

Bob Dole



NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

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Contact: Clarkson Hine
(202) 224-5358

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REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BOB DOLE

START RE-LIMITING GOVERNMENT BY ABOLISHING FOUR CABINET DEPARTMENTS: EDUCATION, HUD, ENERGY & COMMERCE SYMBOLS OF WASHINGTON OUT OF TOUCH & OUT OF CONTROL; RECONNECT GOVERNMENT TO VALUES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE

William Allen White, the editor from Emporia, Kansas, who became a giant in American journalism once said, "When anything is going to happen in this country, it happens first in Kansas."

And one of the great traditions in Kansas is that when something happens there, a community newspaper will be there to cover it.

Community newspapers like the Russell Daily News -- whose first editor was former NNA President Web Hawkins -- are the lifeblood of rural America, keeping citizens involved in their communities and interested in one another.

In fact, if it weren't for one certain community newspaperman, I might not be here today.

The long time publisher of the Phillips County Review in Phillipsburg, Kansas, was a fellow named Huck Boyd. Huck and I met when he was driving through Russell late one night, noticed a light on in the Courthouse, and stopped to see what fool was working so late.

Huck was either Manager or Chairman of several of my toughest House and Senate campaigns--campaigns I may not have won without his counsel and advice. I have to admit, however, that I had trouble listening to one piece of Huck's advice. He told me to stop telling jokes, saying that "We don't need a Jack Benny in Washington, D.C."

Huck passed away a few years back, but his legacy lives on through the Huck Boyd National Center for Community Media at Kansas State University. With the support of the NNA, the professors and the students at the Boyd Center provide assistance to community newspapers in need of advice or help.

The Mandate from America

This time last year, I don't think any of us could have imagined what lay ahead. Republican control of the Senate. Republican control of the House. Republicans in control of the majority of the governorships. The Republican Party as America's majority party.

On November 8, I believe that the American people sent a message to Washington. They said they are tired of government promising too much and delivering too little. They demanded a return to freedom and a renewal of opportunity. They want a government defined by its limit and not by its reach.

I believe their message is my mandate: To rein in government and reconnect it to the values of the American people. That means making government a whole lot smaller, a lot less arrogant, and getting it out of matters best left to the states, cities, and families across America.

Restoring the Tenth Amendment

My guide is the 10th Amendment -- you can find it in the Bill of Rights.

The 10th Amendment reads, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states...or to the people."

Our straying from this principle of limited government is among the reasons America seems to have gotten so badly off track, and I have pledged that if I do nothing else in the next two years, I will dust off the 10th Amendment and restore it to its rightful place in the Constitution.

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We have already done a lot along these lines in the first two months of Republican control of Congress -- though we could have done even more by now if we had a President who shared the vision of the American people. As a matter of fact, not a day passes without a new complaint from President Clinton about why this program can't be cut or that decision can't be sent to the states or the people. The New Democrat who ran on change has become the New Spokesman for the status quo.

The Balanced Budget Amendment Will Be Back

Still, for the first time, we've made Congress obey the laws it passes for everybody else. We've made it a lot harder for Congress to burden the states with unfunded mandates. And although we just lost a big vote last week, I predict that before this Congress is through, we will send to the states for ratification a Balanced Budget Amendment.

Last week's vote will not be the last vote. It will not be the last time that Senators will have to stand up and be counted on this issue. The Balanced Budget Amendment will be back. I will bring it back and back and back until it passes because the will of the people will not be thwarted in this Congress.

Deregulation, Tax Cuts, Line-Item Veto & Term Limits

We're also about to roll back oppressive regulation with the most sweeping deregulatory bill in memory. We will cut taxes. We will pass the line item veto. And I am going to do everything I can to see that we get term limits. And because there are now nearly 5 million words of federal income tax regulations -- perhaps the most oppressive aspect of American government -- we will take a long, serious look at substituting a flat tax for the income tax in this country.

Limited Government

Americans are demanding a nation made more free by insisting on a government that is more limited, and we will give it to them. Fewer federal programs, more power to the states, more freedom for our people. We will roll back laws, regulations, and programs from Amtrak to zoological studies, working our way through the alphabet soup of government.

And as we do, our guide will be this question: Is this program or agency, or even this department, a basic function of limited government? Or is it an example of how government has lost faith in the judgment of our people, and in the potential of our markets?

If we keep asking that question time after time, we'll end up with less federal involvement, fewer federal rules and regulations, a reduction in federal spending, and more freedom and opportunity for our states and our citizens.

Faith in the American People

We are committed to this course because we have an awesome faith in the American people and the power of our ideas. Ideas like freedom, self-government, and self-determination. We know that families and communities and businesses are the true source of our nation's energy, and that government, these days, is more of a sap than a spark.

We are committed to re-limiting government because we know the costs of burgeoning government. We know the effects of high taxes, over-regulation, and arrogant mandates. For sprawling government and strangling regulation not only squeeze the wallet, they stifle the spirit, as well. The mission of American leadership in the 1990's must be to set the American spirit free again.

Abolish Four Cabinet Departments

So we're not only going to change how Washington works, we're going to change how it looks, as well.

And we must do more than reduce wasteful spending and scale back unneeded programs. For the fact is that if we are to re-limit government in any meaningful way, there are massive federal office buildings in this city -- entire Cabinet departments -- where the best thing we could do is turn out the lights, lock the doors, and send the workers home.

I think the best place to start is with four of the most ineffective, burdensome, and meddlesome departments: the Department of Education, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Department of Energy, and the Department of Commerce.

Today, these four departments spend more than \$70 billion per year and employ more than 74,000. They are responsible for tens of thousands of pages of regulations. When they were created they were supposed to be the answer to our challenges in education, poverty, energy, and economic opportunity.

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Instead, more than trillion dollars later, they have caused more problems than they have solved. Today, these agencies are defined more by bottlenecks and bureaucracy, scandal and waste, than anything remotely connected with success.

Give Education System Back to Parents & Communities

For example, the Department of Education was supposed to bring world class standards to American classrooms. Instead, American education continues to slip in comparison to other industrialized nations. And nowhere is the "Washington knows best" mindset more insulting -- empowering "educrats," the NEA and the political elite at the expense of parents and school boards and local communities.

Just last year, a 1,000 page, \$65 billion education bill passed Congress. It was full of new regulations that dictate how schools should discipline students, what parents and teachers should discuss in their conferences, and the average annual salary of assistant coaches in men's and women's athletic programs. It even created a Special Assistant to the Secretary of Education for Gender Equity. What is gender equity, anyway? And why are these things the federal government's business?

We know how to build a world class system of education in this country. We built one once. It was the pride of the world. It was defined by excellence and it was the key to freedom and opportunity. It was the means by which one generation could stand on the shoulders of the one before it. And it was built on a foundation of parents and teachers who had direct control over their schools -- how much to spend, what to teach, whom to hire.

We need that system back again. We need to give the money back to the local school districts and allow teachers to teach without Washington looking over their shoulders. We need our schools to reflect again the values of America and teach again the value of the American dream.

Certain programs like civil rights and special education should remain in Washington, but they should be run by the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and Human Services, not by the education special interests. It's time to end the reign of the National Education Association and re-associate parents and communities with the decisions about their children.

Eliminate Housing & Urban Development Bureaucracy

One of the centerpieces of President Johnson's War on Poverty was the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Today, it is one of the most poignant symbols of that war's futility -- of high hopes and poor results. Since 1965, we have spent more than \$5 trillion fighting poverty. Several hundred billion of those dollars have been spent by HUD.

But today, there are more poor in America than at any point in our history. HUD is mired in its bureaucracy and confused in its mission. It has empowered wealthy developers and sent the poor to live in high rise hells. In the "World's of Its Own" report this past December, "HUD...has...evolve(d) into a bureaucracy far more attentive to process than to results, characterized by slavish loyalty to non-performing programs and insufficient trust in the initiatives of local leaders."

HUD's goals are commendable -- seeking to reduce the number of homeless, expanding housing opportunities, and opening housing markets to minorities, HUD's methods, however, are nonsensical. Many of HUD's main programs don't even pretend to help the poor, others just plain hurt them. The Community Development Block Grants and the Urban Development Action Grants have been used by city mayors and developers to fund pet projects that have not helped people in need. The assisted housing programs often end up as tax credits to wealthy developers.

And then there is public housing. Public housing is one of the last bastions of socialism in the world. Imagine: The United States government owns the housing where an entire class of its citizens permanently live. We are the landlords of misery.

Let me be clear: I believe that government has an obligation to maintain a safety net -- to alleviate the suffering of the poor. But, these programs have failed in that mission. They have not alleviated poverty -- they have deepened it. They have not ended suffering -- they have prolonged it. And that is why they should be abolished.

Housing vouchers would enable poorer Americans to choose where they live -- like everyone else. And America's free markets can help. The Federal Housing Authority should be privatized. Homelessness assistance should be given to HHS. And enforcement of the fair housing laws should be monitored by the Department of Justice.

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Erase Energy Department Confusion

I actually voted for the creation of the Department of Energy in 1977. At the time, I hoped that it would be able to deal with the energy crisis that we faced. Unfortunately, it only made things worse. The gas lines and natural gas shortages in the late 1970's were the result of burdensome regulation, and were solved only when the Department was forced to change its operations under President Reagan and market forces were allowed to take hold. Today, this Department is perhaps the most confused of them all. It spends more than twice as much on defense and environmental clean-up as it does on energy.

It seems to me that it makes a lot more sense to send Energy's defense matters to an independent agency under the Department of Defense and farm out the few other necessary programs to other departments and offices. With annual revenues that exceed \$5 billion per year, the Department of Energy would rank in the top third of all U.S. companies. In 1980, candidate Ronald Reagan said that the United States didn't suffer from a shortage of energy but from a surplus of government. He started the cutback in the early 1980's. The time has come to finish the job he began.

Rely on Free Enterprise, Not Commerce Department

And while I wasn't around to vote on the creation of the Department of Commerce in 1903, Strom Thurmond was and he told me he had a lot of concerns. As usual, he was right. Commerce was founded to increase economic opportunity and further trade. Today, it churns up taxpayer dollars with unnecessary tasks and a "mission creep" unparalleled in government. In fact, its functions are duplicated by 71 other government agencies, departments, and offices.

More than half of its activities are devoted not to commerce or trade, but to the outmoded National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration that the General Accounting Office calls "technologically obsolete." And its principal arm for economic and commercial development, the Economic Development Administration, is a barrel of pork -- sending funds to the congressional districts of senior appropriators.

The fastest growing segment of Commerce is the Advanced Technology Program which will soon spend more than \$1 billion per year in corporate welfare. The government has no business and no competence deciding what areas need to be developed technologically. Let the market determine that. In fact the entire Department should be replaced by reliance once again on America's free enterprise system.

Symbols of Washington Out of Touch & Out of Control

These four departments are powerful symbols of a Washington out of touch and out of control. They are over-funded, over-staffed and resoundingly unnecessary. I voted against the creation of two of these departments, and I will lead the charge for the abolition of all four.

There will be a lot of opposition. The special interests they sustain and the politicians who cater to them will pound on doors and cry foul. We will be called hard-headed and cold-hearted. But our efforts and our ability to accomplish this goal will be viewed by the American people as a measure of our seriousness -- we will draw a line in our public life between cheap talk and real action. We will be on the side of action. We will be on the side of smaller government. We will be on the side of the American people.

Reclaim The American Century

On the anniversary of D-Day last summer, I returned to the hills of Italy I had climbed nearly 50 years before, as a platoon leader in the 10th Mountain Division.

As we walked and talked with the other veterans and their families, I thought about the America of our youth...the America we risked our lives to protect, and about our hopes for the generations who would follow us.

And then I thought about the America we live in today -- an America still great and still the beacon of freedom around the world, but an America whose problems seem to be growing deeper and more intransigent.

Standing there in those Italian hills I thought perhaps there was one more mission for my generation...one more call to serve.

I thought my generation might have something the country needs right now in a President: Someone who knows what made America great in the first place...someone who knows what has been sacrificed to keep us free...someone who would do all in his power to lead America back to her place in the sun--someone who knows the way.

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Indeed, as we close this century and prepare to begin another, a great contest is being waged over the principles, ideas and values by which America will govern herself -- and the outcome will determine America's place in the world and her history and future in it. As became so clear to me, standing on that long-ago battlefield in Italy, so much is at stake.

This century was once called the American Century. Let us reclaim it for America. Let us renew our strength by returning to first principles and traditional values. Let us rein in our government so that the spirit of the American people can be set free. Let us reassert our rightful place as the greatest nation on earth.

We should do it for ourselves. We owe it to our children. This moment in our national life will be remembered by history. Together, we must act so that future generations may look back on us as worthy custodians of the magic gift of freedom.

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