

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
"A NEW COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION"
CAL COMMUNITY HIGH SCHOOL -- LATIMER, IOWA

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE AND SEE FIRST HAND ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE NATION -- THE RECIPIENT OF THE NATIONAL SECONDARY RECOGNITION AWARD BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION -- AND A SCHOOL CITED BY EDUCATION SECRETARY BILL BENNETT AS HAVING A MODEL CURRICULUM OF AMERICA'S HIGH SCHOOLS. THIS IS A SCHOOL THAT CLEARLY IS DOING SOME GOOD THINGS FOR ITS STUDENTS.

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH YOU TODAY ABOUT AN ISSUE THAT IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO THE HEALTH OF OUR DEMOCRACY AND THE WEALTH OF OUR NATION -- THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG AMERICANS.

WE'RE RUNNING A DEFICIT IN THIS COUNTRY, AND IT'S GETTING WORSE. I'M TALKING ABOUT OUR EDUCATION DEFICIT, AND IT IS NO LESS SEVERE -- AND IN THE LONG RUN --- NO LESS DAMAGING THAN OUR HUGE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT.

WE'RE A CAPITALIST COUNTRY, AND CAPITALISM REQUIRES HUMAN CAPITAL. WE CAN'T AFFORD TO SQUANDER THE TALENTS AND POTENTIAL OF OUR NATION'S YOUNG PEOPLE -- PEOPLE LIKE YOU IN SCHOOLS ACROSS THE COUNTRY -- BY FAILING TO OFFER THEM A PROPER EDUCATION.

THE FACT IS, THERE'S A BIG GAP BETWEEN WHAT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE ARE LEARNING TODAY COMPARED WITH PREVIOUS GENERATIONS -- AND WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. IN MANY AREAS, WE'VE FALLEN BEHIND. THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST MAKE A NEW COMMITMENT TO CUTTING THE EDUCATION DEFICIT BEFORE TODAY'S GENERATION OF STUDENTS GOES OUT INTO THE WORKPLACE.

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IT WOULD TAKE A LONG TIME TO SUMMARIZE BOB DOLE'S RECORD ON EDUCATION, BUT I WANT TO HIT A FEW HIGHLIGHTS, THEN DESCRIBE THE EDUCATION POLICIES I WOULD FOLLOW AS PRESIDENT.

IRA'S EDUCATION

THIS NATION PRODUCES ONE COMMODITY THAT IS PRIZED THE WORLD OVER: A DEGREE FROM AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. JUST ONE SCHOOL FROM THE BIG EIGHT, THE BIG TEN OR THE IVY LEAGUE WOULD BE THE PRIDE OF MOST FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BUT THROUGHOUT THE 1980'S, THIS COMMODITY -- THE COLLEGE DIPLOMA -- HAS BEEN RISING IN PRICE AT TWICE THE RATE OF INFLATION. TODAY, THE COST OF FOUR YEARS AT SOME SCHOOLS RIVALS THE PRICE OF A SMALL HOUSE.

MY CONCERN IS THAT THE NEEDIEST STUDENTS -- MANY FROM MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASS FAMILIES -- MAY FIND THE RISING COSTS TOO HIGH, AND DECIDE TO FORGO COLLEGE ALTOGETHER. THAT'S SOMETHING WE CAN'T AFFORD. WE MUST NOT CREATE A SITUATION IN WHICH ONLY THE RICH CAN SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO COLLEGE.

THAT'S WHY LAST YEAR I PROPOSED CREATION OF EDUCATION SAVINGS ACCOUNTS. UNDER THIS PLAN, PARENTS COULD CONTRIBUTE UP TO \$1,000 A YEAR TO A SPECIAL TAX-DEFERRED ACCOUNT. FUNDS IN THE ACCOUNT COULD BE USED ONLY FOR COLLEGE OR OTHER POST-SECONDARY SCHOOLS. IT WOULD BE, IN EFFECT, AN IRA FOR EDUCATION.

IF THIS SOUNDS FAMILIAR, IT SHOULD. I HAVE INTRODUCED SIMILAR PROPOSALS SEVERAL TIMES OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS, BEGINNING AS FAR BACK AS 1980. AND I'LL KEEP ON PUSHING THE IDEA AS PRESIDENT UNTIL CONGRESS PASSES IT.

TARGETING COLLEGE GRANTS

GIVEN THE LIMITED FEDERAL RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR STUDENT AID SUCH AS PELL GRANTS AND GUARANTEED STUDENT LOANS, WE MUST BE CERTAIN THAT THESE FUNDS ARE TARGETED ON THOSE WHO NEED THEM MOST.

THAT IS WHY I ENDORSED A GRADUATED RISE IN PELL GRANTS FROM \$2,100 IN 1986 TO \$3,200 A YEAR IN 1991. THE GRANTS WOULD BE LIMITED TO FAMILIES WITH INCOMES OF LESS THAN \$30,000 AFTER TAXES.

NOW THAT'S WHAT I CALL A GOOD INVESTMENT, BECAUSE THOSE FEDERAL FUNDS WILL BE 'RECAPTURED' MANY TIMES OVER BY THE TREASURY WHEN THOSE STUDENTS ENTER THE WORK FORCE -- AND IN BETTER JOBS THAN THEY OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE HAD.

THAT'S BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE, AND THAT'S THE KIND OF NEW COMMITMENT THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO MAKE.

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SOME DISTURBING FIGURES

THREE MONTHS AGO, WHEN I ANNOUNCED THAT I WOULD BE A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1988, I DECLARED THAT THIS NATION MUST REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION AS THE GREAT EQUALIZER -- AS THE DOOR TO OPPORTUNITY FOR MILLIONS OF CHILDREN WHO MAY START A STEP BEHIND OTHERS.

CLEARLY, WE ARE NOT MAKING THAT COMMITMENT TODAY.

ALREADY, THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ESTIMATES THERE ARE OVER 20 MILLION FUNCTIONALLY ILLITERATE AMERICANS -- PEOPLE WHO CAN'T READ OR WRITE WELL ENOUGH TO FILL DEMANDING JOBS. WE OUGHT TO CUT THAT FIGURE BY 2 MILLION A YEAR -- AND IN MY ADMINISTRATION, THAT WILL BE A PRIMARY GOAL.

TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT OF OUR NATION'S YOUTH DROP OUT OF SCHOOL. WE SHOULD CUT THAT DROPOUT RATE BY 10 PERCENT A YEAR. IN MY ADMINISTRATION, WE'LL PLEDGE TO DO JUST THAT.

THERE ARE STILL THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN STUDENTS LEAVING HIGH SCHOOL WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO READ THEIR DIPLOMAS ON GRADUATION DAY. THAT'S A SHAMEFUL RECORD. I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU WHAT THAT SHORTFALL IS COSTING US THROUGH THE CRIME AND WELFARE DEPENDENCY IT FOSTERS.

MAKING SCHOOL ACCOUNTABLE

AND WHEN THE COST OF TRAINING WORKERS IN BASIC TASKS COMES OUT OF THE REVENUES OF BUSINESSES, THOSE EMPLOYERS HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK -- WE ALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK: "ARE WE GETTING EVERYTHING WE'RE PAYING FOR?"

NOW LET ME BE CLEAR. WE SPEND A LOT ON EDUCATION. AND THE REPUBLICAN RECORD ON EDUCATION IS A SOLID ONE.

TOTAL SPENDING FOR EDUCATION HAS INCREASED 15 PERCENT IN REAL TERMS DURING THE REAGAN YEARS -- WITH THE HELP OF CONGRESS.

BUT SPENDING ISN'T EVERYTHING. AS A NATION, WE SPENT 310 BILLION DOLLARS ON EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS LAST YEAR. THAT'S MORE THAN WE SPENT ON DEFENSE.

OVERALL, WE SPEND 6.8 PERCENT OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT ON EDUCATION WHILE JAPAN SPENDS ONLY 5.7 PERCENT. YET THE JAPANESE ARE OUT-PERFORMING US.

IT'S TIME TO START LOOKING BEYOND SPENDING -- AND TOWARD NEW WAYS TO MAKE SCHOOLS ACCOUNTABLE. A NEW COMMITMENT TO EDUCATION MUST LEAD TO BETTER VALUE FOR THE DOLLARS WE DO SPEND.

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THIRTY YEARS AGO -- AND TODAY

THE GOOD NEWS IS THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO GIVE OUR SCHOOLS THE ATTENTION THEY NEED. EDUCATION REFORM IS SWEEPING THE COUNTRY WITH THE SAME KIND OF COMMITMENT THAT AMERICANS MADE IN THE SHADOW OF THE SOVIET SPUTNIK SATELLITE 30 YEARS AGO.

SINCE 1980, HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS HAVE INCREASED IN 39 STATES AND ALL BUT THREE STATES HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT EDUCATION REFORMS.

THE FEDERAL ROLE

ALL THIS IS BEING DONE LARGELY IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS AND LOCAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS, AND THAT IS APPROPRIATE. I HAVE LONG BELIEVED THAT EDUCATION IS A NATIONAL CONCERN, A STATE RESPONSIBILITY, AND A LOCAL FUNCTION.

TO BE BLUNT, IT'S NOT FOR WASHINGTON TO COME STEAL THE SHOW FROM PARENTS AND EDUCATORS WHO CARE THE MOST, WHO ARE TRYING TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS, AND WHO ARE IN THE BEST PLACE TO JUDGE WHAT WORKS.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S ROLE SHOULD BE TO INSPIRE SCHOOLS TO IMPROVE WHAT GOES ON IN THE CLASSROOM.

IT SHOULD IDENTIFY NEW PROGRAMS THAT PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS.

BUT IT SHOULD HOLD THESE PROGRAMS UP AS MODELS, NOT IMPOSE THEM AS MOLDS.

AND ALWAYS, THE AIM SHOULD BE TO ADOPT PROGRAMS OF PROVEN SUCCESS -- WITH POSITIVE EFFECTS ON THE FUTURE LIVES OF STUDENTS -- AND NOT JUST ABSTRACT IMPROVEMENTS IN EDUCATION STATISTICS.

IN THE SENATE, I HAVE ADDRESSED THESE NEEDS WITH SPECIFIC LEGISLATION -- "THE EDUCATION COMPETITIVENESS AND IMPROVEMENT ACT." THIS BILL TARGETS FEDERAL RESOURCES TOWARD POORER STUDENTS, ENCOURAGES PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT, AND PROVIDES INCENTIVES FOR LOCAL BUSINESSES TO DEVELOP TRAINING PROGRAMS THAT WOULD LEAD TO JOBS.

IMPROVING ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

OUR GREATEST PROBLEMS ARE AT THE LEVEL OF SECONDARY AND PRIMARY EDUCATION -- AND THESE REQUIRE OUR IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

IT IS A NATIONAL EMBARRASSMENT THAT ALMOST 40 PERCENT OF 17-YEAR-OLDS WHO HAVE TAKEN AMERICAN HISTORY COURSES DON'T HAVE THE FOGGIEST IDEA OF WHEN COLUMBUS DISCOVERED THE NEW WORLD. THEY CAN'T PLACE THE FIRST WORLD WAR WITHIN THE CORRECT HALF CENTURY.

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LIKE MOST AMERICANS, I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST RE-EMPHASIZE INSTRUCTION IN THE BASICS: IN ENGLISH, IN MATHEMATICS, IN SCIENCE, IN HISTORY AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES. AND I WOULD ADD COMPUTER TRAINING TO THAT LIST.

WE MUST ALSO FOSTER COMPETITION AND EXPAND EDUCATIONAL CHOICE, BUT WE MUST DO SO IN A WAY THAT WILL PRESERVE AND STRENGTHEN -- AND NOT UNDERMINE -- OUR PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

LET ME SUGGEST SEVERAL IDEAS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD SUPPORT.

MANY AMERICANS HAVE WATCHED THE SUCCESS OF MAGNET SCHOOLS -- SPECIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT EMPHASIZE PARTICULAR AREAS OF LEARNING, AND WHICH HAVE INJECTED MORE COMPETITION IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS IN BOTH BIG CITIES AND RURAL COMMUNITIES.

BUT AN EVEN MORE PROMISING INNOVATION IS THE SO-CALLED OPEN ENROLLMENT PROGRAM THAT ALLOWS PARENTS TO CHOOSE AMONG LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS BASED ON THE QUALITY OF THE EDUCATION SERVICES PROVIDED. SUCH 'OPPORTUNITY CERTIFICATES' HAVE BEEN TRIED WITH SIGNIFICANT SUCCESS IN A NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS. I SUPPORT FEDERAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND EXPANSION OF THE CONCEPT.

I MENTIONED EARLIER THAT WE MUST DEVELOP IN OUR YOUNG PEOPLE THE SELF-DISCIPLINE TO STICK TO THEIR STUDIES AND FINISH HIGH SCHOOL.

THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL SYSTEM IS EXPERIMENTING WITH ONE NOVEL WAY TO DEVELOP SUCH SELF-DISCIPLINE IN STUDENTS.

WITH THE HELP OF PRIVATE BUSINESS, THE CITY HAS SET UP SCHOLARSHIPS IN ESCROW ACCOUNTS FOR INNER-CITY YOUTH. A CONTRIBUTION IS MADE EACH YEAR THE STUDENTS STAYS IN SCHOOL, BASED ON THE GRADES THEY HAVE EARNED. IT'S AN IDEA THAT SHOULD BE TRIED IN OTHER CITIES WITH HIGH DROPOUT PROBLEMS.

WE MUST ALSO RESTORE THE PRESTIGE AND MEANING OF THE HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA. LOWERING THE DROP-OUT RATE WILL BE MEANINGLESS IF WE DO IT BY FURTHER DEVALUING WHAT A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA MEANS. WE CAN'T COVER UP THE PROBLEM WITH A LITTLE PIECE OF PAPER.

OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES, THE HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA HAS LOST MUCH OF ITS LUSTER -- OFTEN GIVEN OUT SIMPLY BECAUSE A STUDENT MANAGED TO SPEND TWELVE YEARS IN SCHOOL. IF STUDENTS HAVEN'T MET BASIC EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS FOR THEIR GRADE, THEY SHOULD BE HELD BACK. AT THE SAME TIME, EDUCATION SHOULD BE A TWO-WAY STREET. TEACHERS AND SCHOOL OFFICIALS MUST BE HELD TO ACCOUNT ALSO, IF THEY ARE FAILING TO TEACH THEIR STUDENTS BASIC EDUCATION SKILLS.

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I ALSO PROPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT, PERHAPS BY A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION, OF NEW STANDARDS FOR AN ADVANCED HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA FOR STUDENTS CAPABLE OF COMPLETING RIGOROUS ACADEMIC PROGRAMS. ~~MANY DISTRICTS NOW OFFER ADVANCED PLACEMENT COURSES, BUT THESE SHOULD BE BACKED UP BY A SPECIAL DIPLOMA THAT RECOGNIZES THE SUPERIOR EDUCATION THEIR RECIPIENTS HAVE RECEIVED.~~

JUST AS WE RECOGNIZE ADVANCED STUDENTS, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE MASTER TEACHERS TOO OFTEN WE REWARD OUR MOST CAPABLE TEACHERS BY PULLING THEM OUT OF THE CLASSROOM.

ONE IDEA THAT IS CATCHING ON IS MERIT PAY. IT'S A SIMPLE IDEA: IF A TEACHER IS DOING A BETTER JOB, THAT TEACHER GETS REWARDED FOR IT ON PAYDAY.

ONE PROGRAM IS PROVING ITSELF IN ROCHESTER, NEW YORK. THERE, OUTSTANDING TEACHERS ARE ATTRACTED BY HIGH SALARIES TO REMAIN IN THEIR JOBS AND AT THE SAME TIME TRAIN NEW TEACHERS IN EFFECTIVE METHODS. IT'S ONE MORE WAY OF MAKING SCHOOLS ACCOUNTABLE TO THOSE WHO PAY THE BILL.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

I'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT EDUCATION AS A MEANS TO SECURE OUR ECONOMIC POSITION, TO MAKE US MORE COMPETITIVE IN WORLD MARKETS. BUT, EDUCATION IS FAR MORE THAN THAT.

TAKE THOSE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES WHO CANNOT READ. NOT ONLY CAN THEY NOT READ ~~THEIR OWN DIPLOMAS~~, THEY CAN'T READ ROBERT FROST OR SHAKESPEARE. THEY CAN NEVER ENJOY HEMINGWAY OR FAULKNER. THEY CAN'T READ THE BIBLE OR THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

THE NEW KNOWLEDGE WE ACQUIRE IN OUR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IS NOT JUST FOR PROFESSORS AND SCHOLARS. IT IS FOR ALL OF US, BECAUSE THERE IS A DEEP AND LASTING REWARD IN EDUCATION, IN LEARNING, IN UNDERSTANDING HOW THE WORLD WORKS.

FOR THE INDIVIDUAL, EDUCATION CAN BE A SOURCE OF JOY AND PERSONAL FULFILLMENT.

FOR OUR SOCIETY, EDUCATION IS NOT JUST THE ROOT OF ECONOMIC WEALTH, IT IS THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR LIBERTIES AND OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.

YOU DON'T NEED AN EXPENSIVE FEDERAL STUDY TO TELL YOU THAT FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS ONLY MEANINGFUL IF THE PEOPLE CAN READ THE NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS THAT COME OFF THE PRINTING PRESSES.

OUR CAUCUSES AND PRIMARIES AND ELECTIONS ARE NOT JUST BEAUTY CONTESTS -- BECAUSE CAUCUSES AND PRIMARIES AND ELECTIONS ARE PEOPLE COMING TOGETHER TO MAKE INTELLIGENT, EDUCATED CHOICES.

THOMAS JEFFERSON KNEW THIS. HE CONSIDERED HIS FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA TO BE MORE IMPORTANT THAN MANY OF HIS ACHIEVEMENTS AS PRESIDENT.

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TWO HUNDRED YEARS HAVE SHOWN WHAT FORESIGHT JEFFERSON HAD. LOOK AROUND THE WORLD TODAY. DICTATORSHIPS SURVIVE AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE ARE KEPT IGNORANT. DEMOCRACIES THRIVE BEST IF THE PEOPLE ARE EDUCATED.

IN A DOLE ADMINISTRATION, WE WILL NEVER IGNORE THE LINK BETWEEN AN EDUCATED CITIZENRY AND DEMOCRACY. THE CITIZENS OF A REPUBLIC MUST BE EDUCATED -- OR THE REPUBLIC WILL NOT SURVIVE.

THAT IS THE REAL CORE OF MY POSITION ON EDUCATION. AND IT IS THE REASON I HAVE BROUGHT MY CASE BEFORE YOU, THE FUTURE LEADERS OF OUR GREAT NATION, HERE TODAY.

IN A WORLD WHERE ONLY THE EDUCATED ARE FREE, I WILL NEVER FORGET THAT WEALTH, HAPPINESS, AND THE FREEDOM OF OUR NATION DEPENDS ON THE WISE COUSEL OF AN EDUCATED CITIZENRY TO GUIDE OUR FUTURE AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY FOR OURSELVES AND OUR CHILDREN.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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FOR RELEASE
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EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE UNTIL 5:30 PM CENTRAL TIME

NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES OF THE 1990'S
FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

49 YEARS AGO, A FINE YOUNG ATHLETE FROM THIS UNIVERSITY TRAVELED TO NEW YORK -- TO RECEIVE AN AWARD AS THE BEST COLLEGE FOOTBALL PLAYER IN THE LAND. WITH WAR ALREADY RAGING IN EUROPE, NILE KINNICK ACCEPTED THE HEISMAN TROPHY WITH THESE WORDS: "I THANK GOD I WAS BORN TO THE GRIDIRONS OF THE MIDDLE WEST -- AND NOT TO THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE."

NOT LONG AFTER, AMERICA WAS AT WAR, TOO. AND NILE KINNICK, AND THOUSANDS OF OTHER YOUNG AMERICANS, WENT OFF TO FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRY.

BOB DOLE WAS AMONG THAT CROWD. WE WEREN'T ANXIOUS TO GO OFF TO WAR. WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO STAY AT HOME; TO FINISH OUR EDUCATIONS; TO GET GOOD JOBS.

BUT WE DIDN'T HAVE THAT OPTION. NILE KINNICK DIDN'T. BOB DOLE DIDN'T.

OUR COUNTRY WAS AT WAR.
THERE WAS NO CHOICE.
SO WE WENT TO WAR, TOO.

SACRIFICE

I WAS AMONG THOSE FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO RETURN; TO RESUME A LIFE WHICH HASN'T ALWAYS BEEN EASY -- BUT WHICH, FINALLY, HAS BROUGHT ME HERE TO IOWA CITY TODAY.

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NILE KINNICK WAS NOT SO LUCKY. AS A NAVY PILOT, OPERATING OFF THE CARRIER LEXINGTON, NILE KINNICK'S PLANE WAS LOST AT SEA.

AND, TODAY, THINKING BACK ON THE SACRIFICE THAT NILE KINNICK MADE; THINKING BACK ON MY OWN EXPERIENCE, IN THE WAR AND AFTER -- IF THERE IS ONE THING ABOVE ALL THAT I LEARNED, IT IS THIS: THE ONLY THING MORE TERRIBLE THAN WAR -- IS TO LOSE YOUR FREEDOM.

FREEDOM

FREEDOM IS WHAT THIS UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IS ALL ABOUT.

AND RIGHT NOW, FREEDOM IS FACED WITH A WHOLE NEW SET OF CHALLENGES -- CHALLENGES I WANT TO TALK ABOUT TODAY.

FIRST, I WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THE CHALLENGE OF REDUCING NUCLEAR ARMS -- WITHOUT INVITING AGGRESSION; THE VERY AGGRESSION WE SOUGHT TO DETER, BY ACQUIRING THOSE ARMS IN THE FIRST PLACE.

INF

RONALD REAGAN'S ARMS CONTROL STRATEGY HAS YIELDED A MILESTONE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT: THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY.

IT IS THE FIRST AGREEMENT TO ACTUALLY REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR ARMS IN THE WORLD; THE FIRST TO WIPE OUT AN ENTIRE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

AND, IMPORTANTLY, THE FIRST TO REFLECT THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE: IT IS NOT REDUCTIONS, PER SE, WHICH MAKE THE WORLD SAFER; BUT ONLY REDUCTIONS WHICH MORE NEARLY EQUALIZE THE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS -- AND THUS CREATE GREATER STABILITY. THAT IS THE ESSENTIAL LOGIC BEHIND THE INF TREATY.

I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK ON THIS TREATY. AND BECAUSE I HAVE, I CAN SAY TO YOU CATEGORICALLY: THIS IS A GOOD TREATY. IT CAN BE VERIFIED. ~~AND IT WILL ENHANCE THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES.~~

IT IS A GOOD TREATY; WHICH WILL BE STRENGTHENED FURTHER IN THE SENATE; AND THEN SHOULD BE APPROVED.

AND BECAUSE I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- AND THE SENATE REPUBLICANS I LEAD KNOW I HAVE DONE MY HOMEWORK -- I CAN MAKE TO YOU TODAY THE SAME PLEDGE I MADE TO RONALD REAGAN: I WILL LEAD THE FIGHT TO WIN SENATE APPROVAL OF THE INF TREATY.

AND THE TREATY WILL BE APPROVED -- WITH AN OVERWHELMING, BIPARTISAN VOTE.

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CAUTION

BUT INF IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP; BECAUSE THIS TREATY -- AS WELCOME AND IMPORTANT AS IT IS -- AFFECTS ONLY 6% OF THE TOTAL NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IT AFFECTS NOT AT ALL THOSE NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THE SOVIET UNION AIMS AT THE UNITED STATES.

IT IS A BEGINNING. BUT THE JOURNEY AHEAD IS LONG AND UNCERTAIN.

NOW LET ME SAY: WE MUST GO FORWARD ON THAT JOURNEY. I DO WANT A START AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD YIELD 50% CUTS IN LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THAT IS A GOOD GOAL; AN ACHIEVABLE GOAL.

BUT I MUST ALSO SAY THIS: WE MUST GO FORWARD CAUTIOUSLY -- KNOWING CLEARLY WHERE WE WANT TO GO; AND KNOWING CLEARLY HOW TO GET THERE SAFELY.

WE CANNOT FINALIZE A START AGREEMENT UNTIL WE ARE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN OF TWO THINGS.

FIRST, THAT THE AGREEMENT CAN BE VERIFIED. AND THERE IS A LIGHT YEAR OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN VERIFYING AN INF AGREEMENT WHICH REDUCES LEVELS TO ZERO; AND A START AGREEMENT WHICH, EVEN FULLY IMPLEMENTED, WOULD LEAVE HALF OF EXISTING STRATEGIC SYSTEMS IN PLACE.

AND LET ME SOUND THIS SMALL ALARM, TOO: UNLESS WE MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SHORE UP OUR TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES TO VERIFY NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS --- I HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THAT ANY VERIFICATION REGIME THE SOVIETS WILL AGREE TO WILL BE ADEQUATE TO THE TASK OF VERIFYING START.

DETERRENT

SO VERIFICATION IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL. BUT IT IS FAR FROM OUR ONLY CONCERN; IT IS NOT THE WHOLE ANSWER.

A BAD AGREEMENT, EVEN IF IT IS VERIFIABLE, IS STILL A BAD AGREEMENT.

SO, SECOND, AND IN ADDITION TO AIRTIGHT VERIFICATION, WE ALSO HAVE TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT THE AGREEMENT LEAVES US WITH A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENT. ANY START AGREEMENT FROM THE ON-GOING GENEVA TALKS MUST MEET THIS VITAL STANDARD -- THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE ON THIS POINT, PERIOD.

LET US AGAIN RECALL THE AXIOM I MENTIONED BEFORE. REDUCTIONS, PER SE, MAY NOT BE STABILIZING; MAY NOT MAKE US SAFER; MAY NOT REDUCE THE CHANCES OF WAR.

INDEED, IF THE RESIDUAL FORCES ON EACH SIDE ARE MISALIGNED; IF OURS ARE LEFT MORE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY THEIRS; OR IF WE FAIL TO ADEQUATELY FUND PROGRAMS WHICH INSURE THE SURVIVABILITY AND UTILITY OF OUR DETERRENT FORCES -- UNDER ANY OF THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR DETERRENCE WOULD BE REDUCED, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS WOULD HAVE FEWER WEAPONS.

AND, UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- IT WOULD BE BETTER THAT WE HAVE NO START AGREEMENT AT ALL.

CAVEATS

LET ME ADD JUST TWO ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS IN THE START CONTEXT. (1) UNDERSCORING MY CONCERNS ON START IS THE OVERWHELMING SUPERIORITY OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL FORCES -- AN IMBALANCE WHICH MUST BE DEALT WITH IN ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS OR FUTURE SUMMITS WITH THE SOVIETS. I WILL SPEAK MORE ABOUT CONVENTIONAL ARMS IN A MOMENT.

AND (2) IN MY VIEW, THE AGGRESSIVE PURSUIT OF S.D.I., LEADING TO THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DEPLOYMENT, IS THE SINGLE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO INSURING THE CREDIBILITY OF AMERICAN DETERRENCE.

SO THIS, THEN, IS THE FIRST CHALLENGE: MOVING FORWARD ON NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTIONS -- BUT IN A WAY THAT PRESERVES DETERRENCE AND ENHANCES OUR SECURITY.

GORBACHEV

AND THE SECOND GREAT CHALLENGE IS: HOW TO MANAGE SUCCESSFULLY OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AS WE TRAVERSE THE NEXT DECADE, AND ENTER THE NEXT CENTURY. AND AS WE CONFRONT WHAT, TRULY, ARE SOME NEW MODES OF THINKING IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND A NEW STYLE LEADER IN MR. GORBACHEV.

GORBACHEV IS DYNAMIC; HE'S ARTICULATE; HE'S SMART.

AND HE WILL BE A MORE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE COMPETITOR IN THE GLOBAL CONTEST FOR RESPECT AND CREDIBILITY.

I'M NOT MUCH OF A BELIEVER IN POLLS, BUT I AM ALARMED BY POLLS SHOWING GORBACHEV REGARDED BY MANY IN THE NATO COUNTRIES AS A "PEACEMAKER."

AND WHAT ALARMS ME MOST IS THAT MR. GORBACHEV, FOR ALL THAT HE BRINGS THAT IS NEW, ALSO BRINGS SOMETHING THAT IS VERY, VERY OLD: THE CONVICTIONS OF A COMMITTED, DEDICATED, TOUGH-AS-NAILS COMMUNIST.

HE IS A COMMUNIST STILL. IN HIS HEAD. IN HIS HEART.

COMMUNISM

NOW, MR. GORBACHEV IS A GOOD SALESMAN -- BUT WE CAN NEVER LET THE WORLD FORGET: HIS PRODUCT IS COMMUNISM.

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NO ONE IS GOING TO BUY THE SOVIET BRAND OF OPPRESSION, OR THE SOVIET MODEL OF ECONOMIC STAGNATION. NOT IF THEY CAN GET THROUGH THAT NICE WRAPPING PAPER THAT GORBACHEV USES, AND SEE WHAT'S INSIDE THE BOX.

AND THAT'S ONE BIG JOB OF THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: TO RE-ARTICULATE TO THE WORLD WHAT SOVIET COMMUNISM IS ALL ABOUT; WHAT FREEDOM IS ALL ABOUT; AND WHAT'S AT STAKE -- WHAT'S STILL AT STAKE -- IN THE COMPETITION BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS.

TO REMIND THE WORLD THAT A NATION THAT REFUSES TO PERMIT THE EMIGRATION OF ITS OWN CITIZENS; THAT REPRESSES RELIGION; THAT INVADERS ITS NEIGHBORS; AND THAT SOWS SEEDS OF VIOLENCE AND HATE AROUND THE WORLD -- THAT SUCH A NATION IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM US.

THAT'S NOT COLD WAR RHETORIC; IT'S A COLD, HARD FACT.

SUPERPOWERS

NOW LET ME STRESS HERE: I AM BY NO MEANS SUGGESTING THAT WE CAN'T, OR SHOULDN'T TRY TO, WORK WITH THE SOVIETS.

IN FACT, I WOULD SAY THE OPPOSITE: THE EMERGENCE OF MR. GORBACHEV IS A POWERFUL INCENTIVE TO WORK EVEN HARDER FOR NEW AGREEMENTS AND UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE SOVIETS.

I DON'T TRUST MR. GORBACHEV OR ANYONE ELSE IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

BUT THAT DOESN'T CHANGE THE FACT THAT WE HAPPEN TO RESIDE ON THE SAME PLANET, AND CAN'T AVOID DEALING WITH EACH OTHER.

AND THERE MAY BE SOME AREAS WHERE GORBACHEV WILL BE MORE OPEN TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION THAN HIS PREDECESSORS. HE DOES HAVE SOME NEW, AND MORE SOPHISTICATED, NOTIONS ABOUT WHAT CAN SERVE SOVIET INTERESTS. ~~HE IS MORE DECISIVE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS WERE.~~ AND HE APPEARS TO HAVE A GREATER UNDERSTANDING THAN THEY DID OF THE URGENCY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT COMMUNISM HAS WROUGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION.

SO IT IS IN OUR INTEREST -- AMERICA'S INTEREST -- TO SEE WHAT MAY BE POSSIBLE. TO SEE IF WE CAN ACHIEVE AGREEMENTS WHICH SERVE AMERICAN SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

AND LET ME REPEAT HERE A SUGGESTION ON MANAGING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THAT I HAVE MADE BEFORE. RONALD REAGAN HAS ACHIEVED GREAT PROGRESS IN HIS SUMMITS WITH MR. GORBACHEV. BUT THE ADVENT OF A POTENTIALLY LONG-TERM, STABLE SOVIET LEADERSHIP GIVES US THE CHANCE TO REPLACE THE ROLLER-COASTER OF ON-AGAIN, OFF-AGAIN SUMMITRY -- WITH THE MORE BUSINESSLIKE, AND PRODUCTIVE, COURSE OF REGULARLY SCHEDULED, ANNUAL SUMMITS.

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I HAVE ALREADY HAD A TASTE OF DEALING WITH MR. GORBACHEV.
HE'S A WORTHY ADVERSARY.

BUT WE HAVE A BETTER CASE. WITH CONTINUED STRONG LEADERSHIP,
WE CAN SELL THAT CASE AROUND THE WORLD.

ALLIES

SO THAT IS CHALLENGE NUMBER TWO: DEALING PRODUCTIVELY WITH A
CHANGING SOVIET UNION -- WITHOUT FORGETTING SOME FUNDAMENTALS
THAT HAVE NOT CHANGED.

AND THAT BRINGS ME TO THE THIRD AND FINAL CHALLENGE: MAKING
SURE THAT THE FREE WORLD -- THE ALLIANCE STRUCTURE THAT HAS KEPT
US FREE AND AT PEACE -- MAKING SURE IT, TOO, IS READY TO TACKLE
THE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE 1990'S.

SO LET ME CONCLUDE BY TOUCHING ON WHAT I SEE AS THE THREE
MOST PRESSING TASKS FACING NATO AND THE U.S.-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

FIRST, WE HAVE TO MAKE SURE WE'RE ON THE SAME ESSENTIAL
WAVELENGTH, IN CONFRONTING SUCH FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES AS ARMS
CONTROL, DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS, AND TERRORISM.

LET ME SAY THIS FRANKLY. IN HANDLING OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONS,
THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE SOME MISTAKES. ON ARMS CONTROL, WE
MUST NOT ONLY CONSULT WITH OUR ALLIES -- WE MUST DO SO SERIOUSLY
AND VISIBLY; AND BEFORE OUR PROPOSALS ARE PRESENTED TO THE
SOVIETS.

AND THERE IS JUST NO EXCUSE FOR THE DISASTROUS ARMS SALES TO
THE AYATOLLAH -- OR TO ANYONE ELSE IN IRAN. THOSE SALES KNOCKED
INTO A COCKED-HAT THE CREDIBILITY OF THE FORMAL U.S. POLICY OF NO
CONCESSIONS TO TERRORISTS.

SO WE HAVE BEEN DOING SOME FENCE-MENDING. AND I COMMEND THE
PRESIDENT FOR HIS DILIGENT EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD.

BUT THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE. THAT IS WHY I HAVE
URGED, AND I URGE AGAIN HERE TODAY, THAT THE NEXT SUMMIT BE AN
ALLIANCE SUMMIT; BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT
REAGAN AND GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV.

AND I AM PLEASED THAT BRITISH PRIME MINISTER THATCHER HAS
JUST ENDORSED THIS PROPOSAL; AND THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS NOW
SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING IT.

CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE

THE SECOND URGENT PROBLEM FOR THE ALLIANCE IS DEALING WITH
THE THEATER FORCE IMBALANCE IN A POST-INF EUROPE -- INCLUDING THE
CONVENTIONAL FORCE IMBALANCE I MENTIONED BRIEFLY BEFORE.

- 7 -

DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM MEANS, INITIALLY, THAT WE DRAW THIS FIRM LINE IN THE SAND: THERE CAN BE NO MORE DRAWDOWNS IN RESIDUAL NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE, UNTIL THE CONVENTIONAL IMBALANCE IS RECTIFIED. OUR BATTLEFIELD NUCLEAR WEAPONS; OUR DUAL PURPOSE AIRCRAFT -- THEY MUST REMAIN IN PLACE.

AND THEN WE NEED TO GIVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS IN FORCES TO ACHIEVE MORE NEARLY EQUAL LEVELS OF CONVENTIONAL FORCES. AND THE REDUCTIONS MUST BE REAL, WHOLE UNIT ELIMINATION OF THE MOST THREATENING FORCES: DIVISIONS, TANKS, ARTILLERY, AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS. NOT JUST SHAM WITHDRAWALS, SEVERAL HUNDRED MILES TO THE EAST.

BURDEN-SHARING

THE THIRD ALLIANCE PROBLEM WHICH NEEDS WORK IS BURDEN-SHARING. BURDEN-SHARING IS NOT JUST A SLOGAN -- IT IS THE VERY ESSENCE OF ANY PARTNERSHIP.

BUT RIGHT NOW, THERE JUST ISN'T ENOUGH SHARING GOING ON.

THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE MISTAKES; BUT WE HAVE NEVER AVOIDED OUR RESPONSIBILITIES, OR BEEN AFRAID TO ASSUME THE RISKS. WE HAVE NEVER FAILED TO PAY OUR SHARE -- AND A LOT MORE.

WE HAVE IOU'S -- MONETARY IOU'S; MILITARY IOU'S; POLITICAL IOU'S -- SCATTERED ALL OVER THIS GLOBE.

IT IS TIME TO CALL THEM IN.

IT IS TIME FOR COUNTRIES WHO OWE THEIR FREEDOM TO AMERICA'S DEFENSE SHIELD; WHO OWE THEIR PROSPERITY TO AMERICA'S FOREIGN AID AND TRADE -- IT IS TIME FOR THEM TO REALIZE THAT THERE IS A "DEPOSIT" WINDOW, AS WELL AS A "WITHDRAWAL" WINDOW, AT ALLIANCE BANKS.

I KNOW THAT SOME OF OUR ALLIES ARE MEETING THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. I KNOW THAT MORE THAN A FEW ARE MAKING SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS, IN TERMS OF DOLLARS, OR MANPOWER, OR THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HOST FOREIGN BASES AND FORCES.

BUT I ALSO KNOW -- AND, MORE IMPORTANT, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER KNOWS -- THAT WHEN IT IS ALL TOTED UP: UNCLE SAM PAYS MORE THAN HE SHOULD. IN DOLLARS, IN RISK, IN RESPONSIBILITIES.

PLAN OF ACTION

I HAVE SOME IDEAS ON HOW THE ALLIES COULD PAY THEIR MORE EQUITABLE SHARE:

-- THROUGH AN ALLIANCE STRATEGIC OIL RESERVE, FINANCED BY WEALTHY NATIONS LIKE JAPAN;

-- THROUGH INCREASED ECONOMIC AID TO RECIPIENT NATIONS LIKE THE PHILIPPINES, WHO NOW RELY PRIMARILY ON U.S. AID;

- 8 -

-- BY PAYING A GREATER PORTION OF THE COST OF STATIONING AMERICAN TROOPS OVERSEAS;

-- BY INCREASING THE OPERATIONAL AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR TROOPS;

-- AND BY DEDICATING A PORTION OF THE REVENUES FROM THEIR GROWING TRADE SURPLUSES TO ALLIANCE NEEDS.

OTHERS MAY HAVE OTHER IDEAS. BUT THE KEY IS: LET'S GET THIS DONE, NOW.

U.S. BASES

AND, AS A FINAL WORD ON BURDEN-SHARING, LET ME POINT OUT THAT OUR ALLIES -- BOTH INDIVIDUALLY AND AS A UNIT IN NATO -- MUST BECOME MORE RESPONSIVE, AND RESPONSIBLE, IN ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF AMERICAN BASES. SPAIN CAN'T CLAIM THE BENEFIT OF AMERICA'S DETERRENT POWER -- WHILE THROWING OUT THE HARDWARE AND PERSONNEL WHICH ARE THE ESSENCE OF THAT POWER. AND NATO CAN'T DEMAND THAT AMERICA BE THERE IN A CRUNCH -- BUT THEN PRETEND THAT THE BASES WHICH ARE THE CENTERS OF OUR PRESENCE ARE NOT THE BUSINESS OF NATO; BUT ONLY A BILATERAL AFFAIR BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SPAIN.

WE'RE ALL IN THIS TOGETHER. AND WE BETTER START ACTING THAT WAY.

SUMMARY

SO THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES:

MOVING FORWARD RESPONSIBLY ON ARMS CONTROL.

REDRESSING THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS IMBALANCE.

FORGING REALISTIC, CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

AND KEEPING OUR ALLIANCES UP TO THE TASKS OF THE 1990'S.

THE KINNICK CHALLENGE

FIVE DECADES AGO, NILE KINNICK JUST WANTED TO STAY HERE IN IOWA -- AND MAKE A LIFE. BUT HE HAD TO GO FIGHT IN A WAR -- THAT COST HIM HIS LIFE.

NILE KINNICK HAD A CHALLENGE -- TO STAND UP FOR HIS COUNTRY. NILE MET THAT CHALLENGE.

NOW IT'S OUR TURN.

AS WE ENTER THE LAST DECADE OF THIS CENTURY, AS WE FACE UP TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEXT -- LET US REMEMBER NILE KINNICK'S EXAMPLE; AND LET US DO OUR DUTY, AS WELL AS HE DID HIS.

I RAN HARD FOR MY PARTY'S NOMINATION BECAUSE
I CARE ABOUT THIS COUNTRY.

I RAN HARD FOR THE PRESIDENCY BECAUSE I
THOUGHT I COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

I RAN HARD BECAUSE I WANTED TO HELP
GUARANTEE THAT WE HAD THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE
REPUBLICAN PARTY UNITED BEHIND ITS NOMINEE.



AND I CAN SAY WITHOUT RESERVATION TODAY THAT
THOSE ARE THE VERY SAME REASONS FIVE GOOD MEN
NAMED GEORGE BUSH, JACK KEMP, PETE DuPONT, PAT
ROBERTSON, AND AL HAIG JOINED ME IN THAT RACE.

WELL, ONLY ONE MAN COULD WIN; AND THE
WINNER IS GEORGE BUSH.



YOU KNOW, THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF MEDIA
SPECULATION LATELY ABOUT "PARTY UNITY:"

YOU'VE SEEN THE STORIES -- REPUBLICANS
GETTING TOGETHER FOR THE SAKE OF THE PARTY; IN
THE NAME OF "PARTY UNITY." WELL, AS FAR AS BOB
DOLE'S CONCERNED, THERE'S NEVER BEEN ANY PARTY
DIS-UNITY.



YES, WE RAN FOR THE PRESIDENCY. BUT WE RAN
AS REPUBLICANS, HOPEFULLY TO EXPAND THE PARTY.

YES, WE HAD DIFFERENCES; SOME WOULD SAY
"SHADES" OF DIFFERENCES.



BUT THERE WAS NEVER ANY DOUBT WE STOOD
FOUR-SQUARE FOR A STRONG AMERICA; A STRONG
DEFENSE; A STRONG COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM
FIGHTERS AROUND THE WORLD; WE STOOD FOR A
STRONGER FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM; A STRONGER
ECONOMY; AND A PRESIDENT STRONG ENOUGH TO
MAKE A DIFFERENCE.



AND THERE WAS NEVER ANY DOUBT THAT WHAT WE
STOOD FOR WAS 180-DEGREES DIFFERENT -- AND 100
PERCENT BETTER -- THAN WHAT THE DEMOCRATIC
CANDIDATES STOOD FOR: THEIR FIRST DEMOCRATIC
DEBATE PROVED THAT! AND SO HAS THEIR LATEST
" " FAMILY FEUD IN NEW YORK:



o WITH A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT
THEIR PRESIDENT TOLERATING A "SOVIET CLIENT STATE"
IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

o WITH A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE
PEOPLE WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THEIR
PRESIDENT COZYING UP TO CASTRO, AND FARRAKHAN,
AND ARRAFAT.



o WITH A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE, THE
PEOPLE WON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THEIR
PRESIDENT EQUATING A HEALTHY ECONOMY WITH A
HEALTHY TAX INCREASE.

I COULD GO ON, BUT I'VE SAID IT BEFORE: THE
BOTTOMLINE IS KEEPING THE WHITE HOUSE
REPUBLICAN.



LET'S FACE IT, IT'S GOING TO BE A TOUGH RACE

COME NOVEMBER. THE DEMOCRATS ARE GOING TO

HAVE A STRONG CANDIDATE, SO WE'LL HAVE OUR WORK

CUT OUT FOR US.

AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHY WE'RE HERE TODAY,

GEORGE. WE'RE READY TO GO TO WORK.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized 'A' followed by a horizontal line.

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

IT IS AN HONOR BEING A CANDIDATE FOR
PRESIDENT.

DESPITE THE PROSPECT OF SOME TOUGH
COMPETITION, I BELIEVE A REPUBLICAN WILL WIN IN
NOVEMBER, EVEN THOUGH WE ARE A MINORITY PARTY --
AT THE LOCAL LEVEL, IN STATEHOUSES, AND IN
CONGRESS. NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, WE HAVE MILES TO
GO BEFORE WE REST.



- 2 -

SO TODAY, I WANT TO SPEAK ~~TODAY~~ ABOUT OUR
PARTY, AND OUR FUTURE.

NEW REPUBLICANS

ATTRACTING NEW REPUBLICANS HAS ALWAYS BEEN
ONE OF MY GOALS. IT HAS BEEN A CONSTANT THEME
OF MINE THROUGHOUT MY ENTIRE CAREER IN PUBLIC
SERVICE. WE HAVE THE RIGHT MESSAGE, WE HAVE THE
RIGHT SOLUTIONS -- THE PAST SEVEN YEARS HAVE
PROVEN THAT. WE ARE THE "PARTY OF OPPORTUNITY" --
THE PAST SEVEN YEARS HAVE PROVEN THAT TOO.



- 3 -

AMERICA IS NOW EXPERIENCING THE LONGEST
PERIOD OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN ITS HISTORY. WE
HAVE CREATED MILLIONS OF NEW JOBS THANKS TO THE
LEADERSHIP OF RONALD REAGAN. WE HAVE
DEMONSTRATED THAT LESS GOVERNMENT TRANSLATES
INTO MORE OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE MADE A
DIFFERENCE: BUT WE CAN DO MORE.



- 4 -

ONLY 32 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE IDENTIFY
THEMSELVES ^{AS} REGISTERED REPUBLICANS. WE HAVE TO
DO BETTER. OUR JOB IS TO CONVINCE MORE WOMEN,
MORE YOUNG PEOPLE, AMERICANS OF EVERY COLOR
AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND -- THE DISADVANTAGED, THE
DISABLED, INDEPENDENTS AND DEMOCRATS -- NOT
ONLY TO VOTE REPUBLICAN NOW AND THEN, BUT TO
BECOME COMMITTED PARTY MEMBERS.



- 5 -

REPUBLICANS -- LIKE ALL AMERICANS -- ARE UNITED
IN COMMON GOALS THAT ADD UP TO ONE OVERRIDING
PRIORITY: WE WANT TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY A BETTER
PLACE FOR OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.



- 6 -

ADMITTEDLY, OUR PARTY IS VIEWED AT TIMES, AND
BY SOME, AS A PARTY THAT DOESN'T CARE ABOUT "REAL
PEOPLE." IF YOU'RE YOUNG AND POOR -- OR OLD AND
POOR -- OR BLACK, OR BROWN, OR DISABLED, OR
WHATEVER -- THERE IS A PERCEPTION THAT SOME
REPUBLICANS COULD CARE LESS. IT IS NOT AN
ACCURATE PERCEPTION, BUT OVER THE YEARS
PERCEPTION HAS BECOME REALITY IN SOME
QUARTERS..



- 7 -

YES, WE ARE A CONSERVATIVE PARTY. BUT SO ARE
MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. SO WHY AREN'T WE
THE MAJORITY? WE ARE REACHING OUT THROUGH THE
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND STATE
ORGANIZATIONS. BUT ULTIMATELY, OUR NOMINEE WILL
HAVE TO MAKE THE DIFFERENCE: LEADERSHIP MUST
COME FROM THE TOP. AND IT WILL COME, NOT FROM
WHAT HE SAYS, BUT FROM WHAT HE DOES.



- 8 -

THE PROOF IS IN THE PUDDING

THERE IS A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CYNICISM AMONG
PRESS AND POLITICAL PUNDITS -- AND WITHIN OUR
PARTY -- THAT WE ARE SERIOUS. THE ONLY WAY WE CAN
PERSUADE THE DOUBTERS IS FOR OUR CANDIDATE TO
DEMONSTRATE -- BY ACTIONS AS WELL AS WORDS --
THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OFFERS THE BEST HOPE
OF GIVING MORE AMERICANS THE OPPORTUNITY TO
PURSUE THE AMERICAN DREAM.



- 9 -

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS LOST THE SENSE OF
PURPOSE, AND DIRECTION, THAT WAS THE HALLMARK OF
THE PARTY OF ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN AND KENNEDY. IT
HAS LOST ITS IDENTITY AND MESSAGE IN A MIRE OF
SPECIAL INTERESTS. REPUBLICANS HAVE THE
MESSAGE. WHAT WE MUST FIND IS THE "STEELINESS," THE
RESOLVE TO PROPOSE THE SOLUTIONS WE KNOW WILL
MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE 1990'S.



- 10 -

WE MUST DEMONSTRATE IT'S THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY WHICH BEST UNDERSTANDS THE ECONOMY, AND
IS BEST EQUIPPED TO CONTINUE, AND EXPAND, THE
LONGEST PERIOD OF PEACETIME PROSPERITY.

WE MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH UNDERSTANDS FREEDOM
AND PEACE -- AND HOW TO KEEP IT.



- 11 -

WE MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS THE
REPUBLICAN PARTY WHICH UNDERSTANDS THAT THIS
NATION CAN ONLY LIVE UP TO ITS BIRTHRIGHT IF ITS
LEADERS BELIEVE IN, AND TRUST, THE GOOD, BASIC
INSTINCTS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE PARTY OF INCLUSION

THERE ARE MANY IN AMERICA -- JUST WAITING FOR
OUR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE. THEY ONLY LOOK FOR
HOPE, OPPORTUNITY, AND SECURITY.



- 12 -

I HAVE STATED REPEATEDLY THAT IF MY CAMPAIGN
DID NOTHING ELSE, I WOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR
PARTY WOULD NEVER PRACTICE THE "POLITICS OF
"EXCLUSION. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, LIKE OUR NATION,
MUST HAVE AN OPEN DOOR TO ALL AMERICANS.

~~REACH OUT~~



- 13 -

WE NEED TO REACH OUT -- SINCERELY REACH OUT
-- TO NEW LEGIONS OF HISPANIC VOTERS, BLACKS,
ASIAN-AMERICANS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS EAGER
TO SHOW THAT THEY CAN PLAY A DYNAMIC ROLE IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS.

CONSTITUENCIES ATTRACTED TO RONALD REAGAN
-- BUT NOT NECESSARILY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY --
INCLUDING EVANGELICALS, WORKING MEN AND WOMEN
AND COUNTLESS OTHER GROUPS, MUST BE RETAINED.



- 14 -

BUT TO KEEP THEIR SUPPORT, AND EARN IT FROM
OTHERS, THERE MUST BE, AS JEANE KIRKPATRICK HAS
SAID, A RENEWED, "REAGANIZED" REPUBLICAN PARTY --
OPEN TO ALL, RESPONSIVE TO ALL, AND ABLE TO DRAW
SUPPORT FROM ALL. WE MUST CAST OFF THE
RESTRICTIONS OF PRIVILEGE AND CLASS. WE MUST
OFFER HELP TO THOSE WHO NEED IT. WE MUST
SUPPORT AND DEFEND CIVIL RIGHTS. WE MUST STAND
READY TO MEET CHALLENGES TO FREEDOM ANYWHERE
IN THE WORLD.



- 15 -

WE NEED TO OPEN UP THE PROCESS -- OUR
LEADERS SHOULD NOT BE TIMID ABOUT DISCUSSING
ISSUES THAT AFFECT THE HOMELESS AND THE
HUNGRY. WE MUST SPEAK OUT ON ISSUES LIKE DRUGS,
DAYCARE, THE ENVIRONMENT, EDUCATION, LONG-TERM
HEALTHCARE, MEDICAID AND MEDICARE, TO MENTION
JUST A FEW. WE MUST, ABOVE ALL, GIVE MORE
AMERICANS A REASON TO COME OUR WAY AND, AT THE
SAME TIME, STRENGTHEN THE COMMITMENT OF OUR
STAUNCHEST SUPPORTERS.



- 16 -

NEW VOTERS

FINALLY, LET ME SINGLE OUT ONE PARTICULAR
GROUP THAT WE MUST FOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON -- THE
YOUNG. IN 1988, AMERICANS BORN IN 1970 WILL VOTE
FOR THE VERY FIRST TIME. THIS IS A GENERATION
WHICH HAS ALREADY WITNESSED WAR AND FAMINE,
ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATIONS AND OIL EMBARGOES,
RELIGIOUS SCANDAL AND POLITICAL SCANDAL, CYCLES
OF RECESSION AND RECOVERY, TRIUMPH AND TRAGEDY
IN SPACE, NUCLEAR NIGHTMARES, AND NOW THE
WORLDWIDE EPIDEMIC OF THE FEARSOME AND FATAL
AIDS VIRUS.



- 17 -

SURELY, THIS GENERATION HAS REASON TO BE
WARY OF THE EASY ASSURANCES POLITICIANS MAKE
THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN SOLVE EACH AND EVERY
PROBLEM.

ABOVE ALL, YOUNG AMERICANS SHOULD BECOME
INVOLVED IN THE JOY OF PUBLIC SERVICE -- WITH ALL ITS
POTENTIAL PITFALLS AND TURMOIL. THE PANOPLY OF
AMERICAN DEMOCRACY -- CONTENTIOUS AND
COLORFUL AS IT IS -- REMAINS THE BEST SYSTEM ON
EARTH.



- 18 -

THE WILL TO WIN

IN MY CAMPAIGN, I HAVE STOOD FOR A REPUBLICAN
PARTY THAT IS INCLUSIVE, A PARTY THAT IS
COMPASSIONATE; A PARTY NOT COMPOSED OF SPECIAL
INTERESTS, BUT A PARTY COMMITTED TO EQUAL RIGHTS
AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES.

WE ARE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. BEFORE
US IS AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY -- TO BUILD
ON THE REAGAN LEGACY; TO BUILD OUR PARTY, AND
ABOVE ALL, TO STRENGTHEN OUR COUNTRY IN THE
PROCESS.

#

EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS SPEECH

FIRST, SOME STRAIGHT TALK. FOR ALL PRACTICAL
PURPOSES, THE 1988 RACE FOR THE REPUBLICAN
NOMINATION MAY SOON BE OVER. IT STARTED WITH A
FULL FIELD. AT THE OUTSET, THERE WERE A DOZEN
SERIOUS ANNOUNCED OR UNANNOUNCED CANDIDATES.

-2-

NOW THE FIELD IS DOWN TO TWO...AND ONE OF
THEM MAY HAVE A BIG ENOUGH LEAD TO LOCK IT UP.
THOSE ARE THE FACTS, AND THEY ALL POINT IN ONE
DIRECTION. SO VOTERS HAVE A RIGHT TO ASK: WITH
THE ODDS SO ONE-SIDED, WHY IS BOB DOLE STILL IN
THE RACE?

IN THE FIRST PLACE, I BELIEVE THAT, IN ANY
CAMPAIGN, THE ISSUES ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN
THE ODDS. I BELIEVE THAT THE CANDIDATES -- AND
THERE ARE ONLY TWO OF US LEFT NOW -- HAVE A
SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY TO SPEAK OUT ON ALL THE
IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FACING THE ELECTORATE.

-3-

I DON'T BELIEVE THAT BEING FRONT-RUNNER
EARNS YOU THE RIGHT TO REMAIN SILENT UNTIL THE
GENERAL ELECTION. THE VOTERS DESERVE BETTER,
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DESERVES BETTER, AND
AMERICA DESERVES BETTER.

THE PROCESS IS BEST SERVED BY VIGOROUS
DISCUSSION AND DEBATE. GEORGE BUSH PROVED THIS
IN 1980 WHEN, LONG AFTER RONALD REAGAN BECAME
THE OVERWHELMING FRONTRUNNER, HE STAYED IN THE
RACE AND CONTINUED TO SPEAK OUT FOR THE
PRINCIPLES HE BELIEVED IN.

-4-

FAR FROM WEAKENING THE REPUBLICAN TICKET IN
NOVEMBER OF 1980, THAT LIVELY DIALOGUE ENERGIZED
THE PARTY FAITHFUL AND CAPTURED THE INTEREST OF
THE MEDIA AND THE VOTERS.

AND, AS HISTORY SHOWS, IT LED TO ONE OF THE
GREATEST PRESIDENTIAL LANDSLIDES IN AMERICAN
HISTORY.

HEALTHY DEBATE WAS GOOD FOR THE POLITICAL
PROCESS IN 1980. IT WILL BE GOOD FOR THE POLITICAL
PROCESS IN 1988.

-5-

SO, WHILE I MAY NOT SPEND AS MUCH TIME ON THE
CAMPAIGN TRAIL IN THE WEEKS BEFORE THE
CONVENTION, I WILL CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT, LOUDLY
AND CLEARLY, ON THE ISSUES THAT THE NEXT
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES -- WHOEVER HE WILL
BE -- WILL HAVE TO FACE.

THE MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE WILL INHERIT BOTH
GREAT STRENGTHS AND GREAT CHALLENGES.

-6-

RONALD REAGAN HAS BEEN A GOOD PRESIDENT, A
SUCCESSFUL PRESIDENT. AND THE REAGAN YEARS
HAVE BEEN GOOD YEARS FOR AMERICA. HE RESTORED
AMERICA'S CONFIDENCE. HE LOWERED INFLATION,
BROUGHT DOWN INTEREST RATES AND CUT OUR TAXES.
AND HE'S PRESIDED OVER THE LONGEST-SUSTAINED
PERIOD OF PROSPERITY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN
POST-WAR HISTORY.

-7-

PRESIDENT REAGAN ALSO BUILT UP OUR DEFENSE
STRENGTH, AND BROUGHT GORBACHEV TO THE
BARGAINING TABLE.

THAT'S QUITE A LEGACY, AND AS SENATE
REPUBLICAN LEADER, I'M PROUD OF THE ACTIVE,
LEADING ROLE I PLAYED IN GETTING SO MUCH OF THE
REAGAN AGENDA THROUGH CONGRESS.

-8-

BUT, COME JANUARY 1989, A NEW MAN WILL SIT IN
THE OVAL OFFICE. HE'LL HAVE THE REAGAN LEGACY TO
BUILD ON , BUT HE'LL ALSO FACE URGENT NEW
CHALLENGES:

* HE'LL FACE THE CHALLENGE OF DEBT: OUR
NATIONAL DEBT IN THE FORM OF STAGGERING BUDGET
DEFICITS...AND OUR DEBT TO FOREIGNERS IN THE FORM
OF MASSIVE TRADE DEFICITS .

-9-

* HE'LL FACE THE CHALLENGE OF ESTABLISHING
FAIR TRADE PRACTICES WITH OUR TRADING PARTNERS --
WITHOUT RESORTING TO DESTRUCTIVE PROTECTIONIST
MEASURES THAT MAY MAKE SHORT-TERM POLITICAL
POINTS BUT CAUSE DISASTER IN THE LONG RUN.

* HE'LL FACE, IN MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, AN
ENTIRELY NEW TYPE OF SOVIET LEADER; SMART, TOUGH,
A MASTER OF PR TECHNIQUES, BUT STILL A COMMITTED
COMMUNIST, STILL THE LEADER OF OUR CHIEF
STRATEGIC RIVAL, THE SOVIET UNION.

-10-

* AND, WITHIN OUR OWN BORDERS, THE NEXT PRESIDENT WILL FACE CHALLENGES TO THE HEALTH AND WELL-BEING OF OUR OWN PEOPLE -- ESPECIALLY OUR YOUNG PEOPLE. HE WILL HAVE TO TAKE THE LEAD IN BATTLING THE SCOURGE OF DRUG ABUSE, IN RAISING STANDARDS AND ACCESSIBILITY IN OUR SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES, AND IN SEEING TO IT THAT, IN OUR EFFORTS TO CUT THE FRILLS AND WASTE OUT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET, WE NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE TRULY NEEDY.

-11-

NONE OF THESE CHALLENGES CAN BE MET
WITHOUT A NEW LEVEL OF EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL
COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING. IF I AM ELECTED
PRESIDENT I AM CONFIDENT I CAN ACHIEVE IT. IF
SOMEONE ELSE IS ELECTED, I PLEDGE TO DO
EVERYTHING I CAN IN THE SENATE TO HELP BRING IT
ABOUT.

-12-

THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS SHOWS
THE PENDULUM SWINGING FROM AN "IMPERIAL
PRESIDENCY" TO AN "IMPERIOUS CONGRESS". WE HAVE
SEEN SUCCESSIVE PRESIDENTS ~~S~~GROW WEAKER OR MORE
ISOLATED AS THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE WORE ON. IN
FACT, RONALD REAGAN WILL BE THE FIRST PRESIDENT
SINCE DWIGHT EISENHOWER TO SUCCESSFULLY SERVE
OUT TWO FULL ELECTED TERMS IN OFFICE.

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AND EVEN HE HASN'T BEEN ABLE TO OVERCOME
CONGRESSIONAL RESISTANCE TO MUCH OF HIS
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT SHOULD DO FOR RONALD
REAGAN WHAT LYNDON JOHNSON DID FOR JOHN
KENNEDY; GET THE REST OF HIS PROGRAM THROUGH
CONGRESS -- KEEP THE REAGAN REVOLUTION ALIVE
AND GROWING.

-14-

THAT UNFINISHED AGENDA INCLUDES GETTING THE
LINE-ITEM VETO, PASSING A BALANCED BUDGET
AMENDMENT, AND GENERALLY CREATING THE TOOLS
AND THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH PRESIDENT AND
CONGRESS CAN FINALLY HAMMER OUT WORKING
SOLUTIONS TO SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT HAVE BEEN
NEGLECTED FOR TOO LONG.

-15-

IT CAN BE DONE. I KNOW, BECAUSE I PLAYED A KEY
ROLE IN SAVING SOCIAL SECURITY -- IN SITTING DOWN
WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND MEMBERS OF THE
REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, AND RESTORING SOLVENCY
TO A SYSTEM THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICAN RELY ON
FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY AND THEIR DAILY BREAD.

-16-

BUT, AS JIMMY CARTER PROVED, IT'S MUCH HARDER
FOR AN INEXPERIENCED OUTSIDER TO WORK WITH THE
CONGRESS, THAN FOR SOMEONE WHO HAS SERVED
SIDE-BY-SIDE WITH THE LEGISLATURE AND HAS PROVEN
HIS ABILITY TO LEAD IT.

NOWHERE IS THE NEED FOR THIS CLEARER THAN IN
THE CASE OF THE DEFICIT, AMERICA'S PUBLIC ENEMY
NUMBER ONE.

-17-

THE DEFICIT IS MORE THAN JUST A LOT OF TRILLION
DOLLAR NUMBERS. IT'S A THREAT TO EVERY MAN,
WOMAN AND CHILD IN AMERICA. UNLESS WE TACKLE IT
NOW, IT WILL TICK AWAY LIKE A TIME BOMB. AND,
SOONER OR LATER, IT WILL EXPLODE AMERICA'S FUTURE
PROSPERITY. MOMENT BY MOMENT, IT IS ALREADY
ERODING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF OUR CHILDREN
AND GRANDCHILDREN, THREATENING THEIR HOPES FOR
A BETTER LIFE; A HOME OF THEIR OWN; BETTER,
AFFORDABLE EDUCATION AND HEALTHCARE.

-18-

UNLESS THE NEXT PRESIDENT AND THE NEXT
CONGRESS CAN ESTABLISH A NEW AND BETTER
WORKING RELATIONSHIP, THE DEFICIT WOULD KILL THE
AMERICAN DREAM.

AS PRESIDENT, THE FIRST THING I WOULD DO
WOULD BE TO CALL TOGETHER AN
" EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL SUMMIT " MEETING ON THE
DEFICIT. I'D PUT MY CARDS ON THE TABLE. I'D BE
FRANK, HELPFUL BUT STRONG ON PRINCIPLES. AND I'D
KNOW HOW TO DO IT BECAUSE I'VE BEEN SERVING WITH
THE CONGRESS FOR MOST OF MY ADULT LIFE.

-19-

WE USED THIS METHOD TO SAVE SOCIAL SECURITY.

THERE'S NO REASON WHY IT CAN'T BE MOBILIZED TO
REDUCE DEFICITS AND, ULTIMATELY, BALANCE THE
BUDGET.

IF IT DOESN'T, THERE'S ALWAYS THE LINE ITEM VETO
-- PROVIDED THE NEXT PRESIDENT HAS THE COURAGE,
AND SKILL, TO USE IT.

-20-

THE BEAUTY OF THE LINE ITEM VETO IS THAT IT
WOULD ALLOW THE PRESIDENT TO STRIKE "TACKED-ON",
"PORK BARREL SPENDING" FROM IMPORTANT
LEGISLATION WITHOUT KILLING THE REMAINDER OF THE
BILL. THIS IS THE BEST -- PERHAPS THE ONLY -- REMEDY
TO THE GROWING TENDENCY OF THE CONGRESS TO
ATTACH RIDERS TO MAJOR APPROPRIATIONS BILLS AND,
IN SO DOING, ERODE THE PRESIDENT'S ORIGINAL VETO
AUTHORITY.

-21-

FORTY-THREE STATE GOVERNORS ALREADY HAVE
THE LINE ITEM VETO. IT GIVES THEM A POWERFUL
~~BRAKE~~ ~~BREAK~~ AGAINST IRRESPONSIBLE SPENDING. THE
PRESIDENT DESERVES THE SAME PROTECTION AGAINST
IRRESPONSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL SPENDING.
YOU CAN GO DOWN THE LIST OF MAJOR ISSUES
FROM TOP TO BOTTOM. IN ALMOST EVERY CASE WHERE
PROGRESS ON DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IS STYMIED, A
BETTER WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WHITE
HOUSE AND CAPITOL HILL WOULD BE A POWERFUL
FORCE FOR PROGRESS.

-22-

BUT THERE IS ANOTHER KEY WHERE BETTER
EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS WILL BE
CRUCIAL UNDER THE NEXT PRESIDENT: WE MUST
RE-FORGE A BIPARTISAN CONSENSUS IN AMERICAN
FOREIGN POLICY.

BY AND LARGE, IN THE CENTURY FOLLOWING THE
CIVIL WAR, AMERICA RETAINED A REMARKABLE SPIRIT OF
BIPARTISANSHIP ON FOREIGN ^{AND} ~~AN~~ DEFENSE POLICY. IT
WAS AN OUTSTANDING REPUBLICAN LEGISLATOR,
SENATOR BOB TAFT, WHO LED THE FIGHT FOR
BIPARTISAN SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT
HARRY TRUMAN'S DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY IN
WESTERN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II.

-23-

IT WAS A DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT, JOHN KENNEDY,
WHO CONTINUED DWIGHT EISENHOWER'S STRONG
FOREIGN POLICY, AND WHO SPOKE FOR ALL AMERICANS
-- DEMOCRATS, REPUBLICANS, AND INDEPENDENTS
ALIKE -- WHEN HE PLEDGED THAT AMERICA WOULD "PAY
ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP,
SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSED ANY FOE -- TO INSURE
THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY".

THAT'S HOW IT WAS, FOR OVER A CENTURY. BUT
NOT ANY MORE.

-24-

HOW DID WE GET TO THE POINT WHERE SOME
PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS WERE PEDDLING ARMS TO THE
AYATOLLAH, WHILE OTHERS PLAYED "SEE NO EVIL, HEAR
NO EVIL"...AND THE CONGRESS WAS KEPT TOTALLY IN
THE DARK?

HOW DID WE GET THE POINT WHERE, EVERY TIME AN
AMERICAN PRESIDENT COMMITS U.S. FORCES TO
PROTECT OUR NATIONAL INTEREST, SOME SENATORS
AND CONGRESSMEN CAN BE COUNTED ON TO TRY TO
PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER HIM, WITH A DUBIOUS
INVOCATION OF THE WAR POWERS ACT?

-25-

GIVEN THIS CLIMATE OF DIVISIVENESS, AN EVEN
MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION IS BEING ASKED -- NOT
JUST IN WASHINGTON AND AROUND THE COUNTRY, BUT
IN MOSCOW AND MANAGUA, IN TOKYO AND TEHERAN, IN
WESTERN EUROPE, ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST --
WHEREVER THE FORCES OF TYRANNY CLASH WITH THE
FORCES OF FREEDOM. THAT QUESTION IS: CAN
AMERICA STILL BE TRUSTED DO THE JOB... TO MEET OUR
RESPONSIBILITY AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD?

-26-

THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST BUILD AND SUSTAIN
SENSIBLE LONG-TERM FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND
PROGRAMS. THEY MUST BE SUPPORTED BY BOTH
PARTIES, BUTTRESSED BY EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL
CONSENSUS; AND UNDERSTOOD BY THE AVERAGE
AMERICAN. THEY MUST BE POLICIES NOT JUST OF THE
DAY, BUT FOR THE LONG HAUL. POLICIES WHICH PERMIT
AMERICA NOT JUST TO MAKE -- BUT TO KEEP --
COMMITMENTS.

-27-

CAN THE NEXT PRESIDENT DO THIS? YES, IF HE'S
THE RIGHT KIND OF LEADER.

WILL HE? HE'D BETTER!

THE NEXT PRESIDENT, WHOEVER HE IS, WILL HAVE
NO TOUGHER, OR MORE IMPORTANT, TASK.

I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE I AM BETTER POSITIONED TO
DO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE THAN ANY OTHER
CANDIDATE OF EITHER PARTY...ON THE BASIS OF
EXPERIENCE AND PROVEN LEADERSHIP. I'VE BEEN IN
THE CONGRESS FOR 27 YEARS. I KNOW WHAT MAKES IT
TICK, AND I'VE MADE IT WORK -- AS A COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN, AND AS MAJORITY AND REPUBLICAN
LEADER.

-28-

I CAN MAKE IT WORK AS PRESIDENT.

I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT MY FIRST ACT AS
PRESIDENT WOULD BE TO CONVENE AN
EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL SUMMIT TO TACKLE THE
DEFICIT PROBLEM. THE DEFICIT IS PUBLIC ENEMY
NUMBER ONE, AND MUST BE OUR FIRST ORDER OF
BUSINESS.

-29-

BUT I WOULD ALSO USE THAT SUMMIT TO BEGIN A
SERIOUS, OPEN AND LONG-TERM DIALOGUE WITH THE
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP TO TRY TO RE-ESTABLISH
THE COMMUNICATION, THE TRUST AND MUTUAL
RESPECT THAT EXISTED BEFORE VIETNAM, WATERGATE
AND THE IRAN-CONTRA SCANDALS.

-30-

I MAKE THIS PLEDGE TO YOU: IF BOB DOLE IS
PRESIDENT, THE SECURITY OF AMERICA'S MILITARY AND
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES -- THE SAFETY OF OUR
SERVICE MEN AND WOMEN, AND OUR INTELLIGENCE
PERSONNEL -- WILL BE PROTECTED.

BUT I WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH -- NOT AGAINST --
THE CONGRESS; TO INSURE THAT IT IS KEPT INFORMED
AND INVOLVED. AS ONE CONGRESSIONAL LEADER
REMARKED ABOUT A RECENT FOREIGN POLICY
CONTROVERSY, IF YOU DON'T INCLUDE US IN ON THE
TAKE OFF, DON'T EXPECT US TO BE IN ON THE CRASH
LANDING.

-31-

THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS NEED THE
CONFIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT AS MUCH AS HE NEEDS
THEIR TRUST AND COOPERATION. BOTH MUST BE
EARNED. CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION IS
NECESSARY TO INSURE THAT NOT JUST THE PRESIDENT,
^{NOT}~~NO~~ JUST THE CONGRESS, BUT AMERICA IS TRULY
BEHIND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY GOALS AND PROGRAMS.



-32-

IN "THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENCY 1960", THE
LATE TEDDY WHITE WROTE; "THE ESSENCE OF
LEADERSHIP IS WHETHER THE PRESIDENT IS MOVED BY
OTHER PEOPLE...OR WHETHER HE MOVES THEM...A
PRESIDENT...CAN MOVE EVENTS ONLY IF HE CAN FIRST
PERSUADE."

THAT'S THE KIND OF PRESIDENT BOB DOLE WOULD
BE -- IN HIS DEALINGS WITH THE CONGRESS, WITH
FOREIGN LEADERS, AND WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.
AND THAT'S THE KIND OF LEADER THE NEXT MAN IN THE
WHITE HOUSE WILL HAVE TO BE TO THE JOB THAT MUST
BE DONE.

#

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

IT'S TIME TO SEND THIS NO-NONSENSE, NO-BLUFF,
NO-COMPROMISE MESSAGE TO PANAMA: THE UNITED
STATES HAS HAD ENOUGH OF NORIEGA; AND WILL HAVE
NOTHING TO DO WITH ANY PHONY CIVILIAN,
NORIEGA-PUPPET GOVERNMENT.

AS FAR AS I'M CONCERNED, NORIEGA SHOULD HAVE
HAD HIS LAST 'MIDNIGHT PHONE CALL' FROM ANYONE IN
WASHINGTON, INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION OR OUT.

WE MUST STAY IN TOUCH WITH RESPONSIBLE
PANAMANIAN, WHO WANT DEMOCRACY IN THEIR
COUNTRY AND GOOD RELATIONS WITH US. WE MUST
COME DOWN STRONG, UNAMBIGUOUSLY ON THE SIDE OF
PRESIDENT DELVALLE (del-vai-yea) AND HIS EFFORTS TO
RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

AND LET NORIEGA GET THIS MESSAGE, TOO: KEEP
YOUR HANDS OFF THE PANAMA CANAL. IF YOU MAKE A
MOVE AGAINST THE CANAL -- IF YOU THINK YOU CAN PUT
THE HEAT ON US BY MEDDLING AROUND WITH THE CANAL
-- WE WILL DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY, INCLUDING USE
OF MILITARY FORCE, TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY
INTERESTS, AND THE LIVES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS -- AND
REMEMBER: THERE ARE 50,000 AMERICANS IN PANAMA.

FRANKLY, A BIG PART OF THE PROBLEM WE'RE
HAVING IS THAT WE'VE BEEN SENDING MIXED MESSAGES
TO NORIEGA FOR YEARS. PEOPLE HAVE BEEN PLAYING
FOOTSIE WITH THIS GUY. PEOPLE WHO KNEW, OR BY
~~FOOTSIE WITH THIS GUY. PEOPLE WHO KNEW, OR BY~~
VIRTUE OF THEIR JOBS AND RESUMES OUGHT TO HAVE
KNOWN, THAT HE WAS UP TO HIS EYEBALLS IN DIRTY
DRUGS AND ANTI-AMERICAN POLITICS.

THINKING THAT NORIEGA WAS THE CHANNEL TO
MAKE AMERICA'S CASE TO CASTRO, IS ABOUT ON A LEVEL
WITH THINKING THAT BRIBING THE AYATOLLAH WAS THE
WAY TO WIN THE RELEASE OF AMERICANS HELD
HOSTAGE IN LEBANON.

AND WE'VE ALSO BEEN PLAGUED WITH A FEW
PEOPLE -- WHO USED TO HOLD BIG JOBS IN
WASHINGTON, AND STILL HAVE BIG CONNECTIONS IN
GOVERNMENT -- WHO

HAVE BEEN RUNNING AROUND PANAMA, PRACTICING A RECKLESS PRIVATE DIPLOMACY -- TELLING NORIEGA HE COULD STAY ON; TELLING HIM HE HAS FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES.

WHAT THEY'VE REALLY ACCOMPLISHED IS UNDERMINING THE STRONG, 100% CORRECT MESSAGE THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN IS SENDING: THE UNITED STATES WANTS NOTHING TO DO WITH NOREIGA'S KIND.

TEN YEARS AGO ALMOST TO THE DAY, WHILE WE WERE DEBATING THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES IN THE SENATE, I SAID THE FOLLOWING: "SINCE RATIFICATION OF THESE TREATIES WILL DEFINITELY STRENGTHEN THE STATUS OF THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR US TO KNOW IN ADVANCE IF WE WILL BE BOLSTERING A CORRUPT GOVERNMENT, WHICH FACILITATES TRANSPORT OF ILLEGAL DRUGS TO OUR OWN SHORES."

IN IMPORTANT PART BECAUSE OF THOSE
CONCERNS, I DID NOT SUPPORT THE TREATIES. I WAS
RIGHT THEN -- ABOUT THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT,
AND ABOUT THE CANAL.

AND I'M RIGHT TODAY.

NORIEGA'S GOTTA GO -- IN THE INTERESTS OF
DEMOCRACY, PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE PANAMA CANAL MUST BE KEPT SECURE -- IN THE
INTERESTS OF EVERYONE WHO WANTS PEACE AND
STABILITY IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

THOSE HAVE BEEN MY GUIDING PRINCIPLES; AND
THEY OUGHT TO BE THE GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR
AMERICAN POLICY, IN THE DAYS AND YEARS AHEAD.

SOUTH CAROLINA PRESS ASSOCIATION

GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

SENATOR BOB DOLE

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1988

WE ALL KNOW THE
WORLD HAS CHANGED A LOT
SINCE FOLKS OF MY
GENERATION FIRST WENT
OUT TO FIND A JOB.

IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS,
YOU WENT DOWN TO THE
FACTORY, AND YOU SAID YOU



WANTED TO WORK. YOU WERE
HIRED. THE PAY WAS
PRETTY GOOD. AND YOU
COULD PRETTY MUCH STAY AS
LONG AS YOU LIKED.

WE ALL KNOW THAT'S
NOT THE WAY IT IS ANYMORE.
COMPANIES MERGE.
COMPANIES DISAPPEAR.
FACTORIES SHUT DOWN.
PRODUCTION IS TRANSFERRED
OVERSEAS. AND THE WORKER
IS LOST IN THE SHUFFLE.



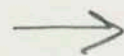
PAINFUL STATISTICS

YOU DON'T HAVE TO
LOOK FAR TO SEE THE PAIN.
THE CATERPILLAR PLANT IN
IOWA SHUTS DOWN, AND
2,000 JOBS ARE LOST
FOREVER. THE GENERAL
MOTORS PLANTS IN
MASSACHUSETTS CLOSES ITS
DOORS: FIVE THOUSAND
JOBS ARE LOST.

IN JUST THE PAST TWO
OR THREE YEARS, WE'VE



BEEN BLEEDING AWAY A
MAJOR PART OF OUR NATION'S
MANUFACTURING
INFRASTRUCTURE. 'CORNING
GLASS' CLOSES A PLANT IN
RADFORD, VIRGINIA. AT&T
SHUTS ITS TELEPHONE
ASSEMBLY PLANT IN
SHREVEPORT AND MOVES TO
SINGAPORE. 'NCR' LOCKS THE
DOORS OF ITS PLANT IN
CLEMSON, SOUTH CAROLINA.
TEXAS INSTRUMENTS SCALES
BACK ITS PLANTS IN DALLAS



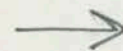
AND JOHNSON CITY,
TENNESSEE. 'JOHN DEERE'
PULLS THE PLUG ON ITS
ASSEMBLY LINE IN THE QUAD
CITIES AREA OF IOWA AND
ILLINOIS.

MEANWHILE, GENERAL
ELECTRIC AND 'RCA' STICK
THEIR LABELS ON VCR'S AND
TV'S MADE WITH CHEAPER,
FOREIGN LABOR: THOUSANDS
OF AMERICANS LOSE THEIR
JOBS. THE "LUCKY ONES" ARE
FORCED INTO LOWER-PAYING



SERVICE JOBS. AND THEY
DON'T NEED A WEATHERMAN
TO TELL WHICH WAY THE
TRADE WINDS ARE BLOWING.

WHEN YOU TAKE A STEP
BACK AND LOOK AT THE
TRADE FIGURES, THE
PICTURE IS NO BRIGHTER.
OUR TRADE DEFICIT WAS AN
ASTOUNDING \$171 BILLION
LAST YEAR; AND EVEN THE
OPTIMISTS DON'T BELIEVE
IT WILL BE BETTER THAN
\$140 BILLION THIS YEAR.



INDIVIDUAL INDUSTRIES
ARE IN EVEN WORSE SHAPE.
TODAY, FOREIGN PRODUCERS
HAVE **82**-PERCENT OF OUR
LEATHER SHOE MARKET; 54-
PERCENT OF OUR MACHINE
TOOL MARKET; **60**-PERCENT
OF OUR TELEVISION MARKET;
AND MORE THAN **69**-PERCENT
OF OUR SEMICONDUCTOR
COMMODITY MARKET. WE'VE
LOST A THIRD OF OUR
AUTOMOBILE MARKET, AND, A
QUARTER OF OUR STEEL



SALES.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

AS YOU KNOW FIRSTHAND

IN THIS STATE, THE

TEXTILE AND APPAREL

INDUSTRY HAS ALSO TAKEN A

HEAVY HIT. IN 1986,

IMPORTS WERE THREE TIMES

WHAT THEY HAD BEEN IN

1980. IMPORT PENETRATION

IN APPAREL AND APPAREL

FABRIC IS NOW OVER 50%.


OUR TRADE DEFICIT IN

THESE PRODUCTS IS MORE

THAN \$20 BILLION, AND
SINCE 1980, THIS INDUSTRY
HAS LOST MORE THAN
300,000 JOBS.

THIS POUNDING HAS
BEEN ESPECIALLY HARD ON
THE DISADVANTAGED. IN
THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY,
ABOUT ONE HALF THE
WORKERS ARE WOMEN; ONE
QUARTER ARE FROM MINORITY
GROUPS.

THERE ARE A LOT OF
REASONS WHY THE PROMISE



WHICH WAS MADE TO THIS
INDUSTRY AND ITS WORKERS
HASN'T BEEN KEPT. THEY
WERE TOLD THAT THE "GROWTH
IN IMPORTS" WOULD BE
RELATED TO THE GROWTH IN
THE DOMESTIC MARKET. IN
FACT, THE GROWTH IN
IMPORTS HAS LAPPED THE
DOMESTIC FIELD SIX TIMES!

IN PRACTICE, IT'S
PROVEN TO BE EASY FOR THE
SUPPLYING COUNTRIES TO
AVOID COMPLYING WITH THE

COMMITMENTS WHICH OUR
NEGOTIATORS THOUGHT THEY
HAD SECURED. FOREIGN
PRODUCERS JUST MOVE
BETWEEN PRODUCTS, OR,
WHEN NECESSARY, MOVE TO
ANOTHER COUNTRY. IN SOME
CASES, OUTRIGHT FRAUD HAS
PREVAILED.

WHILE ALMOST EVERY
COUNTRY IN THE WORLD
PRODUCES TEXTILES AND
APPAREL, FEW ARE READY TO
BE CONSUMERS. MAJOR



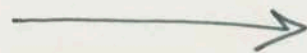
CONSUMERS LIKE THE "EC." AND
JAPAN HAVE EXPERIENCED
NOWHERE NEAR THE GROWTH
IN IMPORTS THAT THE U.S.
HAS. IN SHORT, WE HAVE
BECOME A "DUMPING GROUND" —
AND THE MARKET OF 'ONLY
RESORT' FOR MUCH OF THIS
TRADE.

BUT I SAY, THE TIME
HAS COME TO DUMP ALL THE
SLOGANS AND THE SPEECHES.
IT'S TIME FOR A NEW
COMMITMENT TO DO SOMETHING

ABOUT THE PROBLEM. LET'S
FACE IT, THE CURRENT
SYSTEM OF PATCHWORK
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS
JUST HASN'T WORKED.

DOLE SUPPORT FOR
TEXTILE BILL


I SUPPORTED THE
TEXTILE BILL IN 1985 IN
HOPES THAT IT WOULD SEND
A STRONG SIGNAL FOR
POLICY CHANGE.



UNFORTUNATELY, THAT
CHANGE HASN'T HAPPENED.
WE STILL NEED A
COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM
WHICH WILL GIVE THE
TEXTILE INDUSTRY, AND ITS
WORKERS, A PERIOD OF
CERTAINTY IN WHICH TO
MAKE BASIC DECISIONS
ABOUT THE SHAPE OF THIS
INDUSTRY. WE NEED TO
STAND UP AND TELL THE
TRUTH ABOUT WHAT OUR
TEXTILE POLICY IS; AND WE

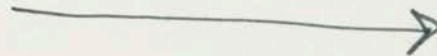
NEED TO QUIT MAKING
PROMISES TO THE INDUSTRY,
AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT
ITS PROBLEMS.

AS I ANNOUNCED
EARLIER THIS WEEK, I AM
SUPPORTING THE 1987
TEXTILE BILL. I NOT ONLY
INTEND TO SUPPORT IT, BUT,
WORKING WITH STROM
THURMOND, I INTEND TO
HELP LEAD THE FIGHT FOR
THIS LEGISLATION UNTIL IT
BECOMES LAW.



CAUSES

THERE ARE A LOT OF
CAUSES FOR OUR TRADE
DEFICIT. THE DOLLAR WAS
TOO HIGH TOO LONG. IT
OPENED THE DOOR FOR
FOREIGN PRODUCERS TO GRAB
THE "LION'S SHARE" OF OUR
MARKET. AT THE SAME
TIME, MANY FOREIGN
MARKETS HUNG ^{OUT} ~~OUT~~ A
"CLOSED" SIGN WHEN



AMERICAN BUSINESS CAME
KNOCKING. FURTHERMORE,
OUR ALLIES, ESPECIALLY
JAPAN AND GERMANY, HAVE
FAILED TO STIMULATE THEIR
OWN ECONOMIES TO ABSORB
MORE IMPORTS. AND, WE
AMERICANS HAVE SOMETIMES
NOT DONE ENOUGH TO BE
MORE COMPETITIVE OVERSEAS.

THE PRESCRIPTION FOR
OUR TRADE WOES IS THE
SAME AS THAT FOR ANY
SERIOUS NATIONAL PROBLEM -

IT IS "LEADERSHIP" -- TOUGH
LEADERSHIP: LEADERSHIP
THAT CAN, AND WILL, MAKE A
DIFFERENCE.

LET'S NOT FOOL
OURSELVES INTO THINKING
THIS CRISIS WILL GO AWAY
SOON -- IT WON'T.

WE MUST RESIST THE
"QUICK FIX", THE SIMPLE
SOLUTION. WE CAN'T
EMBRACE PROTECTIONISM.
WE CAN'T BUILD A WALL
AROUND AMERICA. THE

\ GEPHARDT AMENDMENT / ISN'T
THE ANSWER EITHER. IT
WOULD ONLY BE SOUNDING
THE TRUMPET OF DEFEAT.

SOLUTIONS

FIRST, WE MUST GET
OUR BUDGET DEFICIT UNDER
CONTROL: IT'S STILL
PUBLIC ENEMY #1. THE
FEDERAL DEFICIT MUST BE
REDUCED IF WE'RE EVER
GOING TO PUT OUR ECONOMIC



HOUSE IN ORDER. AND ITS
CONTROL IS ABSOLUTELY
ESSENTIAL TO SOLVING
UNCLE SAM'S TRADE
PROBLEMS.

SECOND, WE NEED TO
DO MORE TO MAKE OURSELVES
COMPETITIVE. WE MUST
IMPROVE EDUCATION, BOOST
'RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT',
AND MAKE THE GOVERNMENT
DO MORE TO HELP OUR
COMPANIES MARKET OVERSEAS.
BUT EVEN THESE STEPS

WON'T BE ENOUGH. WE MUST
ALSO ADDRESS THE BASIC
'UNFAIRNESS' IN OUR TRADING
SYSTEM. WHILE WE WELCOME
IMPORTED GOODS INTO OUR
MARKET, TOO OFTEN THE
DOOR IS SLAMMED SHUT IN
OUR FACE OVERSEAS.

UNFAIR TRADE

THE "HORROR STORY"

LIST IS A BIG ONE: IN
MANY CASES, BRAZIL WON'T
IMPORT ANY PRODUCT WHICH
CAN BE PRODUCED AT HOME.



AND IT'S "INFORMATICS
POLICY" HAS VIRTUALLY
CLOSED THE BORDER TO ALL
ELECTRONIC EXPORTS FROM
THE UNITED STATES.

JAPAN HAS CRUSHING
IMPORT QUOTAS ON RICE,
CITRUS, BEEF, AND MANY
OTHER AGRICULTURAL
PRODUCTS. IT OFTEN
REFUSES TO IMPORT HIGH
TECH PRODUCTS THAT HAVE
BEEN TARGETED FOR
DEVELOPMENT AT HOME, SUCH

AS SUPER COMPUTERS AND
FIBER OPTICS. AND OUR
CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY HAS
BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY
DENIED THE ABILITY TO
EVEN BID ON PUBLIC WORKS
PROJECTS.

KOREA AND TAIWAN
HAVE 'SKYHIGH TARIFFS' ON
MUCH OF OUR TRADE, SOME
AS HIGH AS 100 PERCENT.
THEY ALSO PEG THEIR
CURRENCY TO OURS, SO THEY
WON'T BE AFFECTED WHEN

THE DOLLAR DROPS IN VALUE.


THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY'S COMMON
AGRICULTURAL POLICY ADDS
INSULT TO INJURY. IT
PROTECTS DOMESTIC
PRODUCERS THROUGH ITS
"VARIABLE LEVY SYSTEM" FROM
ANY IMPORT COMPETITION,
AND SUBSIDIZES THESE SAME
PRODUCERS TO TAKE AWAY
U.S. EXPORT MARKETS.
THEIR TELECOMMUNICATIONS
POLICY IS NO BETTER.

INDEED, OUR CURRENT
OFFICIAL LIST OF FOREIGN
BARRIERS TO U.S. TRADE
IS
~~REDACTED~~ 360 PAGES
THICK! IT'S TIME FOR
CHANGE..

MORE MUSCLE NEEDED
IN THE DOLE
ADMINISTRATION, IT EITHER
WILL CHANGE, OR WE WILL
USE THE POWER OF THE
PRESIDENCY TO REDUCE
ACCESS TO OUR MARKET BY
THE OFFENDING COUNTRIES.

THIS OBJECTIVE MUST
BECOME A TOP PRIORITY --
IT CAN'T BE RELEGATED TO
"SECOND STRING" BEHIND
FOREIGN POLICY, OR SOME
OTHER INTERNATIONAL
CONCERNS.

WE MUST BE MUCH MORE
FORCEFUL IN USING CURRENT
LAWS TO STOP UNFAIR TRADE,
AND TO OPEN MARKETS
ABROAD. AND WE MUST
IMPROVE OUR OWN TRADE
STATUTES.



DURING THE SENATE
DEBATE ON THE TRADE BILL
LAST SUMMER, I INTRODUCED
THE SO-CALLED "BYRD-DOLE"
AMENDMENT. IT REQUIRES
THE GOVERNMENT TO IDENTIFY
THOSE COUNTRIES THAT ARE
RESTRICTING OUR TRADE,
AND TO NEGOTIATE THE
ELIMINATION OF ALL UNFAIR
BARRIERS. OUR AMENDMENT
GIVES THE PRESIDENT THE
POWER TO TAKE ACTION IF
THESE COUNTRIES REFUSE TO



NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH -
AND HE IS GIVEN BROAD
AUTHORITY TO DO SO.

I ASSURE YOU THAT AS
PRESIDENT I WILL USE THIS
AUTHORITY, AND I WILL ACT!

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
THE CANDIDATES

MY CHIEF RIVAL
OPPOSES THIS AMENDMENT,
AS HE HAS OTHER
SUGGESTIONS FOR TOUGH

ACTION TO OPEN FOREIGN

MARKETS. HE HAS

CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED

TOUGH MEASURES, AND HE HAS

SPECIFICALLY OPPOSED --

AND STILL OPPOSES -- THE

TEXTILE BILL.

THROUGHOUT THIS
CAMPAIGN, I HAVE TRIED TO
POINT OUT POLICY
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ~~THE~~
REPUBLICAN FRONTRUNNER
AND MYSELF. WELL,
DEALING WITH THE TRADE



MESS' CLEARLY DEFINES
WHERE THE CANDIDATES
STAND ON THE ISSUES.
DIFFERENT FROM MY
OPPONENT, I WILL DEMAND
RECIPROCAL ACCESS TO
FOREIGN MARKETS, AND I
WILL TAKE THE STEPS
NECESSARY TO MAKE IT
HAPPEN! I WON'T DUCK THE
ISSUES, AND I WON'T LET
FOREIGN POLICY ADVISORS
WATER DOWN OUR RESPONSE.

AMERICA HAS LET ITS



TRADE BALANCE GET ^{OUT} ~~END~~ OF
HAND. IT IS TIME WE TOOK
CONTROL AGAIN. WE NEED
"TOUGH ACTION", AND THAT
CALLS FOR LEADERSHIP. WE
OWE NO LESS TO OUR
WORKERS, AND OUR CONSUMERS.

THANK YOU.

#

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

"A NEW COMMITMENT TO THE ENVIRONMENT"

NEW HAMPSHIRE

FEBRUARY 2, 1988

TO MANY AMERICANS, THE NAME ''NEW HAMPSHIRE'' STILL DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY MEAN ''PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY.'' MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, IT MEANS CLEAN RIVERS AND DEEP PINE AND BIRCH FORESTS, AND CLEAR AIR.

NEAL PEIRCE, THE SYNDICATED POLITICAL WRITER, SAYS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE: ''SINCE MY EARLIEST CHILDHOOD DAYS, THOSE MAGICAL WORDS HAVE ALWAYS MEANT A LAKE CLEAR AND DEEP, RINGED BY MOUNTAINS, AND A BRIGHT COTTAGE BY THE WATER THAT WILL ALWAYS BE MORE HOME THAN ANY OTHER PLACE ON EARTH.''

THOSE OF US WHO HAVE RECENTLY SPENT MANY DAYS AND NIGHTS HERE IN THE GRANITE STATE CAN AGREE WITH THOSE WORDS. THIS IS A BEAUTIFUL STATE. IT'S ALSO A STATE KNOWN FOR BALANCING DEVELOPMENT AND CONTINUED ECONOMIC GROWTH WITH RESPECT AND CONCERN FOR THE STATE'S HISTORIC NATURAL BEAUTY.

MAINTAINING THAT BALANCE IS A TOUGH CHALLENGE. BUT IT IS A CHALLENGE THAT CITIZENS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE HAVE APPROACHED WITH TYPICAL YANKEE DETERMINATION -- A DETERMINATION ALL AMERICANS SHARE AS THEY TRY TO PRESERVE THEIR UNIQUE NATURAL HERITAGE.

FROM TIME TO TIME I READ THAT REPUBLICANS DON'T CARE ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT. NOW, THAT'S NOT AN ACCURATE PERCEPTION, BUT IT IS A PERCEPTION.

THE FACT IS, NO POLITICAL PARTY HAS A MONOPOLY ON CONCERN FOR THE ENVIRONMENT. GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT TOUCH ON ALL CITIZENS -- NOT JUST ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND NOT JUST THOSE INDUSTRIES COVERED BY ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS.

THE GOP'S ENVIRONMENTAL ROOTS

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS A STRONG TRADITION OF ENVIRONMENTAL STEWARDSHIP DATING BACK TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT. DURING HIS PRESIDENCY, HE SET ASIDE SOME 230 MILLION ACRES OF NATIONAL FORESTS, WILDLIFE REFUGES AND OTHER PROTECTED LANDS.

ROOSEVELT'S FORESIGHT WITH REGARD TO CONSERVATION -- AND HIS VISION OF AN AMERICA PROTECTIVE OF HER NATURAL RICHES -- ARE A LEGACY THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN CLAIM WITH PRIDE. WE ARE A PARTY OF INITIATIVE -- AND THAT INITIATIVE MUST BE RECOMMITTED TOWARD PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT FOR THIS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.

I COME FROM KANSAS, WHERE WE FOUND OUT THE HARD WAY ABOUT CONSERVATION.

WE SUFFERED THROUGH THE DUST BOWLS IN THE 30's WHEN WINDS DESTROYED VAST AREAS OF GREAT PLAINS FARMLAND. WE HADN'T BEEN VERY CAREFUL WITH OUR SOIL RESOURCES UP TO THAT POINT. BUT WE LEARNED A LOT ABOUT OUR ENVIRONMENT FROM THAT TRAGEDY -- KNOWLEDGE GLEANED FROM SUFFERING -- THAT HAS HELPED MAKE AMERICAN FARMERS SECOND TO NONE IN CONSERVING THE RICH TOP SOIL RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY.

TODAY, FEW ISSUES GENERATE GREATER SUPPORT FROM AMERICANS THAN PROTECTING BOTH OUR NATURAL RESOURCES AND OUR HEALTH FROM THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES.

DESPITE THIS SUPPORT, WE ARE FAR FROM ACHIEVING ALL THE GOALS ESTABLISHED BY CONGRESS. MOREOVER, PROBLEMS OF EVEN **GREATER** COMPLEXITY ARE BEING DISCOVERED AS OUR SCIENTIFIC ABILITY PROGRESSES.

BUT THE SIMPLE FACT IS: THIS COUNTRY CAN AND WILL RENEW ITS COMMITMENT TO PROTECTING THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE HEALTH OF ITS CITIZENS WHO LIVE AND WORK WITHIN THAT ENVIRONMENT.

IN A DOLE ADMINISTRATION, THE FULL PANOPLY OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS WILL BE ADDRESSED. WHEREVER THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN ACT, WE WILL ENSURE THAT AMERICA'S CITIES AND COUNTRYSIDE WILL BE SAFE FROM SILENT AND OFTEN UNSEEN ENVIRONMENTAL DANGERS.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OVERSEES A COMPREHENSIVE, NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROGRAM. IT IS NATIONAL IN SCOPE BECAUSE POLLUTANTS AND CONTAMINATION DON'T RECOGNIZE STATE BOUNDARIES.

AIR, RIVERS AND STREAMS, AND HIGHWAYS AND RAIL LINES FLOW FREELY BETWEEN STATES -- AND ALL TOO OFTEN CARRY HAZARDOUS MATERIAL WITH THEM. OUR CONSTITUTION CHARGES THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WITH REGULATING INTERSTATE COMMERCE. BUT WE NEED A RENEWED DETERMINATION TO REGULATE INTERSTATE POLLUTION AS WELL.

ABOVE ALL, WE NEED DETERMINED LEADERSHIP THAT BEGINS IN THE WHITE HOUSE -- AND RUNS STRONGLY THROUGH THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT AND THE DOZENS OF OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES THAT MONITOR COMPLIANCE WITH ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS.

EPA IN PARTICULAR IS OF CONCERN: IT NOW HAS MORE THAN 10,000 EMPLOYEES, A \$4-BILLION BUDGET, ADMINISTERS A DOZEN MAJOR STATUTES AND HAS ADOPTED EIGHT VOLUMES OF REGULATIONS. YET MANY AMERICANS STILL BELIEVE THE AGENCY IS NOT MEETING ITS FULL POTENTIAL.

DESPITE THIS, WE'VE HAD MANY SUCCESS STORIES:

THE CLEANUP OF THE GREAT LAKES IS WELL UNDERWAY. A HISTORIC MULTI-STATE COMPACT TO RESTORE THE VIABILITY OF THE CHESAPEAKE BAY HAS BEEN SIGNED. POLLUTION CONTROLS ON CARS AND FACTORIES HAVE IMPROVED THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR. MANY STATE AND FEDERAL LAND-USE PLANNERS -- WORKING CLOSELY WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY -- HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WEIGH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH RESPECT FOR ECOLOGICAL PRESERVATION, RECREATION AND NATURAL BEAUTY.

MAINTAINING THAT BALANCE WILL REQUIRE LEADERSHIP, IMAGINATION, DISCIPLINE AND TOUGHNESS. WE ARE ON OUR WAY TO ACHIEVING THE MOST EASILY ATTAINABLE POLLUTANT REDUCTIONS.

BUT IT IS THE LAST 10 TO 15 PERCENT OF POLLUTION CONTROL THAT PRESENTS THE MOST DIFFICULT TECHNICAL PROBLEMS AND THE MOST COSTLY AND CREATIVE SOLUTIONS.

UNDER MY LEADERSHIP, THIS COUNTRY CAN AND WILL MEET THE CHALLENGE OF PROTECTING THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE HEALTH OF ITS CITIZENS WHO LIVE AND WORK WITHIN THAT ENVIRONMENT.

OF PARTICULAR CONCERN ARE TWO VEXING PROBLEMS: ACID RAIN THAT JEOPARDIZES OUR FORESTS AND LAKES, AND TOXIC WASTE REPOSITORIES THAT ARE NOTHING LESS THAN TICKING TIME BOMBS THAT THREATEN THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR THIS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.

THE TOLL OF ACID RAIN

WE KNOW THAT AUTO EXHAUST AND EMISSIONS FROM HIGH-SULFUR COAL-BURNING POWER PLANTS CHANGE IN THE UPPER ATMOSPHERE AND THEN FALL AS ACID RAIN.

WE KNOW OF THE CORROSIVE EFFECT THIS ACID PRECIPITATION HAS ON OUR BUILDINGS AND MONUMENTS.

WE HAVE SEEN ITS ABILITY TO RENDER LAKES DEVOID OF LIFE.

WE WORRY ABOUT WHAT ACID RAIN MAY BE DOING TO OUR FOREST LANDS AND CULTIVATED CROPS.

IT'S TIME TO ADMIT WE HAVE A PROBLEM, AND GET TO WORK ON IT. WE DON'T HAVE THE LUXURY OF WAITING UNTIL WE GET DETAILS ON THE EXTENT OF THE POTENTIAL DAMAGE. LIKE MOST ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS, THE LAG TIME CAN BE LENGTHY -- AND DELAY ONLY COMPOUNDS THE PROBLEM.

THIS COUNTRY RECENTLY SIGNED A FIVE-YEAR PACT WITH CANADA TO STUDY THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF ACID RAIN AND TO DEVELOP WAYS TO BURN COAL MORE CLEANLY. THE EMPHASIS OF THIS BILATERAL EFFORT MUST BE TOWARD REDUCING THE POLLUTANTS THAT CAUSE ACID RAIN.

BY TIGHTENING EMISSION STANDARDS ON CARS AND TRUCKS, WE CAN REDUCE NITROGEN OXIDE LEVELS.

BY USING CLEANER-BURNING ALTERNATIVE FUELS, SUCH AS ETHANOL, WE CAN ACHIEVE ADDITIONAL REDUCTIONS.

BY ENCOURAGING COOPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY, WE CAN DEVELOP TECHNOLOGIES THAT REDUCE SULFUR DIOXIDES FROM SMOKESTACKS.

INDUSTRY, IN ADDITION, MUST BE ALLOWED A FREE CHOICE AMONG CLEANER TECHNOLOGIES. THE COST OF, JUST ONE STACK SCRUBBER IS IN THE \$80-MILLION RANGE -- AND THE GOVERNMENT MUST FACILITATE THE INSTALLATION OF THESE ENORMOUSLY EXPENSIVE ALTERNATIVES, PERHAPS THROUGH TAX INCENTIVES OR A REVOLVING LOW-INTEREST LOAN FUND.

FINALLY, WE MUST NOT UNFAIRLY BURDEN ANY ONE REGION -- OR ONE INDUSTRY -- WITH THE EXPENSE OF REDUCING THIS POLLUTION. NO REGION OF THIS NATION WILL BE ABLE TO SUCCESSFULLY REDUCE EMISSIONS THAT CAUSE ACID RAIN IF ITS ECONOMY IS UNDERMINED.

TOXIC TIME BOMBS

OF ALL OUR ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS, NONE HAS GENERATED GREATER PUBLIC CONCERN THAN THE THREAT POSED BY IMPROPER DISPOSAL OF DEADLY CHEMICALS AND OTHER HAZARDOUS WASTE. THE NAMES LOVE CANAL AND TIMES BEACH STRIKE FEAR IN THE HUNDREDS OF OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS NEAR TOXIC WASTE DUMPS.

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MADE STRIDES IN PROTECTING OUR CITIZENS FROM THE DANGERS OF TOXIC CHEMICALS, MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE.

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE, AND LATER AS MAJORITY LEADER, I PUSHED FOR TWO MAJOR STATUTES, THE RESOURCE CONSERVATION AND RECOVERY ACT AND THE ''SUPERFUND'' PROGRAM. THE FIRST REGULATES THE SAFE HANDLING AND DISPOSAL OF CURRENT WASTES; WHILE SUPERFUND PROVIDES THE FINANCIAL AND LEGAL MECHANISMS TO REMOVE CLOSED **AND** SOMETIMES ABANDONED DISPOSAL SITES FROM OUR NEIGHBORHOODS.

EPA'S TRACK RECORD -- THE RATIO OF SITES CLEANED TO DOLLARS SPENT -- IS MEDIOCRE AT BEST.

IT'S TIME FOR OUR TOP ENVIRONMENTAL WATCHDOG TO STREAMLINE ITS PROCEDURES AND CUT THE RED TAPE TO ACCELERATE SUPERFUND CLEANUPS.

TODAY, EPA LISTS MORE THAN 900 SUPERFUND SITES NATIONWIDE, YET IT HAS COMPLETED FULL CLEANUP ON ONLY 16 SITES. THAT IS AN APPALLING RECORD -- FOR GOVERNMENT AND FOR INDUSTRY -- WHEN THIS LAW, INTENDED TO PROVIDE PROMPT RESPONSE TO A SERIOUS PUBLIC HEALTH PROBLEM, HAS BEEN IN EFFECT FOR NEARLY EIGHT YEARS.

PLAIN AND SIMPLE. WE KNOW WHAT HAS TO BE DONE, AND IT'S TIME TO GET IT DONE.

AT PRESENT, 75 CENTS OF EVERY SUPERFUND DOLLAR IS SPENT FOR CONSULTANTS AND LAWYERS AND MORE STUDIES. WE'VE GOT TO GET THE CLEANUP UNDERWAY -- EVEN THOUGH WE MAY NOT HAVE YET DETERMINED THE EXACT DEGREE OF CLEANLINESS WE NEED.

AS OF NOW, NO ONE IS HAPPY WITH THE PROCESS, MOST OF ALL THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS LIVING NEAR TOXIC WASTES WHO ONLY WANT TO SEE THE HAZARDS ELIMINATED.

EPA MUST BREAK THE LOGJAMS AND GET ON WITH THE JOB OF SITE CLEANUPS. THIS COUNTRY HAS THE SCIENTIFIC KNOW-HOW TO CLEAN UP HAZARDOUS WASTE.

NOW, IF THE INTERESTED PARTIES -- STATES, CITIZEN GROUPS, **WASTE** GENERATORS, DEFENSE ATTORNEYS, ENGINEERING FIRMS -- **WILL** ONLY DEVOTE THE SAME ENERGY THEY USE

ATTACKING EACH OTHER TO FIND WAYS TO STREAMLINE THE PROCESS, THE PUBLIC WILL BENEFIT ENORMOUSLY.

AMERICA HAS MADE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION A TOP PRIORITY. WE KNOW THAT ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS CAN BE ANTICIPATED IN ADVANCE AND RESOLVED.

MORE VIGOROUS LEADERSHIP NEEDED

THE FIRST KEY TO AN EFFECTIVE ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAM IS THE APPOINTMENT OF AN EPA ADMINISTRATOR WHO HAS THE EXPERIENCE AND COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE STRONG, DYNAMIC LEADERSHIP TO THE NATION'S ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION EFFORTS.

SWIFT, VIGOROUS FEDERAL ENFORCEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL LAWS IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL. THE RESOURCES OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT AND EPA HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY EXPANDED IN RECENT YEARS, BUT THERE HAS NOT BEEN A COMMENSURATE RISE IN THE NUMBER OF ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS. I WOULD ACCELERATE THE PACE OF THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION.

TACKLING THESE PROBLEMS IS GOING TO REQUIRE LEADERSHIP, IMAGINATION, DISCIPLINE, TOUGHNESS -- AND NEW COMMITMENT.

IT'S GOING TO TAKE EXPERIENCE WITH INVENTIVE
LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE TECHNIQUES FOR PRACTICAL
SOLUTIONS TO SUCH PROBLEMS AS ACID RAIN, CLEAN WATER AND
AIR, AND TOXIC WASTES. EXPERIENCE THAT IS NOT FROM JUST
BEING IN WASHINGTON, BUT FROM WORKING WITH MEMBERS OF
CONGRESS IN BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES TO GET THINGS DONE.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD JUST SAY THAT I BELIEVE WE'VE
JUST BEGUN TO TAP THE GREATNESS THAT IS AMERICA.

I ALSO BELIEVE THAT IF ALL AMERICANS HAD ONE WISH, IT
WOULD BE THAT WHEN THEY LEAVE THIS EARTH, IT WILL BE A
BETTER PLACE FOR THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

THAT MEANS A CLEAN, HEALTHY AND VITAL ENVIRONMENT --
LIKE NEW HAMPSHIRE'S. IT ALSO MEANS A GOVERNMENT MEETING
ITS ENVIRONMENTAL TASKS, YET LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS.
AGAIN, JUST LIKE NEW HAMPSHIRE.

THIS IS NECESSARY IF THOSE DECISIONS WHICH ARE
EFFICIENT AND APPROPRIATE IN SERVING OUR NATIONAL
INTERESTS TODAY ARE TO REMAIN PROTECTIVE OF OUR INTERESTS
FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE A NEW COMMITMENT TO CITIZEN SERVICE

OF ALL THE CHALLENGES FACING THIS COUNTRY IN
1988 -- TRADE AND ARMS CONTROL, EDUCATION AND
HEALTH -- NONE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN
REGENERATING AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL SENSE OF
COMMUNITY. THE NEED IS ESPECIALLY URGENT IN THIS

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AGE OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY -- AND IN A SOCIETY THAT
OFTEN SEEMS PERMANENTLY STUCK ON
"FAST-FORWARD".

THE NEXT PRESIDENT MUST RECAPTURE ON A
NATIONAL SCALE THAT OLD SENSE OF BELONGING TO A
COMMON ENTERPRISE, THAT SPECIAL BOND THAT
THRIVES IN PRAIRIE VILLAGES AND URBAN
NEIGHBORHOODS ALIKE. IT IS AN INCLUSIVE -- NOT AN
EXCLUSIVE -- SOCIETY, A LAND OF OPEN DOORS AND
OUTSTRETCHED HANDS.

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WHAT BETTER WAY TO RESTORE THAT SPIRIT THAN
BY TAPPING INTO THAT SOLID CORE OF ENERGETIC AND
TALENTED AMERICANS WHO, IF ENCOURAGED, WOULD
GLADLY GIVE -- NOT MONEY, BUT OF THEMSELVES -- TO
MAKE THIS WORLD A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE?

THAT IS WHY AS PRESIDENT I WOULD SET FORTH A
BLUEPRINT FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "CITIZEN
SERVICE."

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AMERICANS ARE IDEALISTIC PEOPLE, WHETHER THEY CHOOSE TO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY BY WEARING A UNIFORM -- AS I DID -- OR WHETHER THEY USE THEIR TALENTS TO HELP OTHERS OUTSIDE THE ARMED FORCES. THE CITIZEN SERVICE WOULD EXIST TO PROMOTE VOLUNTARY SERVICE BY ALL AMERICANS -- IN WHATEVER FORM IS BEST SUITED TO THE INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEER. THERE WILL BE NO COERCION -- ONLY ENCOURAGEMENT.

CITIZEN SERVICE WILL HAVE THREE OVERRIDING GOALS:

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O TO LINK THROUGH A CENTRAL INFORMATION
BANK GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH AND
EXPAND VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS.

O TO ENCOURAGE STATE AND LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS TO DESIGN VOLUNTEER OR CHARITY
PROGRAMS TO MEET THEIR OWN SPECIAL NEEDS.

O TO CREATE FEDERAL VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS
WHERE A SPECIFIC, UNFULFILLED NEED EXISTS.

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INITIALLY, CITIZEN SERVICE WOULD TARGET YOUNG AMERICANS ENTERING ADULTHOOD, PROVIDING OPPORTUNITY FOR VOLUNTARY COMMUNITY SERVICE. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS INITIATIVE INFUSE THE NATION AND THE WORLD WITH THE VIBRANCE OF AMERICA'S YOUTH. IT WOULD ALSO PROVIDE YOUNG PERSONS WITH NEEDED AVENUES OF NEW RESPONSIBILITY. IT WOULD ALLOW THEM TO LEARN THE TRUE MEANING OF DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S WORDS: "THE ONLY ONES AMONG YOU WHO

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WILL BE REALLY HAPPY ARE THOSE WHO WILL HAVE
SOUGHT AND FOUND HOW TO SERVE."

EVENTUALLY, IT MAY BE CONSIDERED AN AMERICAN
RITE OF PASSAGE FOR YOUNG PERSONS TO HAVE DONE
SOME KIND OF CITIZEN SERVICE. AND OLDER
AMERICANS TOO WILL BE WELCOMED TO THE
VOLUNTEER CORPS IN THEIR POST-RETIREMENT AND
"EMPTY NEST" YEARS.

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SUCH SERVICE COULD BE PERFORMED THROUGH
MILITARY DUTY OR THROUGH EXISTING FEDERAL
PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE PEACE CORPS, ACTION OR
VISTA, OR IN THE MANY PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
COMMUNITY SERVICE EFFORTS IN LOCALITIES ACROSS
THE NATION.

A GLANCE AT THE HEADLINES OR A WALK DOWN
MANY AMERICAN STREETS WILL IMMEDIATELY
DOCUMENT THE NEED FOR A NEW SPIRIT OF
VOLUNTEERISM.

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THE HOMELESS STREET PERSON, THE CHILD
RUNAWAY, THE TEENAGE DRUG ADDICT, THE OLDER
PERSON DEPENDENT ON DELIVERY OF A HOT MEAL, THE
MENTALLY RETARDED PERSONA WHO NEEDS HELP IN
GETTING STARTED IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE AN
INSTITUTION -- THESE ARE THEY VERY REAL AND HUMAN
PROBLEMS -- THE KIND THAT CAN BEST BY MET BY
PERSON-TO-PERSON EFFORTS RATHER THAN BY
GOVERNMENT AGENCIES.

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THE DOLE ADMINISTRATION WILL AIM TO HAVE THE
CITIZEN SERVICE PROGRAM IN PLACE WITHIN ONE YEAR.

A BROAD-GAUGED WORKING GROUP NAMED BY
THE PRESIDENT -- INCLUDING EDUCATORS AND
REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ARMED FORCES, LABOR
UNIONS, NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE NAMED
TO DEVELOP THE DETAILS OF HOW THE PROGRAM
WOULD OPERATE. BUT FOR STARTERS, I BELIEVE THAT
PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE STRICTLY VOLUNTARY, AND

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ANY NEW SPENDING SHOULD BE LIMITED. I WANT TO
SEE A LEAN, FOCUSED AND EFFICIENT PROGRAM.

THE POTENTIAL VALUE OF THE CITIZEN SERVICE IS
INCALCULABLE. WHILE THERE ARE LIMITS ON WHAT THE
GOVERNMENT CAN ACCOMPLISH, PARTICULARLY IN THIS
TIME OF BUDGETARY RESTRAINT, THERE IS NO LIMIT TO
THE CAPACITIES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

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EVIDENCE OF THIS GROWING EFFORT IS ALREADY
BUILDING UP. NEARLY 50 PERCENT OF AMERICANS IN A
RECENT GALLUP POLL SAY THE ARE INVOLVED IN
CHARITY OR VOLUNTEER WORK, AN INCREASE FROM 31
PERCENT IN 1984.

SOME 600 COMPANIES HAVE ORGANIZED
PROGRAMS TO ENCOURAGE WORKER INVOLVEMENT IN
COMMUNITY SERVICE, TWICE AS MANY COMPANY
PROGRAMS THAN EXISTED IN 1979. ACROSS THE
BOARD, THESE COMPANIES SAY SUCH EFFORTS PAY OFF
IN INCREASED

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EMPLOYEE MORALE, BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF PROBLEMS IN THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY, AND AN IMPROVED CORPORATE IMAGE.

MY HOPE AND EXPECTATION IS THAT THE SPIRIT OF THE CITIZEN SERVICE ALSO WILL BRING TO LIGHT A VAST AND UNDERUTILIZED RESOURCE -- AMERICA'S SENIOR CITIZENS. TODAY THERE ARE 28 MILLION SENIORS -- BY THE YEAR 2000 THERE WILL BE 35 MILLION. THESE PEOPLE HAVE THE EXPERIENCE, THE

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ABILITY, THE DESIRE, AND THE TIME TO GIVE TO THEIR
COMMUNITIES.

DURING THE SAME TIME PERIOD, 3 TO 4 MILLION
YOUNG AMERICANS WILL TURN 18 EACH YEAR. AND
ACCORDING TO A 1986 FORD FOUNDATION STUDY,
NEARLY 3.6 MILLION TASKS COULD BY PERFORMED BY
YOUNG PEOPLE.

AMONG THOSE AREAS WHERE A NEED FOR
MODERN-DAY GOOD SAMARITANS ALREADY EXISTS ARE:

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--EDUCATION, WHERE TUTORS, TEACHERS' AIDES
AND LITERACY WORKERS ARE IN CONSTANT DEMAND.

--HEALTH CARE, SUCH AS HOSPITAL AIDES AND
ASSISTANTS IN NURSING HOMES, HOSPICES AND
FACILITIES FOR THE HANDICAPPED.

--HELP FOR OLDER AMERICANS, INCLUDING
MEALS-ON-WHEELS, TRANSPORTATION ASSISTANCE AND
COMPANIONSHIP.

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--CHILD CARE, INCLUDING DAY-CARE FACILITY

VOLUNTEERS, TRANSPORTATION WORKERS AND
READING HELPERS.

--ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND

MAINTENANCE, SUCH AS REPLANTING OF FORESTS, SOIL
CONSERVATION, AND CONSTRUCTION AND CARE OF
RECREATION AREAS.

I'M SURE THAT ONCE CITIZEN SERVICE IS INITIATED,
MANY ADDITIONAL AREAS WHERE VOLUNTEER SERVICE
MAKES SENSE WILL BECOME APPARENT. THERE

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IS NO DOUBT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE MORE THAN
100,000 NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN AMERICA
WOULD BE DRAMATICALLY ENERGIZED BY CITIZEN
SERVICE.

WHILE VOLUNTARY EFFORTS BY ALL AMERICANS
WILL BE ENCOURAGED, I WANT TO SPEAK BRIEFLY TO
THOSE WHO WILL MOST DIRECTLY BENEFITS -- YOUNG
AMERICANS. IT IS THEY WHO NEED TO LEARN EARLY TO
BE COMMITTED TO THEIR COMMUNITIES SO THAT THEY
CARRY THAT PRACTICE THROUGH THEIR LIVES. AND WE
HAVE A GREAT FOUNDATION TO BUILD ON.

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DESPITE THE PREOCCUPATION OF SOME
COMMENTATORS WITH ISOLATED BUT NOTORIOUS
EXAMPLES OF GREED AND ARROGANCE ON WALL
STREET AND IN WASHINGTON, MORE THAN FORTY STATE
AND LOCAL YOUTH CORPS PROJECTS OPERATE
FULL-TIME ACROSS THE COUNTRY, WITH A COMBINED
BUDGET EXCEEDING \$100 MILLION AND INCLUDING
MORE THAN 23,000 YOUNG PEOPLE.

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THE GROWING SUCCESS OF SUCH EFFORTS MIGHT
SURPRISE THE MORE CYNICAL. BUT THE POLLSTER
GEORGE GALLUP HAS CONDUCTED STUDIES THAT LED
HIM TO CONCLUDE: "THE YOUTH POPULATION HAS BEEN
MISNAMED THE SELF-CENTERED GENERATION. THERE'S
A STRONG DESIRE TO SERVE OTHERS. THE PROBLEMS
WE FACE IN AMERICA TODAY IS NOT A LACK OF
WILLINGNESS TO SERVE OR TO HELP OTHERS, BUT TO
FIND THE APPROPRIATE OUTLET FOR THIS."

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THE CITIZEN SERVICE CAN PROVIDE THAT OUTLET
FOR BOTH YOUNG AND OLD - NOT BY PROMULGATING
REGULATIONS FROM WASHINGTON, BUT BY
EMPOWERING AND ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO WORK IN
THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES.

THE CITIZEN SERVICE ALSO WILL HELP TO RESTORE
THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND COMPASSION I FOUND
GROWING UP IN RUSSELL, KANSAS -- WHERE YOU MIGHT
NOT KNOW THE NAME OF YOUR CONGRESSMAN, BUT
YOU

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KNEW THE NAME OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOUR
NEIGHBORS. THE CITIZEN SERVICE WILL ALLOW US TO
HELP ONE ANOTHER, AND THEREBY HELP US ALL.

WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AT OUR BEST
WHEN SUMMONED TO PURPOSES LARGER THAN
OURSELVES.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT MUST BE TO
CARING CONSERVATISM -- THE KIND TYPIFIED BY CITIZEN
SERVICE. CONSERVATIVES RIGHTFULLY DEPLORE WASTE
-- WASTED DOLLARS, WASTED LIVES.

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WE BELIEVE IN THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS
THAT COME WITH COMPETITION.

BUT TO BE FAIR, THE CONTEST MUST BE OPEN TO
ALL ON AN EQUAL BASIS, AND THE SAME SET OF RULES
MUST BE APPLIED ACROSS THE BOARD. ANYTHING LESS
THAN THIS IS A DENIAL OF ALL THAT SETS AMERICA
APART IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.

CITIZEN SERVICE WILL HELP US APPLY THE RULES
FAIRLY, TO HELP EQUALIZE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL
AMERICANS.

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AND WE'LL DO IT -- BECAUSE NOT TO DO IT IS A
WASTE OF HUMAN POTENTIAL:

THE BLACK TEENAGE DROPOUT IN NEWARK IS
WASTED POTENTIAL. A VOLUNTEER BIG BROTHER OR
BIG SISTER CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE.

THE DISPLACED STEEL WORKER IN BIRMINGHAM IS
WASTED POTENTIAL. A JOB RETRAINING PROGRAM
STAFFED BY VOLUNTEERS CAN KEEP SUCH A WORKER
PRODUCTIVE.

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THE ILLITERATE FARM LABORER IN OREGON WHO
WANTS TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE FOR HIS FAMILY IS
WASTED POTENTIAL. A VOLUNTEER TUTOR CAN HELP
HIM FIND A BETTER JOB.

THE MOTHER IN WICHITA WHO CAN'T FIND DAY
CARE FOR HER YOUNG SON IS WASTED POTENTIAL. SO
IS THE COLLEGE-EDUCATED WOMAN IN SPARTANBURG
WHOSE CHILDREN ARE GROWN BUT WHO CAN'T FIND AN
OUTLET

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THAT CAN USE HER SKILLS PART-TIME. BUT VOLUNTARY
EFFORTS CAN RESCUE THESE PEOPLE FROM
OTHERWISE UNFULFILLED LIVES.

WE CAN'T AFFORD TO WASTE HUMAN CAPITAL ANY
MORE THAN WE CAN WASTE ECONOMIC CAPITAL. AND
CITIZEN SERVICE WILL FIND OUTLETS FOR USING HUMAN
CAPITAL.

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IT WAS EDMUND BURKE WHO ONCE SAID THAT ALL
YOU NEED FOR THE WRONG TO TRIUMPH IS FOR GOOD
PEOPLE TO DO NOTHING. AND CITIZEN SERVICE WILL
OPEN THE DOORS FOR ALL PEOPLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO
THIS NATION AND THE WORLD.

IT WAS DANTE WHO SAID THAT THE HOTTEST PLACE
IN HADES WOULD BE RESERVED FOR THOSE WHO
REMAIN INDIFFERENT, OR APATHETIC, OR NEUTRAL
WHEN THERE WAS A GREAT MORAL CHALLENGE AND
CRISIS CONFRONTING THEIR SOCIETY.

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CITIZEN SERVICE WILL PROVIDE AN AVENUE FOR
THE EXPRESSION OF THE HUMANITARIAN INSTINCTS
THAT ALL AMERICANS HAVE, AND THE PAYOFF WILL
BENEFIT UNTOLD GENERATIONS TO COME.