

SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BOB DOLE

NATIONAL GOVERNORS ASSOCIATION

REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY

FEBRUARY 6, 1996

I KNOW I SPEAK FOR ALL GOVERNORS IN SAYING THAT OUR BEST WISHES TODAY ARE WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, AS HE CELEBRATES WHAT HE WOULD CALL THE 46TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS 39TH BIRTHDAY.

IN FACT, I'M TEMPTED THIS MORNING TO LIMIT MY REMARKS TO JUST ONE LINE THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN SPOKE TO THIS GATHERING NINE YEARS AGO.

HE SAID--AND I QUOTE--"THE BEST THING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO FOR THE STATES IS TO GET OUT OF YOUR POCKETS, AND OUT OF YOUR WAY."

THAT WAS GOOD ADVICE THEN, AND IT'S GOOD ADVICE NOW--AND IT'S PRECISELY WHAT I PROMISED YOU THIS CONGRESS WOULD TRY TO DO WHEN I MET WITH YOU LAST JULY IN VERMONT.

I'M PROUD TO SAY THAT DAY AFTER DAY ON MEASURE AFTER MEASURE WE HAVE WORKED TO KEEP THAT PROMISE.

I'M ALSO PROUD TO SAY THAT NEVER BEFORE IN AMERICAN HISTORY HAVE A CONGRESS AND THE NATION'S GOVERNORS WORKED AS CLOSELY AND AS COOPERATIVELY TOGETHER AS WE HAVE THIS PAST YEAR.

AND BY WORKING TOGETHER--BY REPLACING PATERNALISM WITH PARTNERSHIP--WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS FOR AMERICA.

WORKING TOGETHER, WE BURIED THE UNFUNDED MANDATES THAT ONCE ALMOST BURIED YOU.

AND WORKING TOGETHER, WE HAVE CHANGED ENTIRE DEBATES HERE IN WASHINGTON AND AROUND THE COUNTRY.

THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OR STATE GOVERNMENTS WERE BEST ABLE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF AMERICANS.

NOW, THERE IS NEAR UNANIMOUS ACCEPTANCE THAT OUR FOREFATHERS KNEW WHAT THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT, AND THAT THE 10TH AMENDMENT WAS A PRETTY GOOD IDEA.

AND THE DEBATE TODAY IS NOT WHETHER POWER SHOULD BE SHIFTED OUT OF WASHINGTON, IT'S HOW FAST WE SHOULD DO IT.

THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER OR NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO AS OUR STATES DO AND AS AMERICAN FAMILIES DO--AND BALANCE THE BUDGET.

NOW, THERE IS NEAR-UNANIMOUS ACCEPTANCE OF WHAT I HAVE BEEN SAYING FOR A LONG, LONG, TIME--AND THAT'S THE FACT THAT WE NEED TO LEAVE OUR CHILDREN THE AMERICAN DREAM AND NOT THE AMERICAN DEBT.

AND THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER THE BUDGET SHOULD BE BALANCED, INSTEAD, IT'S HOW IT SHOULD BE BALANCED.

THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER OR NOT OUR WELFARE SYSTEM WAS WORKING.

NOW, THERE IS NEAR UNANIMOUS ACCEPTANCE OF THE SAD FACT THAT OUR WELFARE SYSTEM HAS BETRAYED THE TAXPAYERS WHO FUND IT, AND THOSE AMERICANS WHO DEPEND ON IT.

AND THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER OUR WELFARE SYSTEM WORKS, IT'S WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO TRULY END WELFARE AS WE KNOW IT.

THESE ARE THE QUESTIONS YOU HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THESE PAST FEW DAYS, AND THEY ARE THE ONES THAT WILL FACE CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

ONE THING I KNOW FOR SURE IS THAT FOR AS MUCH AS WE HAVE COOPERATED THESE PAST MONTHS, OUR COOPERATION MUST INCREASE IF WE ARE TO ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS AS THEY MUST BE ANSWERED.

WELFARE REFORM

LET ME BEGIN WITH WELFARE REFORM. MANY OF YOU--INCLUDING GOVERNORS THOMPSON, CARPER, AND ENGLER--WORKED ON A DAILY BASIS WITH US THESE PAST MONTHS AS CONGRESS PASSED HISTORIC WELFARE REFORM LEGISLATION.

WAS THIS LEGISLATION PERFECT? NO.

WAS IT MUCH MUCH BETTER THAN OUR PRESENT SYSTEM? YES.

WAS IT BASED ON THE CONCEPTS OF WORK, FAMILY, AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY? YES.

DID IT RETURN POWER TO OUR STATES? YES.

SHOULD WE GIVE UP BECAUSE PRESIDENT CLINTON VETOED IT? NO.

WE HAVE COME TOO FAR AND WORKED TOO HARD TO SIMPLY THROW UP OUR HANDS AND ALLOW THE PRESENT SYSTEM TO TRAP A NEW GENERATION OF AMERICANS IN DESPAIR.

OUR GOAL SHOULD BE A SYSTEM THAT MAKES SENSE TO YOU. HOWEVER, HAVING SAID THAT, ANY AGREEMENT MUST HOLD TRUE TO THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THE LEGISLATION PASSED BY CONGRESS.

BECAUSE WHILE HOW MUCH MONEY WE SAVE IS VERY IMPORTANT TO OUR EFFORTS TO BALANCE THE BUDGET, THE POLICIES WHICH PROVIDE FOR REAL REFORM IN THIS ENTITLEMENT PROGRAM ARE EVEN MORE CRITICAL TO AMERICA'S LONG TERM FUTURE.

THE WORK REQUIREMENTS MUST BE REAL. PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IS CRITICAL. AND THE PRESERVATION OF FAMILIES AND THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN MUST BE AT ITS CORE.

I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR REPORT.

BALANCED BUDGET

I AM ALSO ANXIOUS TO HEAR YOUR SUGGESTIONS ON HOW WE CAN REACH A BALANCED BUDGET AGREEMENT. HERE, AS WITH WELFARE REFORM, WE HAVE COME TOO FAR TO TURN BACK.

THE BIGGEST PARLOR GAME IN WASHINGTON--BESIDES TRYING TO FIGURE OUT WHO WROTE "PRIMARY COLORS--" IS TRYING TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT PRESIDENT CLINTON WANTS A REAL BALANCED BUDGET AGREEMENT.

WELL, I'M WILLING TO TAKE THE PRESIDENT AT HIS WORD--EVEN THOUGH INSTEAD OF BEING A SERIOUS FISCAL DOCUMENT, THE FY 97 BUDGET HE ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY IS A 20 PAGE POLITICAL PAMPHLET THAT DELAYS THE TOUGH DECISIONS UNTIL THE NEXT CENTURY.

WHILE REPUBLICANS ARE WILLING TO BE FLEXIBLE, WE HAVE ALSO LEFT NO DOUBT THAT THERE ARE PRINCIPLES THAT CAN NOT BE COMPROMISED, INCLUDING REAL SPENDING RESTRAINT, REAL ENTITLEMENT REFORM, AND TAX RELIEF FOR AMERICAN WORKING FAMILIES.

MEDICAID

PRESIDENT CLINTON STAKED A GREAT DEAL OF HIS OPPOSITION TO OUR BALANCED BUDGET RESOLUTION ON THE PROPOSED REFORMS IN MEDICAID, AND HIS OFTEN STATED BELIEF THAT THE STATES WOULD BE TEMPTED TO PARTICIPATE IN A SO-CALLED "RACE TO THE BOTTOM."

I DISAGREED WITH THAT PREMISE THEN, AND I DISAGREE WITH IT NOW. THIS IS NOT A DEBATE ABOUT COMPASSION AND WHO CARES MORE ABOUT THE MOST VULNERABLE IN OUR SOCIETY. IT IS A DEBATE ABOUT WHO CAN BEST CARE FOR THEM.

AS WAS THE CASE WITH WELFARE, WE TURNED TO YOU TO HELP US DESIGN A SOLUTION THAT BRIDGES OUR DIFFERENCES WITHOUT COMPROMISING OUR PRINCIPLES.

I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT OUR TRUST IS WELL PLACED IN OUR STATES--AND IN YOU, OUR NATION'S GOVERNORS.

GOVERNORS LEAVITT, THOMPSON, ENGLER, CHILES, MILLER, ROMER, AND MANY OTHERS OF YOU HAVE COMMITTED WEEKS AND MONTHS TO THESE CONVERSATIONS, AND ARE TO BE CONGRATULATED AND THANKED FOR YOUR EFFORTS.

I AM DELIGHTED AT WHAT APPEARS TO BE A PROPOSAL THAT PROTECTS WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE ELDERLY, AND THE DISABLED, WHILE GIVING YOU THE FLEXIBILITY YOU NEED AND DESERVE.

OUR GOAL HAS ALWAYS BEEN NOT ONLY TO SAVE MONEY IN A RESPONSIBLE WAY, BUT ALSO TO DESIGN A PROGRAM THAT WILL TRULY SERVE THE CITIZENS OF YOUR STATE.

I HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON THE BROAD OUTLINES OF YOUR PROPOSAL, AND BELIEVE IT HOLDS GREAT PROMISE.

MEDICARE

EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE AGREED THAT SAVING MEDICARE FROM BANKRUPTCY IS LARGELY A FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY, I KNOW YOU WERE AS DISTURBED AS I WAS YESTERDAY TO HEAR THE NEWS THAT MEDICARE'S INSOLVENCY IS EVEN CLOSER THAN PREVIOUSLY PREDICTED.

AS WITH WELFARE REFORM AND MEDICAID REFORM, SIMPLE TINKERING IS NOT ENOUGH.

I HOPE THE ADMINISTRATION TAKES YESTERDAY'S REPORT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE BEYOND THE RHETORIC OF THE PAST MONTHS, AND WORK WITH US TO PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN MEDICARE FOR THE GENERATIONS TO COME.

UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN'S LEADERSHIP, WE SAVED SOCIAL SECURITY ON A BI-PARTISAN BASIS IN 1983, AND THERE'S NO REASON WHY WE CAN'T SAVE MEDICARE ON A BI-PARTISAN BASIS, AS WELL.

AGRICULTURE

FINALLY, WHILE SOME OF YOU MAY NOT VIEW YOURSELF AS A "FARM STATE" GOVERNOR, THERE IS NOT A GOVERNOR HERE--OR ANYONE IN YOUR STATE--WHO DOES NOT BENEFIT FROM THE MIRACLE PRODUCED EVERY DAY BY AMERICA'S AGRICULTURE COMMUNITY.

AND ALL OF YOU SHOULD BE AS FRUSTRATED AS I AM WITH THE FILIBUSTER THAT IS BLOCKING PASSAGE OF A FARM BILL.

IF RURAL AMERICA IS TO SURVIVE, IT MUST HAVE A GROWTH ORIENTED FARM POLICY.

THAT MEANS NO LONGER PAYING FARMERS NOT TO PLANT.

IT MEANS ALLOWING FARMERS TO PRODUCE FOR THE MARKET PLACE

AND NOT THE GOVERNMENT.

THESE ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FREEDOM TO FARM LEGISLATION WE ARE TRYING TO PASS IN THE SENATE TODAY.

IN FACT, WE HAVE A VOTE SCHEDULED AROUND 1:00 TODAY--SO IF ANY OF YOU HAVE A FREE MINUTE OR TWO, GIVE YOUR SENATOR A CALL, AND URGE THEM TO GIVE YOUR FARMERS THE CERTAINTY THEY NEED.

LET ME CLOSE BY STATING THAT WHEN I GO HOME AT NIGHT, I WATCH C-SPAN; AND I HAVE ENJOYED WATCHING MANY OF YOUR "STATE OF THE STATE" SPEECHES OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

THESE SPEECHES LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT AMERICA'S GOVERNORS ARE ABOUT ENERGY, CHANGE, LEADERSHIP, AND INNOVATION.

I HEARD THAT IN GOVERNOR WHITMAN'S WELFARE REFORM PROPOSAL IN NEW JERSEY...

I HEARD IT IN GOVERNOR THOMPSON'S CALL FOR AN EDUCATION SYSTEM BASED ON CHOICE, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, AND TECHNOLOGY" IN WISCONSIN...

AND I SAW YOUR LEADERSHIP IN THE NO-NONSENSE WAY THAT MANY OF YOU ADDRESSED THE COMING JUVENILE CRIME STORM.

IN YOUR SPEECHES, MANY OF YOU ALSO WENT BEYOND LEGISLATIVE ISSUES, AND SPOKE ABOUT THE VALUES WHICH HAVE MADE THIS COUNTRY GREAT, AND WHICH WE MUST PASS ON TO OUR CHILDREN.

THIS WAS A POINT MADE VERY EFFECTIVELY IN THE STATE OF THE STATE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY GOVERNOR ROMER, WHO SHARED A STORY ABOUT A JOURNAL THAT HIS FATHER KEPT WHEN THE GOVERNOR WAS A BOY.

IN THIS JOURNAL, HIS FATHER DETAILED HOW MUCH YOUNG ROY EARNED AND WHAT HE SPENT. AND EACH DAY HAD A NOTATION LIKE:

"JANUARY 4, 1935; SINGING WELL AT THE CHURCH PROGRAM, 25 CENTS."

"OCTOBER 1, 1938: FOR THINGS HE DID NOT DO--MINUS 25 CENTS.

AND GOVERNOR ROMER THREW OUT A CHALLENGE TO THE COLORADO STATE LEGISLATORS--A CHALLENGE YOU AND I SHARE TODAY.

HE SAID AS WE CONDUCT OUR BUSINESS, WE SHOULD SET AN EXAMPLE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS LIKE THE ONE HIS FATHER SET FOR HIM.

AND AS WE REACH DECISIONS ON THE ISSUES OF THE DAY, WE SHOULD IMAGINE THAT A YOUNG CHILD WAS STANDING AT OUR SIDE ASKING THE QUESTION "WHAT KIND OF WORLD ARE YOU CREATING FOR ME?"

IF WE DO OUR JOBS...IF WE KEEP WORKING TOGETHER...IF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GETS OUT OF YOUR POCKETS AND OUT OF YOUR WAY, THEN WE WILL CREATE A FUTURE OF WHICH WE AND OUR CHILDREN CAN BE VERY PROUD.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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THANK YOU.

**I KNOW YOU'VE HAD A LONG
COUPLE OF DAYS OF MEETINGS AND
SPEECHES, SO I THOUGHT I'D LIVEN
THINGS UP BY GIVING MY STATE OF
THE UNION RESPONSE AGAIN.**

**ACTUALLY, I GOT A MEMO THE DAY
AFTER THAT SPEECH FROM THE
PRESIDENT'S POLITICAL CONSULTANT,
DICK MORRIS.**

**HE ASSURED ME HIS POLLS SAID
PEOPLE LOVED MY SPEECH, AND TO
KEEP RIGHT ON GIVING IT.**

**I KNOW I SPEAK FOR ALL
GOVERNORS IN SAYING THAT OUR
BEST WISHES TODAY ARE WITH
PRESIDENT REAGAN, AS HE
CELEBRATES WHAT HE WOULD CALL
THE 46TH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS 39TH
BIRTHDAY.**

**IN FACT, I'M TEMPTED THIS
MORNING TO LIMIT MY REMARKS TO**

**JUST ONE LINE THAT PRESIDENT
REAGAN SPOKE TO THIS GATHERING
NINE YEARS AGO.**

**HE SAID--AND I QUOTE--"THE BEST
THING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
CAN DO FOR THE STATES IS TO GET
OUT OF YOUR POCKETS, AND OUT OF
YOUR WAY."**

**THAT WAS GOOD ADVICE THEN,
AND IT'S GOOD ADVICE NOW--AND
IT'S PRECISELY WHAT I PROMISED YOU
THIS CONGRESS WOULD TRY TO DO**

**WHEN I MET WITH YOU LAST JULY IN
VERMONT.**

**I'M PROUD TO SAY THAT DAY
AFTER DAY ON MEASURE AFTER
MEASURE WE HAVE WORKED TO KEEP
THAT PROMISE.**

**I'M ALSO PROUD TO SAY THAT
NEVER BEFORE IN AMERICAN HISTORY
HAVE A CONGRESS AND THE NATION'S
GOVERNORS WORKED AS CLOSELY
AND AS COOPERATIVELY TOGETHER
AS WE HAVE THIS PAST YEAR.**

**AND BY WORKING TOGETHER--BY
REPLACING PATERNALISM WITH
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**WORKING TOGETHER, WE BURIED
THE UNFUNDED MANDATES THAT
ONCE ALMOST BURIED YOU.**

**AND WORKING TOGETHER, WE
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**THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER
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**NOW, THERE IS NEAR UNANIMOUS
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WERE TALKING ABOUT, AND THAT THE
10TH AMENDMENT WAS A PRETTY
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**AND THE DEBATE TODAY IS NOT
WHETHER POWER SHOULD BE SHIFTED**

**OUT OF WASHINGTON, IT'S HOW FAST
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**THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER
OR NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
SHOULD DO AS OUR STATES DO AND
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**NOW, THERE IS NEAR-UNANIMOUS
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**AMERICAN DREAM AND NOT THE
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**AND THE QUESTION IS NOT
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**THE DEBATE USED TO BE WHETHER
OR NOT OUR WELFARE SYSTEM WAS
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**NOW, THERE IS NEAR UNANIMOUS
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OUR WELFARE SYSTEM HAS BETRAYED**

**THE TAXPAYERS WHO FUND IT, AND
THOSE AMERICANS WHO DEPEND ON
IT.**

**AND THE QUESTION IS NOT
WHETHER OUR WELFARE SYSTEM
WORKS, IT'S WHAT NEEDS TO BE
DONE TO TRULY END WELFARE AS WE
KNOW IT.**

**THESE ARE THE QUESTIONS YOU
HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING THESE PAST
FEW DAYS, AND THEY ARE THE ONES**

**THAT WILL FACE CONGRESS AND THE
PRESIDENT IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.**

**ONE THING I KNOW FOR SURE IS
THAT FOR AS MUCH AS WE HAVE
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WELFARE REFORM

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REFORM. MANY OF YOU--INCLUDING
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BASIS WITH US THESE PAST MONTHS
AS CONGRESS PASSED HISTORIC
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WAS THIS LEGISLATION PERFECT?

NO.

**WAS IT MUCH MUCH BETTER THAN
OUR PRESENT SYSTEM? YES.**

**WAS IT BASED ON THE CONCEPTS
OF WORK, FAMILY, AND PERSONAL
RESPONSIBILITY? YES.**

**DID IT RETURN POWER TO OUR
STATES? YES.**

**SHOULD WE GIVE UP BECAUSE
PRESIDENT CLINTON VETOED IT? NO.**

**WE HAVE COME TOO FAR AND
WORKED TOO HARD TO SIMPLY
THROW UP OUR HANDS AND ALLOW
THE PRESENT SYSTEM TO TRAP A NEW**

**GENERATION OF AMERICANS IN
DESPAIR.**

**OUR GOAL SHOULD BE A SYSTEM
THAT MAKES SENSE TO YOU.
HOWEVER, HAVING SAID THAT, ANY
AGREEMENT MUST HOLD TRUE TO THE
PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THE
LEGISLATION PASSED BY CONGRESS.**

**BECAUSE WHILE HOW MUCH
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BUDGET, THE POLICIES WHICH**

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ENTITLEMENT PROGRAM ARE EVEN
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**THE WORK REQUIREMENTS MUST
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BALANCED BUDGET

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**THE BIGGEST PARLOR GAME IN
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IS A 20 PAGE POLITICAL PAMPHLET
THAT DELAYS THE TOUGH DECISIONS
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**WHILE REPUBLICANS ARE WILLING
TO BE FLEXIBLE, WE HAVE ALSO LEFT**

**NO DOUBT THAT THERE ARE
PRINCIPLES THAT CAN NOT BE
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SPENDING RESTRAINT, REAL
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MEDICAID

**PRESIDENT CLINTON STAKED A
GREAT DEAL OF HIS OPPOSITION TO
OUR BALANCED BUDGET RESOLUTION**

**ON THE PROPOSED REFORMS IN
MEDICAID, AND HIS OFTEN STATED
BELIEF THAT THE STATES WOULD BE
TEMPTED TO PARTICIPATE IN A SO-
CALLED "RACE TO THE BOTTOM."**

**I DISAGREED WITH THAT PREMISE
THEN, AND I DISAGREE WITH IT NOW.**

**THIS IS NOT A DEBATE ABOUT
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MEDICARE

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