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Vice Presidential Pre-Debate Talking Points
October 4, 1996

For Internal Use Only

- The Vice President is going to Florida to campaign and prepare for the debate.
- The plan for the Vice Presidential debate is part of a unified strategy to use all three debates to lay out the Clinton-Gore agenda for the 21st century.
- We expect a positive exchange in which the Vice President will have the opportunity to talk about the future as well as highlight the significant accomplishments of the Clinton Administration.
- Jack Kemp is a very accomplished professional public speaker. He will present a formidable challenge to the Vice President.
- Vice President Gore is looking forward to the debate and is hoping for an honest discussion about policies, programs and ideas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(San Diego, California)

For Immediate Release

October 16, 1996

THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE
BETWEEN
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON AND
SENATOR BOB DOLE

Shiley Theatre
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

6:00 P.M. PDT

MR. LEHRER: Good evening from the Shiley Theatre at the University of San Diego, San Diego, California. I'm Jim Lehrer of the NewsHour on PBS. Welcome to this second 1996 Presidential Debate between Senator Bob Dole, the Republican nominee, and President Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee. It is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates.

We will follow a town hall type format tonight. The questions over the next 90 minutes will come from 113 citizens of the greater San Diego area. They were chosen in the past week by the Gallup organization to represent a rough cross-section of voters as to political views, age, gender, and other factors. Each said he or she is undecided about this presidential race.

They were told to come tonight with questions; nobody from the Debate Commission or the two campaigns has any idea what those questions are. Neither do I. We will all be hearing them for the first time at the same time. I met with this group three hours ago, and we spoke only about how it was going to work tonight. They are sitting in five sections. I will call on individuals at random, moving from one section to another with each new question, alternating the questions between the two candidates. My job is to keep things fair and the subjects as clear and as varied as possible.

The rules, drawn by the campaigns, are basically the same as they were for the Hartford and St. Petersburg debates --90-second answers; 60-second rebuttals; 30-second responses for each

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question. The candidates are not allowed to question each other directly. There will be two-minute opening and closing statements. The order for this evening was set by coin toss.

We begin now with Senator Dole and his opening statement.

Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: Thank you very much, Jim. Let me first give you a sports update: The Braves 1, Cardinals nothing -- early on. (Laughter.)

I want to thank you, and I want to thank everybody here tonight. I want a special thanks to my wife, Elizabeth, and my daughter, Robin, for their love and support, and thank the people who are listening and watching all over America.

In 20 days you will help decide who lead this country into the next century. It's an awesome responsibility. And you must ask yourself, do you know enough about the candidates. You should know as much as possible about each of us. Sometimes the views have been distorted. There has been millions and millions of dollars in negative advertising spent distorting my views. But I hope tonight you'll get a better feel of who Bob Dole is and what he's all about.

And I think first I should understand the question on your mind is, do I understand your problems. What I understand is -- it occurred to me, and I might just say that I'm from a large family, I've got lots of relatives, and they're good, average, middle-class, hard-working Americans. They live all across the country. They're not all Republicans. Maybe all but one. (Laughter.)

But in any event, I understand the problems -- whether it's two parents working because one has to pay the taxes and one has to provide for the family; whether it's a single parent who just barely pays the pressing bills; or whether you're worried about an education for your children, going to the best schools; or whether you're worried about safe playgrounds, drug-free schools, crime-free schools. This is what this election is all about.

And, hopefully, tonight when we conclude this debate, you will have a better understanding, and the viewing and listening audience will have a better understanding. Thank you.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. President, two minutes. Opening statement.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I was going to applaud, too. (Laughter.) Well, thank you, Jim, and thanks to the people of San Diego for

giving this opportunity to have another discussion about the decision we all face, in front of people who will make the decisions.

Again, I will say I'll do my best to make this a discussion of ideas and issues, not insults. What really matters is what happens to your future and what happens to our country as we stand on the brink of a new century, a time of extraordinary possibility.

I have a simple philosophy that I've tried to follow for the last four years -- do what creates opportunity for all, what reinforces responsibility from all of us, and what will help us build a community where everybody has got a role to play and a place at the table.

Compared to four years ago, we're clearly better off. We've got 10.5 million more jobs. The deficit's been reduced by 60 percent. Incomes are rising for the first time in a decade. The crime rates and the welfare rolls are falling. We're putting 100,000 more police on the streets, 60,000 felons, fugitives and stalkers have been denied handguns.

But that progress is only the beginning. What we really should focus on tonight is what we still have to do to help the American people make the most of this future that's out there. I think what really matters is what we can do to help build strong families. Strong families mean a strong economy. To me, that means we have to go on and balance this budget while we protect Medicare and Medicaid and education and the environment.

We should give a tax cut, targeted to child-rearing and education, to buying a first home and paying for health care. We ought to help protect our kids from drugs and guns and gangs and tobacco. We ought to help move a million people from welfare to work. And we ought to create the finest education system in the world, where every 18-year-old can go on to college and all of our younger children have great educational opportunities. If we do those things, we can build that bridge to the 21st century. That's what I hope to get to talk about tonight.

Thank you.

MR. LEHRER: Let's go now to the first question from this section, and it's for Senator Dole.

Q Hello, Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: Hi.

Q I'm a beginning educator in this country and I really

think it's important what children have to say. They're still very idealistic and everything they say comes from the heart.

I have a quote for you from, "If I Were President," compiled by Peggy Gavin. A 6th-grader says, "If I were President I would think about Abraham Lincoln and George Washington and what they did to make our country great. We should unite the white and black people and people of all cultures. Democrats and Republicans should unite also. We should all come together and think of the best ways to solve the economic problems of our country. I believe that when we are able to come together and stop fighting amongst ourselves we will get along a lot better."

These are the ideals and morals that we are trying to teach our children in these days. Yet, we don't seem to be practicing them in our government, in anything. If you are President, how will you begin to practice what we are preaching to our children, the future of our nation?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I'll just say, first of all, I think it's a very good question. I appreciate the quote from the young man.

There's no doubt about it that many American people have lost their faith in government. They see scandals almost on a daily basis. They see ethical problems in the White House today. They see 900 FBI files of private persons being gathered up by somebody in the White House. Nobody knows who hired this man. So that there is a great deal of cynicism out there.

What I've always tried in whatever I've done, is to bring people together. I said in my acceptance speech in San Diego about two months ago that the exits are clearly marked: if you think the Republican Party is someplace for you to come if you're narrow-minded or bigoted or don't like certain people in America, the exits are clearly marked for you to walk out of, as I stand here without compromise, because this is the party of Lincoln.

I think we have a real obligation -- obviously, public officials -- I'm no longer a public official. I left public life on June 11 of this year. But it is very important -- young people are looking to us. They're looking to us for leadership. They're watching what we do, what we say, what we promise, and what we finally deliver. And I would think, it seems to me that there are opportunities here -- when I'm President of the United States, I will keep my word. My word is my bond.

MR. LEHRER: Mr. President.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: One of the reasons that I ran for

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President is because not just children, a lot of grownups felt that way. If you remember, four years ago we had not only rising unemployment, but a lot of rising cynicism. I had never worked in Washington as an elected official. It seemed to me that most of the arguments were partisan -- Republican-Democrat, left-right, liberal-conservative.

That's why I said tonight I'm for opportunity, responsibility, and community. And we've gotten some real progress in the last four years. I've also done everything I could at every moment of division in this country -- after Oklahoma City, when these churches were burned -- to bring people together and remind people that we are stronger because of our diversity. We have to respect one another.

You mentioned Washington and Lincoln; they were Presidents at historic times. This is an historic time. It's important that we go beyond those old partisan arguments and focus on people and their future. When we do that, instead of shutting the government down over a partisan fight on the budget, we're a better country, and that's why we're making progress now.

MR. LEHRER: Senator?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, bringing people together again is obviously a responsibility we all have. I know you do it, everybody here does it. We do a lot of things nobody knows about. I have a little foundation for the disabled, called the Dole Foundation. We've raised about \$10 million. We don't talk about it. We try to help people with disabilities, bring them back into the mainstream of public life.

So it seems to me that there's also a public trust. When you're the President of the United States you have a public trust, and you have to keep that public trust, as George Washington, as Abraham Lincoln did. And I think now that trust is being violated, and it seems to me we ought to face up to it, and the President ought to say tonight that he's not going to pardon anybody that he was involved in business with who might implicate him later on.

MR. LEHRER: All right. The next question from this second right here. Right there in the middle, sir.

Q Mr. President, I'd like to know if you would please explain your plans for -- in a substantive fashion for addressing the problems of the health care system in our country.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I will. First of all, let me say what we have done. In the last four years, we've worked hard to promote more competition to bring down the rate of inflation in health care

costs without eroding health care quality. The government pays for Medicare and Medicaid as you know, and that's very important.

Secondly, we've added a million more children to the ranks of the insured through the Medicaid program. We have protected 25 million people through the passage of the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill that says you can't lose your health insurance if you change jobs or if someone in your family has been sick. We just recently ended those drive-by deliveries, saying people couldn't be kicked out of the hospital by insurance companies when they just had babies.

So that's a good start. In the next four years I want to focus on the following things. Number one, add another million children to the insured ranks through the Medicaid program. Number two, keep working with the states, as we are now, to add 2.2 million more people to the insured system. Number three, cover people who are between jobs for up to six months. That could protect 3 million families, 700,000 kids. And, number four, make sure we protect the integrity of the Medicare program and the Medicaid program, and not do anything in cutting costs which would cause hundreds of hospitals to close, which could have been the case if the \$270 billion Medicare cut that I vetoed had been enacted into law.

SENATOR DOLE: Just let me say, there you go again, Mr. President, talking about a Medicare cut. Now, I've heard you say this time after time. And I've heard you say on one TV appearance, the media made me do it. You're trying to defend your cut -- which was not a cut, either -- reduction in the growth of spending. And we always had at least a seven percent. You've said publicly that it's now three times the rate of inflation. We ought to cut the growth to twice the rate of inflation. It's about where we are now.

Let's stop talking about cutting Medicare, and my economic plan will increase it 39 percent. Don't forget what he tried to do with health care. Seventeen new taxes, spend \$1.5 trillion, 50 new bureaucracies. Can you believe that? You couldn't have even been a cardiologist because they had quotas. Your -- cardiology wouldn't affect you, but if somebody wanted to be a cardiologist 10 years from now you'd have to be certain you complied with some of the rules in this extreme medical plan the government was going to take over for all America.

There are things we can do, like the Kassebaum bill, which contains many provisions I authored, covered preexisting conditions, portability. And there are other things we should do. We still need to cover about 20 million people and a lot of children.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I don't have time in 30 seconds to respond to fix all that, but let me just say, the American Hospital Association said that the budget I vetoed could have closed 700 hospitals, not me. And on a per-person basis, it did cut way below the rate of inflation in medical costs.

But the important thing is, what are we going to do now. We need to help people who are between jobs. We need to cover more kids. We need to provide more preventive care. My balanced budget covers mammograms for ladies on -- women on Medicare, and also gives respite care to the million-plus families who have someone with Alzheimer's. These things are paid for in the balanced budget plan. It will move us forward.

MR. LEHRER: Next question is for Senator Dole, from here. Yes, sir.

Q I am active-duty military and a small business owner. My question is, what is your position on closing the gap between military and civilian pay scales?

SENATOR DOLE: Jason, I appreciate that very much, being a former military man myself. You know, we have 17,000 men and women today wearing our uniforms that receive food stamps. That shouldn't happen in America. We have men and women wearing our uniforms in substandard housing. It shouldn't happen in America. And it's a time we take a look at the pay scales. Did get a 3 percent increase this year, but that's not enough.

If we're going to ask young men and young women to protect us and defend us around the world -- and we've had more deployments under this administration than any time in history. Fifty times we deployed troops around the world. Every time you do that you take a risk. Somebody you know, maybe your son, maybe your grandson, maybe somebody else. So I think anybody who wears uniforms is a great American.

Remember Vietnam. Remember when people almost used to walk across the street rather than have contact with somebody who was in Vietnam. That's all behind us now, and it should be behind us. And the "forgotten war," the Korean War. But I guess I can just answer you very plainly, Jason. Thank you for doing what you're doing. America owes you a debt of gratitude.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: May I ask you a question? What service are you in?

Q I'm in the United States Navy, sir.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: And what kind of small business do you

have?

Q I have an Amway business.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Good for you.

Let me say -- Senator Dole mentioned this -- I just signed a bill that we got through Congress to increase the amount of pay increase we could give for military personnel and to make sure the pay increase this year was above the rate of inflation. I also have presented to the Congress and they adopted a large package of quality of life improvements, which are very important.

I've spent a lot of time talking to military families as well as military members all over the world and in bases all across the United States. And I became convinced, after talking to the families and the personnel in uniform that we needed to not only have the pay raise, but we needed to invest more in child care, housing and other things to support families, especially when they are longer deployments because of the downsizing of the military.

We're going to do better and we'll do better still. But this is a commitment I think that all Americans share without regard to party.

SENATOR DOLE: I don't disagree with anything the President said, except he waited four years to do these things. And my view is, it will be done on day one. We'll start working on it on day one in the Dole-Kemp administration. This is important. We only have 10 divisions now; we used to have 18. We had 25 fighter wings; we're down to 13. We had 536 ships, we're down to 336 ships. I mean, we've cut defense spending too much in the first place.

The President told you in '92 he would cut it \$67 billion; he cut \$112 billion. We're right on the edge right now. But the last thing we ought to do is make those who wear the uniforms sacrifice.

MR. LEHRER: Next question here for President Clinton. Yes, ma'am, here on the front row.

Q President Clinton, yesterday, Yasser Arafat said in Palestine that he thinks the key to success in the Middle East is the commitment of Americans. Would you, as President, send American troops to Israel or the West Bank as peacekeepers?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me just take two seconds of my time, because I'm the Commander-In-Chief, to respond to one thing that was said. I propose to spend \$1.6 trillion on defense between now

and the year 2002, and there's less than one percent difference between my budget and the Republican budget on defense.

Now, on the Middle East -- as you know, I've worked very hard for peace in the Middle East. The agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis was signed at the White House and the agreement, the peace treaty with Jordan, I went to Jordan to sign that, to be there. And I think the United States can do whatever we reasonably can.

I can say this, I do not believe Yasser Arafat wants us to send troops to the West Bank. We've never been asked to send troops to the West Bank. I saw the agreement that Prime Minister Rabin and Yasser Arafat signed on the West Bank. It had 26 separate maps they had to sign -- literally thousands of delineations of who would do what on the West Bank. And I believe if the parties will get together and in a good-faith manner make that agreement, that they'll be able to do it. We cannot impose a peace on the Middle East.

My position has always been that the job of the United States was to minimize the risks of peace. If they ask me to be part of some monitoring force, as we are in the Sinai and have been since 1978, to monitor the peace between Egypt and Israel, frankly, I would have to think about it, I would have to see what they wanted to do. But I don't believe that will be the request. I think what Mr. Arafat wants us to do is to make sure that everybody honors the agreements they've already made. That's why I brought the leaders to Washington a few days ago. I think they will and I think we'll get there. Don't be too discouraged.

SENATOR DOLE: Let me, Jason, come back to you a minute, because there is a big difference in the defense budget. We had \$7 billion this year and \$10 billion more than the President. He puts his money in the out-years. Even if he were reelected, he would be gone before anything happened, and nothing is going to happen because we don't have modernization now. If we don't build more B-2 bombers in California -- we lost about 500,000 jobs out in California because of this devastation, these big, big cuts. We had to make cuts; we didn't have to make the cuts the President promised he'd make, then he doubled. And so I think we need to go back and take a look.

We're increasing defense reasonably, not too much, but we are increasing defense some because we want to be prepared in case somebody here gets called up, Jason.

I would say -- I didn't hear what Yasser Arafat had to say, but I don't want to -- you know, I think foreign policy I'm going to be very careful about. And I'm not here to argue about the

President on some ongoing foreign policy matter. What I want the President to do -- I think he may have done it in the last statement -- call for an unconditional end to the violence and have the parties keep on talking, as they should talk and have a resolution. The last thing we want to do is commit more forces anywhere. But let's sort of keep this out of politics because it's pretty dicey right now.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: When the change of government occurred in Israel, the people of Israel were saying, we don't want to abandon the peace process, we want more security. Then, a lot of mutual distrust developed, a lot of things happened which maybe shouldn't have happened.

When I asked Yasser Arafat and Prime Minister Netanyahu to come to Washington and got them together and they talked alone for three hours, I was convinced that they had to have a chance to make that peace. Again, I say, if they ask us to play some reasonable role, I don't know how I would respond to it, but it would depend entirely on what they asked us to do.

But the real secret there is for them to abide by the agreements they've made and find a way to trust each other. And they're going to have to spend some time and trust each other. Prime Minister Rabin gave his life believing that that trust could be materialized, and I still think it can be.

MR. LEHRER: All right, next question from this section and it is for Senator Dole. Back in the back. Yes, sir. Right there. Yes, sir.

Q Senator Dole, I'm an ex-smoker for 30 years. Thirty years ago, I was a pack-plus-a-day man, okay. You mentioned in your statement, you said some time ago that you didn't think nicotine was addictive. Are you still holding to that statement, or do you wish to recant or explain yourself?

SENATOR DOLE: Oh, that's very easy. My record, going back to 1965 in the Congress, the first vote we had was whether or not you should put a little notice on cigarettes -- they may be -- I voted for -- I voted for everything since that time.

In fact, 1992, we had a bill come before us that all the states had to comply or they're going to lose certain money. We sent it to the Clinton administration for implementation. They waited three and a half years, and during that period about 3,000 young kids every day started smoking. So you add it up; that's about 3 million.

Not until again in 1996 -- I don't want anybody to smoke. My

brother probably died partly because of cigarettes. I was asked a technical question: Are they addictive. Maybe -- they probably are addictive. I don't know, I'm not a doctor. You shouldn't smoke. You ought to be glad you quit, Oscar. Thirty years?

And it seems to me that what we need to do is to talk about not only tobacco, but drugs, because drug use with 12-to 17-year-olds has doubled in this administration, the last 44 months. Marijuana use is up 141 percent; cocaine use up 160 percent. They're your kids. It's all happened in this administration because they cut funding and they cut interdiction.

When I'm President of the United States, we're going to use the National Guard and whatever sources we need to stop some of the drugs coming into America. If you stop the drugs, nobody is going to use the drugs. So don't smoke, don't drink, don't use drugs. Just don't do it.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Oscar, the question of what the federal government should do to limit the access of tobacco to young people is one of the biggest differences between Senator Dole and me.

We did propose a regulation six months after I became President under the law he mentioned. It simply says all these states that made it illegal for kids to smoke, now they have to try harder if they want to keep getting federal funds. Then we took comments, as we always do, and there were tens of thousands of comments about how we ought to do it. That's what drug it out.

Meanwhile, we started, also in '93, to look into whether cigarettes were addictive enough for the federal Food and Drug Administration to ban the ability of cigarette companies to advertise, market and distribute tobacco products to our kids. No President had ever taken on the tobacco lobby before. I did. Senator Dole opposed me. He went down and made a speech to people who were on his side saying that I did the wrong thing. I think I did the right thing.

On drugs, I have repeatedly said drugs are wrong and illegal and can kill you. We have strengthened enforcement and everybody in San Diego knows we've strengthened control of the border. We've done a lot more. I hope we get a chance to talk about it.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, they also know if they live in San Diego, Mr. President, you're caught with 125 pounds of marijuana or less you go back to Mexico, you're not prosecuted. You have a U.S. attorney here that sends them back home. So I think that's pretty important. That's a lot of marijuana. That's a big supply.

But don't -- you know, don't get into this smoke-screen here, Oscar. The President in the election year decided, well, I ought to do something. I haven't done anything on drugs. I've been AWOL for 44 months, so let's take on smoking. But, see, they haven't even done it. They haven't said what's going to happen, whether they're going to have it declared addictive. It could apply just to -- once it's a drug, does it apply only to teenagers or to everybody in America?

Nobody should smoke, young or old, but particularly young people should not smoke. And my record is there, it's been there. I voted eight, 10 times since 1965.

MR. LEHRER: Next question is for President Clinton and it comes from right here. Yes, sir.

Q President Clinton, I'm a retired Air Force pilot. Sir, it's officially forecast that our annual Medicare and Social Security deficits are measured in the trillions of dollars in the next century. Depending on who you listen to, Social Security will be bankrupt in either 2025 or 2030. I feel it is grossly unfair, especially to our younger generations who are losing faith in the system.

My question is this: Assuming you agree that our entitlement programs are at an unsustainable course, what specific reforms do you propose?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: First of all, they're two different things: Social Security and Medicare are entirely different in terms of the financial stability. Let's talk about them separately.

Social Security is stable until, as you pointed out, at least the third decade of the next century. But we would like to have a Social Security fund that has about 70 years of life instead of about 30 years of life.

What we have to do is simply to make some adjustments that take account of the fact that the baby boomers, people like me, are bigger in number than the people that went just before us and the people that come just after us. And I think what we'll plainly do is what we did in 1983 when Senator Dole served -- and this is something I think he did a good job on, when he served on the Social Security Commission and they made some modest changes in Social Security to make sure that it would be alive and well into the 21st century.

And we will do that. It's obvious that there are certain things that have to be done and there are 50 or 60 different

options, and a bipartisan commission to take it out of politics will make recommendations and build support for the people.

Medicare is different. Medicare needs help now. I have proposed a budget which would put 10 years on the life of the Medicare trust fund. That's more than it's had a lot of the time for the last 20 years. It will save a lot of money through more managed care, but giving more options, more preventive care, and lowering the inflation rate in the prices we're paying providers, without having the kind of big premium increases and out-of-pocket costs that the budget I vetoed would provide.

Then that will give us 10 years to do with Medicare what we're going to do with Social Security -- have a bipartisan group, look at what we have to do to save it when the baby boomers retire. But now we ought to pass this budget and put 10 years on it right away so no one has to worry about it.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, again, if you're somebody thinking about the future, I think it's fair to say that it will be -- we'll work it out. This is a political year and the President is playing politics with Medicare, but after this year is over, we'll resolve it just as we did with Social Security in 1983, with a nonpartisan commission. Ronald Reagan got together with Tip O'Neill and Howard Baker, two Republicans and one Democrat. They appointed a commission. I was on that commission. We resolved -- we rescued Social Security.

We suggested, I think it's been over a year ago now, we do the same with Medicare, and the White House called it a gimmick. Now, last week, I guess it was, Donna Shalala said, well, we'll cut Medicare \$100 billion and appoint a commission.

It will probably have to be done by a commission. Take it out of politics. I think if I were a senior citizen, I'd be a little fed up with all these ads scaring seniors, scaring veterans and scaring students about education. When you don't have any ideas, you don't have any agenda, and all you have is fear, that's all you can use. We have ideas in the Dole-Kemp campaign, and we'll rescue Medicare as we did Social Security.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Their idea was to have the poorest seniors in the country pay \$270 more a year this year. Their idea was a budget that the American Hospital Association said could close 700 hospitals. Their idea was to charge everybody more out-of-pocket costs in their budget that I vetoed -- not in an election, sir, I told them in early 1995.

Senator Dole said 30 years ago he was one of 12 people that voted against Medicare and he was proud of it. A year ago he said,

"I was right then, I knew it wouldn't work." American seniors have the highest life expectancy in the world. We need to reform it, not wreck it.

MR. LEHRER: Next question from here, and it's for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am, right here.

Q Senator Dole, I would like to know what would be your first step in reforming welfare.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, we've taken the first step -- took three steps. Twice we sent welfare reform to the President and he vetoed it. On the third time we sent welfare reform to the President he signed it, but announced he would change it next year. And the Vice President said they were going to do something else through the line item veto, which I've never understood, but that's sort of inside baseball.

What we need to do is make certain we try to return people to work. And I'm standing here as someone who a long time ago, as a county attorney in Russell, Kansas -- one of our jobs every month was to do all the welfare checks and sign them. And three of those checks were my grandparents. So I know what it's like to have to look welfare head on.

Obviously, some people are going to need help. This is the United States of America. You're not going to go without food and you're not going to go without medical care. This is America. But at the same time, if you want to get off Medicare, get back in the mainstream, we're going to provide jobs. We're going to say you have a five-year limit you can be on welfare, you've got two years to look for a job. We provided more money for day care in a bill that passed the Senate, was vetoed, then it came back. The President signed pretty much the same bill.

But this is an important issue. I don't think we ought to be giving welfare payments to illegal immigrants. And it puts a heavy burden on a state like -- except for emergencies. It puts a heavy burden on states like California. It costs California taxpayers \$3 billion a year.

MR. LEHRER: President Clinton.

SENATOR DOLE: I'll get out of your way here.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: It's illegal right now and has been for years for illegal immigrants to get welfare benefits.

Let me say that this is one of the most important issues in the world to me. I started working on welfare reform in 1980

because I was sick of seeing people trapped in a system that was increasingly physically isolating them and making their kids more vulnerable to get in trouble. So I've been working on it when I was governor for a long time. When I became President, I used the authority I had in this law to get out from under certain federal rules to help states move people to work. We've reduced welfare rolls by 2 million already.

Now, I've got a plan with this new welfare reform law to work with the private sector to give private employers specific tax incentives to hire people off welfare and to do some other things which will create more jobs in the private sector, at least a million, to move more people from welfare to work. It's very important. And I hope we get a chance to talk about this more. There is not a more important issue.

I still remember a woman that I met 10 years ago who said she wanted to get off welfare so her kids could tell -- give an answer when they say "what does your mother do for a job." I met that woman again. She's got four kids; one has got a good job, one is studying to be a doctor, one is in technical school, one is an honor student in high school. I want to make more people like that woman, Lilly Harden. So I've got a plan to do it, and it's just beginning.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, another thing we can do -- we talk about growth -- we've got a great economic package, which I hope we will discuss later -- an across-the-board tax cut, child credit, \$500 per child under 18, reduce the capital gains rate, create more jobs and opportunities for people on and off welfare.

We have other provisions. Less litigation. The trial lawyers -- big supporters of the President. The trial lawyers, of course they like lawsuits. Every time they have a bill on veto, the President vetoes it for them.

We've got to understand in America that we've got to have growth, create more jobs and more opportunities in the private sector. The President takes credit for all of these people off welfare -- the governors did that. Federal government doesn't do that. And the government doesn't create jobs, they're created in the private sector.

MR. LEHRER: This section. Question. Yes, ma'am on the back row. This is for the President.

Q Mr. President, I'm a landlord. My question is, does your party have any future plans to reduce the capital gains tax, especially for retired Americans?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: First of all, we have a big plan to reduce capital gains tax when people sell their homes. Part of my tax package which is paid for in my balanced budget plan would exempt up to half a million dollars in gains for people when they sell their home, which I think is the biggest capital gains we could give to most ordinary Americans.

We also have a capital gains now for people that invest in new small businesses and hold the investment for five years. It was part of our other economic plan. And these are things I think that will go a long way toward helping America build a stronger economy and a better tax system.

I think the most important thing to emphasize, though, is that we also have to help people in other ways to build a stronger economy. And we can't have any tax cut that's not paid for.

One of the big differences between Senator Dole and myself is that I told you how I'm going to pay for every penny of the tax cuts I recommend. We've worked hard to bring this deficit down, and that's helped people in the real estate business, because the interest rates are lower. We've got home ownership at a 15-year high. We've got this country going in the right direction.

So we can have a tax cut, but my priority would be to help the families who need it with child rearing and education and buying a first-time home, and helping for health care costs. So from you business, helping in buying the first-time home, exempting the capital gains on the sale of the home would be the most important things that you asked about.

MR. LEHRER: Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: What the President didn't tell you is that all his tax cuts expire in the year 2000, but all his increases go on forever. That's the liberal approach. You know, give you a little tax cut, give you a couple years; then make the tax increases go on forever. So the net tax increase in his plan is somewhere between \$60 billion and \$80 billion.

We have in the Dole-Kemp economic plan -- unless your home is worth over \$500,000 -- and if it is, I appreciate it, congratulate you -- but in any event, no taxes. And it's a good idea. They saw it and picked it up and put in theirs, but it's only temporary. Ours is permanent.

Ours is a good plan -- create jobs and opportunities. Capital gains rate, cut it in half, cut it from 28 percent to 14 percent. There are \$7 trillion in assets locked up in America. If we cut the capital gains rate -- I'm told every day, I got a letter from

a former constituent in Kansas saying, I want to sell property in California, put it in my business in Kansas. I can't because the capital gains rate is too high.

We need to get the economy going. That will help Social Security. That will create more jobs. That will help people who want to get off welfare. It's the American way.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Before Senator Dole left the Senate, he and Mr. Gingrich also were recommending that we pass these tax cuts only insofar as we could pay for them. And we all assume that the tax cuts will be permanent, but we have to prove we can pay for them.

After he left the Senate, we abandoned that. That's why most experts say that this tax scheme will blow a huge hole in the deficit, raise interest rates and weaken the economy. And that will take away all the benefits of the tax cut with a weaker economy. That's why we have to balance the budget. And I'll tell you how I'm going to pay for anything I promise you line-by-line. You should expect that from both of us.

MR. LEHRER: All right. The next question is for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am, right there.

Q I'm a third-year student at U.C.-San Diego. And I just want to say that it's a great honor representing the voices of America. My question is concerning you, Mr. Dole. All the controversy regarding your age, how do you feel you can respond to young voices of America today and tomorrow?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think age is very -- you know, wisdom comes from age, experience and intelligence. And if you have some of each -- and I have some age, some experience, some intelligence -- (laughter) -- that adds up to wisdom.

I think it also is a strength, it's an advantage. And I have a lot of young people work in my office, work in my campaign. Now, this is about America. This is about -- somebody said earlier, one of the first questions, we're together. It's one America, one nation.

I'm looking at our economic plan because I'm concerned about the future for young people. I'm looking about drugs. The President's been AWOL for four years. I'm looking about crime. He'll claim credit now for crime going down, but it happens because mayors and governors and others have brought crime down. Rudy Giuliani, Mayor of New York, brought crime down 25 percent just in New York City. But, of course, the President will take credit for that.

My view is, we want to find jobs and opportunities and education. This year, the Republican Congress -- student loans went from \$24 billion to \$36 billion over the next six years -- a 50-percent increase. It's the highest appropriation ever -- \$6 billion for Pell Grants -- very, very important. We've also raised the amount of each Pell Grant.

In our economic plan, the \$500 child credit can be used for young people -- rolled over and over and over. Of course, not this age, but if you have a child two years old, seven percent interest, it will be worth about \$18,000 by the time that child is ready for college.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I can only tell you that I don't think Senator Dole is too old to be president. It's the age of his ideas that I question. You're almost not old enough to remember this, but we've tried this before, promising people an election year tax cut that's not paid for.

SENATOR DOLE: We tried it last time you were in.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Tell them they can have everything you've got. And let me just say this. Did you hear him say that Congress just voted to increase student loans and scholarships? They did after he left. The last budget he led cut Pell Grants, cut student loans, I vetoed it when they shut the government down.

My plan would give students a dollar-for-dollar reduction for the cost of a typical community college tuition, a \$10,000 deduction a year for the cost of college tuition, would let families save in an IRA and withdraw tax-free to pay for the cost of education. And it's all paid for.

My whole administration is about your future. It's about what the 21st century is going to be like for you. And I hope you'll look at the ideas in it. Thank you.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, when you don't have any ideas, I guess just say the other person's ideas are old. As I said earlier, they don't have any ideas. Their idea is to raise taxes and spend more money. That's the liberal philosophy. If that's what you like, you've got a perfect candidate.

When President Clinton came to California in 1992, he said the centerpiece of my first four years is going to be a middle class tax cut. All of you who got that tax cut, congratulations -- because you got a big tax increase. You got a \$265-billion tax increase. And he stands here and says, politicians who make promises like that ought to be ignored. Well, he made the promise.

I keep my word. And you'll have a tax cut. It will help you in whatever you're going to do in the next few years.

Thank you.

MR. LEHRER: The next question is for President Clinton and it's from -- yes, ma'am.

Q My question is, do you feel that America has grown enough and has educated itself enough to totally cut out affirmative action?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: No, ma'am, I don't. I am against quotas. I'm against giving anybody any kind of preference for something they're not qualified for. But because I still believe that there is some discrimination and that not everybody has an opportunity to prove they're qualified, I favor the right kind of affirmative action.

I've done more to eliminate programs and to erase affirmative action programs I didn't think were fair and to tighten others up than my predecessors have, since affirmative action has been around. But I have also worked hard to give people the chance to prove that there are qualified.

Let me just give you some examples. We've doubled the number of loans from the Small Business Administration, tripled the number of loans to women business people -- no one unqualified. Everybody had to meet the standards. We've opened 260,000 new jobs in the military to women since I've been President, but the Joint Chiefs say we're stronger and more competent and solid than ever.

And let me give you another example of what I mean. To me, affirmative action is making that extra effort. It's sort of like what Senator Dole did when he sponsored the Americans With Disabilities Act and said to certain stores, okay, you've got to make it accessible to people in wheelchairs. We weren't guaranteeing anything -- anybody anything, except the chance to prove they were qualified, the chance to prove that they could do it.

And that's why I must say I agree with General Colin Powell, that we're not there yet. We ought to keep making those extra effort affirmative action programs the law and the policy of the land.

MR. LEHRER: Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, we may not be there yet, but we're not going to get there by giving preferences and quotas. I supported

that route for some time. And, again, I think it gets back to experience -- a little experience, a little age, a little intelligence. And I noted that nobody was really benefitting except a very small group at the top. The average person wasn't benefitting. People who had the money were benefitting. People who got all the jobs were benefitting.

It seems to me that we ought to support the California civil rights initiative. It ought to be not based on gender or ethnicity or color -- or disability. I'm disabled, and I shouldn't have a preference. I would like to have one in this race, come to think of it, but I don't get one. Maybe we can work that out -- I get a 10-point spot. (Laughter.)

This is America. No discrimination. Discrimination ought to be punished. But there ought to be equal opportunity. We ought to reach out and make certain everybody has a chance to participate. Equal opportunity, but we cannot guarantee equal results in America. That's not how America became the greatest country on the face of the Earth.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I have never supported quotas. I have always been against them -- don't favor equal results. But I do favor making sure everybody has a chance to prove they're competent.

The reason I have opposed that initiative is because I'm afraid it will end those extra effort programs. Again I say, think of the Americans With Disabilities Act. Make an effort to put a ramp up there so someone in a wheelchair can get up. You don't guarantee that they get the job; you guarantee they have a chance to prove their competence.

And as I said, this is not a partisan thing with me. General Powell, Colin Powell said the same thing. He fears that the initiative will take away the extra effort program. No preferences to unqualified people, no quotas, but don't give up on making an extra effort until you're sure everybody has a chance to prove they're qualified.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the next question is for Senator Dole and it comes from this section right here. The back row there, in the blue shirt. Yes, sir?

Q Senator Dole, how do you reduce taxes and balance the budget?

SENATOR DOLE: Oh, I'm glad you asked. What's your first name? (Laughter.) I first want to say the President didn't quite give you all of the stuff on quotas, because the Justice Department

entered what we call the Piscataway case up in New Jersey. It's pretty clear that was a quota case, and just because one teacher was white and one teacher was black and they had the same qualifications, they decided who would stay there. It shouldn't be that way.

Now, the President can say, well, he wants to mend it, not end it. There are 168 federal programs that allow quotas, he ended one. Now, this economic package -- Tim, I'm glad you asked, because you look like the type that might be able to benefit from a 15-percent across-the-board tax cut and \$500 -per-child tax credit for state tax relief, which you're not interested in right now, but capital gains rate reduction. If you're taking care of an elderly parent, you get a \$1,000 deduction. We think that's very important because a lot of people take care of their parents.

How do we pay for it? We're going to have a constitutional amendment to balance the budget, which the President opposed and defeated. He twisted arms, got six Democrats to vote with him, we lost by one vote. We're going to balance the budget by the year 2002.

The President wants to spend 20 percent more over the next six years; I want to spend 14 percent more and give that six percent back to the people. Remember, it's your money. It's not his money and it's not my money. It's your money and you shouldn't have to apologize for wanting to keep all you can of it. He ought to apologize for wanting to take more and more. He wants to give you sort of a government tax cut which really doesn't mean anything.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: You know, one of the responsibilities of growing older, it seems to me, is being able to tell people something they may not want to hear just because it's true. When they had a \$250-billion tax scheme -- that is half the size of this one, this one is \$550 billion -- they passed a budget that had \$270 billion in Medicare cuts, the first education cuts in history, cut environmental enforcement by 25 percent, took away the guarantee of quality standards in nursing homes, took away the guarantee of health care to folks with disabilities.

Don't take my word for this. The Economist Magazine told lots of economists -- seven Nobel Prize winners have said, if this tax scheme passes, it will require huge cuts, 40 percent in the environment, in law enforcement, in education, it will require bigger cuts in Medicare than I vetoed last time.

My targeted tax cut gives tax cuts for education, child-rearing, buying a first-time home, paying for health care costs, and it's paid for. And I've told you how I'll pay for it; he won't tell you because he can't.

SENATOR DOLE: Your targeted tax cut, Mr. President, never hits anybody. That's the problem with it, nobody ever gets it. But I must say, I'm a little offended by this word "scheme." You talked about it last time -- you talked about a risky scheme and then Vice President Gore repeated it about 10 times in St. Petersburg.

If I have anything in politics, it's my word. My colleagues, Democrats and Republicans, will tell you that Bob Dole kept his word. I'm going to keep my word to you. I'm going to keep my word to the American -- we're going to cut taxes and balance the budget. We're not going to touch Medicare, it's going to grow 39 percent, and Social Security is going to grow 34 percent.

Now, the President doesn't have any ideas so he's now trashing ours. This isn't going to blow a hole in the deficit. He promised you a tax cut in 1992. And if you got one, you ought to vote for him.

MR. LEHRER: The next question is for the President. Yes sir, right there.

Q I'm a martial arts instructor and a father. Mr. President, could you outline any plans you have to expand the Family Leave Act?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you. Well, first let me say that I signed the Family Leave Act, it was my very first bill. And I'm very proud of it because it symbolizes what I think we ought to be doing. I don't take credit for all the good things that have happened in America, but I take credit for what I've tried to do to work with others to make good things happen.

The most important good things that happen in America happen in families. Just about every family I know, their main concern is how am I going to succeed at work and still do right by my children. Family and Medical Leave has let 12 million families take a little time off for the birth of a child or a family illness without losing their job. I'd like to see it expanded in two ways.

I'd like to say you can also take a little time off without losing your job to go to a regular parent-teacher conference or to go to a regular doctor's appointment with a family member. I'd also like to see the overtime laws change so that we could have some more flex time, so that at the discretion of the worker -- the worker -- if you earn overtime you could decide whether you want that time to be taken in cash or in time with your family, if you've got a family problem.

I never go anywhere, it seems like, where I don't meet somebody who's benefitted from the Family Leave law. In Longview, Texas, the other day I met a woman who was almost in tears because she had been able to keep her job while spending time with her husband who had cancer. One of the people who's here with me today met a woman in the airport saying that her son just was able to be present at the birth of his child because of the Family Leave law.

So, yes, I think it should be expanded. We have to help people succeed at home and at work.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, 88 percent of the people the President claims, 11 million are already covered. And only five percent -- keep in mind, only five percent of the employers were even affected by the Family Leave Act.

We had a better idea. We didn't win, but we had a better idea. Now that we have a majority we get a President -- that was a tax credit to the employer. Instead of the federal government reaching out, we had a tax credit. Pickups come with a cost because if you have to hire replacement workers, that's a cost.

This is the way it ought to work: Give more power back to the states and back to the people, back to the taxpayers. Not always the long arm of the federal government.

But keep in mind this bill covers 5 percent of the employers; 95 percent of the employers and those who employees they employ are not covered in this act. And according to Investors Daily, which I read just a couple of days ago, 88 percent of the people he claims credit for were already covered in collective bargaining agreements or other agreements.

We had family leave in our office. I see my friend Senator Mitchell -- he had family leave. I work every day with people. I've spent a lot of time in hospitals. I know what it's like to be in a hospital. Sure, we want family leave, but there is a better way to do it.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I only have 30 seconds; I can't fix the statistics. It covers the majority of the work force. Employers of under 50 are exempted. The bill originally covered employers of 25 and more, but because of opposition we went up to 50. Senator Dole led the opposition to it. He filibustered it. He said it was a mistake. He said it would hurt the economy. We have had record numbers of new small businesses and 10.5 million jobs. It didn't hurt the economy. He still believes it's a mistake. I believe it was right. You can decide which of us you think are right. It's up to you.

MR. LEHRER: Next question for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am.

Q I'm a wife and mother of two sons, and my question for you, Senator Dole is, as the wife of a San Diego business owner, I see one of our biggest problems is the U.S. does not manufacture enough of our own products. How would you help this problem out?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, right, we've lost 357,000 manufacturing jobs, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics said today that they made a mistake. It's probably going to be a much, much higher figure. So we're talking about all these new jobs -- we had better wait and see what the results are.

We're going to do that with a more aggressive trade policy. We're going to do that with an economic package. We're going to do that with regulatory reform. You know, regulation costs the average family, right here, Democrat or Republican, about \$7,000 a year -- \$7,000 -- like a tax, put a lot of people out of business.

I met a lady in Colorado Springs about seven weeks ago now. She had a small business with 63 employees. She finally gave it up. Why? Because of paperwork and regulations. Congress passed the Paperwork Reduction Act. The President exempted the IRS, which creates three-fourths of the paperwork.

We're going to have regulatory -- we're going to have litigation reform. You know, I fell off a platform in California, in Chico, a while back. Before I hit the ground, my cell phone rang and this trial lawyer says, I think we've got a case here. (Laughter.) We've got to stop some of these frivolous lawsuits that are putting people out of business, men and women.

Get the economy going. Cut the capital gains rate. Create more jobs and opportunities for everybody in America. That's what we will do. And my word is good. I keep my promises. I don't break my promises after the election, and I don't make new promises on an election year. We're going to get it done. We're going to grow some of these jobs in America, because we need to get -- they're going the wrong way.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let's look at the facts. We lost a lot of manufacturing jobs in the 12 years before I became President. We've gained manufacturing jobs since I've been President. We've negotiated over 200 separate trade agreements. Let's just take California. In California we made \$37 billion worth of telecommunication equipment eligible for exports for the first time. We're selling everything from telephones to CDs to rice in Japan.

We're selling American automobiles in Japan now. I visited a

Chrysler dealership in Japan. We're number one in automobile manufacturing, production and sales around the world again for the first time since the 1970s. Why? Because we've had tough, aggressive trade policies and because we've got interest rates down and we had a good, stable economic policy; because we've reduced the deficit four years in a row for the first time in the 20th century that a President has done that in all four years.

And that's why I don't want to see it blow a big hole in the deficit with a tax program we can't pay for, so your interest rates will go up and you'll have to pay back in higher interest rates what you allegedly will get in a tax cut.

So I say keep working on expanding the market. More than half of these 10.5 million new jobs are in higher wage areas. And we'll have more manufacturing and more sales at home and around the world.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, you may think the biggest employer in America is General Motors, but I've got news for you -- it's Manpower Services, hiring people temporarily who have lost their jobs and they go to work for 30 days or 60 days. That's a good economy? I don't think so. We're setting new records this year.

We have the worst economy in a century. We've had the slowest growth, about 2.5 percent. The President inherited a growth of over 5 percent. We don't have the S&L crisis anymore. Republicans have cut \$53 billion in spending. That's why the budget looked good. It didn't look too good the first two years when we had a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress.

MR. LEHRER: The next question is for President Clinton. Yes, sir.

Q I'm a travel agent. And can you please explain your policy on the Employment Nondiscrimination Act that would have prohibited discrimination, would have prohibited people from being fired from their jobs simply for being gay or lesbian?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I'm for it. That's my policy. I'm for it. I believe that any law-abiding, tax-paying citizen who shows up in the morning and doesn't break the law and doesn't interfere with his or her neighbors ought to have the ability to work in our country and shouldn't be subject to unfair discrimination. I'm for it.

I have a little time left, so let me just say that I get attacked so many times on these questions it's hard to answer all those things. In February -- Senator Dole just said we had the worst economy in a century. In February he said we had the best

economy in 30 years. In February. And I don't want to respond in kind to all of these things. I could. I could answer a lot of these things tit for tat, but I hope we can talk about what we're going to do in the future. No attack ever created a job or educated a job or helped a family make ends meet. No insults ever cleaned up a toxic waste dump or helped an elderly person.

Now, for four years, that's what I've worked on. If you will give me four years more, I'll work on it some more. And I'll try to answer these charges, but I would prefer to emphasize direct answers for the future and I gave you a direct answer.

MR. LEHRER: Senator Dole?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I'm opposed to discrimination in any form, but I don't favor creating special rights for any group. That would be my answer to this question. And I'm -- it would be special rights for different groups in America. But I'm totally opposed to discrimination. Don't have any policy against hiring anyone for his lifestyle or whatever -- we don't have any policy of that kind, never have had in my office or will we have in the future.

But as far as special rights, I'm opposed to same-sex marriages, which the President signed well after midnight one morning, in the dark of night, he opposed it. But I'll get back to the economic package, because, again, I think this is very important.

If there's anything that's going to change America, it's to get the economy to grow. The President inherited a good economy -- sure. The S&L crisis ended, we're selling assets, we've got a Republican Congress cutting spending finally, and he says he had the best four years ever.

That's not true. We had over 1.2 million bankruptcies -- set a new record. Credit card debts never been higher. I just told you about this manufacturing job loss which is going to increase. We need a good, strong economic package, but the private sector creates the jobs and they can do it.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: If you believe that the California economy was better in 1992 than it is today, you should vote for Bob Dole.

I have worked so hard out here to help turn this economy around. Let me just give you one tiny example. In San Diego, where we had some defense cutbacks, we funded a project with the University of California at San Diego to use airplane composite materials to build lighter, stronger bridges -- a little project

and a program that Senator Dole opposed. And that composite now is going to be built around the bridges on the Santa Monica Freeway to help minimize the impact of earthquakes and create more jobs. That's just one tiny example. Maybe will talk about some more before it's over.

MR. LEHRER: Next question is for Senator Dole. Yes, ma'am.

Q Senator Dole, I work in health care, and it's truly an honor to be here tonight to address both of you. Being in health care -- we have talked a little bit about health care tonight, but mainly Medicaid and Medicare have been mentioned. But the private sector is a problem.

Managed care is taking over, especially in California. And because of that, the quality of care is going downhill. There are many, many people who cannot get the tests that they need when they need them. And because of that, they are dying needlessly. There are many, many more lawsuits being presented against the managed care industry because of this. And I think it's a real problem that needs to be addressed. What would you do if you were President?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, one thing I did was to oppose the government takeover of health care that President Clinton offered in 1993, which created 17 new taxes and 50 new bureaucracies and price controls. Because we were afraid the very thing you mentioned would have happened -- everybody would have been forced into managed care. You couldn't have chosen your own doctor, and that would have been the end.

And I think right now we've got to go back -- I know they've appointed a commission to take a look at managed care. Maybe that's part of the answer. But it seems to me, if we start taking choices away from people and if we drive them into one type care, if we eliminate fee-for-service altogether, or eliminate the fact that you can go to your doctor, you've got to go somewhere else, then I think we've taken a giant step backward in the United States of America.

We have the best health care delivery system in the world, and we want to keep it that way. That's why we opposed the government takeover health care plan that President Clinton tried and tried and tried to get through Congress. He didn't get it done. When it ended up we had more votes than he had, then they decided to pull the plug. It was a big, big mistake. Now, whether or not he'll do that again -- I've heard some of the people say, well, that's the model we ought to use, and if he's reelected maybe he'll come back and try it again. I hope not. I hope not in both cases.

But it does seem to me that you've raised a very important point that needs to be addressed. You're going to have to watch it, going to have to take a look at all the managed care going on in California, or we're going to end up losing our -- best care that we have in the world.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I'm just curious, how many of you are under managed care plan? Raise your hand if you're in a managed care plan.

SENATOR DOLE: -- young people here.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: How many of you like it? Well --

SENATOR DOLE: Two.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: One of the things that I tried to do was to make sure that everybody in the country who was under a managed care plan should at least have three choices of plan and would have the right to get out without penalty every year. That's not a government takeover. That's like the Family and Medical Leave law -- it just tries to set the rules of the game.

I'm strongly in favor of a federal bill to repeal any gag rules on providers. In other words, I believe that doctors should not be able to be kicked out of managed care plans just because they tell the patient what they need and what more expensive care options might be. If we're saving money and managing resources better, that's a good thing. If we're saving money and depriving people of care, that's a bad thing. A good place to start is to say, no managed care provider can gag a doctor and kick the doctor out of the managed care plan for the doctor telling a patient you need a more expensive test, you need a more expensive procedure, your health requires it.

MR. LEHRER: Senator Dole?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I don't have any quarrel with that; I think that would help. But I think what we want to avoid is falling back into this nationalized health care system that President Clinton wanted to give us in 1993. If that isn't a liberal idea, I've never heard one: 17 new taxes, price controls, 50 new bureaucracies. We've have that trouble all over America. We need to deal with managed care. It not only has happened in California, it's happening in other states that we visit, too. It's a national problem, not just a state problem.

MR. LEHRER: The next question is for President Clinton in this section. Yes, ma'am?

Q I teach history and political science at San Diego Mesa College, right up the road here. I'd like to tee off from the original question by another teacher and speak for those people that aren't here tonight -- 63 percent of the American people are not participating that are eligible to vote, not even participating in the process. Several parties can't even get into the debates. The Green Party, the Reform Party, the Natural Law Party -- all of these people have basically opted out of what we're still participating in. And if we, in fact, are going to bring the country back together and be all faces around the table -- the new American family -- what do you see as something the president can do to bring that process to bring them back in?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: First of all, I think it's important to make voting more accessible. That's why I strongly supported the Motor Voter law. There was a big story I think in USA Today about the millions of people who have now registered because of it.

Secondly, I think we need to look at making the elections more accessible. You know, several states now are letting people vote over three weeks. A lot of people are busy and it's hard for them to just get there and vote.

The third thing I think we need is more forums like this, which is one of the reasons why I have so strongly supported campaign finance reform, because if you want to cut the costs of campaigns, you have to open the air waves, because what drives the costs of campaigns are the costs of advertising on television, radio, newspaper, mass mailings.

And if you open the air waves to more things like this -- you see, it's not just you that are participating here. For every one of you who stood up here and asked a question tonight, I promise you, there's 100,000 Americans who say I wish I could have asked that question. So I think we have to change the nature of politics.

The last thing I think we should do is something I've been trying to do since I've been President, is, every time I do something in a public way, I try to have a real American citizen there who is directly affected by it so that people can see the connection of what happens way across the country in Washington with more police on the street in San Diego, clean up the sewage here in San Diego, doubling the border guards here in southern California, that there is a connection between what we do way back there and what we do here. Those are my best ideas about it.

SENATOR DOLE: I don't know of any perfect solution. I've been in politics for some time and I worry about people who don't vote, and I wonder if it's our fault, the candidates' fault.

People say I don't care, one vote doesn't make a difference. I can give you hundreds of cases -- you can probably give me 200 cases where one vote made a difference. I know it made a lot of difference many times in the Congress.

Campaign finance might help, might help contributions coming in from Indonesia or other foreign countries, rich people from those countries, and then being sent back after the L.A. Times discovers it -- \$250,000. But maybe there ought to be more debates. I'd be willing to have another debate this year, where we can invite all the candidates and talk about the economy. If we don't get the economy to grow, if we don't cut taxes and give people child credit and cut the capital gains rate and get this economy growing, we're going to limp into the next century. If we grow the economy, it's going to help Social Security, going to help jobs, going to help everything.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me make one other suggestion. Because you're a teacher, you can have an impact on that. One of the things I think that really frustrates people is that so often political campaigns seem to be more about the politicians that are running than the people. Now, there is a connection. I think what we have to do is convince the people there is a big difference. If you vote one way, you will have a Department of Education in the 21st century. If you vote the other way, you won't. If you vote one way, you'll have an expansion of family leave. If you vote the other way, you'll be lucky to save it.

But these are important questions, and people have to decide. I think that the American people also need to be a little more responsible and think about whether there is a connection between their lives and what we do in Washington.

MR. LEHRER: For Senator Dole, in this section. The back row. Yes, ma'am.

Q I'm unemployed. Senator Dole, we talked about Social Security for the baby boomers, but shouldn't we be saving and investing for our own retirement as well? Are you planning any incentives to encourage us to take care of ourselves rather than to rely on the government and on Social Security when we retire?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, we have in our economic package Individual Retirement Accounts we think will encourage savings. You could also use those accounts for health care or education or a first home. We're doing that precisely. And I think one thing sooner or later we're going to have to consider is to take a look at the Social Security system. Because we've got a lot of people advocating that, well, we don't want to put our money into Social Security. Now, you've got to be very careful about that. You have

to protect the people that are already in the pipeline.

That's something you might consider. I'm not suggesting it will be done, but at least we ought to look at it. When I was chairman of the Finance Committee, which handles Social Security, we looked at all these options. And one thing we've got to make certain -- when I used to go home my mother would tell me, all I've got is my Social Security, don't touch it. And we didn't touch it. We preserved it.

And I'm an optimist. Your Social Security is going to be there when you retire. We'll fix it. It will probably happen in the year 2012 or 2015. In 1983 we thought we had a 75-year fix. It didn't work. It's much, much less; but at least we fixed it for some time and 37 million to 40 million people get their checks on time.

But we need to preserve the system. And we need to make it stronger. But we also need to look at some options, whether or not we -- it depends on what the options are. In fact, I've got a commission right now in Congress, a bipartisan commission, looking at all the different options they're going to present for the next Congress. So I think we'll wait and see what they present and take a look at it.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: This is one where we have some agreement, I think. Only about half the people in this country have pension plans. And Social Security is not enough for a lot of people to live on, or at least it's not enough for them to maintain anything like their previous lifestyle. We've got to figure out how we're going to have more people with pension plans. And pension coverage has been declining as more and more people work for small businesses and fewer people work for big businesses.

So what is in my plan -- and I think it's almost identical to what's in Senator Dole's plan -- is we make more people that are now eligible to save in an IRA and we let couples, married couples, save more. And then they could withdraw from it tax-free if they needed to for medical emergencies or to buy a home or for an education. But they could also save to supplement their retirement.

In addition to that, we just passed a sweeping small business reform that makes it easier for small business people to take out 401(k) plans for themselves and their employees; and then much easier for employees to carry it from job to job. My best friend from grade school is a computer software salesman. And he told me the last time he changed employers it took him nine months to figure out how to transfer his 401(k) plan. Now none of that will happen anymore.

And so I hope that over the next 10 years you'll see a big increase in the percentage of people that have pension plans plus a secure Social Security system.

SENATOR DOLE: Did you say you're unemployed? The first thing I'd do is get you a job. (Laughter.) And that's the economic package, again -- create jobs and opportunity; reduce the capital gains rate; reduce regulatory reform; stop some of the senseless litigation and let people work in America. And I think that's the thrust we will make.

Obviously, Social Security is a very important program. It will be preserved -- Democrats or Republicans -- it will be preserved. We want to make certain we protect those in the pipeline, just as we did back in 1983. And we did it on a bipartisan basis. We took it out of politics. People get so tired of politics. We ought to do the same with Medicare. Maybe we could make a deal here tonight.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the question is for President Clinton. Does anybody have a foreign affairs question in this section? Yes, sir.

Q Good evening. I'm an electronics technician in the Navy. My question was how you plan to deal with the trade deficit with Japan?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me tell you what we have done. We have concluded with Japan 21, about to be 22 trade agreements now. And since we did that, in the areas where we concluded trade agreements, our exports to Japan have gone up by 85 percent in the last four years. And our trade deficit with Japan has gone down.

Until about five months ago, the Japanese economy was in a deep recession. It's coming back now. So they can buy even more American products, and I think it will go down more.

But I'm very -- that's one of the real success stories here of the work we've done. We're selling Japanese rice from California for the first time. I visited a Chrysler dealership in Tokyo. I visited a Jeep plant, the oldest auto plant in America in Toledo, Ohio, where they're going to export 41,000 righthand-drive Jeeps this year. And they've got 700 new jobs because of it.

There is no easy way to do this. When you're dealing with an economy that's traditionally been more closed and one that's traditionally been more open, you just have to gut it out issue by issue by issue. We've agreed in principle on an insurance agreement and we're working on three or four other areas now.

But the way to do it is to make sure you're competitive -- we're the most competitive country in the world now -- and then just fight to open those markets and go try to make a sale. And that's what our Trade Ambassador, our Commerce Secretary, all the other people in our administration have tried to do.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, the bottom line is, we've got to stop exporting jobs. We need to keep jobs here. I said there's 357,000 good jobs, manufacturing jobs which are lost. And I assume some of those because of our trading partners, we didn't have access to their markets.

We ought to insist on access. If we don't have access to their markets, the same way they have access to our markets then we ought to say, wait a minute, that's enough, time out. When you give us access, we'll give you access. It's very hard to get into the Japanese market, as everybody knows.

If they want to get into our markets, they sell a lot of automobiles here, create a lot of jobs, those who sell exports, and it's very important to the economy. But I think we want to make certain.

I supported the President's trade policies, but we've got to be more aggressive. Once you have a policy, then you've got to go out and be aggressive and enforce that policy. There are American jobs that are being lost. That's what Ross Perot complains about. And I'd say to the Reform Party, take a look at the Republican Party. We're the reform party and we're going to make things better, and one of the things we're going to do is stop exporting jobs in America.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Let me say again: We've had over 200 separate trade agreements in the last four years. By far, the largest number in American history -- not just the big ones you've read about, but a lot of smaller ones.

Now, what we have to do is to focus on those things that we're real good at and make sure we're getting a fair deal. We just had a pretty serious dispute with China because they were copying our CDs and costing thousands of jobs in places like California. So we had -- we said, you know, if you want to keep doing business and selling your products over here, you're going to have to quit pirating our CDs. And they agreed to do a number of things and to let us verify that they've done it, but I think they're going to make the problem much better.

But there is not a simple, easy answer; you just have to work on this day in and day out, every month, every year, every issue to make sure that we have not only free trade but fair trade. I'm

proud that we're better off on that than we were four years ago.

MR. LEHRER: All right, the next question is for Senator Dole.

Q This great nation has been established by the founding fathers, who possessed a very strong Christian belief in Godly principles. If elected President of the United States, what could you do to return this nation to these basic principles; and, also, do you feel that the office of the President has responsibility to set the role -- to inspire our young people?

SENATOR DOLE: Well, no doubt about it, our founding fathers had a great deal of wisdom. In addition to what you mentioned, they also were concerned about this all-powerful central government in Washington, D.C. that would, in effect, confiscate your property.

So I carry around in my pocket -- I can't pull it out, I'd violate the rules -- a copy of the 10th Amendment, which says that we ought to return power to the states and power to the people, the people here. You ought to make more decisions. Honor, duty and country. That's what America is all about.

Certainly, the President of the United States, in the highest office in the world, the most important office in the world has the responsibility to young people -- we talked about earlier -- to everyone by example. And when it comes to public ethics, he has a responsibility.

When you have thirty-some in your administration who have either left or are being investigated or in jail or whatever, then you've got an ethical problem. It's public ethics. I'm not talking about private. We're talking about public ethics. When you have 900 files gathered up by some guy who was a bouncer in a bar and hired as a security officer to collect files. In Watergate, I know a person who went to jail for looking at one file, on FBI file. They're are 900 sequestered in the White House -- 900. People like you. Why should they be rifling through your files?

So the President has a great responsibility and it's one that I understand and would certainly carry out.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: This is the most religious, great country in history. And, yet, interestingly enough, we have the most religious freedom of any country in the world, including the freedom not to believe. And now we have all these people, just up the road in Los Angeles County we've got people from 150 different racial and ethnic groups and they've got tons of different

religions.

But the fundamental tenets of virtually every religion are the same. And what I tried to do is to support policies that would respect religion and then help parents inculcate those values for their children. And let me very briefly give you some examples.

One of my proudest moments was signing the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which says the government has got to bend over backwards before we interfere with religious practices. So I changed the Justice Department effort to get a church to pay back a man's tithe because he was bankrupt when he gave it. I supported character education programs in our schools, drug-free schools programs. I supported giving parents a V-chip on their television so if they don't want their young kids to watch things they shouldn't watch, they wouldn't have to.

That's the kind of thing we need to do. Give people like you and our families the power to give those values to our children.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I think it's -- you know, before I came in tonight my wife and daughter and I had a prayer because it's God will; whatever happens, God's will, it will happen. A constitutional amendment for voluntary prayer in school, in my view, would be a great idea. I support it; the President opposes it.

And it seems to me the President, whoever the President may be, this is one of his highest responsibilities. People look to the President of the United States more than any other person in America, and that's the way it's always been, and that's the way it always will be.

MR. LEHRER: All right. This is our last question. It goes to President Clinton and it's from this section. Yes, ma'am.

Q I, too, am a minister. I am with Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches. President Clinton, perhaps you can help me with something tonight. I've heard Mr. Dole say several times, "all of us together." And when he was asked if he would support equal rights in employment for gay and lesbian people, you said that you favored that. And he said that he did not believe in special rights. And I thought the question was, equal rights for all people. And I don't understand why people are using the term "special rights" when the question is equal rights.

Could you help me in understanding that?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I want to answer your question, but let me say one other thing. We don't need a constitutional amendment for

kids to pray. And what I did was to have the Justice Department and the Education Department, for the first time ever, issue a set of guidelines that we gave to every school in America, saying that children could not be interfered with in religious advocacy when they were praying, when they were doing whatever they could do under the constitution, just because they were on a public school ground.

And I think anyone who has experienced this would tell you that our administration has done more than any in 30 years to clarify the freedom of religion in the public square, including in the public schools.

Now, I think I have to let Senator Dole speak for himself. It wouldn't be fair for me to do that. I would wind up -- I mean, it's the last question. I'd mischaracterize it to try to make you happy. (Laughter.) Let me tell you what I feel. We have a lot of differences in our country, and some of us believe that other people's decisions are wrong, even in morals. But under our Constitution, if you show up tomorrow and obey the law and you work hard and you do what you're supposed to do, you're entitled to equal treatment. That's the way the system works.

All over the world people are being torn apart -- in Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi, you name it, because of all of their differences. We still have some of that hatred inside us. You see it in the church-burnings. And one of the things I've tried hardest to do is to tell the American people that we have to get beyond that, we have to understand that we're stronger when we unite around shared values instead of being divided by our differences.

MR. LEHRER: Senator Dole.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, I hope I've made my answer clear, that I'm opposed to discrimination. We've suffered discrimination in the disability community. There are 43 million of us, and I can recall cases where people would cross the street rather than to meet somebody in a wheelchair. So we want to end discrimination. I think that answers itself. No discrimination in America. We've made that clear.

And I would just say that it seems to me that that's the way it ought to be. We shouldn't discriminate -- race, color, whatever -- lifestyle, disability. This is America, and we're all proud of it, but we're not there yet. But we need a good, strong leadership going into the next century. I'm sorry we didn't have a foreign policy question because just this week, Secretary Christopher said, well, we didn't know much the first couple of years about foreign policy. Now, that was quite an admission. It underscores what I

had to say in the Hartford debate, that there is really no foreign policy in this administration; it's sort of ad hoc, it's whatever comes up, we'll deal with it. Unfortunately, we didn't have more questions on that.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me say again, there is no more important responsibility for the President than to say if you believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, that's all we need to know and you can be part of our America and you can walk across that bridge to the 21st century with us.

And we are not well-served when we attack each other in a kind of an ad hominem way. It doesn't create jobs. It doesn't educate children. It doesn't solve problems. We need to be disagreeing on ideas honestly and talking about the future. The future will be the greatest time in this country's history if we can beat this division that is bedeviling the whole rest of the world.

MR. LEHRER: All right, now we go to the closing statements. Senator Dole, you're first. Two minutes, sir.

SENATOR DOLE: Well, let me thank everybody here at the University; and Jim, thank you; all the people who may still be watching or viewing. This is what it's all about. It's not about me. It's not about President Clinton. It's about the process. It's about selecting a President of the United States.

So we have our differences. We should have our differences. You mentioned other parties, they have their differences. If we all agreed, it would be a pretty dull place. We should have more debates. I think we'll have another debate on the economy.

But I would just say this: This is the highest honor that I've ever had in my life, to think that somebody from Russell, Kansas, somebody who grew up in a basement apartment, somebody whose parents didn't finish high schools, somebody who spent about 39 months in hospitals after World War II, somebody who uses a button hook every day to get dressed, somebody who understands the real Americans out there with real problems -- whether soccer moms or the single parents or families or seniors or people with disabilities, whoever it may be.

But there are some very fundamental differences in this campaign. President Clinton opposes term limits. President Clinton opposes a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. President Clinton opposes a voluntary prayer amendment. He opposes an amendment to protect the flag of the United States of America. People give their lives -- a couple of servicemen here, they sacrifice. They give everything for America. We ought to protect

the American flag with a constitutional amendment.

But beyond that, we need to address the economy. And I would just say, with my time running out here, it's a very proud moment for me. And what I want the voters to do is to make a decision. And I want them to be proud of their vote in the years ahead, proud that they voted for the right candidate, proud that they voted, hopefully, for me.

And I'll just make you one promise: My word is good. Democrats and Republicans said Bob Dole's word is good. I keep my word. I promise you the economy is going to get better, we're going to have a good economic package, and we're going into the next century a better America.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Thank you, Jim, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, and all the people who are watching.

One thing I'd like to say is I agree with what Senator Dole said, it's a remarkable thing in a country like ours that a man who grew up in Russell, Kansas, and one who was born to a widowed mother in Hope, Arkansas, could wind up running for President, could have a chance to serve as President.

The first thing I want to say is, thank you for giving me the chance to be President.

This election is about two different visions about how we should go into the 21st century. Would we be better off, as I believe, working together to give each other the tools we need to make the most of our God-given potential? Or are we better off saying, you're on your own? Would we be better off building that bridge to the future together, so we can all walk across it, or saying, you can get across yourself?

If you don't leave this room with anything else tonight, and if the people watching us don't leave with anything else, I hope you will leave with this: This is a real important election. The world is changing dramatically in how we work and how we live, how we relate to each other -- huge changes. And the decisions we make will have enormous practical consequences.

So we've talked about our responsibility tonight. I want to talk about your responsibility and your responsibility. Your responsibility is to show up on November 5th, because you're going to decide whether we're going to balance the budget now, but protect Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment. You will decide whether we're going to keep fighting crime with the

Brady Bill, the assault weapons and finish putting those 100,000 police; whether we're going to move a million people from welfare to work; whether we're going to give our families more protection for their kids against drugs and tobacco and gangs and guns; whether we're going to give our children world-class education where every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college.

If we do those things, we'll build that bridge to the 21st century, and the greatest country in history will be even greater. Thank you.

MR. LEHRER: Thank you, Senator. Thank you, Mr. President. This concludes -- this is the last of the three 1996 Presidential and Vice Presidential debates. (Applause.)

END

7:30 P.M. PDT

**Debate Preparation
20 Questions By Subject Area**

1. ECONOMIC

1. Houston Comment – Taxes a Mistake?

Lehrer: You said in Houston, that it may surprise people to know that you regret raising taxes so much. You said later you were taken out of context. Tell us now; do you still stand by your tax increase, and were you suggesting that you had to raise taxes more than you wanted to, and that Democrats in Congress forced you to raise them higher?

Dole: Isn't it the case, that you proposed an energy tax four times the size of the one passed by Congress -- and you were so far out of the mainstream on taxes that even the liberal Democratic Congress kept you from taxing more than you did?

2. Broken Middle Class Tax Cut Promise – Pledge

Lehrer: Four years ago, you sat here in these debates and not only promised a tax cut, but you promised that you would not raise taxes on people in the middle class. Four years before that, George Bush promised to not raise taxes as well. Later, you both raised taxes. Why should any one out there believe that the promises you make now on taxes are nothing more than empty political promises?

Dole: Four years ago, Bill Clinton looked America in the eye and said he would cut taxes. Only weeks after the election, he was already making plans to raise energy and social security taxes on all Americans -- not just the well off -- because he said the deficit was higher than he thought when everyone knew it was going higher. Why should anyone have faith in you now? Will you pledge tonight that you will not raise any new taxes if you are elected or will you give another wishy-washy statement?

3. 1993 Taxes a Good Thing?

Lehrer: You raised taxes in 1993 \$250 billion -- maybe not the highest tax increase in history -- but certainly one of the highest. Your tax increase was mostly on the well-off, but it was also on gas taxes and Social Security taxes. You have claimed that people do not understand your tax increase. Here is your chance. Tell us who you raised taxes on, why you did, and whether or not it has been good for the economy, and if it was good, would you do it again?

Dole: Mr. President, you have told the American people countless times that you only raised taxes on the rich. Yet, you raised gas taxes on every American, and you raised Social Security taxes on families making as little as \$34,000. Will you admit now that you did raise taxes on the

middle class, that older Americans making \$34,000 are not rich, and explain why you said you were going to cut their taxes and then turned around and raised their taxes?

4. Are we overtaxed?

Lehrer: Mr. President, do you feel Americans are overtaxed, undertaxed, or are taxed just right?

Dole: Under Bill Clinton, taxes as a percentage of our economy -- according to his own Commerce Department -- is at the highest in history. A family now works a half a year before they have a right to one cent of their hard earned money, and a family now pays more on taxes than they do on food, clothing and shelter.

5. Tax Reform -- What Should We Do?

Lehrer: Many people who believe that the IRS is oppressive and that our current tax system is complicated and outdated thought this year would be a referendum on tax reform. So far, neither of you has proposed a concrete tax reform proposal, but Senator Dole and Jack Kemp have said they want to end the IRS as we know it. Do you feel the status quo is acceptable or in need of only marginal tinkering, or will you consider dramatic tax reform and simplification?

Dole: President Clinton likes the current system, because he doesn't understand that it is your money. Mr. President, why won't you pledge that you will revamp the current system and go to a fairer, flatter and simpler tax system?

MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

6. Fear Approach -- "Mediscare"

Lehrer: Mr. President, while no one doubts that your attacks on the Republican's Medicare plan have been an overwhelming political success, isn't it the case that you too cut Medicare, and that the difference between your two proposals are quite small -- as little as \$138 a year; that over 100 Democratic members of Congress have supported this level of savings -- that they are less than the savings in your own health care plan and that currently, you are exaggerating the differences for political advantage?

Dole: FDR stated we have nothing to fear but fear itself. This President thrives on providing fear to those who have nothing to fear. The President says we would devastate Medicare; that our savings are extreme. Yet, the Concord Coalition says the difference between us is about 2-3 cents on the dollar (\$138 per year). We have \$158 billion; he has \$124 billion -- that's \$5-6 billion a year because we believe we can reduce fraud and abuse.

7. Medicare Trust Fund

Lehrer: Mr. President, what do you say to those who say that we do need major reform on Medicare to keep it solvent and restore the Trust Fund, and that even though neither of you have plans that would restore the long-term problem, the Republicans were more honest, more politically courageous in proposing more dramatic reform, and that you have now set the process back?

Dole: Your own cabinet -- even the most liberal members of your cabinet, Secretary Shalala and Secretary Reich, have written official reports several times stating that the Medicare Trust Fund is headed toward bankruptcy in four years. You have chosen to ignore this warning, so that you can demagogue this issue for political advantage. Your plan extends the life of this Trust Fund just one measly year. Is this responsible leadership?

8. When is a Cut a Cut?

Lehrer: Mr. President, in 1994, you stated that it was just Washington talk to say that reducing Medicare to two-thirds the rate of inflation was a cut; yet, you have repeatedly insisted that the Republicans are cutting Medicare for the same reductions in the rate of growth. Don't Republicans have a point when they say that they are increasing Medicare beyond even medical inflation, and even according to your past statements, calling it a cut is misleading?

Dole: We are increasing Medicare spending from \$4900 to \$7200 per Medicare beneficiary. A 50% increase. An increase beyond inflation. An increase beyond medical inflation. Savings smaller than you called for in your health care plan. If we are increasing Medicare by 50% per person, if our savings are less than the savings in the Clinton health care plan, how can that be so bad? Why is a reduction in the rate of inflation when it is your big government health care program okay? Yet a lesser amount when we are trying to save the Medicare Trust Fund, balance the budget and give Americans a tax break, is a devastating cut?

9. Means Testing Medicare

Lehrer: What's wrong with means-testing -- asking the best off to pay just a few dollars more in premiums for Medicare? Isn't that consistent with a Democratic approach, and haven't you just opposed this in order to make political points?

Dole: In 1992, the President said in Putting People First, he was for means-testing to pay for big government spending programs. In 1993, he was for taxing 5 million Social Security recipients \$600 a year to pay for part of his huge new spending programs. Then in 1994, he was for means-testing Medicare to pay for his big government takeover. Yet, when Republicans ask the most well-off to pay a little more to transfer that into saving Medicare Trust Fund, suddenly it is wrong. Why Mr. President do you say one thing when it is for big government programs, but another when it is to attack Republicans trying to do the right thing and save Medicare?

10. Candor on Saving Social Security

Lehrer: Many young people believe that there is a better chance of aliens landing on earth than Social Security being there for their retirement. Isn't it the case that both of you know that you will have to make serious reforms in Social Security to keep it solvent and that you are not telling us, or just hiding behind vague Commission promises. Will you tell us now, three specific reforms in Social Security you will make or consider to ensure that Social Security will be there?

Dole: I led the Commission in 1983 that saved Social Security and will do it again when I'm elected. In 1983, I chose responsibility and leadership over political opportunism. Fortunately, President Reagan did too. This year, however, when some of us chose to be responsible on saving Medicare, Clinton chose demagoguery. How can anyone do the right thing if the President chooses to demagogue responsible proposals.

BUDGET AND DEFICIT

11. Unspecified Presidential Budget Plan

Lehrer: Mr. President, you say that you pay for your plan line-by-line, dime-by-dime, but Democratic budget experts I talked to say that you have \$82 billion in unspecified spending promises in your plan as well. Why is that and will you pledge to Americans that you will put out the line-by-line, dime-by-dime specifics on how you will pay for all of your promises?

Dole: The Washington Post, the Concord Coalition, all of the people the President likes to quote, says that his plan is smoke-and-mirrors and the Congressional Budget Office says that the real Clinton budget would not balance, but have over an \$80 billion deficit in the year 2002 -- and that is before all of the new spending proposals we have seen so far.

12. Republican Saved Clinton From Himself on Spending

Lehrer: Mr. President, you often do boast of your success in cutting spending and the deficit. Yet, don't Republicans have a point when they say that without Republican opposition -- and even opposition from Democratic moderates -- that left to your own devices you would have passed an expensive stimulus plan, a gigantic health care plan and not supported a balanced budget goal. Isn't it true that your best accomplishments on the deficit would not have happened without Republican pressure?

Dole: This President fought every attempt to reduce spending. He fought for a \$16 billion pork-barrel plan, but he fought against a bipartisan plan to cut spending by \$100 billion. He twisted arms on three occasions to prevent a balanced budget amendment. He wanted a budget that was not balanced, but was at \$200 billion as far as the eye can see, and he would have added \$1.5 trillion in spending for his health care plan, that would have put the deficit near \$500 billion today.

13. Tax Cuts -- Temporary and Irresponsible

Lehrer: Isn't it the case that most budget experts believe that neither of you should be cutting taxes now. That both of you are engaged in political pandering and that Mr. President, your own budget is based on the gimmick that you can trigger off your tax cuts?

Dole: The President's small tax cuts hardly are phased-in before they are phased-out. Yet, while his tax cuts are temporary, his tax increases are forever. While he states he has a tax cut, the non-partisan, Joint Tax Committee estimates that the President's plan will actually raise taxes by \$64 billion?

14. Philosophy on Government

Lehrer: You said that the era of big government is over. Yet, your campaign strategy has been to propose countless government proposals. Tell us now, what is your philosophy of government, and what does it mean to have the era of big government over and still have so much government activism?

Dole: This President has a toll bridge. Anything you do, anything he says he will need to raise taxes for. He has 484 proposals costing \$432 billion. With health care, he would need \$2 trillion. Ask President Clinton how many hundreds of billions more would he have spent without Republicans getting in his way.

ECONOMY

15. Darker Side to the Economy

Lehrer: Mr. President, while the economy is doing better since you took office, how do you respond to those from the left and right who point out that contrary to your claims, productivity is down since you took office, consumer debt is going through the roof, and that full-time, year round workers are actually seeing their wages fall -- not rise. Is there a darker side to this economy that you are not recognizing?

Dole: When you took office interest rates were lower than they were today by two points; growth was 4.3% and you said that it was the worst period in 50 years. When you have record consumer bankruptcies; when an average full-time year round workers sees their income go down in your Administration, when growth is the worst for a recovery this century, how can you say that this is the best America can be?

16. Who Gets Credit?

Lehrer: Many experts say the economy is better, but several experts we have talked to say that it is far less clear how much credit you deserve, both because the economy is doing better and because many credit Greenspan. What is your response?

Dole: Before this President took office, we had 3.7% growth --- 50% better than since Clinton has been in office. Interest rates were going down -- while now they are two points higher. The record of the last two years is that President Clinton inherited an economy on the move, and has driven growth down and interest rates up with a big spending, big tax proposal. Indeed, interest rates went down when the Republican Congress was elected and went up again when you vetoed our budget.

17. Economic Anxiety

Lehrer: Mr. President you now say that the economy is on the right track and the best it has been in 30 years. Yet, many fellow Democrats -- even your Secretary of Labor -- maintain that millions of Americans are still overworked, underpaid and feeling the anxiety of downsizing. Who is right and what do you say to those who say that for many Americans this is not the best of times?

Dole: Most Americans feel this economy will not produce a better America for their children. Most Americans are working harder and have less time for their children because of the slow-growth Clinton economy.

18. Economic Growth

Lehrer: Growth has been a big issue in this campaign. Tell us what do you feel is the most America can grow and why your plan is the better plan to do so?

Dole: The President inherited an economy growing at 3.7% -- which he said was the worst in 50 years -- and taxed it into an economy growing 50% slower. President Clinton's plan says that the economy will grow at 2.3% if we follow his big government approach. He believes that 2.3% is what will happen if we pass his plan. It is the best he believes America can do.

19. Define Priorities and Plan

Lehrer: What is the number one problem facing the economy and what are the three elements that define your economic growth plan/philosophy?

Dole: Clinton is a liberal and his plan and philosophy is big spending and big government. In the election, however, his goal is simply to propose whatever Republicans are doing. If I propose it, he tries to talk about it during the election. He talks conservative during elections and governs liberal, liberal, liberal as soon as he gets a chance.

TRADE

20. Trade Deficit

Lehrer: Mr. President, you ran in 1992 on closing both the budget deficit and the trade deficit. Yet, under your watch the trade deficit has exploded. Is this a failure of this Administration, and what would you do differently to turn the tide?

Dole: This President took good Republican trade legislation, and then let it get weakened by special interest Labor groups, and then worst of all, failed to enforce these agreements so that we have the largest trade deficit in history and are a patsy for China and Japan and anyone else who deals with this Administration.

HEALTH CARE

21. Failure of 1994 Health Plan

Lehrer: Why do you think your health care plan failed in 1994?

Dole:

22. Would You Return to Universal Coverage?

Lehrer: Mr. President, you have implied that you will not go back to a big government health program if you are re-elected. Yet, are you really saying that if a Democratic Congress is elected and they want to go back to mandates and greater coverage, that you will resist them?

Dole: President Clinton's health care takeover would have cost \$1.5 trillion in government required spending, with 1/7th of the economy under the watch of government bureaucrats. If this President is reelected and he has Ted Kennedy and Dick Gephardt running things, will we be lucky if they do not go to even a more centralized, more bureaucratic takeover, like they really wanted to?

23. Do You Reject the Mandate Approach?

Lehrer: You have said that you bit off more than you could chew. Most people think that means politically. Are you actually now saying that an employer-mandate is a mistake, and that you would never go to that option again. And if that is the case, does this mean you have given up on universal coverage or would rely on taxes to do so?

Dole: This President's proposal was a \$1.5 trillion spending proposal. The first chance he gets with a Democratic Congress he will try to use the strong arm of the government to implicitly tax every small business, raising taxes and killing jobs, or to do so directly through a payroll tax and a unified government program as his close friend Ted Kennedy has proposed.

24. Role of First Lady

Lehrer: When you took office, you put the First Lady in charge of a health care task force that was widely criticized for its secrecy and the plan it produced. You've just named the Vice President to head a new health care commission in a second term. Tell us why we should expect a different result.

Dole: These liberals can't help themselves. They can't pass up the chance to make government bigger at your expense.

MISCELLANEOUS

24. Middle Class

Lehrer: Each of you says you're the best candidate to serve the interests of the middle class. How would you define the middle class?

Dole:

II. DOMESTIC

CRIME AND DRUGS

1. Using the bully pulpit

Lehrer: You've used your bully pulpit to combat tobacco use. But you have not done so with respect to drugs, and teen drug use has doubled on your watch. What can we expect to hear from you about drugs in a second term?

Dole: President Clinton joked about drug use on MTV. His press secretary joked about drug use. His Surgeon General called for making drugs legal. Is it any wonder that teens now think it's OK to use drugs?

2. Credit for reduction in drugs

Lehrer: You've claimed a great deal of credit for the reduction in crime in recent years. But in fact, 95% of crimes are prosecuted at the state and local level, and the federal government has little to do with it. You talk about putting 100,000 police on the street, yet less than 20,000 are actually on the street. You talk about the death penalty for drug kingpins, yet not a single case has been brought under your administration. Aren't you trying to claim credit for a drop in crime you had little to do with?

Dole: This administration has appointed liberal judges who have put criminals back on the street.

Prosecution of violent crimes is down. 11 of 19 assault weapons are back on the market. Less than 20,000 police are on the street, and if he had his way, he would have added 100,000 social workers. The President talks like Dirty Harry, but he acts like Barney Fife.

3. Introduction of crack cocaine

Lehrer: Many in the African-American community believe that in the 1980s, the government introduced crack cocaine into the ghetto as a way to fund their fight against communism in Nicaragua. Your administration has been slow to respond. Do you believe the CIA had anything to do with introducing cocaine, and what steps will you take to get to the bottom of this story?

Dole: We should get to the bottom of this, but what concerns me is the amount of drugs that are coming into the country today. This administration has dropped drugs from 3rd to 29th out of 29 on their list of national security concerns, never even raising the subject in a meeting with a foreign leader, and slashed the military's interdiction budget so that it now represents only 9% of the drug budget.

4. Chemical castration

Lehrer: California has begun using chemical castration for sex offenders. You have noted the high recidivism rate of these criminals. Would you support such a step to curb predators?

Dole: I support this measure, but we should go further. We should get rid of parole altogether, and we need tough judges so these people will never see the light of day.

5. Political Posturing

Lehrer: You taught constitutional law before you entered politics. Yet as President, you have signed into law community notification for sex offenders, called for school uniforms and curfews, and eliminated death row appeals. Aren't these positions really a matter of political posturing rather than principle?

Dole: Those were my ideas, and the President didn't come out for them until he decided to hide his liberalism in a closet for this election year.

6. Needle Exchanges

Lehrer: Your Drug Czar opposes needle exchanges, yet your AIDS Czar supports it. What is your position?

Dole: That's typical of this administration -- they take both sides of every issue. We should be cracking down on drugs, but not handing out needles and condoms and joking about drugs at the White House.

WELFARE REFORM

7. Welfare reform bill

Lehrer: You signed a welfare reform law that ended a 60-year federal guarantee to the poor. Yet your own cabinet opposed it, your own advisors estimated that it would throw a million children into poverty, and three top officials quit because you signed it. Since then, your administration has tried to soften the impact of the bill, and you have said that in a second term you would name the First Lady to fix it. If you weren't running for re-election, would you have signed this bill -- or vetoed it a third time and demanded improvements?

Dole: The President's vacillations on this issue prove he's a liberal. I wrote that bill, and he vetoed it twice -- then turned around in an election-year conversion and signed it -- while promising his liberal allies that after the election he'll fix it. He's a welfare fraud.

8. Election-year conversion

Lehrer: In 1994, you proposed a welfare reform plan that would have increased welfare spending by \$10 billion. Yet you just signed a welfare reform bill that cut \$55 billion. How do you expect to move people from welfare to work while saving this much money? And doesn't this show a remarkable election-year conversion?

Dole: This just shows you that the President will undermine welfare reform if he has the chance with a liberal Congress. If it weren't for Republicans in Congress, welfare reform would have gone the way of the President's middle-class tax cut. Republican governors around the country have proven that we can reform welfare and save money.

BIG VS. SMALL

9. No big ideas

Lehrer: You have proposed a number of political initiatives -- curfews, school uniforms, truancy manuals, cell phones for community groups -- that don't cost much money and the federal government has little or nothing to do with. Yet you haven't said a word about the fact that Medicare is on the verge of insolvency, the gap between rich and poor continues to widen, and America is not investing in the infrastructure or its future. You say this election is a big deal. Where are your big ideas to match the magnitude of this election?

Dole: I have big ideas. 15% tax cut. Balance the budget. Opportunity scholarship for school choice. Cutting drug use in half by the year 2000. And I'll make this pledge tonight: If I don't deliver on those big ideas, I won't seek reelection. I can make the hard choices -- I saved Social Security, one of my proudest achievements. This election is too big for political grandstanding

TOBACCO

10. Having it both ways

Lehrer: You and Vice President Gore have made much of your crackdown on marketing tobacco to children. Yet during your Presidency, the national Democratic Party has continued to accept campaign contributions from tobacco companies, and the Vice President has admitted receiving tobacco subsidies. Aren't you trying to have it both ways?

Dole: This administration didn't do a thing about tobacco use until the campaign started. In fact, they sat on this for years. This is just a smokescreen to cover up their lousy record on teen drug use.

EDUCATION

11. Vouchers

Lehrer: You strongly oppose Senator Dole's school voucher plan to help inner-city families send their children to private schools. You vetoed a bill to do that in Washington, D.C., even though you and the First Lady chose to send your daughter to a private, and not public school. Aren't you applying a double standard for your own family?

Dole: The President and the First Lady have every right to choose the best school for Chelsea, and I respect them for doing so. But every family in America should have the same choice as the President.

12. Teachers Unions

Lehrer: You and your campaign have received millions of dollars in contributions from teachers unions. Can you name one major area of education policy where you differ with the teacher lobby?

Dole: I have great respect for teachers. But the ultraliberal teachers unions and this administration have conspired to stop education reform across the country, and America's children are suffering at their expense.

13. Is the Federal Role in Education Working?

Lehrer: Mr. President, everyone agrees that education is primarily a state and local responsibility. Yet, there is a great debate over what the federal role should be. You say there should be a stronger role. Senator Dole says we should abolish the Department of Education and send that funds back to state and localities. What should the federal role in education be?

Dole: I want more for education, but I want to give parents more choices and more control. I want to give funds directly to the local governments, and not have a federal government that tells local schools how they should teach history, or who is an appropriate role model. The federal intervention by President Clinton has failed. SAT scores have gone down, 40% of our 3rd graders aren't reading, the drop-out rate is rising. We should stop this federal-top down approach, and cut taxes and give the money back to give parents more choices.

SOCIAL ISSUES

14. Abortion

Lehrer: You have said that abortion should be safe, legal and rare. What advice would you give your daughter now if she became pregnant?

Dole: That's none of your business.

15. Partial Birth Abortion

Lehrer: You have said that abortion should be safe, legal and rare. Yet you vetoed a bill that would have banned a procedure that many experts believe is being used not to protect the mother's health but to terminate unwanted pregnancies. If this procedure isn't unacceptable to you, what is?

Dole: I'm a moderate on abortion. But I agree with the bishops on this one: If this kind of procedure isn't morally wrong, I don't know what is. But this President doesn't listen to his conscience, he listens to his liberal interest-group friends.

16. Gay and Lesbian

Lehrer: You signed the law to ban gay marriage, angering many in your party. Would you support a law that permits gay couples to adopt children?

Dole: I oppose gay marriage and I oppose gay adoption.

17. Affirmative Action

Lehrer: You have said that you're for mending, not ending affirmative action. Yet your administration intervened to uphold a New Jersey case where a more qualified teacher was laid off just because she was white. Why did you take that side in the New Jersey case?

Dole: I have an outstanding record on civil rights. I led the fight for the Martin Luther King holiday and the civil rights law of 1992. But affirmative action's best days are behind us. Every American deserves the chance to get ahead and to be judged on their ability and initiative, without regard to race, creed or color.

18. Assisted Suicide

Lehrer: Dr. Kevorkian has assisted in the deaths of dozens of Americans, mostly women. Would you support legislation to ban doctor-assisted suicides?

Dole:

POLITICAL REFORM

19. Campaign Finance Reform

Lehrer: You promised campaign finance reform in 1992 and again in your convention speech. You shook hands with Speaker Gingrich on establishing a bipartisan commission on campaign finance reform. Yet you have accepted millions in contributions to your campaign and your legal defense fund, and allowed the sewer of special interest money to continue? Can we honestly expect any better in a second term?

Dole: I proposed a bipartisan commission on campaign finance reform three years ago. I will only serve one term, and I will get this done -- because I can make the tough decisions.

REINVENTING GOVERNMENT

20. Just a public relations effort

Lehrer: You claim you've reduced the federal bureaucracy by 240,000 positions, yet most of those are in defense. You have said the era of big government is over, yet you propose new areas of government intervention almost daily. Isn't "reinventing government" just a PR stunt?

Dole:

URBAN POLICY

21. No urban agenda

Lehrer: When you took office, you promised a massive economic stimulus package and new investment in our crumbling inner cities. But the stimulus package went nowhere, and you haven't proposed any major investment initiatives since. And some in your party have criticized you for not having an urban agenda. What is your urban agenda for a second term?

Dole: My running mate is credited with having developed the whole idea of enterprise zones, and has more credibility on urban issues than anyone in America. When I'm President, we'll unleash the energy and ingenuity of our great entrepreneurs to breathe new life into our cities which have been devastated by the welfare state.

JUDGES

22. Supreme Court

Lehrer: The next President is likely to appoint several new members of the United States Supreme Court. What will guide you in making these important selections, and do you have any

so-called litmus tests on issues such as abortion rights?

Dole:

LEGAL REFORM

23. Product Liability/Securities

Lehrer: As President you vetoed bipartisan legislation designed to reform both product liability laws and securities laws. Why have you been an obstacle to such reforms, and how to you answer your opponent's criticism of those vetoes?

Dole:

III. FOREIGN

1. Overall Credibility, Weakness, and Process

Lehrer: You were elected on a domestic policy agenda and many critics claim that you have had intermittent involvement in foreign policy, and that you vacillated on issues like Bosnia and changed your mind on key issues like China. Do you think you have spent enough time on foreign policy and have your changes in position on Bosnia and China weakened our credibility and influence around the world?

Dole: I read Colin Powell's book and like me he was appalled at the sophomoric approach of President Clinton and his advisers when it comes to his most important responsibility: safeguarding America's national security and promoting our interests around the world. He wasted three years deferring to the U.N. and the Europeans on Bosnia; according to his own CIA Director, he let Saddam Hussein strengthen his position in Iraq after dropping a few cruise missiles and letting the Gulf war coalition unravel; he crossed the line by meddling in the Israeli election and, as a result, our influence in Israel and the Middle East is greatly diminished; he's changed positions so many times on China that their leaders have been emboldened to threaten Taiwan. In short, he inherited an American prestige at an all-time high after President Reagan's victory in the Cold War and President Bush's victory in the Gulf, and he has systematically squandered it.

2. Social Work/Photo-op Foreign Policy

Lehrer: Some critics say your foreign policy has focused on peripheral problems like Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia at the expense of central issues like our relations with China and key European allies. They say you have turned foreign policy into social work. How do you respond?

Dole: Our key relationships in Europe and Asia are falling apart. Our European allies refuse to follow our lead on issues like Iraq and Iran. In Asia, China thumbs its nose at U.S. interests on selling weapons, Taiwan, and human rights. I don't think President Clinton understands the difference between advancing America's fundamental interests in the world and what looks good on T.V.

3. Terrorism

Lehrer: To understand how you would approach the problem of terrorism, I want to ask you a hypothetical question. If investigators determined conclusively that either the Khobar bombing or the TWA crash was the work of terrorists supported by Iran, would you order military action against Teheran?

Dole: This administration has not been tough with terrorists and their state sponsors -- and we've suffered the consequences. They have relied on feckless U.N. resolutions to bring the Libyans to justice who masterminded Pan Am 103. They ignored intelligence about terrorist threats to our soldiers in Saudi Arabia -- and dozens of Americans died as a result. They know about terrorist training camps in Iran, and have taken no action in response. Their weakness invites further attacks on Americans -- and that's unacceptable.

4. National Missile Defense

Lehrer: Do you think there is a serious threat to the United States from rogue states, like Iran and Libya, obtaining ballistic missiles? If so, what are you prepared to do about this threat?

Dole: President Clinton has not protected the United States from the real threat of ballistic missiles seriously. His CIA Director has politicized the intelligence process to mislead us into believing that the ballistic missile threat is far in the future. And President Clinton has fought against our proposals to build a national missile defense. The technology is ready and by failing to build a defense, President Clinton has failed his most important test as Commander in Chief: defending the territory and people of the United States. What would President Clinton do if Libya or Iran surprised us and launched a missile against the United States?

5. Iraq

Lehrer: For five years now, Saddam Hussein has threatened Kuwait, his neighbors, and the world, not to mention brutalizing his own people. How do we stop Saddam Hussein and should it be American policy to seek the overthrow of this dangerous and brutal dictator?

Dole: When President Clinton took office, a strong coalition against Saddam Hussein had been built by President Bush and Secretary Baker. Now that coalition is in tatters. Saddam Hussein has won a major victory in Northern Iraq, because this administration did not pay enough attention to the Kurdish problem and responded to his latest aggression with a few pin-prick cruise missile strikes. President Clinton's own CIA director has admitted that Saddam is

stronger, and the American-led effort to contain him is weaker. Unless President Clinton levels with the American people on what our goals are with respect to Iraq, and unless we pursue serious goals with serious leadership, Saddam Hussein will remain a threat to America and the world.

6. Russia

Lehrer: Some say that our policy towards Russia has focused too much on President Yeltsin. Isn't there a risk that our relations and our interests will suffer if President Yeltsin were to become incapacitated or die during his upcoming heart surgery?

Dole: Our policy towards Russia has been weak, confused and fuzzy-headed. When the Russian military brutalized the people of Chechnya, President Clinton compared it to the American civil war. When Russia refused to stop transfers of nuclear reactors to Iran, President Clinton continued our assistance to the Yeltsin government. And when Yeltsin complained about our plans to expand NATO, we slowed down. President Clinton simply does not understand that our interests and Russia's interest are not the same. We need hard-headed realism in dealing with Russia not misguided romanticism.

7. China

Lehrer: Most experts agree that China is one of the most important foreign policy challenges America faces in the next decade. Should we take steps to eliminate irritants in our relationship that harm our ability to engage with China, such as the annual debate over most favored nation trading status and the possibility of Taiwanese leaders visiting the United States? Or should we adopt a tougher posture to meet the emerging threat as China's power and influence increases?

Dole: China is a classic example of the Clinton Administration's feckless, flip-flopping on foreign policy. Instead of establishing clear guidelines in this critical relationship, President Clinton has sent conflicting signals that have weakened us in the eyes of the Chinese leadership and in the eyes of our Asian allies. First he said he would link most favored nation status to human rights, then he changed his mind and extended MFN. First he told his Secretary of State to tell the Chinese we would not allow Taiwan's President into the United States, then when the political pressure built he changed his mind and let Taiwan's President come in. First he called China's leaders the "butchers of Beijing" and then he cozied up to them. Because of this vacillation, China felt free to ignore U.S. concerns over selling dangerous weapons to Pakistan and Iran and felt free to intimidate Taiwan with military exercises and missile tests during their elections. If I were President, America's word could be trusted. The American people would understand my policy, and the Chinese would trust me to carry it out.

8. The United Nations

Lehrer: President Clinton, when you first came into office you said you would build up the United Nations as a way to respond to the many problems that emerged as the Cold War ended.

Now, you have failed to pay the U.N. what we owe and seem to have shifted to unilateral actions. What is the appropriate role for the U.N. to play today?

Dole: The Clinton Administration has spent too much time and energy trying to work with the United Nations. He has given the U.N. veto power over our foreign policy. Our brave soldiers died because he gave unfit U.N. commanders control over our forces in Mogadishu; and the war in Bosnia dragged on for two extra years because U.N. secretary general Boutros Boutros Ghali blocked NATO from launching air strikes. Under a Dole Administration, U.S. troops would never be placed under the command of incompetent U.N. commanders, and my decisions will never be held hostage to the U.N. bureaucracy.

9. Bosnia

Lehrer: You said that American forces would stay in Bosnia for about a year, which would be this December. But most observers believe that if NATO leaves war will resume, and the Europeans have said they won't stay if the U.S. does not. Will you tell the American people tonight whether American soldiers will be out of Bosnia on schedule and, if not, how long will they stay and for what purpose?

Dole: President Clinton's policy in Bosnia was wrong from the beginning. Instead of arming the Bosnians like he said he would, he left them to be slaughtered for two years, while he listened to Boutros Boutros Ghali and the Europeans. If we had lifted the arms embargo like I proposed and like an overwhelming majority of Congress wanted to, we would never have had to send American troops there in the first place. The elections that were just held were a fraud. Now President Clinton won't even come clean about our need to keep thousands of troops there indefinitely. And if we had lifted the arms embargo, then Iran would never have gotten a foothold in Bosnia and Europe. It was President Clinton who structured a peace that depends upon a continued American military presence and who gave Iran the green light to go in Bosnia, and we will be suffering for a long time to come for his errors and failure to lead on Bosnia.

10. Somalia

Lehrer: Mr. President, was it a mistake to send American soldiers to Somalia as part of a U.N. effort to rebuild a failed state?

Dole: By failing to pay attention when American soldiers were deployed in Somalia, President Clinton and his advisers left our forces with incompetent command and control and improper equipment. Our soldiers died needlessly because the Clinton Administration let the U.N. control this operation and because it did not understand that foreign policy is not social work.

11. North Korea

Lehrer: With North Korea sending a submarine and commandos into South Korea, it is clear that the North Korean regime is a threat to our allies in the region. Should it be American policy

to promote the collapse of the current regime in North Korea?

Dole: President Clinton's policy towards North Korea is a classic example of weakness and self-delusion. He made a bad deal on the nuclear weapons program, letting them keep the nuclear weapons they already had. He has let them cheat on the agreement by diverting American taxpayer-funded fuel to their military. And he is propping up a dying regime by providing food. President Clinton dealt with this Communist regime by sending Jimmy Carter there, who got snookered. We should not be bailing out the communists in North Korea, and we should not be sending a signal of weakness to other dictators by bribing the North Koreans to give up a nuclear weapons program they shouldn't have had in the first place.

12. Peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland

Lehrer: President Clinton, you have claimed success as a force for peace in the Middle East and Northern Ireland. But considering the recent events in Israel and the failure to get the IRA to declare a cease-fire, do you think your declarations of success were premature or exaggerated?

Dole: One of the reasons we have been unable to stop the recent fighting in the Middle East is because President Clinton broke one of the cardinal rules of international politics. He openly supported Shimon Peres for Prime Minister of Israel. It's no wonder that Prime Minister Netanyahu is not listening to the United States. As far as Northern Ireland is concerned, President Clinton misunderstood the difference between having a few good photo opportunities in Northern Ireland for the hard work of making peace. And by his unprecedented meddling in the process he needlessly alienated our closest ally, England.

13. Haiti

Lehrer: In light of our intervention in Haiti and the continuing political and economic problems there, has the United States become responsible for Haiti and should we continue to deploy American forces to Haiti every time there is a problem?

Dole: This is a classic case of overselling and exaggerating our actions. It was overkill to send over 20,000 American troops to oust a few tin-pot dictators with a handful of tanks. Now we are responsible for the mess down there. And President Clinton has made allies with some of that country's most brutal violators of human rights. He won't even admit that the leaders he supports condone political murder. And when Congress tries to look into the problem he refuses to turn over critical evidence. What does he have to hide?

14. Rogue States with Weapons of Mass Destruction

Lehrer: What would you do if you learned that Libya was about to build an arsenal of chemical weapons or Iran was about to develop nuclear weapons? Would you use military force if these

countries refused to give up such weapons?

Dole: President Clinton has refused to acknowledge the seriousness of this problem. He refuses to build a ballistic missile defense to protect us from such weapons. And when it comes to Libyan support for terrorism he thinks the U.N. can pass resolutions and that's good enough. On Libya, I would respond the way President Reagan responded. As far as Iran is concerned, we know that President Clinton doesn't take this problem seriously. He simply refused to stand up to Russia when Moscow said it planned to provide dangerous nuclear reactors to Iran. By failing to stop these threats and by failing to build a national missile defense to protect against these threats, President Clinton is not faithfully executing his responsibilities to protect the American people.

15. NATO

Lehrer: What is the urgency to expand NATO, when some experts think doing so will cause a confrontation with Russia, and when many American's aren't sure what NATO's mission really is with the collapse of the Soviet Union? What's the rush?

Dole: President Clinton has been deliberately slow in expanding NATO because he has let Russia dictate the pace of enlargement. He is too concerned about the views of Russia and not concerned enough about the legitimate aspirations of our friends in Eastern Europe. Now his Defense Secretary has told the brave peoples in the Baltics to wait indefinitely for NATO membership. Clinton's romanticism on Russia is a real danger to European security.

16. Defense Budget/Strategy

Lehrer: What is the strategy that underlies your spending plans for national defense? What are the threats the American military should be prepared to meet?

Dole: America's defenses have been weakened over the last four years. President Clinton has refused to build a national missile defense. His defense plan has the lowest level of spending for procurement in decades. Our soldiers have been demoralized by his failed attempt to deal with gays in the military. And because he has deployed our forces to peripheral areas like Somalia and Bosnia, we are unprepared to combat the real national security threats.

17. Chemical Weapons Convention

Lehrer: There is apparently a difference of view between you on the Chemical Weapons Convention. Could you explain to the American people why ratifying this Treaty is or is not in the national interest of the United States.

Dole: This treaty is not verifiable as it was negotiated. We learned a long time ago that arms control agreements must be based on verification not trust. Moreover, the countries that are most likely to have chemical weapons will refuse to sign the agreement or cheat if they do sign. Why

should we impose a binding legal obligation on the United States not to have chemical weapons when the dangerous countries won't make the same pledge and when we won't know whether other countries live up to their obligations?

IV. POLITICAL

No Core

1. Commentators have written that "the disease to please has consumed you, that "you are a man that believes in everything," and that "you ran on the promise of change and you keep changing your mind." Why is it so difficult for the American people to know what you really believe in? Follow-up: "I raised taxes too much."

No Trust

2. In response to polls, over 60% of the American people say they don't trust you even as a similar percentage approves of the job you're doing. Has public cynicism reached the point where trusting people in high office has ceased to be relevant to selecting candidates for public office?

Broken Promises

3. Did you break your 1992 campaign promise to cut middle class taxes, and if you did, why did you?

Talks Right, Governs Left

4. You ran as a new Democrat, but you began your presidency with gays in the military, a series of radical, pro-abortion rights executive orders, a big political pork barrel spending bill, a government-wide takeover of the health care industry and the biggest tax increase in history. Without your friend Dick Morris around and without another election to face, won't 1997 be a repeat of 1993?

Family/Personal

5. Wasn't it a mistake to put Mrs. Clinton in charge of health care reform? Why are you repeating that mistake by putting her in charge of welfare reform implementation?
6. Many people still believe that the First Lady has not told the whole truth about Whitewater and Travelgate. Is this a problem of public perception, the way the news is covered, or her reluctance to let everything out and let the chips fall where they may?
7. While it may not be very likely, what will you do if the First Lady is indicted for perjury? Can you continue to serve?

8. In a not-so-subtle critique of the First Lady's agenda of spending more government resources on children, Bob Dole says it takes a family to raise a child. What's your reaction?
9. Have you talked to Chelsea about drugs? What did you tell her? What would you do if you knew she was smoking marijuana?
10. Why won't you release your health records?
11. You brought a number of your Arkansas friends with you to Washington. For many, their stories ended in tragedy, in disgrace, in embarrassment or in failure. Does that say more about Arkansas, Washington D.C., or say something about both?

Investigations

12. Will you pledge tonight that you will not pardon anyone convicted in the Whitewater investigation or in connection with the three separate but ongoing independent counsel investigations concerning current or former members of your cabinet?
Follow-up: Lasater pardon.
13. Your reaction to Filegate was that it was an honest mistake, and innocent snafu. Why weren't you willing to shoulder the blame, take responsibility and condemn and apologize for this gross invasion of privacy.
Follow-up: Waco comparison to Reno.
14. As investigations into your personal finances have proceeded, you've been forced to amend your tax returns at least three times, including admitting a substantial gain on the First Lady's commodity dealings, which was originally reported as a loss. What are the American people supposed to think about paying their taxes, if elected officials aren't accurately reporting their income and paying their fair share of taxes?
15. Given the convictions of Governor Tucker, Webb Hubbell and the McDougals, don't you think that the ongoing Whitewater investigation is not only no partisan, but necessary and fair?
16. You've said that it is fair for taxpayers to pay your staff's legal expenses connected with the Whitewater and Travelgate investigations, but not fair to reimburse the career employees who were victims of the Travelgate episode. How can you justify that?
17. Your administration has attempted to block Congressional investigations by invoking executive privilege not only in Whitewater, Filegate and Travelgate, but also in Waco, Haiti and Iranian Arms to Bosnia investigations. People have compared your White House Counsel's invocation of privilege to that of President Nixon's. If reelected, will you continue to use executive privilege to stop congressional investigations into White House operations?

Vietnam

18. If you had to do it over again, would you serve in Vietnam?

Politics

19. You said you wanted a campaign of issues and not insults, but your campaign ads have for the most part been negative. How can we believe what you say when your campaign acts to the contrary.
Follow-up: Gore and tobacco.

Blue Sky

20. Heroes
Books
Most admired Presidents
What would you take back?
21. How do you define character?
22. Senator Dole has been calling you a liberal. Are you a liberal? How would you define a liberal?

**Debate Preparation
Questions for Bob Dole**

I. ECONOMIC

TAXES

1. **Switch to Supply-Side.** Mr. Dole, you were a harsh critic of supply-side economics for 15 years. Even some of your closest advisors say that the old Bob Dole never supported tax cuts without specific spending cuts to pay for them. Why did you changed your philosophy on tax cuts?
2. **Cut 15% without Deeper Entitlement Cuts.** Mr. Dole, a wide array of budget experts have questioned whether you can cut taxes by 15% and still balance the budget without cutting entitlement programs. Isn't it the case that if you cut taxes by that much you cannot take off the table further cuts in programs like Medicare and Medicaid?
3. **Dole Tax Reform Plan.** You have called for sweeping tax reform and to end the IRS as we know it. Yet, during the primaries, you harshly criticized a flat tax plan proposed by Steve Forbes and supported by your own running mate. Can you tell us what a sweeping Dole tax reform proposal -- and a new IRS -- would look like?
4. **Largest Tax Increase.** You have accused President Clinton of proposing the largest tax increase in history. Yet, you have often been a victim of Republicans' criticisms of you for raising taxes to reduce the deficit. Explain to us based on his plan and your past voting record when is it acceptable to raise taxes and why have your votes been more justifiable than the President's?
5. **Regrets on 1990 Tax Increase.** You and George Mitchell were leaders of the 1990 tax increase that led George Bush to break his "no new taxes" pledge. Was that a mistake? And would you make that same pledge today?

BUDGET

6. **15% Tax Cut.** You have claimed that you can take many areas of the government off the table, pay for your tax cut and only cut the spending by 5 cents on the dollar. Can you explain to many skeptical analysts how you can do so much and cut so little?
7. **Regrets on Contract.** The President was able to turn the details of your budget plan -- particularly on Medicare -- into his political advantage. Looking back, do you have any regrets about the budget plan you passed last year or the size of your Medicare cuts?
8. **Shutdown the Government.** Do you regret the shutdown of the government? What

would you do differently?

SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

9. Specifics on Medicare and Social Security. Both you and the President have stated that we need long-term solutions for Social Security and Medicare and a commission. Why not give democracy a chance by debating this now? Name three specific Social Security or Medicare proposals you would want this Commission to look at?

10. Means-Testing Medicare and Social Security. Mr. Dole, you have called for means testing on Medicare, yet sought the repeal of the President's Social Security tax that effectively means-tests the same older Americans. Explain your position of whether we should ask more well-off older Americans to share more of the burden?

ECONOMIC SECURITY

11. Increased Health Care Coverage. You have been a harsh critic of the President's health security plan. Yet, in 1994 you also called for some of the same expensive health proposals. What now would you do to increase coverage yourself?

12. Minimum Wage. You have been skeptical of the minimum wage. What is your position and are you fearful that a minimum wage increase would cost jobs?

ECONOMY

13. Economy and Deficit. When the President passed his economic plan, you and other Republicans predicted that the economy would be hurt and the deficit would rise. You have been stating that the economy is still doing poorly -- that there is a Clinton crunch -- but don't you concede that the deficit is going down and job growth is going up, do you think there is anything positive happening in the economy or as a result of the President's economic plan?

14. New Federal Reserve Policy. You have called for higher economic growth. Do you believe that the Federal Reserve and Alan Greenspan are too restrictive and that the Federal Reserve should worry less about inflation and allow the economy to grow more before raising interest rates?

II. DOMESTIC

EDUCATION

1. Education and the Federal Role. You have said that education is a cornerstone of your Administration, yet you have called for the abolishment of the Department of Education. Is it your view that education should be an entirely state and local affair?

2. **Vouchers and Public Schools.** You have called for a small experiment on vouchers. Yet, there is not currently enough funds to allow every parent to choose private schools -- without bankrupting our public school system. Do you wish to make your voucher proposal universal and are you willing to look to a day when public schools are a thing of the past?

3. **Teachers Unions.** You have attacked the President for listening to the teachers unions. Do you think teachers are a problem with American education today?

CRIME

4. **Assault Weapons Ban.** You opposed the assault weapons ban in 1994, but you have since suggested that we should put the issue behind us. If Congress sent you a bill to repeal the assault weapons ban, would you veto it?

5. **Police Endorsement.** You are the first Republican nominee not to receive the endorsement of the Fraternal Order of Police, the largest law enforcement organization in the country. Isn't that a sign that President Clinton is doing a good job on crime?

DRUGS

6. **Bully Pulpit.** Your ads are very critical of the President for not speaking out more on drugs. Yet until your recent nomination, you rarely addressed this issue as well, either in speeches or in legislation. If the President is to blame for not speaking out more, don't you share some of the blame on this issue as well?

7. **Interdiction.** You talk a great deal about the importance of drug interdiction, but most experts say the most important thing is to reduce demand for drugs here at home. Do you share that view, and if so, why did you vote to cut drug education funding in half?

TOBACCO

8. **FDA Regulation.** You have criticized the President for sending an ambivalent message about drugs, yet when it comes to one of the deadliest drugs in America -- nicotine -- you have sent mixed signals yourself. Do you believe nicotine is addictive, and do you support the FDA's efforts to stop marketing tobacco to children?

WELFARE REFORM/IMMIGRATION

9. **Reform Bill.** A number of important domestic initiatives, like welfare reform and immigration, were stalled in Congress while you served as Senate Leader, and even after you left you urged your colleagues not to send the President legislation he could sign. Do you feel that the Republican Congress let you down?

10. **Public Schools.** One major difference between you and the President is whether the children of illegal immigrants should be allowed in the public schools. In a Dole Administration, would you seek legislation to ban illegal immigrant children from the classroom?

ABORTION

11. **Constitutional Amendment.** Do you still support a constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion, or are you pro-choice?

POLITICAL REFORM

12. **Ethanol Subsidies.** Throughout your career, you have been one of the strongest supporters of ethanol subsidies, which some have criticized as corporate welfare. You have also received substantial campaign contributions from Archer Daniels Midland, the main beneficiary of those subsidies. Will you cut ethanol and other corporate welfare in a Dole Administration?

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

13. **Kemp's Position.** Before he became your running mate, Jack Kemp strongly supported affirmative action, and opposed the California initiative to abolish it. You yourself have a strong record in favor of civil rights. Why did you change your mind in recent years and oppose affirmative action, and how did you persuade Jack Kemp to do the same?

III. FOREIGN

1. **Focusing on the Central Issues.** You have criticized President Clinton's foreign policy for focusing on peripheral problems like Somalia, Haiti, and Bosnia at the expense of central issues like our relations with China and key European allies. Would your approach to foreign policy simply avoid humanitarian tragedies like Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia?

2. **Terrorism.** To understand how you would approach the problem of terrorism, I want to ask you a hypothetical question. If investigators determined conclusively that either the Khobar bombing or the TWA crash was the work of terrorists supported by Iran, would you order military action against Teheran?

3. **National Missile Defense.** You have said there is a serious threat to the United States from rogue states, such as Iran and Libya, obtaining ballistic missiles, and you have called for the deployment of a ballistic missile defense as soon as possible. If such a defense exceeded its current price tag of \$60 billion, say going to \$100 billion, would you still think it worth the cost? And where would you get the money for a program of this size and scope?

4. **Iraq.** For five years now, Saddam Hussein has threatened Kuwait, his neighbors, and the world, not to mention brutalizing his own people. How do we stop Saddam Hussein and should

it be American policy to seek the overthrow of this dangerous and brutal dictator?

5. **Russia.** You say that President Clinton's policy towards Russia has focused too much on President Yeltsin. But he was the elected President of Russia. What is the alternative?

6. **China.** Most experts agree that China is one of the most important foreign policy challenges America faces in the next decade. Should we take steps to eliminate irritants in our relationship that harm our ability to engage with China, such as the annual debate over Most Favored Nation trading status and the possibility of Taiwanese leaders visiting the United States? Or should we adopt a tougher posture to meet the emerging threat as China's power and influence increases?

7. **The United Nations.** You have criticized President Clinton's approach to the United Nations. President Clinton argues that it is a good idea for us to share the burden and the risk of international action through the U.N. What role do you think the U.N. should play? And would you pay off the \$1 billion in arrears if you were elected President?

8. **Bosnia.** President Clinton said that American forces would stay in Bosnia for about a year -- until December. But most observers believe that if NATO leaves, war will resume, and the Europeans have said they won't stay if the U.S. does not. If you were elected President, would you pull the troops out on schedule or would you continue the deployment if it were necessary to prevent war from breaking out?

9. **North Korea.** With North Korea sending a submarine and commandoes into South Korea, it is clear that the North Korean regime is a threat to our allies in the region. Should it be American policy to promote the collapse of the current regime in North Korea?

10. **Rogue States with Weapons of Mass Destruction.** What would you do if you learned that Libya was about to build an arsenal of chemical weapons or Iran was about to develop nuclear weapons? Would you use military force if these countries refused to give up such weapons?

11. **NATO.** You have criticized President Clinton for not moving fast enough to enlarge NATO. What is the urgency to expand NATO, when some experts think doing so will cause a confrontation with Russia, and when many American's aren't sure what NATO's mission really is with the collapse of the Soviet Union? What's the rush?

12. **Defense Budget/Strategy.** What is the strategy that underlies your spending plans for national defense? What are the threats the American military should be prepared to meet?

13. **Chemical Weapons Convention.** There is a difference of view between you and the President regarding the Chemical Weapons Convention. Could you explain why you think ratifying this Treaty is not in the best interests of the United States?

IV. POLITICAL

1. You say the President is running from his first two years, but many would say you are running from 35 years of your past. We hear nothing about your years in Congress. Why is that?
2. Name three areas in which you differ from Newt Gingrich.
3. Time Magazine recently reported on a series of favors that you have performed for major contributors to your campaign. Wouldn't you agree that those actions suggest a coziness with big business lobbyists that justifiably breeds public cynicism with politics and Washington?
4. You say the President flip flops, but your tax plan is a flip flop to many, and your VP was forced to flip flop on many of his beliefs. What do you say to this?
5. Your party's platform has been called extreme by your opponents. Yet you say you haven't even read it. Is that true? Do you agree or disagree with your platform?
6. Name three areas where you disagree with the Christian Coalition.
7. Looking back at your convention speech, would you say that your discussion of the past as America's best years was a mistake?
8. It has been widely reported that the RNC has begun to move resources from your campaign to the House and Senate races. What does this say about your campaign.
9. Your party has been widely critical of Mrs. Clinton. Do you think that's appropriate? There have been articles of Mrs. Dole's financial dealings. Do you think scrutiny of those issues is appropriate?
10. Why did you oppose allowing Perot into the debate?