

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
CPAC CONVENTION
WASHINGTON HILTON, WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 20, 1987

INTRODUCTION

IT'S A REAL PLEASURE BEING HERE TODAY.
IT'S A REFLECTION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS
CONSTITUENCY, AND OF CPAC, THAT YOU HAVE ON
YOUR PROGRAM MANY OF US WHO HAVE EXPRESSED AN
INTEREST IN 1988. AND WE'RE ALL 'FAIR GAME'
TODAY FOR YOUR CAREFUL ONCE-OVER.




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TO HELP YOU ALONG A BIT IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT BOB DOLE, I BROUGHT AN EXAMPLE OF SOME RECENT PRESS COVERAGE. IT SAYS: "THIS FEISTY SENATOR" -- THAT'S ME -- "THIS FEISTY SENATOR LOOKS AT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS THROUGH A GUNSIGHT. HE IS ENRAGED BY THE MERE THOUGHT OF DETENTE IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS." WELL, THAT DOES NOT QUITE CAPTURE THE FULL FLAVOR OF MY FOREIGN POLICY, BUT IT COMES FROM PRAVDA.

WHAT'S AT STAKE

ANYWAY, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT 1988 IS ALREADY VERY MUCH ON EVERYBODY'S MIND. AND, EQUALLY OBVIOUS, THE CHOICE OF OUR NEXT PRESIDENT IS VERY IMPORTANT, TO CONSERVATIVES AND TO ALL AMERICANS.




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BUT ELECTION DAY 1988 IS STILL A LONG WAY OFF. AND RIGHT NOW THERE IS SOMETHING ELSE THAT OUGHT TO BE UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS -- GETTING THROUGH THE NEXT TWO YEARS WITHOUT SEEING THE GAINS WE'VE MADE THESE PAST SIX YEARS GO DOWN THE DRAIN. IT'S NOT GOING TO BE EASY.

THE LIBERALS ARE OUT THERE CRYING "CROCODILE TEARS" OVER THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR. BUT BEHIND THOSE TEARS, YOU BETTER BELIEVE THERE IS SOME SERIOUS GLOATING GOING ON.

IT DOES US NO GOOD TO PRETEND THAT RECENT EVENTS HAVEN'T MADE US SOMEWHAT VULNERABLE. UNLESS WE STAND STRONG, AND TOGETHER, THE EROSION WE'VE ALREADY SEEN WILL CONTINUE.




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TWO MAIN TOPICS

I WANT TO DISCUSS TODAY TWO ASPECTS OF THE FIGHT WE FACE THESE NEXT TWO YEARS: FIRST, THE LIBERALS' EFFORT TO WREST CONTROL OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES FROM THE PRESIDENT, AND TAKE US BACK TO THE DAYS OF TOO LITTLE DEFENSE - TOO MUCH COMPROMISE. AND, SECOND, THE OPPORTUNITY WE MAY HAVE ON THE SENATE FLOOR TO SEE THAT THEY DON'T ALWAYS SUCCEED.

ASSAULT ON THE PRESIDENT AND ON THE CONSTITUTION

ON THAT FIRST QUESTION, THE LIBERALS ARE NOT CONTENT TO CARVE-OUT FOR CONGRESS A BIGGER ROLE IN THE DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS. THEY WANT CONGRESS TO DOMINATE IT. THEY WANT THE WHOLE THING.




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IN FACT, IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD,
THEY'VE COME UP WITH A NEW DEFINITION OF
"SEPARATION OF POWERS." TO THEM, IT MEANS
MAJORITY LEADER BOB BYRD GETS SOME, AND SPEAKER
JIM WRIGHT GETS THE REST.

WELL, THAT'S NOT WHAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS
HAD IN MIND. AND IT'S NOT ANYTHING THAT RONALD
REAGAN, OR BOB DOLE, OR MANY IN AMERICA WILL
STAND FOR. IF THE LIBERALS WANT A FIGHT OVER
WHO IS GOING TO RUN THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE
POLICIES OF THIS COUNTRY, THEY WILL HAVE IT.

THE ABM TREATY AND SDI

AND THE FIRST BATTLES ARE ALREADY WELL
UNDERWAY.



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THE FREE WORLD, HE KNOWS HOW IMPORTANT IT IS THAT WE PAY ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS, AND THE VIEWS, OF OUR ALLIES.

BUT THE PRESIDENT IS THE PRESIDENT -- THE ONLY ONE WE HAVE. THE ONLY ONE WE NEED.

AND WHEN RONALD REAGAN MAKES THE DECISION TO DEPLOY, BOB DOLE IS READY TO LEAD THE FIGHT FOR THE PRESIDENT IN THE SENATE.

THE NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES


THE SAME BASIC PRINCIPLE IS AT STAKE ON THE NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES. LAST YEAR, TO INSURE THAT HE WOULDN'T BE BLIND-SIDED AT REYKJAVIK, THE PRESIDENT STRUCK A DEAL WITH CONGRESS ON ARMS CONTROL. FRANKLY, I HAVE SOME SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT HOW THAT DEAL CAME ABOUT. AS SOME OF US PREDICTED THEN, IT'S COMING BACK TO HAUNT US.



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BUT THE DEAL WAS MADE, AND THIS PRESIDENT DEALS IN GOOD FAITH. HE SAID HE WOULD SUBMIT THE TREATIES, AND HE HAS. BUT HE WASN'T GOING TO COMPROMISE THE SECURITY OF THIS COUNTRY IN THE PROCESS. SO HE ADDED PROVISIONS PROTECTING US AGAINST SOVIET VIOLATIONS.

AND BECAUSE OF THAT, THE DEMOCRATS CLAIMED "FOUL." OF COURSE, THEY HAVE A SOLUTION. I WAS THERE WHEN SENATOR BYRD INDICATED TO THE PRESIDENT THAT EVERYTHING WOULD BE OK, IF THE PRESIDENT DID JUST ONE THING: GIVE DEMOCRATS EVERYTHING THEY WANT. WELL, I DON'T BUY THAT KIND OF DEAL, AND NEITHER DOES RONALD REAGAN.




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THESE TREATIES HAVE BEEN HANGING AROUND,
UNRATIFIED, FOR MORE THAN A DECADE. AND WE'RE
NOT GOING TO BE RUSHED INTO APPROVING THEM NOW,
JUST TO MEET SOMEONE'S POLITICAL TIMETABLE.

THE PRESIDENT IS NOT SET IN CONCRETE ON A
SPECIFIC FORMULATION. AND NEITHER AM I. BUT
WE ARE BOTH SET IN CONCRETE ON THIS POINT:
WE'RE NOT GOING TO HAND THE SOVIETS A MILITARY
ADVANTAGE, JUST SO LIBERAL DEMOCRATS CAN CLAIM
A POLITICAL VICTORY.

SALT II: FRANKENSTEIN REVISITED

AND THEN WE HAVE THE SALT II ISSUE. A FEW
WEEKS BACK, I WROTE A COLUMN FOR THE NEW YORK
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REVIVE THE DEAD. LIKE FRANKENSTEIN, I SUGGESTED, THE DEMOCRATS MIGHT GET MORE THAN THEY BARGAINED FOR.

AND ONE THING I CAN GUARANTEE ABOVE ALL THEY'RE GOING TO GET -- A BATTLE ROYAL, ON THE FLOOR OF THE U.S. SENATE.

BOTTOM LINE ON TREATY ISSUES

IN FACT, WHEN YOU REVIEW THE RECORD, EVERY ONE OF THESE TREATY STORIES SEEMS TO HAVE THE SAME DANGEROUS ENDING.

WE TRUSTED THE SOVIETS TO OBSERVE SALT II, AND THEY VIOLATED IT AGAIN AND AGAIN. BY DEVELOPING A FORBIDDEN SECOND NEW ICBM. BY THE ENCRYPTION OF TELEMETRY. AND IN MANY OTHER IMPORTANT WAYS.



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WE TRUSTED THEM TO OBSERVE THE ABM TREATY, AND THEY VIOLATED IT, BY BUILDING A RADAR AT KRASNOYARSK (kraz-na-yarsk) THAT PROBABLY REPRESENTS THE SINGLE MOST SERIOUS VIOLATION OF ANY ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT IN HISTORY.

WE TRUSTED THEM TO LIVE UP TO THEIR PROMISES ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE HELSINKI ACCORDS; AND THEY'VE MADE A MOCKERY OF THE WHOLE AGREEMENT. AND THE PIECEMEAL RELEASE OF A FEW DOZEN PEOPLE, NO MATTER HOW WELCOME, DOES NOT WIPE OUT DECADES OF OPPRESSION AND PERSECUTION.


AND, VERY FRANKLY, WE HAVEN'T DONE MUCH ABOUT THESE REPEATED SOVIET VIOLATIONS, EXCEPT TURN THE OTHER CHEEK.



- 12 -

WELL, IN MY VIEW, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE HAD ENOUGH OF TRUSTING THE KREMLIN. THEY'VE HAD ENOUGH OF TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK. IT'S TIME TO RELEGATE THE CONCEPT OF "BLIND TRUST" TO THE SAME BURIAL GROUND WHERE THE SALT TREATIES REST.

AND LET ME BE CLEAR ABOUT THIS, TOO: WE DO HAVE TO CONTINUE OUR QUEST FOR GOOD ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. AGREEMENTS WHICH LEAD TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE EQUAL; WHICH GIVE THE SOVIETS NO MILITARY ADVANTAGE. AND AGREEMENTS WHICH ARE VERIFIABLE. A GOOD AGREEMENT -- NOT JUST ANY AGREEMENT, BUT A GOOD ONE -- THAT REMAINS ONE OF RONALD REAGAN'S HIGHEST PRIORITIES.



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BUT FROM NOW ON, ANYTHING WE AGREE TO --
ANYTHING THE SENATE RATIFIES -- HAS GOT TO BE
IRON-CLAD.

AND THERE'S NO BETTER PLACE TO START THAN
WITH THE NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES NOW IN THE
SENATE.

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS

AND THERE IS ONE FINAL ISSUE I WANT TO
DISCUSS WITH YOU -- IN SOME WAYS, EVEN MORE
CENTRAL TO THE 'REAGAN REVOLUTION' AND TO THE
KIND OF NATION AND WORLD WE WANT TO SEE IN THE
FUTURE.



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THIS NATION STANDS FOR FREEDOM. NOT JUST FOR AMERICANS, BUT FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. AND IT STANDS FOR THE PROPOSITION THAT FREEDOM IS NOT A GIFT OF GOVERNMENT, BUT THE GOD-GIVEN RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLE.

AND THERE ARE PEOPLE ALL OVER THE GLOBE STRUGGLING FOR THEIR FREEDOM: IN AFGHANISTAN; IN KAMPUCHEA; IN ANGOLA; AND RIGHT HERE ON OUR DOORSTEP, IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

AND, TODAY, LET ME ADD ONE MORE TO THAT LIST: IN MOZAMBIQUE, TOO.

CONTRA AID FIRST CONGRESSIONAL TEST


CONTINUING AMERICAN AID TO THE NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WILL BE THE FIRST TEST CASE IN THIS CONGRESS OF OUR REAL COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT



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THE GLOBAL FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY. HOW IT TURNS OUT MAY WELL DETERMINE WHETHER WE CAN SUSTAIN AND EXPAND OUR PROGRAMS OF SUPPORT FOR "FREEDOM FIGHTERS"; OR WHETHER WE WILL WITNESS THE START OF A TRAGIC RETREAT, IN WHICH EACH OF THESE VITAL EFFORTS GOES DOWN THE TUBES, ONE-BY-ONE.


JUST BECAUSE THIS ISSUE IS SO IMPORTANT, LATE LAST YEAR I ASKED JEANE KIRKPATRICK TO SERVE ON THE CENTRAL AMERICA COMMISSION CREATED BY THE 99TH CONGRESS. AS THAT COMMISSION WAS SHAPING-UP WITH THE DEMOCRATIC APPOINTEES, IT CLEARLY NEEDED THE STRENGTH AND BALANCE SHE IS UNIQUELY CAPABLE OF BRINGING. AND JUST BECAUSE THE ISSUE IS SO IMPORTANT, JEANE AGREED TO SERVE, DESPITE THE OTHER HEAVY DEMANDS ON HER



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TIME. AS LONG AS SHE IS THERE, WE CAN BE SURE
THAT COMMISSION IS NOT GOING TO BE UP TO ANY
MISCHIEF.


AND, DESPITE THE CURRENT HEADLINES, LET'S
KEEP ONE THING IN MIND: THIS IS NOT A FIGHT
OVER WHO HAPPENS TO HEAD-UP THE "U.N.O." -- WHO
IS UP AND WHO IS DOWN IN THAT LEADERSHIP. WE
NEED A STRONG AND DETERMINED CONTRA
LEADERSHIP. AND, LET ME STRESS, WE NEED A
LEADERSHIP THAT REALLY UNDERSTANDS AND CAN DEAL
WITH THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN
NICARAGUA; NOT JUST THE POLITICAL BATTLES ON
CAPITOL HILL AND IN MIAMI.



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BUT THAT'S NOT THE MAIN ISSUE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH SENATORS KERRY AND DODD WANT TO MAKE IT SO. THE ISSUE IS FREEDOM -- AND WHETHER WE'RE WILLING TO PUT OUR RESOURCES WHERE OUR RHETORIC IS: BEHIND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AROUND THE GLOBE.

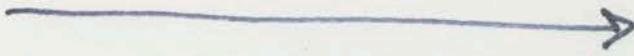
AS WE APPROACH CRITICAL CONTRA AID VOTES, THE DEMOCRATS START WITH THE NUMBERS -- MAJORITIES IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS. BUT WE START WITH THE TRUTH -- THAT AMERICA'S CREDIBILITY IS ON THE LINE; THAT OUR OWN LONG-TERM SECURITY IS ON THE LINE; AND THAT COMMON SENSE IS ON THE LINE.



BECAUSE, SURE ENOUGH, IF WE TURN OUR BACKS
ON THE CONTRAS NOW, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO FACE
THE SANDINISTAS OURSELVES -- SOMEWHERE DOWN THE
ROAD, AND SOMEPLACE ELSE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS POLICY BILL

AND I AM ALSO CONVINCED THAT WE MUST FIND
SOME WAY TO TURN THESE VITAL PROGRAMS FROM AN
ANNUAL, PIECEMEAL, POLITICAL CRAP-SHOOT, INTO A
PERMANENT AND SUSTAINABLE AMERICAN POLICY. THE
PRESIDENT HAS EMBRACED THE CAUSE OF "FREEDOM
FIGHTERS" IN THIS ADMINISTRATION. IT'S TIME FOR
CONGRESS TO FORMALLY EMBRACE IT AS LONG-TERM
AMERICAN POLICY.



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I INVITE YOUR THOUGHTS, AND YOUR HELP, IN SHAPING A FREEDOM FIGHTERS POLICY BILL, THAT WILL CLEARLY LAY-OUT THE RATIONALE FOR OUR SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS; AND THE CRITERIA FOR THE KINDS OF GROUPS WE HELP. AND WHICH, WHEN PASSED, WILL GIVE US THE SOLID POLITICAL BASE, TO LET BOTH THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, AND THEIR OPPRESSIVE ADVERSARIES, KNOW THAT AMERICA IS IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR THE LONG HAUL, AND WITH THE GOAL OF WINNING.

THE SENATE WILL BE A BATTLEGROUND

AND, AS I SUGGESTED AT THE OUTSET, AS WE FIGHT OUT THESE VARIOUS BATTLES, THE MAIN LEGISLATIVE ARENA IS GOING TO BE THE SENATE.



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WE HAVE 45 REPUBLICANS, AND WE CAN COUNT ON MOST OF THEM, MOST OF THE TIME. AND MIXED-IN AMONG THAT DEMOCRATIC GANG OF 55, THERE ARE ALSO SOME VERY ENLIGHTENED AND RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRATS, WHO WILL HELP US OUT ON SOME ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, 11 DEMOCRATS VOTED WITH US ON CONTRA AID LAST YEAR, AND I'M HOPING FOR AT LEAST THAT MANY -- AND MAYBE ONE OR TWO MORE -- THIS TIME AROUND. SO IN THE SENATE WE AT LEAST HAVE A FIGHTING CHANCE.

LEADERSHIP IS THE KEY

BUT IF WE ARE TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES -- TO THE PRESIDENT, TO YOU AND TO THE PROGRAM WE ALL EMBRACE -- WE NEED TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP. SOME OF THAT CAN -- AND WILL --




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COME FROM YOU. YOU HELP DEFINE THE ISSUES;
RALLY THE FAITHFUL; MAKE OUR CASE. WITHOUT
YOUR LEADERSHIP, WE'RE NOWHERE.

BUT WE ALSO NEED LEADERSHIP IN THE SENATE
-- IN THE COMMITTEES, ON THE FLOOR, AND, YES,
EVEN UP THERE IN THE PRESS GALLERIES. WE HAVE
TO MAKE OUR CASE, AND MAKE IT COMPELLING
ENOUGH, TO MAKE-UP FOR OUR LACK OF SHEER
NUMBERS.


WE TRIED TO PROVIDE THAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP
IN THE 99TH CONGRESS. AND WE ACCOMPLISHED A
GREAT DEAL: AID TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS. A VIABLE
SDI PROGRAM. AND IN OTHER AREAS.



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AND WE'RE GEARED-UP TO GO AT IT AGAIN IN THE 100TH CONGRESS. WE'RE BLESSED WITH PEOPLE LIKE BILL ARMSTRONG HEADING OUR POLICY COMMITTEE, JESSE HELMS ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND JOHN WARNER ON ARMED SERVICES. AND WE'VE GOT SOLID, CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS MANNING THE BARRIERS IN EVERY KEY COMMITTEE.

SO WE'RE READY TO DO BATTLE. WE CONSERVATIVES ENTER THE FRAY WITH A FEW LESS SOLDIERS ON OUR SIDE. WE'RE NOT GOING TO WIN THEM ALL. BUT WE'RE NOT GOING TO DUCK ANY! WE'RE NOT GOING TO CONCEDE ANY. AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO LOSE ANY, FOR LACK OF HARD WORK.



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IT'S GOING TO BE AN EXCITING AND CRITICAL
TIME, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY
WITH YOU AS WE FACE THE CHALLENGE, AND TURN IT
INTO AN OPPORTUNITY -- TO BUILD THE KIND OF
AMERICA, AND THE KIND OF WORLD, WE ALL WANT.

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News from Senator

BOB DOLE



(R - Kansas) SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510-1601

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1987

CONTACT: WALT RIKER,
DALE TATE (202) 224-3135

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ON THAT FIRST QUESTION, THE LIBERALS ARE NOT CONTENT TO CARVE OUT FOR CONGRESS A BIGGER ROLE IN THE DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS. THEY WANT CONGRESS TO DOMINATE IT. THEY WANT THE WHOLE THING.

IN FACT, IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD, THEY'VE COME UP WITH A NEW DEFINITION OF SEPARATION OF POWERS. TO THEM, IT MEANS MAJORITY LEADER BOB BYRD GETS SOME, AND SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT GETS THE REST.

WELL, THAT'S NOT WHAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS HAD IN MIND. AND IT'S NOT ANYTHING THAT RONALD REAGAN, OR BOB DOLE, OR MANY IN AMERICA WILL STAND FOR. IF THE LIBERALS WANT A FIGHT OVER WHO IS GOING TO RUN THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES OF THIS COUNTRY, THEY WILL HAVE IT.

THE ABM TREATY AND SDI

AND THE FIRST BATTLES ARE ALREADY WELL UNDERWAY.

ON THE ABM TREATY, ONE PROMINENT DEMOCRAT CHARGES THAT THE PRESIDENT IS SPARKING, AND THIS IS A QUOTE, "A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFRONTATION OF PROFOUND PROPORTIONS." THAT'S BUNK, PURE AND SIMPLE. THE CONSTITUTION, THE LAW AND THE DECISIONS OF THE COURTS ARE CLEAR. THE ABM TREATY MEANS EXACTLY WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAYS IT MEANS, PERIOD. AND, AS BEST I CAN REMEMBER, RONALD REAGAN WAS THE ONE WE OVERWHELMINGLY ELECTED AS PRESIDENT IN 1984.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT. AS PART OF BEING A GREAT PRESIDENT, RONALD REAGAN IS A SMART POLITICIAN. HE UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS. AND AS LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, HE KNOWS HOW IMPORTANT IT IS THAT WE PAY ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS AND THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES.

BUT THE PRESIDENT IS THE PRESIDENT -- THE ONLY ONE WE HAVE. AND, DESPITE WHAT SOME DEMOCRATS MIGHT SUGGEST, THE ONLY ONE WE NEED.

THE NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES

THE SAME BASIC PRINCIPLE IS AT STAKE ON THE NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES. LAST YEAR, TO INSURE THAT HE WOULDN'T BE BLIND-SIDED AT REYKJAVIK, THE PRESIDENT STRUCK A DEAL WITH CONGRESS ON A RANGE OF ARMS CONTROL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE TESTING TREATIES. FRANKLY, I HAVE SOME SERIOUS RESERVATIONS ABOUT HOW THAT DEAL CAME ABOUT. AS SOME OF US PREDICTED THEN, IT'S COMING BACK TO HAUNT US.

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AND THEN WE HAVE THE SALT II ISSUE. A FEW WEEKS BACK, I WROTE A COLUMN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES, LIKENING DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS TO REVIVE SALT II TO THE EFFORTS OF DR. FRANKENSTEIN TO REVIVE THE DEAD. LIKE FRANKENSTEIN, I SUGGESTED, THE DEMOCRATS MIGHT GET MORE THAN THEY BARGAINED FOR.

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SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS

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CONTINUING AMERICAN AID TO THE NICARAGUAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WILL BE THE FIRST TEST CASE IN THIS CONGRESS OF OUR REAL COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THE GLOBAL FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY. HOW IT TURNS OUT MAY WELL DETERMINE WHETHER WE CAN SUSTAIN AND EXPAND OUR PROGRAMS OF SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS; OR WHETHER WE WILL WITNESS THE START OF A TRAGIC RETREAT, IN WHICH EACH OF THESE VITAL EFFORTS GOES DOWN THE TUBES, ONE BY ONE.

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AND, DESPITE THE CURRENT HEADLINES, LET'S KEEP ONE THING IN MIND: THIS IS NOT A FIGHT OVER WHO HAPPENS TO HEAD UP THE U.N.O. -- WHO IS UP AND WHO IS DOWN IN THAT LEADERSHIP. WE NEED A STRONG AND DETERMINED CONTRA LEADERSHIP. AND, LET ME STRESS, WE NEED A LEADERSHIP THAT REALLY UNDERSTANDS AND CAN DEAL WITH THE MILITARY SITUATION ON THE GROUND IN NICARAGUA; NOT JUST THE POLITICAL BATTLES ON CAPITOL HILL AND IN MIAMI.

BUT THAT'S NOT THE MAIN ISSUE, NO MATTER HOW MUCH SENATORS KERRY AND DODD WANT TO MAKE IT SO. THE ISSUE IS FREEDOM -- AND WHETHER WE'RE WILLING TO PUT OUR RESOURCES WHERE OUR RHETORIC IS: BEHIND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AROUND THE GLOBE.

AS WE APPROACH CRITICAL CONTRA AID VOTES, THE DEMOCRATS START WITH THE NUMBERS -- MAJORITIES IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS. BUT WE START WITH THE TRUTH -- THAT AMERICA'S CREDIBILITY IS ON THE LINE; THAT OUR OWN LONG-TERM SECURITY IS ON THE LINE; AND THAT COMMON SENSE IS ON THE LINE.

BECAUSE, SURE ENOUGH, IF WE TURN OUR BACKS ON THE CONTRAS NOW, WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO FACE THE SANDINISTAS OURSELVES -- SOMEWHERE DOWN THE ROAD, AND SOMEPLACE ELSE IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS POLICY BILL

AND I AM ALSO CONVINCED THAT WE MUST FIND SOME WAY TO TURN THESE VITAL PROGRAMS FROM AN ANNUAL, PIECEMEAL, POLITICAL CRAP-SHOOT, INTO A PERMANENT AND SUSTAINABLE AMERICAN POLICY. THE PRESIDENT HAS EMBRACED THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN THIS ADMINISTRATION. IT'S TIME FOR CONGRESS TO FORMALLY EMBRACE IT AS LONG-TERM AMERICAN POLICY.

I INVITE YOUR THOUGHTS, AND YOUR HELP, IN SHAPING A FREEDOM FIGHTERS POLICY BILL, THAT WILL CLEARLY LAY OUT THE RATIONALE FOR OUR SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS; AND THE CRITERIA FOR THE KINDS OF GROUPS WE HELP. AND WHICH, WHEN PASSED, WILL GIVE US THE SOLID POLITICAL BASE, TO LET BOTH THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, AND THEIR OPPRESSIVE ADVERSARIES, KNOW THAT AMERICA IS IN THIS STRUGGLE FOR THE LONG HAUL, AND WITH THE GOAL OF WINNING.

THE SENATE WILL BE A BATTLEGROUND

AND, AS I SUGGESTED AT THE OUTSET, AS WE FIGHT OUT THESE VARIOUS BATTLES, THE MAIN LEGISLATIVE ARENA IS GOING TO BE THE SENATE.

WE HAVE 45 REPUBLICANS, AND WE CAN COUNT ON MOST OF THEM, MOST OF THE TIME. AND MIXED IN AMONG THAT DEMOCRATIC GANG OF 55, THERE ARE ALSO SOME VERY ENLIGHTENED AND RESPONSIBLE DEMOCRATS, WHO WILL HELP US OUT ON SOME ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, 11 DEMOCRATS VOTED WITH US ON CONTRA AID LAST YEAR, AND I'M HOPING FOR AT LEAST THAT MANY -- AND MAYBE ONE OR TWO MORE -- THIS TIME AROUND. SO IN THE SENATE WE AT LEAST HAVE A FIGHTING CHANCE.

LEADERSHIP IS THE KEY

BUT IF WE ARE TO MEET OUR RESPONSIBILITIES -- TO THE PRESIDENT, TO YOU AND TO THE PROGRAM WE ALL EMBRACE -- WE NEED TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP. SOME OF THAT CAN -- AND WILL -- COME FROM YOU. YOU HELP DEFINE THE ISSUES; RALLY THE FAITHFUL; MAKE OUR CASE. WITHOUT YOUR LEADERSHIP, WE'RE NOWHERE.

BUT WE ALSO NEED LEADERSHIP IN THE SENATE -- IN THE COMMITTEES, ON THE FLOOR, AND, YES, EVEN UP THERE IN THE PRESS GALLERIES. WE HAVE TO MAKE OUR CASE, AND MAKE IT COMPELLING ENOUGH, TO MAKE UP FOR OUR LACK OF SHEER NUMBERS.

WE TRIED TO PROVIDE THAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP IN THE 99TH CONGRESS. AND WE ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL. AID TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS. A VIABLE SDI PROGRAM. AND IN OTHER AREAS.

AND WE'RE GEARED UP TO GO AT IT AGAIN IN THE 100TH CONGRESS. WE'RE BLESSED WITH PEOPLE LIKE BILL ARMSTRONG HEADING OUR POLICY COMMITTEE, JESSE HELMS ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND JOHN WARNER ON ARMED SERVICES. AND WE'VE GOT SOLID, CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS MANNING THE BARRIERS IN EVERY KEY COMMITTEE.

SO WE'RE READY TO DO BATTLE. WE CONSERVATIVES ENTER THE FRAY WITH A FEW LESS SOLDIERS ON OUR SIDE. WE'RE NOT GOING TO WIN THEM ALL. BUT WE'RE NOT GOING TO DUCK ANY. WE'RE NOT GOING TO CONCEDE ANY. AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO LOSE ANY, FOR LACK OF HARD WORK.

IT'S GOING TO BE AN EXCITING AND CRITICAL TIME, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU AS WE FACE THE CHALLENGE, AND TURN IT INTO AN OPPORTUNITY -- TO BUILD THE KIND OF AMERICA, AND THE KIND OF WORLD, WE ALL WANT.

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