLEASED THAT BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER HAS JUST ENDORSED THIS PROPOSAL; AND THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS NOW SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING IT.

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THE SECOND URGENT PROBLEM FOR THE ALLIANCE IS DEALING WITH THE THEATER FORCE IMBALANCE IN A POST-INF EUROPE -- INCLUDING THE CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMBALANCE I MENTIONED BRIEFLY BEFORE.

DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM MEANS, INITIALLY, THAT WE DRAW THIS FIRM LINE IN THE SAND: THERE CAN BE NO MORE DRAWDOWNS IN RESIDUAL NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE, UNTIL THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IS RECTIFIED. OUR BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS; OUR DUAL PURPOSE AIRCRAFT -- THEY MUST REMAIN IN PLACE.

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AND THEN WE NEED TO GIVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IN FORCES TO ACHIEVE MORE NEARLY EQUAL LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES. AND THE REDUCTIONS MUST BE REAL, WHOLE UNIT ELIMINATION OF THE MOST THREATENING FORCES: DIVISIONS, TANKS, ARTILLERY, AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS. NOT JUST SHAM WITHDRAWALS, SEVERAL HUNDRED MILES TO THE EAST.

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THE THIRD ALLIANCE PROBLEM WHICH NEEDS WORK IS BURDEN-SHARING. BURDEN-SHARING IS NOT JUST A SLOGAN -- IT IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF ANY PARTNERSHIP.

BUT RIGHT NOW, THERE JUST ISN'T ENOUGH SHARING GOING ON.

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WE HAVE IOU'S -- MONETARY IOU'S; MILITARY IOU'S; POLITICAL IOU'S -- SCATTERED ALL OVER THIS GLOBE.

IT IS TIME TO CALL THEM IN.

IT IS TIME FOR COUNTRIES WHO OWE THEIR FREEDOM TO AMERICA'S DEFENSE SHIELD; WHO OWE THEIR PROSPERITY TO AMERICA'S FOREIGN AID AND TRADE -- IT IS TIME FOR THEM TO REALIZE THAT THERE IS A "DEPOSIT" WINDOW, AS WELL AS A "WITHDRAWAL" WINDOW, AT ALLIANCE BANKS.

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I KNOW THAT SOME OF OUR ALLIES ARE MEETING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. I KNOW THAT MORE THAN A FEW ARE MAKING SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, IN TERMS OF DOLLARS, OR MANPOWER, OR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HOST FOREIGN BASES AND FORCES.

BUT I ALSO KNOW -- AND, MORE IMPORTANT, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER KNOWS -- THAT WHEN IT IS ALL TOTED UP: UNCLE SAM PAYS MORE THAN HE SHOULD. IN DOLLARS, IN RISK, IN RESPONSIBILITIES.

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I HAVE SOME IDEAS ON HOW THE ALLIES COULD PAY THEIR MORE EQUITABLE SHARE:

-- THROUGH AN ALLIANCE STRATEGIC OIL RESERVE, FINANCED BY WEALTHY NATIONS LIKE JAPAN;

-- THROUGH INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO RECIPIENT NATIONS LIKE THE PHILIPPINES, WHO NOW RELY PRIMARILY ON U.S. AID;

-- BY PAYING A GREATER PORTION OF THE COST OF STATIONING AMERICAN TROOPS OVERSEAS;

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-- BY INCREASING THE OPERATIONAL AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR TROOPS;

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AND, AS A FINAL WORD ON BURDEN-SHARING, LET ME POINT OUT THAT OUR ALLIES -- BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND AS A UNIT IN NATO -- MUST BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE, AND RESPONSIBLE, IN ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF AMERICAN BASES. SPAIN CAN'T CLAIM THE BENEFIT OF AMERICA'S DETERRENT POWER -- WHILE THROWING OUT THE HARDWARE AND PERSONNEL WHICH ARE THE ESSENCE OF THAT POWER. AND NATO CAN'T DEMAND THAT AMERICA BE THERE IN A CRUNCH -- BUT THEN PRETEND THAT THE BASES WHICH ARE THE CENTERS OF OUR PRESENCE ARE NOT THE BUSINESS OF NATO; BUT ONLY A BILATERAL AFFAIR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SPAIN.

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WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER. AND WE BETTER START ACTING THAT WAY.

SO THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES.

MOVING FORWARD RESPONSIBLY ON ARMS CONTROL.

REDRESSING THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS IMBALANCE.

FORGING REALISTIC, CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

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AND KEEPING OUR ALLIANCES UP TO THE TASKS OF THE 1990'S.

FIVE DECADES AGO, NILE KINNICK JUST WANTED TO STAY HERE IN IOWA -- AND MAKE A LIFE. BUT HE HAD TO GO FIGHT IN A WAR -- THAT COST HIM HIS LIFE.

NILE KINNICK HAD A CHALLENGE -- TO STAND UP FOR HIS COUNTRY. NILE MET THAT CHALLENGE.

NOW IT'S OUR TURN.

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AS WE ENTER THE LAST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY, AS WE FACE UP TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEXT -- LET US REMEMBER NILE KINNICK'S EXAMPLE; AND LET US DO OUR DUTY, AS WELL AS HE DID HIS.

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
DEFICIT

THANK YOU DICK (RAHN) FOR THAT KIND INTRODUCTION. THANK YOU, AND THE CHAMBER, THE CHAMBER'S DEFICIT REDUCTION COALITION AND THIS PRIVATIZATION GROUP FOR AFFORDING ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY.

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I FEEL LIKE I'M PREACHING TO THE CHOIR HERE -- WHEN I SPEAK ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. THE CHAMBER HAS BEEN ON THE FRONT LINES OF EVERY BUDGET BATTLE IN RECENT MEMORY. AND BELIEVE ME, I AM VERY APPRECIATIVE OF THE SUPPORT ITS MEMBERSHIP HAS GIVEN OUR EFFORTS IN CONGRESS. SO I HOPE THE MESSAGE I CONVEY TODAY -- THAT AT LEAST SOME OF US IN LEADERSHIP POSITIONS HERE IN WASHINGTON, NOT ONLY BELIEVE THAT THE DEFICIT MUST BE ELIMINATED, BUT HAVE THE BACKBONE TO SEE THAT IT HAPPENS -- REASSURES YOU.

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LONG, LONG TIME SINCE NOVEMBER

IT'S A LONG TIME SINCE NOVEMBER 9, 1987. THAT'S WHEN I ANNOUNCED MY CANDIDACY. A LOT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN. I'VE HAD THE CHANCE TO MEET A LOT OF GOOD PEOPLE, AND TAKE THE PULSE OF THE NATION.

AND ONE THING I'VE LEARNED -- THE ISSUES -- AND THE IMPORTANCE OF FIRM, EXPERIENCED LEADERSHIP -- ARE STILL THE SAME.

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IN MY ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH, I SAID THAT THIS ELECTION WAS ABOUT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES AND ABOUT PEOPLE WHO COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE. I POINTED OUT THAT RONALD REAGAN WAS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF A LEADER WHO HAD MADE A DIFFERENCE . . . WHO HAD RESTORED AMERICA'S PROSPERITY, REBUILT OUR MILITARY STRENGTH, AND REVIVED OUR SPIRITUAL WELLBEING. I SAID THAT RONALD REAGAN HAD SET US ON A NEW COURSE, AND THAT HISTORY WOULD BE GRATEFUL.

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BUT I ALSO SAID THAT THE REAGAN RECORD WAS NOT SOMETHING TO STAND ON, OR TO RUN ON. IT WAS SOMETHING TO BUILD ON.

I STILL BELIEVE THAT. AND I BELIEVE THAT -- IF HE'S THE RIGHT KIND OF PRESIDENT -- THE NEXT MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE CAN LEAD AMERICA TO AN EVEN GREATER ERA OF OPPORTUNITY FOR OUR PEOPLE AND SECURITY FOR OUR NATION. BUT FIRST, HE'S GOT TO TACKLE SOME TOUGH PROBLEMS.

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AND THE TOUGHEST, MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM OF THEM ALL IS THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT. IT'S THE SINGLE GREATEST THREAT TO A PROSPEROUS AND DYNAMIC AMERICA. IT IS PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE.

GEORGE WILL, IN A RECENT COLUMN, ARGUES THAT THE PROSPERITY WE HAVE ENJOYED OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS HAS BEEN "BOUGHT AT A TERRIBLE PRICE THAT HAS YET TO BE PAID." HE LIKENS TODAY'S FISCAL POLICY TO "EATING OUR SEED CORN."

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"BUT POLITICALLY," WILL NOTES, "THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE COUNTRY ENJOYS EATING THAT CORN."

I AGREE AND DISAGREE. TRUE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LIKE TO EAT THE CORN, BUT THEY ALSO UNDERSTAND THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE FEDERAL DEFICIT. ALMOST EVERY POLL THAT GAUGES WHAT AMERICANS BELIEVE ARE THE BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING THE COUNTRY RANKS THE FEDERAL DEFICIT FIRST.

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AND FROM ALL MY TRAVELS, AND ALL MY TALKS, I KNOW ONE THING WITH CERTAINTY: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE JUST WAITING FOR WASHINGTON -- FOR THE COUNTRY'S LEADERS -- TO FACE THE MUSIC AND DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO GET THE BUDGET IN BALANCE.

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DEMOCRATS' DEFICIT DREAMS

SEVERAL DAYS AGO, I GAVE A SPEECH ON FOREIGN POLICY -- AND THE DIRECTION THE DEMOCRATS SEEMED TO BE HEADING IN. I SAID THAT ON THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE OF THE CAMPAIGN, THERE WAS A FAILURE OF NERVE, AS WELL AS A FAILURE OF VISION.

WELL, THE SAME IS TRUE ON THE DEFICIT. BUT THERE IS ALSO A FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE DEMOCRATS HAVE EITHER CLOSED THEIR EARS, OR THEIR MINDS, OR BOTH.

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BECAUSE THE ONE THING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT, AND DO NOT BELIEVE IS NEEDED TO BALANCE THE FEDERAL BOOKS, IS A WHOPPING TAX INCREASE. THEY OFFER PIE IN THE SKY SOLUTIONS FOR A VERY REAL WORLD PROBLEM. THEY SKIRT AROUND THE TAX INCREASE QUESTION, OFFERING VAGUE LISTS OF "HARMLESS TAXES." AND TAKING A LOOK AT THE SPENDING SIDE -- WELL, YOU CAN FORGET THAT.

LISTEN TO THESE WORDS:

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WHEN ASKED TO NAME ONE NON-DEFENSE DOMESTIC SPENDING CUT HE MIGHT SUPPORT, JESSE JACKSON RESPONDED,"CORPORATE TAX BREAKS."

HIS OWN DEMOCRATIC RIVALS HAVE CHIDED SENATOR PAUL SIMON FOR "PROMISING THE MOON" IN NEW SPENDING -- AN $8 BILLION JOBS PROGRAM FOR INSTANCE -- AND SIMULTANEOUSLY PROMISING A BALANCED BUDGET IN THREE YEARS.

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HOW WILL HE BALANCE THE BUDGET BY 1992? WITH A $45 BILLION SAVINGS FROM A DROP IN UNEMPLOYMENT AND $30-$40 BILLION FROM A DROP IN INTEREST RATES. BUT HE DOESN'T EXPLAIN HOW, OR WHY, THOSE RATES WILL DROP EXCEPT THAT IT WILL BE "IMPLEMENTED IN A DISCIPLINED FASHION." HOWEVER, FOR GOOD MEASURE, SIMON SAYS HE WOULD IMPOSE A "SOAK THE RICH" TAX HIKE ON THOSE AMERICANS EARNING MORE THAN $100,000 A YEAR.

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GOVERNOR DUKAKIS IS A PROPONENT OF THE HOUDINI SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, CLAIMING THAT THE DEFICIT WILL DISAPPEAR IF WE JUST ADD 3,000 NEW TAX COLLECTING AGENTS TO THE STAFF OF THE IRS.

"WHEN YOU HAVE GOT BILLIONS (IN FEDERAL TAXES) OWED, THAT SHOULD BE THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS," DUKAKIS HAS SAID. "I'M STILL BAFFLED BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO TAKE THIS SERIOUSLY."

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WELL, THE GOVERNOR NEEDN'T BE BAFFLED. IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, THE IRS HAS ADDED 5,000 NEW REVENUE AGENTS, AND THE ADDITIONAL TAXES THEY WILL BRING IN IS EXPECTED TO REACH A GRAND TOTAL OF $3.1 BILLION.

MEANWHILE, SENATOR GORE SAYS HE DOESN'T WANT TO GET DRAWN INTO AN "UNREALISTIC NUMBERS GAME," SO HE WON'T BE SPECIFIC ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THE DEFICIT. BUT HE PROMISES TO "REBUILD A CONSENSUS BEHIND FISCAL RESPONSIBILTY," CUT WASTE, IMPROVE TAX ENFORCEMENT AND INCREASE TAXES ON "THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD IT."

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WHO'S KIDDING WHO?

WHO'S KIDDING WHO HERE. ARE THESE SOLUTIONS TO THE DEFICIT DILEMMA?

WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT, AND EXPECT OF THEIR LEADERS IN WASHINGTON, IS WHAT ONE OF MY KANSAS CONSTITUENTS WROTE: (AND I QUOTE)

"UNTIL THERE IS A BETTER SOLUTION, I'M GOING TO ADJUST MY LIFE STYLE TO LIVE WITHIN THE MONEY I EXPECT TO RECEIVE AND HOPE THAT IT DOESN'T SHRINK ANY MORE. THAT'S CALLED BALANCING MY BUDGET. TOO BAD YOU WON'T DO THE SAME THING WITH THE FEDERAL BUDGET."

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WELL, MR. ROBERT VAN ZANT IS RIGHT. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO ADJUST ITS LIFESTYLE AND BEGIN LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS. BUT IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE PAINFUL, AND IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE UNFAIR.

SINCE DAY ONE OF THIS CAMPAIGN, I'VE BEEN STATING THE CASE FOR IT FROM ONE END OF THIS COUNTRY TO THE OTHER. IN FACT, I'M THE CANDIDATE WHO HAS STEPPED FORWARD WITH A PRACTICAL, DO-ABLE

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WAY TO DEFUSE THE DEFICIT TIME BOMB: A TEMPORARY, ONE-YEAR FREEZE ON FEDERAL SPENDING. ONLY THOSE PROGRAMS AFFECTING VULNERABLE AMERICANS WOULD BE EXCEPTED.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT HAS TO TELL THE PEOPLE, THE CONGRESS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE PENTAGON, AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES THAT THEY CAN SPEND NOT ONE DIME MORE THAN THEY SPENT THE YEAR BEFORE. AND I'M CONVINCED THAT -- WITH THE RIGHT KIND OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE WHITE HOUSE -- THE VOTES WOULD BE THERE FOR THE FREEZE.

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HE'LL ALSO HAVE TO 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 A REAL LEADER WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE HEAT FROM THE SPECIAL INTERESTS . . . STAND UP TO CONGRESS . . . AND GET THE JOB DONE.

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STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS TOO

BUT THE PROBLEMS GO BEYOND THE NUMBERS IN THE BUDGET. THERE ARE REAL, BASIC STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS WITH THE WAY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH PUTS A BUDGET TOGETHER -- THE WAY CONGRESS RESPONDS TO THAT BUDGET -- AND THE BOX ANY PRESIDENT FINDS HIMSELF IN AS A RESULT.

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IN 1974 CONGRESS PASSED THE BUDGET AND IMPOUNDMENT ACT. IT CEDED POWER TO ITSELF, TO PUT TOGETHER A BUDGET BLUEPRINT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS NO POWER TO VETO, TO ALTER. AND ONCE CONGRESS APPROVES THAT BUDGET -- WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S CONCURRENCE -- THAT BECOMES THE MEASURING CUP FOR ALL FEDERAL SPENDING.

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ONLY WHEN THE PRESIDENT RECEIVES THE ACTUAL APPROPRIATIONS, OR SPENDING BILLS, DOES HE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO "JUST SAY NO." BUT IN EVERY YEAR IN RECENT MEMORY, CONGRESS HAS DUMPED ALL OR NEARLY ALL OF THE 13 INDIVIDUAL APPROPRIATIONS BILL IN ONE HUGE CONTINUING RESOLUTION. LAST YEAR'S MONSTROSITY WAS 2,100 PAGES LONG, AND APPROPRIATED $603.9 BILLION!

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THIS CAN'T GO ON. THE NEXT MAN IN THE OVAL OFFICE MUST LEAD THE FIGHT FOR STRUCTURAL BUDGET REFORM -- FOR A TWO-YEAR BUDGET CYCLE, FOR A BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION AND, MOST OF ALL, FOR A PRESIDENTIAL LINE ITEM VETO.

THE LINE ITEM VETO HAS 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.

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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 CONGRESS DIDN'T AGREE -- AND I WAS IN THE WHITE HOUSE -- I'D TAKE IT A STEP FURTHER. I'D USE THE LINE ITEM VETO AS A TEST CASE AND ARGUE ITS CONSTITUTIONALITY IN COURT.

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WHY DOES THE DEFICIT MATTER

BUT WHY DOES THIS DEFICIT BUSINESS MATTER.

THE BUDGET IS MUCH, MUCH MORE THAN NUMBERS. IT REPRESENTS THE END PRODUCT OF HUNDREDS OF POLICY CHOICES, AND HAS BECOME THE "MODUS OPERANDI" FOR ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS, DESIRES, AND NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THE BUDGET IS THE "ROADMAP" OF THE POLICIES THIS NATION CHOOSES TO FOLLOW -- WHETHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC.

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THE DEFICIT IS NUMBERS; BIG NUMBERS, TOO. YET IT REPRESENTS MORE THAN DOLLARS AND CENTS. IT'S ALSO PEOPLE. BEHIND THOSE TRILLION DOLLAR FIGURES IS A HUMAN THREAT TO EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN AMERICA. UNLESS WE TACKLE IT NOW, IT WILL TICK AWAY LIKE A TIME BOMB. AND, SOONER OR LATER, IT WILL EXPLODE AMERICA'S FUTURE PROSPERITY.

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MOMENT BY MOMENT, IT IS ALREADY ERODING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN, THREATENING THEIR HOPES FOR A BETTER LIFE, FOR A HOME OF THEIR OWN, FOR AFFORDABLE EDUCATION AND HEALTHCARE.

WHAT REALLY MATTERS IS THE PEOPLE BEHIND THE NUMBERS. ANNUAL INTEREST ON THE DEFICIT ALONE GOBBLES UP MORE THAN $150 BILLION A YEAR. IF WE REDUCE THE DEBT, THEN WE REDUCE THE INTEREST ON THE DEBT, AND SOON THE BUDGET WOULD BE BALANCED. HERE ARE SOME OF THE HUMAN BENEFITS WE COULD ACHIEVE:

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- 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 RESEARCH, DEVELOP AND DEPLOY A SHIELD AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK TO INSURE PEACE.

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● WE COULD TRIPLE OUR EFFORTS TO STAMP OUT DRUG ABUSE AND VIOLENT CRIME.

ALL OF THESE THINGS WILL BE WITHIN THE REACH OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT . . . BUT ONLY IF HE CAN PUT OUR FINANCIAL HOUSE IN ORDER . . . CUT OUR DEFICIT . . . CUT OUR DEBTS . . . AND CUT OUR INTEREST PAYMENTS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE PAYING A HIGH PRICE FOR THE DEFICIT . . .AND THEY'RE MORTGAGING THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

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AT LONG LAST -- AT HOME AND ABROAD -- "BUY AMERICAN" WOULD AGAIN BE A SYMBOL OF QUALITY AND COMPETITIVE PRICING.

THAT'S WHAT FACING OUR FISCAL REALITIES, AND BALANCING THE BOOKS WOULD DO FOR AMERICA. AT STAKE IS NOTHING LESS THAN OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE...THE FUTURE OF AMERICA ITSELF.

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IN MY ANNOUNCEMENT SPEECH, I SAID THAT SINCE THE DEFICIT PROBLEM BEGAN, EVERY ADMINISTRATION AND EVERY CONGRESS HAS TRIED TO POSTPONE THE TRUE RECKONING. AT NO POINT HAS OUR GOVERNMENT BEEN WILLING TO FACE AND WEIGH THE TOUGH CHOICES, TO ACT RESOLUTELY TO CUT SPENDING.

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BUT IF WE DO NOT FIND A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM, THEN WE RISK A GREAT DEAL -- WE RISK NOT ONLY THE ECONOMIC VIABILILTY OF THIS COUNTRY, JOBS AND HOMES AND BUSINESSES. WHAT WE RISK IS TURNING OUR BACKS ON ONE OF THE MOST BASIC PRECEPTS OF THIS GOVERNMENT, AS STATED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON AT THE BIRTH OF THIS NATION -- THAT "THE PROFLIGACY OF ONE GENERATION OUGHT NOT FOREVER TO BURDEN ITS SUCCESSOR."

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IF WE TURN OUR BACK, AND WALK AWAY FROM THE DEFICIT, THEN WE MAY QUICKLY BECOME A NATION DIVIDED BETWEEN YOUNG AND OLD; AND THE CHIEF LEGACY WE WILL PASS ON TO OUR CHILDREN IS DASHING THEIR HOPES OF ACHIEVING THE AMERICAN DREAM.

I AM READY, WILLING AND ABLE TO TACKLE THE DEFICIT HEAD-ON -- TO FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT TO MAKE SURE THAT TIME NEVER COMES.

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U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee

William L. Armstrong, *Chairman* **January 15, 1988**

January Talking Points

As our economic expansion enters its record 6th year, the service-producing sector is easing up slightly, but the goods-producing sector is moving full-speed ahead.

- December's civilian unemployment rate was 5.8%, its lowest level since July 1979. December's 5.8% rate is down from 5.9% in November and 9.5% in 1982-83. *[Labor Dept.]*
- Business payroll employment grew by 326,000 in December, which followed a 263,000 gain in November. 1987's total gains were 3 million jobs. *[Labor Dept.]*
- Manufacturing jobs increased by 40,000 in December, and 406,000 from a year ago. Goods-producing jobs (including manufacturing, mining, and construction) rose by 97,000 last month and 640,000 from a year ago. *[Labor Dept.]*
- Industrial production, a measure of our success in producing goods, was up again in December, and 5.1% higher than a year earlier. We are currently producing nearly 33% more goods per year than in late 1982 when the current expansion began. *[Federal Reserve]*
- Over the past nine months, capital spending (spending by businesses on new plants and equipment) has been rising at a "superheated 9% clip". *[Fortune, Jan. 18, 1988]*
- Sales by 16 of the nation's largest retailers in December were up 10.2% over last December. For the first 11 months of 1987, these stores sold 9.7% more than in 1986. *[WSJ, Jan. 8, 1988]*
- Overall December retail sales were up 0.7% over November levels, the biggest gain in 4 months. For the entire year, sales figures were 3.5% higher than last year. *[Commerce Dept.]*
- Exports through November have been running 10% higher than last year. For the third quarter alone, exports were 16% higher than in 1986. And for November alone, exports were 33% greater than a year ago. *[Commerce Dept.]*

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- The rebound in manufacturing is widespread: *[Fortune, Jan. 11 and 18, 1988]*
  - The U.S. auto industry had record profits in 1987. Ford's profits were up 27% over 1986.
  - The appliance industry has had 5 years of record growth.
  - Semiconductor shipments rose 22% in 1987.
  - Paper industry exports were up 15% in 1987.
  - "Most everybody is making money" in the steel industry [steel expert W. Hogan, Fordham Univ.]. Steel shipments were 77 million tons in 1987 – much more than analysts expected, and steel exports were 1 million tons.
  - Textile industry productivity has risen more than 20% in the last 5 years, and is now the highest in the world.
  - Capacity utilization in the chemical industry is up 10 percentage points since 1984, thanks largely to record exports in 1987. (Monsanto's chemical division exports were up 40% in 1987, according to *USA Today*, Jan. 15, 1987.)
  - Manufacturing R&D spending has been increasing at an 8% annual rate (after adjustment for inflation) over the past 7 years – three times the rate for the 1970s.
- The consumer price index rose at a 4.5% annual rate over the first 11 months of 1987, although November's rise was slightly below this rate. 1987's 4.5% rate is slightly higher than the 3.5% rate we've averaged over the last 5 years, but is considerably lower than the 6.4% annual average rate over the last 20 years. *[Labor Dept.]*
- Producer prices fell a steep 0.3% in December, the sharpest drop since July 1986, holding the year-long increase in producer prices for 1987 to only 2.2%. *[Labor Dept.]*
- The U.S. saving rate (out of after-tax income) was 4.4% in the fourth quarter of 1987 – over 50 percent higher than in the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the year. *[Business Week, Jan. 11, 1988]*

Can our pace of economic growth be maintained, and can a recession be avoided in 1988? Aside from the stock market crash, one concern might be monetary policy:

- Since May 1987, the money supply (M1) has grown at a less than 1% annual rate. During the previous year, from 5/86 to 5/87, M1 grew by 14.2%. Such massive slowdowns in the rate of money growth have, in the past, been precursors to slowdowns in the economy. *[St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank]*

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