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DOLE CONTINUES PUSH FOR FOREIGN AID REALLOCATION <u>NEW OPPORTUNITIES, NO NEW MONEY</u> <u>35 COUNTRIES COULD BE "ZEROED OUT"</u>

AND IN SOME IMPORTANT WAYS, WE FACE A NEW WORLD. TODAY. WE START A NEW SESSION; IN PLACES FROM PANAMA TO POLAND, LONG OPPRESSED PEOPLE CONTINUE TO TAKE GIANT STRIDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS. YOU GET THE FEELING THAT THE FOLKS AT STATE DEPARTMENT, TRYING TO KEEP TRACK OF EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, HAVE TO WRITE THE NAMES OF THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT ON A "MAGIC SLATE" -- IN ORDER TO KEEP UP. IT'S A VERY DYNAMIC, IN SOME WAYS VOLATILE, SITUATION. AND, NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, SOME GOVERNMENT ON A

PRUDENCE IS IN ORDER.

GOOD NEWS: FREEDOM EPIDEMIC BUT THIS MUCH IS ALREADY CLEAR. WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY, AND A TERRIFIC OPPORTUNITY, TO HELP ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, AND AT THE SAME TIME ADVANCE CRITICAL AMERICAN NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS. IF THE GREAT EXPERIMENTS IN DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS SUCCEED, FREEDOM WILL CONTINUE TO ADVANCE; AND IT CAN MEAN, FOR THE UNITED STATES, GREATER SECURITY, LOWER DEFENSE SPENDING, AND GREAT NEW MARKETS FOR OUR PRODUCTS AND INGENUITY. THAT'S THE GOOD NEWS. THE BAD NEWS IS -- WHILE IN SOME WAYS IT IS A NEW WORLD OUT THERE, IN OTHER WAYS WE STILL FACE SOME OLD REALITIES.

BAD NEWS: FEDERAL DEFICIT WE HAVE ALMOST INCOMPREHENSIBLE FEDERAL DEFICITS. WE'VE PUT SOME FLIMSY WALLPAPER OVER BUT WE HAVEN'T REALLY COME TO THE YAWNING GAP BETWEEN WHAT WE TAKE IN AND WHAT WE SPEND;

THE YAWNING GAP BETWEEN WHAT WE TAKE IN AND WHAT WE SPEND; BUT WE HAVEN'T REALLY COME TO GRIPS WITH THE DEFICIT CRISIS. AND IT'S GOING TO GET WORSE -- MUCH WORSE -- IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS. OVERALL, WE ARE JUST NOT GOING TO HAVE LARGE AMOUNTS OF NEW MONEY TO POUR INTO FOREIGN AID. THAT IS A FACT. DOWN THE ROAD, IF A SUBSTANTIAL "PEACE DIVIDEND" DOES MATERIALIZE, I HOPE WE WILL USE IT PRIMARILY TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT. ONE OTHER IMPORTANT PRIORITY THAT COULD BE ADDRESSED WOULD BE FOREIGN AID. BUT, AS I SAY, THAT IS SOME YEARS DOWN THE ROAD. THE HARD REALITY IS: FOR THIS YEAR, FY 90, AND FOR NEXT, FY 91 -- WE ARE GOING TO BE OPERATING WITH PRETTY MUCH THE SAME "POT" OF MONEY, TO MEET OUR INCREASING BILATERAL FOREIGN AID PROULDEMENTS.

AID REQUIREMENTS.

AND LET ME STRESS THIS POINT: I'VE SPOKEN SO FAR ABOUT "NEW" OPPORTUNITIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES. WE ALSO HAVE A HOST OF EXTREMELY IMPORTANT LONG-STANDING AND ON-GOING RESPONSIBILITIES -- ALLIES AND FRIENDS, WHOSE OWN FATE AND POLICIES WILL HAVE A GREAT IMPACT ON OUR SECURITY AND WELL-BEING.

ON OUR SECURITY AND WELL-BEING. <u>LATIN AMERICA - NO MORE COLD SHOULDER</u> RIGHT NOW, WE JUST DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO GO AROUND, TO MEET ALL OF THEIR LEGITIMATE REQUESTS. WE DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO HELP OURSELVES -- OUR SECURITY AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING -- THROUGH TIMELY HELP TO THEM. OVER THE RECESS, I VISITED FIVE NATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA -- BOLIVIA, ARGENTINA, PARAGUAY, VENEZUELA AND TRINIDAD. AT EVERY STOP, WE HEARD THE SAME LEGITIMATE LAMENT: ALREADY SEEING THEMSELVES AS FAR DOWN THE TOTEM POLE IN TERMS OF UNITED STATES INTEREST AND AID, THEY SEE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE PUSHING THEM EVEN FURTHER DOWN AND THE NEWS IS EVEN WORSE THAN THAT. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE A BIG, BIG DEFICIT PROBLEM. NOT ONLY DO WE HAVE AN AID BUDGET STRETCHED TIGHT AS A DRUM, AND MANY NEW FOREIGN AID RESPONSIBILITIES. **EARMARKING STATS**

WE HERE IN CONGRESS HAVE COMPOUNDED ALL THESE PROBLEMS WITH MASSIVE "EARMARKING" --LEGISLATING VERY HIGH LEVELS OF AID FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES, AND THEREBY TAKING UP FRONT A VERY HIGH PERCENTAGE OF OUR FOREIGN AID BUDGET.

SOME STATISTICS TELL THE TALE. 92% OF THE FMS "POT" IS EARMARKED. CONGRESS HAS DECIDED WHAT WILL BE DONE WITH IT; AND THE PRESIDENT IS LEFT WITH ONLY 8% AT HIS DISCRETION, IN THIS RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD, TO MEET NEW OPPORTUNITIES OR UNEXPECTED NEEDS. 82% OF THE ESF "POT" IS EARMARKED.

FIVE COUNTRIES -- ISRAEL, EGYPT, TURKEY, THE PHILIPPINES AND PAKISTAN -- RECEIVE MORE THAN 2/3 OF OUR TOTAL BILATERAL AID. COMPARING THE PRESIDENT'S INITIAL REQUESTS FOR FOREIGN AID WITH THE AMOUNT OF DISCRETIONARY

MONEY CONGRESS LEFT FOR HIM, THE SHORTFALL IS ABOUT \$650 MILLION. <u>35 COUNTRIES COULD BE ZEROED OUT</u> AS MANY AS 35 INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY PROGRAMS ARE "ON THE CHOPPING BLOCK" -- FACING BIG CUTS OR EVEN BEING TOTALLY "ZEROED OUT."

COUNTRIES LIKE BOLIVIA AND PERU -- ON THE FRONTLINES OF THE "WAR ON DRUGS." I DON'T ENVY PRESIDENT BUSH, HAVING TO GO DOWN TO THE DRUG SUMMIT NEXT MONTH; URGE THOSE TWO COUNTRIES TO LEAP INTO THE OUR COMMON BATTLE AGAINST THE DRUG KINGPINS; AND THEN ADD THE P.S. -- BY THE WAY, WE'RE CUTTING YOUR AID.

COUNTRIES LIKE GUATEMALA, WHICH HAS TURNED BACK SEVERAL COUP ATTEMPTS, AND HELD YET ANOTHER DEMOCRATIC ELECTION. OR EL SALVADOR -- FACED WITH A BRUTAL ASSAULT BY CUBAN AND NICARAGUAN SUPPLIED COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS. OUR RESPONSE TO THEIR SITUATIONS: TOUGH LUCK, YOUR AID IS BEING CUT.

COUNTRIES LIKE KENYA, ZAIRE, LIBERIA, SENEGAL -- KEY COUNTRIES ON A KEY CONTINENT. THE HALLS OF CONGRESS RING WITH SPEECHES ABOUT HOW IMPORTANT THEY ARE -- BUT THEIR AID CHECK ARRIVES WITH A LITTLE NOTE ATTACHED: SORRY IT CAN'T BE MORE, BUT WE HAVE MORE IMPORTANT NEEDS.