

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE -- APRIL 20, 1987

THANKS VERY MUCH BILL (GING-RICK) FOR
THAT KIND INTRODUCTION. AS CHAIRMAN OF THIS
OUTSTANDING ORGANIZATION, YOU ARE TO BE
CONGRATULATED FOR ALL THE GOOD WORK YOU HAVE
DONE.

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ALONG WITH BONNIE NEWMAN, YOU HAVE PROVIDED THE LEADERSHIP THAT HAS HELPED MAKE NEW HAMPSHIRE ONE OF THE REAL SUCCESS STORIES OF THE 50 STATES. YOUR 600 MEMBER FIRMS ARE ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF TOMORROW -- AND THEY ARE TO BE SALUTED FOR THEIR IMPRESSIVE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT. IF THE COUNTRY IS LOOKING FOR ROLE MODELS, I CAN THINK OF NO BETTER EXAMPLES THAN THE FOWARD-LOOKING THINKERS, PLANNERS AND 'DOERS' THAT MAKE UP THE BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY ASSOCIATION.

SECURING THE FUTURE

OBVIOUSLY, YOU HAVE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME AND ENERGY THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE. LIKE IT OR NOT, THAT IS WHERE WE ARE HEADED.

BUT TO GET THERE IN THE KIND OF SHAPE WE WANT TO BE IN, THERE ARE SOME MAJOR CHALLENGES WE HAVE TO TAKE CARE OF RIGHT NOW.

HOW DO WE DO IT? AND WHAT IS THE IMMEDIATE, PRIORITY TASK OF AMERICA? OF OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP? TO ME, IT CAN BE SUMMED UP IN THIS PHRASE: TO PRESERVE, SO WE CAN BUILD.

TO PRESERVE WHAT IS BEST IN OUR NATION; AND TO PRESERVE PEACE IN THE WORLD. SO THAT A STRONG, SECURE AMERICA CAN BUILD A BETTER FUTURE FOR ALL MANKIND.

IT WON'T BE EASY.

WE MUST BEGIN BY BEING REALISTIC: THE RESOURCES OF OUR GOVERNMENT, OF OUR COUNTRY, INDEED OF THIS GLOBE, ARE LIMITED.

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WHETHER WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE FEDERAL BUDGET,
THE ENVIRONMENT OR WHATEVER -- IT'S TIME TO
QUIT TALKING -- AND SPENDING -- AS IF THERE'S
NO TOMORROW.

BECAUSE IF WE DON'T CHANGE OUR WAYS, MAYBE
THERE WON'T BE A TOMORROW. AT LEAST FOR THE
KIND OF AMERICA WE HAVE, AND WANT TO KEEP.

SO LET ME DISCUSS THREE SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF
THIS PROBLEM OF PRESERVING WHAT WE HAVE:
SAVING THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF OUR
ENVIRONMENT, WITHOUT STIFLING ECONOMIC GROWTH;
PRESERVING THE PEACE AND MAKING AMERICA SECURE
FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS; AND PRESERVING THE
FISCAL INTEGRITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

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DEFICIT FAILURE

TOMORROW, CONGRESS RETURNS TO WASHINGTON FROM ITS EASTER RECESS TO WORK ON THE BUDGET. GIVEN THE TRACK RECORD SO FAR OF THE ONE-HUNDRETH CONGRESS, I CAN UNDERSTAND IF THAT IS NOT EXACTLY EXCITING NEWS.

WELL, I DON'T KNOW WHAT MEMBERS DISCOVERED DURING THE RECESS, BUT LET'S HOPE IT WAS COURAGE -- COURAGE TO DO THE RIGHT THING ON WHAT REMAINS OUR NUMBER ONE DOMESTIC THREAT -- THE FEDERAL DEFICIT.

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INFLATION IS ON THE RISE; THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX IS BALLOONING; THE TRADE DEFICIT KEEPS SETTING NEW RECORDS; AND THE DOLLAR CONTINUES TO LOOK LIKE A 98-POUND WEAKLING OVERSEAS.

NO LEADERSHIP

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NOT SMOKE AND MIRRORS. UNDER ECONOMIC
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RIGHT NOW, OF COURSE, WE'RE ALL FOCUSING ON WHAT HAPPENED IN MOSCOW, ESPECIALLY ON ARMS CONTROL. I'VE TALKED TO HOWARD BAKER AND OTHERS ABOUT THIS. AND TOMORROW MORNING, I WILL BE SEEING THE PRESIDENT, TO DISCUSS FIRSTHAND WHAT IT IS WE REALLY HAVE -- AND HOW WE SHOULD RESPOND.

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BUT I'VE LEARNED ONE THING IN WATCHING THE KREMLIN: LET'S NOT COUNT OUR CHICKENS UNTIL THEY'RE HATCHED. AND EVEN THEN, LET'S MAKE SURE WE LOOK THOSE LITTLE BIRDS OVER VERY CAREFULLY, TO SEE IF THEY'RE THE KIND WE REALLY WANT TO SERVE UP FOR DINNER.

KEEPING OUR FEET ON THE GROUND

WHAT SHOULD WE BE LOOKING FOR IN A GOOD INF AGREEMENT? WELL, FIRST OF ALL, IF WE'RE LOOKING FOR EASY ANSWERS, WE'RE GOING TO BE DISAPPOINTED. THE ISSUES -- STRATEGIC, POLITICAL, TECHNICAL -- ARE EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX.

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WHAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE, IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, IS MORE MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS. SO LET'S KEEP OUR FEET ON THE GROUND; AND LET'S NOT START PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE PRESIDENT TO "BUY" A DEAL PREMATURELY.

THE FIRST PRIORITY: VERIFICATION

WHAT KIND OF AGREEMENT DO WE WANT? FIRST, ANY AGREEMENT WE SIGN WITH THE KREMLIN HAS TO BE VERIFIABLE. THAT, IN MY MIND, IS PRIORITY NUMBER ONE.

THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU AFGHANISTAN AND ANGOLA; WHO TRASH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, AND TROOP OUT PROSTITUTES AS MODERN-DAY MATA HARI'S; WHO HAVE VIOLATED EVERY ARMS CONTROL

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TREATY THEY'VE EVER SIGNED -- THOSE ARE NOT THE
KIND OF PEOPLE WHOSE WORD YOU TAKE FOR
ANYTHING.

AGREEMENT MUST BE "0-0"

AND LET ME MAKE THIS POINT ON
VERIFICATION. WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT INF
SYSTEMS, IT'S MUCH EASIER -- NOT JUST
LOGICALLY; BUT TECHNICALLY, TOO -- TO VERIFY
AN AGREEMENT THAT IS SIMPLY "ZERO-ZERO";
RATHER THAN ONE THAT SETS A HIGHER LIMIT FOR
BOTH SIDES.

RIGHT NOW, THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO
ELIMINATE ALL THE LONGER RANGE INF MISSILES IN
EUROPE, BUT THEY WANT TO KEEP 100 IN ASIA -- WE
WOULD KEEP 100 IN THE U.S. I DON'T THINK
THAT'S THE WAY TO GO.

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A FLAT O-O WORLDWIDE ON THESE LONGER-RANGE SYSTEMS MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE IN TERMS OF VERIFICATION. IT MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY OF OUR NON-EUROPEAN ALLIES. IT MIGHT MAKE THE FRENCH HAPPY TO SEE SOVIETS SS20'S CRATED UP AND SHIPPED OUT; BUT IT'S NOT GOING TO MAKE THE JAPANESE VERY HAPPY WHEN THOSE SAME MISSILES SUDDENLY SHOW UP ON THEIR DOORSTEP. AND, FINALLY, O-O AVOIDS WHAT COULD BE A TROUBLING ISSUE: WHERE IN THE U.S. TO STATION OUR MISSILES.

THE MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE

SO, VERIFICATION, FIRST AND FOREMOST.
THEN, SECOND, WHAT DOES THE AGREEMENT DO TO THE
OVERALL MILITARY BALANCE? ONE THING IS

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CLEAR TO ME: IF WE ARE GOING TO ELIMINATE ALL OF OUR INTERMEDIATE RANGE WEAPONS -- OUR PERSHING II MISSILES AND OUR GROUND LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES -- ALL SOVIET INF FORCES HAVE TO GO, TOO. AND, REMEMBER: THE SOVIETS HAVE MORE INF SYSTEMS THAN WE DO, ESPECIALLY AT THE LOWER RANGES OF THE INF SPECTRUM. THEY ALL HAVE TO GO.

WE SHOULD END UP AT 0-0, NOT JUST IN THE LONGER RANGE SYSTEMS, BUT IN THE WHOLE INF PACKAGE.

AND LET ME STRESS THIS: WHEN I SAY 0-0, I'M TALKING ABOUT IN THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS IN EUROPE. OTHERWISE, THERE SHOULD BE NO DEAL. PERIOD.

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THE U.S. AND EUROPE'S DEFENSE

THIRD, WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF ANY AGREEMENT ON THE ALLIANCE? THE "BUZZWORD" THESE DAYS IS "DELINKING." IF WE TAKE OUR INF FORCES OUT OF EUROPE, DO WE "DE-LINK" OUR DEFENSE FROM THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE? ARE WE SOMEHOW TEMPTING THE SOVIETS TO RISK AN ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE?

AS HARD AS IT MIGHT BE FOR US TO IMAGINE A FULL-SCALE SOVIET ASSAULT IN EUROPE WITHOUT A U.S. RESPONSE, MANY EUROPEANS DO WORRY ABOUT IT. IT IS AN ISSUE WE HAVE TO TAKE SERIOUSLY.

UNDER PREVAILING MILITARY CIRCUMSTANCES; AND TO MINIMIZE EVERY POSSIBLE RISK OR MISPERCEPTION, WHETHER BY THE SOVIETS OR OUR

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ALLIES -- IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SIGN NO
AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD COMPROMISE A CREDIBLE
U.S. NUCLEAR PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

A "NUCLEAR-FREE EUROPE" SOUNDS GREAT --
UNTIL YOU REALLY ANALYZE IT. THE FACT IS, WE
NEED SOME NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. THOSE
WEAPONS DO NOT ENDANGER THE PEACE; THEY KEEP
IT.

NOW, EVEN UNDER THE KIND OF AGREEMENT BEING
TALKED ABOUT, AT A MINIMUM: THE INDEPENDENT
BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD
REMAIN. WE WOULD KEEP ABOUT 4500 TACTICAL,
BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WARHEADS. WE WOULD HAVE
EUROPEAN-BASED BOMBERS. AND ONE THING TO

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REMEMBER: AS STEALTH TECHNOLOGY IS
INCORPORATED, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THOSE
BOMBERS IS LIKELY TO INCREASE DRAMATICALLY.

AND, OF COURSE, WE DO HAVE MAJOR NUCLEAR
FORCES JUST OFFSHORE IN EUROPE -- AIRCRAFT
CARRIERS, SHIP-BOARD PLANES AND CRUISE
MISSILES, OTHER SHIPS.

AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, AT AN ABSOLUTE
MINIMUM, NONE OF THE FORCES I HAVE JUST LISTED
SHOULD BE ON THE BARGAINING TABLE -- AND NONE
SHOULD BE PUT ON THE TABLE UNTIL WE DO
SOMETHING ABOUT THE SERIOUS CONVENTIONAL FORCE
IMBALANCE WHICH NOW FACES THE ALLIANCE IN
EUROPE.

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PRESERVING SDI

FINALLY, WE SHOULDN'T BE SIGNING ANY AGREEMENTS WHICH COMPROMISE OUR RIGHT TO PURSUE THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, SDI. AT ONE TIME, THE SOVIETS WERE CONDITIONING ANY OTHER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT -- INCLUDING AN INF AGREEMENT -- ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO CLOSE DOWN THE SDI SHOP. BUT WE STUCK TO OUR GUNS.

THE PROGRESS WE SEEM TO BE MAKING ON INF SHOULD PROVE, EVEN TO THE SKEPTICAL, THAT SDI IS NOT A STUMBLING BLOCK TO ARMS CONTROL. AND IT SHOULD BE MORE EVIDENT, TO THE THOUGHTFUL, THAT THE CONTINUED VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF SDI IS VITAL -- VITAL TO THE PROSPECTS FOR A GOOD STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT; VITAL TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA IN THE 1990'S AND BEYOND.

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SDI HAS BEEN CALLED MANY THINGS: FROM SPACE SHIELD TO PIE-IN-THE-SKY; FROM BARGAINING CHIP TO THE "KILLER" OF ARMS CONTROL. BUT IN THE END, SDI BOILS DOWN TO TWO VERY DOWN-TO-EARTH CONCEPTS.

SDI AND STRATEGIC STABILITY

ONE: IF THE SOVIETS KNOW A FIRST STRIKE WON'T WORK -- BECAUSE SDI IS THERE AND CAPABLE OF PRESERVING OUR ABILITY TO STRIKE BACK -- THEN THERE WILL BE NO FIRST STRIKE. AND WE WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE BOTTOM LINE GOAL OF OUR WHOLE NUCLEAR STRATEGY.

AND, TWO: IF THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT WE HAVE THE RESOURCES, THE TECHNOLOGY AND THE WILL TO DEVELOP SDI -- THEN THEY SHOULD REALIZE THE

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FUTILITY OF FURTHER OFFENSIVE ARMS BUILD-UPS.
AND THAT CAN OPEN THE DOOR TO THE POSSIBILITY
OF MAJOR STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS.

THAT'S WHY WE NEED TO PURSUE SDI. THAT'S
WHY WE CAN'T JUST GIVE IT AWAY, OR BARGAIN IT
AWAY -- OR LEGISLATE IT AWAY.

AS WE GO ABOUT THE BUSINESS AT HAND --
PRESERVING TODAY WHAT WE NEED, TO BUILD A
BETTER AMERICA TOMORROW -- THERE IS NO HIGHER
PRIORITY THAN PRESERVING THE PROMISE, AND THE
PROSPECT, OF SDI.

THE ENVIRONMENT

THERE'S ANOTHER PRIORITY WE NEED TO KEEP IN
FOCUS. AND IT'S ONE THAT THIS STATE KNOWS WELL
-- PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT.

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POLLUTION AND CONTAMINATION DON'T RECOGNIZE STATE BOUNDARIES. AIR, RIVERS AND STREAMS, HIGHWAYS AND RAIL LINES FLOW FREELY BETWEEN STATES AND ALL TOO OFTEN BRING POLLUTION WITH THEM.

IN THE CONSTITUTION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS CHARGED WITH REGULATING INTERSTATE COMMERCE. WE NEED THE DETERMINATION TO REGULATE INTERSTATE POLLUTION AS WELL.

SUPERFUND

WE HAVE MADE STRIDES IN CLEANING AND PROTECTING OUR AIR, WATER AND TOXIC DUMPS, BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. WHEN I SERVED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND AGAIN AS THE MAJORITY LEADER, I PUSHED LONG AND

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HARD FOR A NEW AND EXPANDED SUPERFUND PROGRAM,
TO IDENTIFY AND REMOVE HEALTH HAZARDS FROM OUR
NEIGHBORHOODS.

IT MAY TAKE TIME, MORE MONEY AND MORE CARE
TO PROPERLY PROTECT OUR CITIZENS FROM THE
DANGERS OF DISPOSED CHEMICALS, BUT IT'S
CERTAINLY WORTH THE EFFORT AND THE ATTENTION OF
GOVERNMENTS AND INDUSTRY.

CLEAN AIR ACT

HOWEVER, THERE ARE TWO BUILDING BLOCKS OF
OUR CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT TO CLEAN UP THE
ENVIRONMENT THAT ARE STILL AWAITING
REAUTHORIZATION. A LONG OVERDUE COMPONENT WILL
UNDOUBTEDLY BE ADDED TO THE NEXT CLEAN AIR ACT
-- ACID RAIN.

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WE DO KNOW THAT SULFUR DIOXIDE IS AT LEAST A PART OF THE PROBLEM, AND WE KNOW THAT LARGE AMOUNTS OF SULFUR DIOXIDE COME FROM THE SMOKESTACKS OF COAL-FIRED FURNACES AND BOILERS.

JUST AS WE FINALLY DECIDED TO REDUCE THE LEVELS OF LEAD IN THE AIR WE BREATHE THROUGH REDUCING LEAD ADDED TO GASOLINE, WE CAN REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF ACID RAIN BY ATTACKING PART OF THE SOURCE -- HIGH SULFUR COAL. WITH THE PRESIDENT'S MANDATE, CLEAN COAL TECHNOLOGIES ARE BEING DEVELOPED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT MORE CAN AND SHOULD BE DONE.

FUEL SWITCHING, SCRUBBERS, INSTALLATION OF MORE EFFICIENT FURNACES AND BOILERS WILL HELP. IT WILL BE COSTLY. AND INDUSTRY WILL HAVE TO

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PAY ITS FAIR SHARE. HOWEVER, THE COST OF NOT ACTING WILL BE FAR GREATER. IT WILL TAKE A COMBINED EFFORT TO PITCH IN, BOTH IN DOLLARS AND ENCOURAGEMENT, BUT THE SOLUTION IS WITHIN OUR REACH, AND WE MUST ATTAIN IT.

CLEAN WATER

THIS YEAR THE CONGRESS FINALLY DID REAUTHORIZE THE CLEAN WATER ACT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS IN SPITE OF A PRESIDENTIAL VETO AND MY VOTE TO SUSTAIN THAT VETO. AND MY EFFORTS, AND THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT, WERE CORRECT.

I'VE ALREADY SPOKEN OF THE EVILS OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT, AND IT WAS THE VERY SAME ISSUE THAT PLAGUED THE CLEAN WATER ACT. PROTECTING

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THE ENVIRONMENT WAS NEVER AN ISSUE, SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WAS IDENTICAL ON EVERY SINGLE ENVIRONMENTAL SECTION.

THE PROBLEM WITH THE BILL WAS THE SAME PROBLEM THAT PLAGUES SO MUCH OF THE LEGISLATION IN WASHINGTON, THAT FAVORITE ITEM ON THE CONGRESS'S MENU -- PORK. EVERY CONGRESSMAN AND SENATOR WANTED TO SEND A SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANT AND MILES OF SEWER PIPE BACK TO FOLKS AT HOME.

WELL, IN THE BLINK OF AN EYE AND WITH ONE UNFORTUNATE VOTE, THE DEFICIT WAS INCREASED BY ANOTHER \$6 BILLION OVER THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. THE SADDEST PART IS THAT THE PORK WAS HIDDEN BEHIND THE SKIRTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION.

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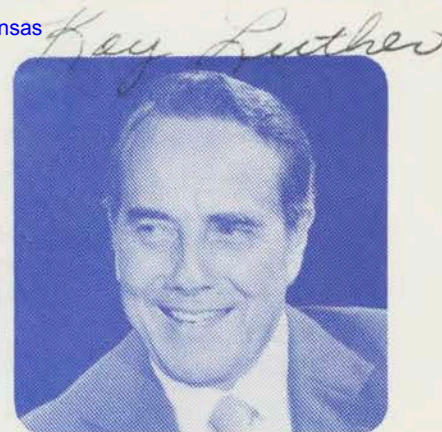
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ENVIRONMENT.

SO THESE ARE THE THINGS -- THIS IS THE KIND
OF AMERICA AND WORLD -- THAT WE WANT TO
PRESERVE: FOR OUR CHILDREN, FOR OUR FUTURE.
THESE ARE SOME OF THE NECESSARY INGREDIENTS --
A CLEAN, VITAL ENVIRONMENT; A GOVERNMENT
MEETING ITS TASKS, YET LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS;
AND, ABOVE ALL, A WORLD SAFE FROM THE THREAT OF
NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION -- THESE ARE SOME OF THE
MOST NECESSARY INGREDIENTS FOR AMERICA AS IT
MOVES INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.

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News from Senator

BOB DOLE



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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MONDAY, APRIL 20, 1987

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
DALE TATE/ 202-224-3135

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BUT I'VE LEARNED ONE THING IN WATCHING THE KREMLIN: LET'S NOT COUNT OUR CHICKENS UNTIL THEY'RE HATCHED. AND EVEN THEN, LET'S MAKE SURE WE LOOK THOSE LITTLE BIRDS OVER VERY CAREFULLY, TO SEE IF THEY'RE THE KIND WE REALLY WANT TO SERVE UP FOR DINNER.

KEEPING OUR FEET ON THE GROUND

WHAT SHOULD WE BE LOOKING FOR IN A GOOD INF AGREEMENT? WELL, FIRST OF ALL, IF WE'RE LOOKING FOR EASY ANSWERS, WE'RE GOING TO BE DISAPPOINTED. THE ISSUES -- STRATEGIC, POLITICAL, TECHNICAL -- ARE EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX.

WHAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE, IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, IS MORE MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS. SO LET'S KEEP OUR FEET ON THE GROUND; AND LET'S NOT START PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE PRESIDENT TO "BUY" A DEAL PREMATURELY.

THE FIRST PRIORITY: VERIFICATION

WHAT KIND OF AGREEMENT DO WE WANT? FIRST, ANY AGREEMENT WE SIGN WITH THE KREMLIN HAS TO BE VERIFIABLE. THAT, IN MY MIND, IS PRIORITY NUMBER ONE.

THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU AFGHANISTAN AND ANGOLA; WHO TRASH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, AND TROOP OUT PROSTITUTES AS MODERN-DAY MATA HARI'S; WHO HAVE VIOLATED EVERY ARMS CONTROL TREATY THEY'VE EVER SIGNED -- THOSE ARE NOT THE KIND OF PEOPLE WHOSE WORD YOU TAKE FOR ANYTHING.

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AGREEMENT MUST BE "0-0"

AND LET ME MAKE THIS POINT ON VERIFICATION. WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT INF SYSTEMS, IT'S MUCH EASIER -- NOT JUST LOGICALLY; BUT TECHNICALLY, TOO -- TO VERIFY AN AGREEMENT THAT IS SIMPLY "ZERO-ZERO"; RATHER THAN ONE THAT SETS A HIGHER LIMIT FOR BOTH SIDES.

RIGHT NOW, THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ELIMINATE ALL THE LONGER RANGE INF MISSILES IN EUROPE, BUT THEY WANT TO KEEP 100 IN ASIA -- WE WOULD KEEP 100 IN THE U.S. I DON'T THINK THAT'S THE WAY TO GO.

A FLAT 0-0 WORLDWIDE ON THESE LONGER-RANGE SYSTEMS MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE IN TERMS OF VERIFICATION. IT MAKES MUCH MORE SENSE IN TERMS OF THE SECURITY OF OUR NON-EUROPEAN ALLIES. IT MIGHT MAKE THE FRENCH HAPPY TO SEE SOVIETS SS20'S CRATED UP AND SHIPPED OUT; BUT IT'S NOT GOING TO MAKE THE JAPANESE VERY HAPPY WHEN THOSE SAME MISSILES SUDDENLY SHOW UP ON THEIR DOORSTEP. AND, FINALLY, 0-0 AVOIDS WHAT COULD BE A TROUBLING ISSUE: WHERE IN THE U.S. TO STATION OUR MISSILES.

THE MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE

SO, VERIFICATION, FIRST AND FOREMOST. THEN, SECOND, WHAT DOES THE AGREEMENT DO TO THE OVERALL MILITARY BALANCE? ONE THING IS CLEAR TO ME: IF WE ARE GOING TO ELIMINATE ALL OF OUR INTERMEDIATE RANGE WEAPONS -- OUR PERSHING II MISSILES AND OUR GROUND LAUNCHED CRUISE MISSILES -- ALL SOVIET INF FORCES HAVE TO GO, TOO. AND, REMEMBER: THE SOVIETS HAVE MORE INF SYSTEMS THAN WE DO, ESPECIALLY AT THE LOWER RANGES OF THE INF SPECTRUM. THEY ALL HAVE TO GO.

WE SHOULD END UP AT 0-0, NOT JUST IN THE LONGER RANGE SYSTEMS, BUT IN THE WHOLE INF PACKAGE.

AND LET ME STRESS THIS: WHEN I SAY 0-0, I'M TALKING ABOUT IN THE SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS IN EUROPE. OTHERWISE, THERE SHOULD BE NO DEAL. PERIOD.

THE U.S. AND EUROPE'S DEFENSE

THIRD, WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF ANY AGREEMENT ON THE ALLIANCE? THE "BUZZWORD" THESE DAYS IS "DELINKING." IF WE TAKE OUR INF FORCES OUT OF EUROPE, DO WE "DE-LINK" OUR DEFENSE FROM THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE? ARE WE SOMEHOW TEMPTING THE SOVIETS TO RISK AN ATTACK ON WESTERN EUROPE?

AS HARD AS IT MIGHT BE FOR US TO IMAGINE A FULL-SCALE SOVIET ASSAULT IN EUROPE WITHOUT A U.S. RESPONSE, MANY EUROPEANS DO WORRY ABOUT IT. IT IS AN ISSUE WE HAVE TO TAKE SERIOUSLY.

UNDER PREVAILING MILITARY CIRCUMSTANCES; AND TO MINIMIZE EVERY POSSIBLE RISK OR MISPERCEPTION, WHETHER BY THE SOVIETS OR OUR ALLIES -- IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SIGN NO AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD COMPROMISE A CREDIBLE U.S. NUCLEAR PRESENCE IN EUROPE.

A "NUCLEAR-FREE EUROPE" SOUNDS GREAT -- UNTIL YOU REALLY ANALYZE IT. THE FACT IS, WE NEED SOME NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE. THOSE WEAPONS DO NOT ENDANGER THE PEACE; THEY KEEP IT.

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NOW, EVEN UNDER THE KIND OF AGREEMENT BEING TALKED ABOUT, AT A MINIMUM: THE INDEPENDENT BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCES WOULD REMAIN. WE WOULD KEEP ABOUT 4500 TACTICAL, BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WARHEADS. WE WOULD HAVE EUROPEAN-BASED BOMBERS. AND ONE THING TO REMEMBER: AS STEALTH TECHNOLOGY IS INCORPORATED, THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THOSE BOMBERS IS LIKELY TO INCREASE DRAMATICALLY.

AND, OF COURSE, WE DO HAVE MAJOR NUCLEAR FORCES JUST OFFSHORE IN EUROPE -- AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, SHIP-BOARD PLANES AND CRUISE MISSILES, OTHER SHIPS.

AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, AT AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM, NONE OF THE FORCES I HAVE JUST LISTED SHOULD BE ON THE BARGAINING TABLE -- AND NONE SHOULD BE PUT ON THE TABLE UNTIL WE DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SERIOUS CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMBALANCE WHICH NOW FACES THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE.

PRESERVING SDI

FINALLY, WE SHOULDN'T BE SIGNING ANY AGREEMENTS WHICH COMPROMISE OUR RIGHT TO PURSUE THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE, SDI. AT ONE TIME, THE SOVIETS WERE CONDITIONING ANY OTHER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT -- INCLUDING AN INF AGREEMENT -- ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO CLOSE DOWN THE SDI SHOP. BUT WE STUCK TO OUR GUNS.

THE PROGRESS WE SEEM TO BE MAKING ON INF SHOULD PROVE, EVEN TO THE SKEPTICAL, THAT SDI IS NOT A STUMBLING BLOCK TO ARMS CONTROL. AND IT SHOULD BE MORE EVIDENT, TO THE THOUGHTFUL, THAT THE CONTINUED VIGOROUS PURSUIT OF SDI IS VITAL -- VITAL TO THE PROSPECTS FOR A GOOD STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT; VITAL TO THE SECURITY OF AMERICA IN THE 1990'S AND BEYOND.

SDI HAS BEEN CALLED MANY THINGS: FROM SPACE SHIELD TO PIE-IN-THE-SKY; FROM BARGAINING CHIP TO THE "KILLER" OF ARMS CONTROL. BUT IN THE END, SDI BOILS DOWN TO TWO VERY DOWN-TO-EARTH CONCEPTS.

SDI AND STRATEGIC STABILITY

ONE: IF THE SOVIETS KNOW A FIRST STRIKE WON'T WORK -- BECAUSE SDI IS THERE AND CAPABLE OF PRESERVING OUR ABILITY TO STRIKE BACK -- THEN THERE WILL BE NO FIRST STRIKE. AND WE WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE BOTTOM LINE GOAL OF OUR WHOLE NUCLEAR STRATEGY.

AND, TWO: IF THE SOVIETS KNOW THAT WE HAVE THE RESOURCES, THE TECHNOLOGY AND THE WILL TO DEVELOP SDI -- THEN THEY SHOULD REALIZE THE FUTILITY OF FURTHER OFFENSIVE ARMS BUILD-UPS. AND THAT CAN OPEN THE DOOR TO THE POSSIBILITY OF MAJOR STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTIONS.

THAT'S WHY WE NEED TO PURSUE SDI. THAT'S WHY WE CAN'T JUST GIVE IT AWAY, OR BARGAIN IT AWAY -- OR LEGISLATE IT AWAY.

AS WE GO ABOUT THE BUSINESS AT HAND -- PRESERVING TODAY WHAT WE NEED, TO BUILD A BETTER AMERICA TOMORROW -- THERE IS NO HIGHER PRIORITY THAN PRESERVING THE PROMISE, AND THE PROSPECT, OF SDI.

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THE ENVIRONMENT

THERE'S ANOTHER PRIORITY WE NEED TO KEEP IN FOCUS. AND IT'S ONE THAT THIS STATE KNOWS WELL -- PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT.

POLLUTION AND CONTAMINATION DON'T RECOGNIZE STATE BOUNDARIES. AIR, RIVERS AND STREAMS, HIGHWAYS AND RAIL LINES FLOW FREELY BETWEEN STATES AND ALL TOO OFTEN BRING POLLUTION WITH THEM.

IN THE CONSTITUTION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS CHARGED WITH REGULATING INTERSTATE COMMERCE. WE NEED THE DETERMINATION TO REGULATE INTERSTATE POLLUTION AS WELL.

SUPERFUND

WE HAVE MADE STRIDES IN CLEANING AND PROTECTING OUR AIR, WATER AND TOXIC DUMPS, BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. WHEN I SERVED AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND AGAIN AS THE MAJORITY LEADER, I PUSHED LONG AND HARD FOR A NEW AND EXPANDED SUPERFUND PROGRAM, TO IDENTIFY AND REMOVE HEALTH HAZARDS FROM OUR NEIGHBORHOODS.

IT MAY TAKE TIME, MORE MONEY AND MORE CARE TO PROPERLY PROTECT OUR CITIZENS FROM THE DANGERS OF DISPOSED CHEMICALS, BUT IT'S CERTAINLY WORTH THE EFFORT AND THE ATTENTION OF GOVERNMENTS AND INDUSTRY.

CLEAN AIR ACT

HOWEVER, THERE ARE TWO BUILDING BLOCKS OF OUR CONGRESSIONAL EFFORT TO CLEAN UP THE ENVIRONMENT THAT ARE STILL AWAITING REAUTHORIZATION. A LONG OVERDUE COMPONENT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE ADDED TO THE NEXT CLEAN AIR ACT -- ACID RAIN.

WE DO KNOW THAT SULFUR DIOXIDE IS AT LEAST A PART OF THE PROBLEM, AND WE KNOW THAT LARGE AMOUNTS OF SULFUR DIOXIDE COME FROM THE SMOKESTACKS OF COAL-FIRED FURNACES AND BOILERS.

JUST AS WE FINALLY DECIDED TO REDUCE THE LEVELS OF LEAD IN THE AIR WE BREATHE THROUGH REDUCING LEAD ADDED TO GASOLINE, WE CAN REDUCE THE AMOUNT OF ACID RAIN BY ATTACKING PART OF THE SOURCE -- HIGH SULFUR COAL. WITH THE PRESIDENT'S MANDATE, CLEAN COAL TECHNOLOGIES ARE BEING DEVELOPED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT MORE CAN AND SHOULD BE DONE.

FUEL SWITCHING, SCRUBBERS, INSTALLATION OF MORE EFFICIENT FURNACES AND BOILERS WILL HELP. IT WILL BE COSTLY. AND INDUSTRY WILL HAVE TO PAY ITS FAIR SHARE. HOWEVER, THE COST OF NOT ACTING WILL BE FAR GREATER. IT WILL TAKE A COMBINED EFFORT TO PITCH IN, BOTH IN DOLLARS AND ENCOURAGEMENT, BUT THE SOLUTION IS WITHIN OUR REACH, AND WE MUST ATTAIN IT.

CLEAN WATER

THIS YEAR THE CONGRESS FINALLY DID REAUTHORIZE THE CLEAN WATER ACT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS IN SPITE OF A PRESIDENTIAL VETO AND MY VOTE TO SUSTAIN THAT VETO. AND MY EFFORTS, AND THE EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT, WERE CORRECT.

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I'VE ALREADY SPOKEN OF THE EVILS OF THE BUDGET DEFICIT, AND IT WAS THE VERY SAME ISSUE THAT PLAGUED THE CLEAN WATER ACT. PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT WAS NEVER AN ISSUE, SINCE THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL WAS IDENTICAL ON EVERY SINGLE ENVIRONMENTAL SECTION.

THE PROBLEM WITH THE BILL WAS THE SAME PROBLEM THAT PLAGUES SO MUCH OF THE LEGISLATION IN WASHINGTON, THAT FAVORITE ITEM ON THE CONGRESS'S MENU -- PORK. EVERY CONGRESSMAN AND SENATOR WANTED TO SEND A SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANT AND MILES OF SEWER PIPE BACK TO FOLKS AT HOME.

WELL, IN THE BLINK OF AN EYE AND WITH ONE UNFORTUNATE VOTE, THE DEFICIT WAS INCREASED BY ANOTHER \$6 BILLION OVER THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. THE SADDEST PART IS THAT THE PORK WAS HIDDEN BEHIND THE SKIRTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. AND I, FOR ONE, RESENT THE ACTION OF CLOAKING THAT VOTE AS ONE OF FOR OR AGAINST THE ENVIRONMENT.

SO THESE ARE THE THINGS -- THIS IS THE KIND OF AMERICA AND WORLD -- THAT WE WANT TO PRESERVE: FOR OUR CHILDREN, FOR OUR FUTURE. THESE ARE SOME OF THE NECESSARY INGREDIENTS -- A CLEAN, VITAL ENVIRONMENT; A GOVERNMENT MEETING ITS TASKS, YET LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS; AND, ABOVE ALL, A WORLD SAFE FROM THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION -- THESE ARE SOME OF THE MOST NECESSARY INGREDIENTS FOR AMERICA AS IT MOVES INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.

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