REMARKS OF SENATOR DOLE

New Jersey Governors' Club

November 8, 1986

O THE 100TH CONGRESS WILL BE DIFFERENT, THERE'S NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. THE REAGAN AGENDA WILL, AS ALWAYS, BE SET OUT CLEARLY AND FORCEFULLY: BUT WE CAN'T PRETEND THAT HIS PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS ARE WHAT THEY WERE. AFTER ALL, THAT'S THE MESSAGE WE REPUBLICANS TRIED TO GET ACROSS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

- O AT THE SAME TIME, REMEMBER THAT A REPUBLICAN
 PRESIDENT AND A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS HAS ALMOST BEEN THE
 NORM IN RECENT DECADES. WHEN THE NATIONAL INTEREST
 CLEARLY DEMANDS ACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENTS
 AND CONGRESSES OF OPPOSING PARTIES HAVE FOUND WAYS TO
 GET THINGS DONE. THAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE CASE.
- O I WOULD SUGGEST, AS EXAMPLES OF THE KINDS OF PRESSING PRIORITIES THAT NEED BIPARTISAN ACTION:
- -MAINTAINING OUR DEFENSE BUILDUP TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT
 A STRONG HAND IN CONTINUING HIS BREAKTHROUGH ARMS
 DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS;

-CONTINUING AID TO THE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS IN NICARAGUA
AND SUPPORTING FREEDOM FIGHTERS AROUND THE GLOBE;

REMARKS OF SENATOR DOLE

New Jersey Governors' Club
November 8, 1986

- O THE 100TH CONGRESS WILL BE DIFFERENT, THERE'S NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. THE REAGAN AGENDA WILL, AS ALWAYS, BE SET OUT CLEARLY AND FORCEFULLY: BUT WE CAN'T PRETEND THAT HIS PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS ARE WHAT THEY WERE. AFTER ALL, THAT'S THE MESSAGE WE REPUBLICANS TRIED TO GET ACROSS IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.
- O AT THE SAME TIME, REMEMBER THAT A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS HAS ALMOST BEEN THE NORM IN RECENT DECADES. WHEN THE NATIONAL INTEREST CLEARLY DEMANDS ACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT, PRESIDENTS AND CONGRESSES OF OPPOSING PARTIES HAVE FOUND WAYS TO GET THINGS DONE. THAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE CASE.
- O I WOULD SUGGEST, AS EXAMPLES OF THE KINDS OF PRESSING PRIORITIES THAT NEED BIPARTISAN ACTION:
- -MAINTAINING OUR DEFENSE BUILDUP TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT A STRONG HAND IN CONTINUING HIS BREAKTHROUGH ARMS DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS;
- -CONTINUING AID TO THE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS IN NICARAGUA AND SUPPORTING FREEDOM FIGHTERS AROUND THE GLOBE;

-Moving forward with the President's Strategic Defense Initiative;

-MEETING THE GRAMM-RUDMAN HOLLINGS DEFICIT REDUCTION TARGETS, WHICH WE MUST DO TO KEEP OUR ECONOMY STRONG, KEEP BRINGING INTEREST RATES DOWN, AND SHARPEN OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE IN THE WORLD MARKETPLACE.

- O ON MANY OF THESE FRONTS, THE NEW SENATE LEADERS ARE MAKING POSITIVE SOUNDS. SENATOR BYRD HAS STATED CLEARLY THAT HE WANTS TO WORK WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN, THAT HE DOES NOT WANT TO INITIATE A TAX INCREASE, AND THAT HE EXPECTS THE SENATE TO PROCEED ON A 'GLIDE PATH' TOWARDS A BALANCED FEDERAL BUDGET.
- O ON THE OTHER HAND, IF YOU READ BETWEEN THE LINES, THERE'S NOT THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT THAT SENATE DEMOCRATS HAVE AN AGENDA OF THEIR OWN. SENATOR BYRD HAS ALSO SAID HE COULD MAKE OUR DEFICIT TARGETS "MORE FLEXIBLE". I GUESS THAT MEANS HE COULD TAKE A HIGHER BUDGET DEFICIT. SAM NUNN OF THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE STRONGLY DISAGREES WITH THE REAGAN SDI PROGRAM--EVEN THOUGH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORT IT.
- O PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL CONTINUE TO LEAD--AND SENATE
 REPUBLICANS WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR A SOUND ECONOMY,
 A SECURE NATION AT PEACE, AND BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS TO
 FREEDOM--BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM--HERE AND ABROAD.

- O We'LL WORK WITH DEMOCRATS ON ALL OF THESE GOALS.

 BUT WE'RE OBVIOUSLY FREE, AS REPUBLICANS, TO MOVE

 IN A DIFFERENT DIRECTION IF THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

 GETS ON THE WRONG TRACK.
- O DEFICIT. HERE CONGRESS STILL HAS A TOUGH ROW TO HOE.

 THE LAW STILL REQUIRES US TO GET THE DEFICIT DOWN TO

 \$108 BILLION IN 1988. WITH THE EFFECTS OF TAX REFORM

 AND UNCERTAINTY ON THE GROWTH RATE OF THE ECONOMY, THAT

 MEANS A LOT MORE DEFICIT REDUCTION IS NEEDED—ON THE ORDER

 OF \$50 BILLION, ACCORDING TO OMB DIRECTOR JIM MILLER.

 WITH TAXES OFF LIMITS AND DEFENSE ALREADY CUT CLOSE TO

 THE BONE, THAT REALLY DOESN'T LEAVE MANY OPTIONS.
- O OVERSIGHT. YOU CAN EXPECT AN ALL-DEMOCRAT CONGRESS
 TO SPEND A LOT OF TIME SCRUTINIZING THE ACTIONS OF THE
 REAGAN BUREAUCRACY, WHETHER ITS FOREIGN POLICY, CONTRACTING
 PRACTICES, JUDGESHIPS, YOU NAME IT. THAT, AFTER ALL,
 IS A CLASSIC TACTIC FOR UNDERMINING A PRESIDENT'S AGENDA:
 KEEP THE BUREAUCRATS BUSY ANSWERING TO CONGRESS.
- O <u>Judgeships</u>, This will be a big, big battleground, even though the record is clear the President Reagan has appointed outstanding judges, rated as high (or better) than any recent Presidents'. Judges outlive the administrations that appoint them, and a lot of Democrats may be interested

IN FRUSTRATING THE PRESIDENT'S AGENDA IN THIS AREA.

WE HOPE THAT THE NOMINATION PROCESS, WHICH HAS A PROUD

TRADITION OF FOCUSING ON JUDICIAL MERIT ALONE, WILL

NOT BECOME POLITICIZED IN THE PROCESS.

O REAGAN THEMES. THE WHITE HOUSE IS SUGGESTING THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL STRESS 'MAKING AMERICA MORE PRODUCTIVE' IN THE REMAINDER OF HIS TERM. THE BEST WAY TO DO THAT IS TO KEEP OUR ECONOMIC GAINS INTACT: IN ADDITON TO CONTINUING ACTION ON THE DEFICIT FRONT, TO KEEP INTEREST RATES AND INFLATION DOWN; RESTRAIN TAXES AND KEEP RATES LOW; AND MAINTAIN A POSTURE OF AGRESSIVE BARGAINING WITH OUR TRADING PARTNERS.

THE PRESIDENT MAY SUGGEST FURTHER AREAS FOR ACTION:

MORE EFFORTS AT DEREGULATION, ANTITRUST REFORM, PRODUCT

LIABILITY REFORM, AND CHANGES IN THE WAY WE DO BUDGETS.

WE WILL GIVE ALL OF THOSE A FAIR HEARING, BUT YOU HAVE

TO WONDER HOW WE WILL COPE WITH A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS THAT

MAY BE "RARING TO REGULATE" AGAIN.

O New Forums. With a lot of New Faces in the Nation'a Statehouses, and a risk of Stalemate in Washington, you may see more of the action move out to the 50 State capitols. After all, under President Reagan the States have become ever more productive as laboratories for innovative public policy. With more Republican governors, I hope that will

TRUER THAN EVER BEFORE.

Some Items where the States may play a strong role are welfare reform, which is a natural for Federal-State partnership; President Reagan's preferred fiscal reforms, the Item veto and the balanced budget amendment, which both may require a renewed drive from the States to call a constitutional convention; and tort reform, where States already have begun to take the lead.

O ALL IN ALL, THE POLITICAL PICTURE IS ABOUT AS
DIVERSE NOW AS ITS EVER BEEN; AND THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY
PARTICULAR POLICY TO SUCCEED ARE VERY, VERY TOUGH TO
PREDICT. BUT REMEMBER ONE THING--A LOT OF OUR NEW
DEMOCRATIC SENATORS RAN THEIR CAMPAIGNS EMBRACING A BIG,
BIG PART OF THE REAGAN AGENDA. IF THEY VOTE THEY
WAY THEY CAMPAIGNED, WE SHOULD HAVE THE ABILITY TO MOVE
AHEAD ON MANY LEGISLATIVE FRONTS. BUT THE TEST WILL BE
IN THE RESULTS, NOT THE CAMPAIGN SPEECHES. THE ISSUES
ARE STILL WITH PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE GOP.

Page 6 of 14

BOB DOLE TRAVEL SCHEDULE NEW JERSEY

STAFF: GLASSNER,

BERRY

MOLLY WALSH:

202/745-1083 202/259-9413

FINAL-November 7th - 5:00pm

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1986

10:40am DEPART for Washington National

11:00am ARRIVE Butler Aviation and proceedtodeparting

aircraft

FBO:

Butler Aviation

703/549-8340

WHEELS-UP for Monmouth, New Jersey 11:05am

> flight time: aircraft:

50 minutes King Air 300

7215J tail no.: seats:

Eugene Mongan pilots:

201/783-2843 David Sargent

Senator Dole, Glassner, Berry manifest:

Tom Knowles contact:

201/890-1143

ARRIVE Monmouth Co. Airport and proceed to departing car 11:55pm

FBO: met by:

Wall Herald Corp 201/938-4800 Dean Armandroff - Northeast field

representative for the RNC

DEPART for Berkeley-Carteret hotel 12:00pm

drive time - 25 minutes

Berkeley-Carteret hotel Ocean and Sunset Avenue Asbury Park, New Jersey

ARRIVE and proceed to The Governor's 201/776-6700 12:25pm

Club reception

Peter Kane met by:

DROP-BY The Governor's Club reception 201/776-6700 12:30pm-

12:40pm

ballroom location:

180 attendance:

mix/mingle format:

12:00pm-1:00pm event runs:

Larry Guillemette 609/394-0661 contact:

12:45pm- ONE-ON-ONE meeting with Senator Dole 201/776-6700

and Governor Kean 1:00pm

room right off ballroom location:

DEPART for The Governor's Club luncheon 201/776-6700 1:05pm

ballroom location:

page 2 BOB DOLE TRAVEL SCHEDULE NEW JERSEY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1986

1:10pm- ATTEND/ADDRESS The Governor's Club 201/776-6700

1:45pm luncheon

attendance: 180

event runs: 1:00pm-2:30pm

program:

1:15pm- REMARKS by Senator Dole

1:35pm

1:45pm DEPART for Monmouth Co. Airport

drive time - 25 minutes

2:10pm ARRIVE and proceed to departing car

FBO: Wall Herald Corp.

Wall Herald Corp. 201/938-4800

2:15pm WHEELS-UP for Washington DC

flight time: 50 minutes

aircraft: King Air 3000

tail no.: 7215J seats: 8

seats: 8

pilots: Eugene Mongan, David Sargent manifest: Senator Dole, Glassner, Berry

3:05pm ARRIVE and proceed to departing car

FBO: Butler Aviation 703/549-8340

3:10pm DEPART for office - drive time 20 minutes

3:30pm ARRIVE

October 17, 1986

SUPERFUND STATUS

- O After working full time in the Senate to get an agreement with the House on a 5-year Superfund extension, we finally have a bill. It includes a funding mechanism, similar to what we came close to doing in May.
- o The superfund conference agreement passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote of 88 to 8. The House also provided a very strong margin of support. Just this Friday, responding to urgings from many of us in Congress, the President signed the bill despite some reservations which I share.
- On several occasions, beginning May 12,I made statements in the Senate stressing the importance of getting quick agreement on Superfund, and urging the conferees to iron out their last differences. Now we have a hard-fought agreement, and I am glad we have the issue behind us.
- o It is absolutely clear that both Congress and the President are determined to see a major increase in Superfund cleanups. Even the President's proposed \$5.3 billion fund is 3 1/2 times the old funding level.
- o I do have serious concerns about the new tax mechanism. It hits oil too hard (\$2.75 billion), and the differential on imported oil may prove a mixed blessing. In addition, the corporate minimum tax moves away from the 'polluter pays' principle that I endorse.
- I must say that we could have resolved this whole matter in late 1984, had it not been for the House playing political games with the program. As you recall, the House passed that year an irresponsible proposal, spending over \$10 billion on Superfund and taking it out of the hide of the chemical and oil industries. As Chairman of the Finance Committee at that time, I tried to put together an alternative: but we ran out of time.
- o The proposed tax on minimum taxable income to help finance superfund may not be the best idea, but at least it doesn't create a whole new tax base: it's not a revenue machine like the VAT.
- o Another factor is the President's continuing concern about using <u>any</u> broad-based tax. Treasury Secretary Baker continues to say he will recommend a veto of any bill that contains a broad-based tax to fund a spending level in excess of \$5.3 billion. We tried to address that concern by providing not to increase or expand the broad-based tax beyond the level contained in this Superfund bill.

1 2 31 10 2 2 3

2

O It's important to finish Superfund over the next week: EPA Administrator Lee Thomas has advised us that cleanup efforts will come to a full halt unless we do a bill now.

BOB DOLE KANSAS

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER WASHINGTON, DC 20510

October 15, 1986

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

For the past two years Congress has been wrestling with the problem of reauthorizing the Superfund program to clean up hazardous waste sites. After long and arduous negotiations, both the Senate and the House have passed a Superfund bill that, in our view, represents the only realistic compromise that will win the support of Congress now, or in the foreseeable future.

We share many of your concerns about the funding mechanism proposed in the Superfund bill, and we fully recognize the grounds for your objection to a broad-based tax as a new revenue source for Superfund. Even though many of us agree with your views on the broad-based tax, we believe strongly that there is no other workable formula for reauthorizing the Superfund program. All the back-up options that have been suggested have a fatal drawback: they force the next Congress to get right back into the thorny and controversial issues that have prevented a Superfund agreement up till now.

There is no reason to believe we will get a better agreement next year, Mr. President, as judged by the policy concerns you have expressed. We do wish to assure you, however, that we will oppose any future efforts to raise the level or the rate of the broad-based tax contained in H.R. 2005, and we will also oppose any effort to spend revenues from that tax on any program other than Superfund.

We stand prepared to support your veto of any bill that would either increase the broad-based tax or apply it to purposes other than Superfund.

Sincerely,

1 Mary

A Chieff Sana

-3-

1.75 2 1500

Abdnor, James Baucus, Max Boschwitz, Rudy Bradley, Bill Broyhill, Jim Burdick, Quentin Chafee, John Chiles, Lawton Cochran, Thad D'Amato, Alfonse Danforth, Jack Dixon, Alan Dole, Robert Domenici, Pete Durenberger, Dave Evans, Daniel Exon, James Ford, Wendell Garn, Jake Gorton, Slade Grassley, Charles Hatch, Orrin Hatfield, Mark Hawkins, Paula Heinz, John Hollings, Ernest Kasten, Bob Lautenberg, Frank Leahy, Patrick Long, Russell Lugar, Richard McConnell, Mitch Mathias, Charles McC. Mattingly, Mack Metzenbaum, Howard Moynihan, Daniel Patrick Murkowski, Frank Pressler, Larry Pryor, David Quayle, Dan Roth, William Rudman, Warren Simpson, Alan Specter, Arlen Stafford, Robert Stevens, Ted Thurmond, Strom Trible, Paul Weicker, Lowell Wilson, Pete

dea Buttern