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Office of the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
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CONTACT: JENNIFER HILLINGS
TELE.: (202) 426-4570

REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY
SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE
TO THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS
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I'D LIKE TO ADDRESS THE RELATIONSHIP WHICH LINKS AMERICAN TRANSPORTATION WITH THE AMERICAN ECONOMY -- TO SUGGEST SOME OF THE CHANGES OVERTAKING THIS \$800 BILLION INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THE PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE BUSINESS OF COMMERCIAL TRANSPORTATION.

THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY, TRANSPORTATION AND COMMERCE HAVE CARRIED ON A FRUITFUL CROSS-POLLINATION: DREAMING OF MASS PRODUCTION OF HIS HORSELESS CARRIAGE AT A TIME WHEN THERE WAS NEITHER THE MACHINERY NOR THE ROADS NOR THE OIL INDUSTRY NOR THE DRIVERS TO FULFILL HIS VISION, HENRY FORD DISPATCHED TWO OF HIS ENGINEERS TO A CHICAGO PACKINGHOUSE. THERE THEY WATCHED AS BEEF CARCASSES WERE CARRIED ALONG ON MOVING CHAINS, PAST A LINE OF MEAT DRESSERS, EACH OF WHOM REMOVED A SINGLE CUT. FROM THAT PROCESS OF DISASSEMBLING, CAME THE ASSEMBLY LINE -- ONE IN A NEVER-ENDING SERIES OF CHANGES TRANSFORMING OUR OLD VIEWS OF DISTANCE, AND DEMOCRATIZING TRANSPORTATION AS NEVER BEFORE.

AS FORD HIMSELF PUT IT, "WHEN I'M THROUGH, EVERYBODY WILL BE ABLE TO AFFORD AN AUTOMOBILE, AND ABOUT EVERYONE WILL HAVE ONE. THE HORSE WILL HAVE DISAPPEARED FROM OUR HIGHWAYS, THE AUTOMOBILE WILL BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED, AND THERE WON'T BE ANY PROBLEM."

OF COURSE, BY 1921, THERE WAS ENOUGH OF A PROBLEM TO CAUSE CONGRESS TO PASS THE FIRST FEDERAL HIGHWAY ACT, ENABLING EACH STATE TO BUILD ITS OWN ROADS, WHILE FEDERAL SUPERVISORS SOUGHT TO INTEGRATE THE RESULTS INTO REGIONAL SYSTEMS. MY OWN DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION IS, IN A SENSE, THE LOGICAL OUTGROWTH OF FORD'S VISION, AND CONGRESS' INITIAL STEPS TOWARD REGULATING THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT INVENTION OF THIS INVENTIVE CENTURY.

IT WAS ALSO HENRY FORD WHO ONCE DECLARED THAT BUSINESS IS LIKE THE CHICKEN IN THE BACKYARD, WHICH IS NEVER BETTER OFF THAN WHEN FORCED TO SCRATCH A LITTLE FOR ITS LIVING. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, A SIMILAR PHILOSOPHY HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT --FORCED AT LAST TO

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RETHINK ITS CONVENTIONAL WISDOM AND JUSTIFY MANY OF ITS ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS. NOWHERE HAS THIS PAID OFF WITH GREATER RESULTS THAN IN THE TRANSPORTATION FIELD.

NINETY-NINE YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE WASHINGTON FIRST MOVED TO REGULATE TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES. RECENT MOVES THAT POINT TOWARD DEREGULATION -- MORE OF THE SCRATCHING, MUCH MORE COMPETITION -- DO NOT MEAN AN ABDICATION OF FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES. FOR INSTANCE, ONE OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S PRIMARY GOALS IS COMPLETION OF THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM, TO BE FOLLOWED BY A HIGHWAY AID PROGRAM FOR THE POST-INTERSTATE YEARS. SINCE EARLY 1983, WHEN THE NICKEL-A-GALLON FEDERAL GASOLINE TAX WENT INTO EFFECT, MORE THAN \$48 BILLION IN FEDERAL FUNDS HAVE BEEN SPENT ON BUILDING, REPAIRING, AND REHABILITATING THOUSANDS OF MILES OF THE AMERICAN ROAD. A NEW HIGHWAY REAUTHORIZATION BILL WILL CONTINUE THAT LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS.

MORE ATTENTION, IF LESS MONEY, HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY.

THERE HAS BEEN A TENDENCY RECENTLY TO ROMANTICIZE THE DAYS OF ECONOMIC REGULATION OF THE AIRLINES. IN ORDER TO DISPEL THAT ROMANTICISM, I'D LIKE TO PROVIDE YOU WITH A BIT OF HISTORY.

A COMPREHENSIVE AND CENTRALIZED REGULATORY SYSTEM WAS IMPOSED ON THE INFANT AVIATION INDUSTRY IN 1938. THAT REGULATORY REGIME, ADMINISTERED BY THE CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, CONTROLLED VIRTUALLY EVERY ECONOMIC DECISION OF THE AIRLINES FOR THE NEXT FOUR DECADES. THE CAB PREVENTED ACTIVE PRICE COMPETITION THROUGH ITS RELIANCE ON INDUSTRY-WIDE FARE INCREASES. FURTHER, AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE BOARD'S LIMITED ENTRY AND MANDATORY SERVICE POLICIES, AIRLINES HAD VERY LITTLE DISCRETION TO ADJUST THEIR ROUTES OR ENTER NEW MARKETS, ESPECIALLY IF ANOTHER CARRIER WAS ALREADY SERVING THOSE MARKETS. DESPITE ALL THE PROTECTION AND A PREDICTABILITY OFFERED BY THIS SYSTEM OF REGULATION, THE INDUSTRY DIDN'T ALWAYS PROSPER. MANY OF THE LARGEST OPERATORS EXPERIENCED FINANCIAL PROBLEMS YEAR AFTER YEAR.

THEN, IN 1978, CONGRESS MOVED TO DEREGULATE THE INDUSTRY, AND ENTREPRENEURS LAUNCHED A NEW ERA IN AVIATION. TODAY THERE ARE 12 MAJOR CARRIERS FLYING, ANOTHER SCORE OR SO OF MEDIUM-SIZED CARRIERS AND A HOST OF REGIONAL AND COMMUTER AIRLINES. DEREGULATION HAS CLEARLY BROUGHT A NEW LEVEL OF COST CONSCIOUSNESS AND SERVICE OPTIONS TO THE AIRLINE INDUSTRY. BEFORE DEREGULATION WHEN WE TRAVELLED, OUR CHOICE WAS LIMITED TO FIRST CLASS OR COACH. TODAY, YOU CAN FIND AS MANY AS 10 CATEGORIES OF FARES, EACH TAILORED TO A SPECIFIC MARKET SEGMENT.

THE LOW FARES MEAN THAT AIR TRAVEL HAS BEEN BROUGHT WITHIN THE FINANCIAL REACH OF MILLIONS WHO OTHERWISE COULD NOT HAVE AFFORDED TO FLY. IN FOUR YEARS, CONSUMERS HAVE SAVED \$110 BILLION IN SHORT, HENRY FORD'S MAXIM ABOUT DEMOCRATIZING TRANSPORT HAS BEEN APPLIED IN THE SKIES OVERHEAD.

AND HERE IS THE IMPORTANT POINT: THESE BENEFITS HAVE NOT, AS SOME WOULD CLAIM, COME AT THE EXPENSE OF AVIATION SAFETY. FLYING REMAINS ONE OF THE SAFEST FORMS OF TRANSPORTATION, AND AIR TRAVEL IN THE UNITED STATES IS STILL THE SAFEST IN THE WORLD. EACH DAY, SOME 15 THOUSAND SCHEDULED AIRLINE FLIGHTS CARRY AN AVERAGE OF 1 MILLION PASSENGERS, AND 99.999 PERCENT OF THESE FLIGHTS REACH THEIR DESTINATIONS WITHOUT SO MUCH AS A MINOR OPERATIONAL ERROR.

NOW THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF CONCERN RECENTLY BECAUSE INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL AVIATION IN 1985 EXPERIENCED ITS HIGHEST NUMBER OF FATALITIES IN A SINGLE YEAR -- 1,622 PEOPLE LOST THEIR LIVES. WHILE EVEN ONE FATALITY IS ONE TOO MANY, IT IS CRUCIAL, THAT THIS BARE STATISTIC BE PUT IN PERSPECTIVE. ABOUT 70 PERCENT OF THESE FATALITIES OCCURRED IN ACCIDENTS ON FOREIGN AIRLINES AND ALMOST 50 PERCENT IN THE CRASHES OF JAPAN AIR LINES, WITH 520 DEATHS AND AIR INDIA WITH 329. WE HAVE FOUND NO COMMON THREAD IN THE CAUSES OF LAST YEAR'S TRAGIC ACCIDENTS -- EITHER HERE OR ABROAD -- AND WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE THAT ECONOMIC DEREGULATION CONTRIBUTED TO THOSE CRASHES. IN FACT, J.A.L. AND AIR INDIA OPERATE UNDER HEAVY GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC REGULATION.

I AM NOT CLAIMING, HOWEVER, THAT THE POST-1978 ERA HAS BEEN PROBLEM-FREE. IT IS INEVITABLE THAT IN THE TRANSITION FROM A STAGNANT, REGULATED INDUSTRY TO A BOOMING COMPETITIVE ONE, THERE WILL BE SOME GROWING PAINS. ADDITIONALLY, THE PATCO STRIKE, RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF OUR TRANSITION TO A FREE MARKET, COMPOUNDED THESE PAINS BY REQUIRING RESTRICTIONS ON AIR TRAFFIC WHILE THE CONTROLLER WORK FORCE WAS BEING REBUILT. FINALLY, THE FAA, WHICH HAD GEARED ITSELF TO THE LETHARGIC PACE OF AN INDUSTRY IN WHICH ECONOMIC CHANGE WAS INHIBITED AT EVERY TURN BY THE CAB, HAS FACED THE CHALLENGE OF KEEPING A STEP AHEAD OF A NEWLY INVIGORATED, COMPETITIVE INDUSTRY.

TO REVOLUTIONIZE NOT ONLY THE AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL SYSTEM, BUT PROVIDE THE TECHNOLOGY TO LEAD US INTO THE 21ST CENTURY, WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A \$12 BILLION PROGRAM TO COMPLETELY MODERNIZE THE AIRSPACE SYSTEM. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NAS PLAN WILL MEAN INCREASED SAFETY, PRODUCTIVITY AND ECONOMY AS A RESULT OF HIGHER LEVELS OF AUTOMATION, AND USE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY -- AND IT WILL DOUBLE OUR CAPACITY IN THE AIR. THAT'S A REAL VISION OF THE FUTURE WHICH IS RAPIDLY MATERIALIZING.

CHANGES NO LESS DRAMATIC HAVE COME TO AMERICA'S RAILROADS. LESS THAN A DECADE AGO, LOW RATES OF RETURN AND DWINDLING MARKETS WERE ERODING BOTH THE RESOURCES AND THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA'S RAILROADS. OFTEN DELAYED IMPROVEMENTS AND POSTPONED MAINTENANCE HAD REDUCED EFFICIENCY AND INCREASED COSTS. RULES IMPOSED TO MEET 19TH CENTURY REQUIREMENTS WERE ALL BUT STARVING A 20TH CENTURY INDUSTRY.

TODAY, ALL THAT HAS CHANGED. RAILROADS ARE BUYING NEW EQUIPMENT AND MAINTAINING EXISTING STOCK. TRACK IS BEING RAPIDLY RENEWED. NEW CARS ARE RIDING THE RAILS -- COSTS ARE BEING CUT, AND PROFITABILITY IS RETURNING TO AN INDUSTRY ONCE ALL BUT CONSIGNED TO THE ECONOMIC ASH HEAP. SINCE 1980 AND PASSAGE OF THE STAGGERS DEREGULATION ACT, FREEDOM HAS BECOME A WATCHWORD

OF THE RAILS --FREEDOM TO CONTRACT WITH SHIPPERS, TO EXEMPT TRAFFIC FROM ICC REGULATION, TO ADJUST RATES WITHIN CERTAIN ZONES AND TO CANCEL INEFFICIENT JOINT RATES AND ROUTES. NO LESS DRAMATICALLY THAN THE AIRLINES, RAILROADS HAVE CHANGED THEIR WAY OF DOING BUSINESS. NINETEEN EIGHTY-FIVE WAS THE SAFEST YEAR IN THE HISTORY OF RAILROADS. AND THE RESULT IS BETTER FOR ALL OF AMERICAN BUSINESS.

AS WE MOVE FORWARD WITH ECONOMIC DEREGULATION, LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT SAFETY WILL NOT BE DIMINISHED. WE HAVE JUST SUCCEEDED AFTER 12 YEARS IN FINALIZING A RULE ADDRESSING THE SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM OF DRINKING AND DRUGS ON THE RAILROAD.

AND SPEAKING OF DEREGULATION, WE HAVE PROPOSED THE SALE OF CONRAIL, THE GOVERNMENT OWNED FREIGHT RAILROAD WHICH SERVES THE NORTHEAST. CONRAIL HAS BEEN PROFITABLE FOR FIVE YEARS -- LARGELY AS A RESULT OF DEREGULATION -- BUT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE IN THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING A RAILROAD. THE SALE OF CONRAIL IS THE FLAGSHIP OF PRIVATIZATION IN THIS COUNTRY. IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE WIN THIS BECAUSE THERE ARE LOTS OF INITIATIVES THAT WILL FOLLOW IN ITS WAKE.

THE RAILROAD'S MAIN COMPETITION, OF COURSE, COMES FROM TRUCKING. SIX YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE MOTOR CARRIER ACT OF 1980 PROVIDED THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD DEREGULATING AN INDUSTRY IN A VIRTUAL STRAIGHTJACKET. SINCE THEN, THE NUMBER OF FIRMS WITH ICC OPERATING AUTHORITY HAS GROWN FROM ROUGHLY 18,000 TO 31,000. AS IN OTHER TRANSPORT FIELDS, WE HAVE SEEN NEW OPTIONS IN PRICE AND SERVICE --ESTABLISHED CARRIERS ACHIEVE GREATER EFFICIENCY THROUGH INNOVATION, RESTRUCTURED ROUTES, FEWER EMPTY BACK HAULS, SIMPLIFIED RATE STRUCTURES. BUT THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING.

WHAT ADVANTAGES DO THE REMAINING ECONOMIC REGULATIONS OFFER? IT SEEMS TO ME THE INDUSTRY TODAY IS IN A NO-MAN'S LAND, HALFWAY BETWEEN THE FAMILIARITY AND PROTECTION OF A REGULATED ENVIRONMENT AND THE OPPORTUNITIES OF A FREE MARKET. TARIFFS MUST BE FILED FOR JIFFY POP POPCORN BUT ORVILLE REDENBACHER IS EXEMPT. RAILROAD TIES SAWED CROSSWISE ARE EXEMPT BUT RAILROAD TIES SAWED LENGTHWISE ARE NOT EXEMPT FROM ICC REGULATIONS.

IT SIMPLY DOES NOT MAKE SENSE! NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE THE FINAL STEPS TO COMPLETE DEREGULATION AND I APPRECIATE NAM'S SUPPORT.

MY LEGISLATION WILL ELIMINATE ALL REMAINING ICC REGULATIONS OF TRUCKING RATES AND ENTRY. INTERSTATE MOTOR CARRIERS OF PROPERTY WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY WHATEVER COMMODITIES THEY WISH, OVER WHATEVER ROUTES THEY WISH, AT WHATEVER RATES ARE MUTUALLY AGREEABLE TO THEM AND THEIR CUSTOMERS. HOWEVER, CARRIERS WOULD STILL HAVE TO MEET SAFETY AND FINANCIAL RESPONSIBILITY STANDARDS. I WILL SOON SEND UP LEGISLATION TO SUNSET THE ICC... AS WE PRESIDED OVER SUNSET OF CAB.

OVERALL, MASSIVE DEFICITS AND GRAMM-RUDMAN ARE FORCING US TO REASSESS THE PROPER ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN TRANSPORTATION POLICY. OBVIOUSLY, DEFENSE AND THE FACILITATION OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE ARE VERY IMPORTANT

FEDERAL ROLES, BUT SOME AREAS, SUCH AS MASS TRANSIT ARE MORE A LOCAL AND REGIONAL FUNCTION. VERY SIMPLY PUT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL ALL THAT WE'VE DONE IN THE PAST.

AS WE MOVE FORWARD TO ENSURE THAT THE SAFEST, MOST EFFICIENT TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM IN THE WORLD BECOMES EVER SAFER AND MORE EFFICIENT -- WITH FEWER DOLLARS -- WE HAVE TO QUESTION SUBSIDIES TO AMTRAK WHERE ALL TAXPAYERS ARE SUPPORTING THE TRAVEL OF A FEW. AMTRAK STARTED OUT AS A TWO-YEAR FOR PROFIT EXPERIMENT. NOW, \$12 BILLION LATER, IT'S GOING TO TAKE \$6-8 BILLION TO KEEP AMTRAK RUNNING FOR THE NEXT DECADE. IT PROVIDES LESS THAN TWO PERCENT OF INTER-CITY TRAVEL. THE AVERAGE SUBSIDY IS \$33 EVERYTIME A PERSON SETS A FOOT ON AMTRAK. IT'S TIME FOR THE STAKEHOLDERS TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES FOR FEDERAL SUBSIDIES.

IN CLOSING, LET ME SUGGEST SOME OF THE CHANGES WHICH I FORSEE IN THE FINAL YEARS OF THIS CENTURY.

FOR ONE THING, DEREGULATION WILL CONTINUE, EVEN ACCELERATE. SUCH A PROCESS, ONCE BEGUN, CAN HARDLY BE HALTED. WHAT WE HAVE STARTED IN OUR OWN LAND HAS BECOME A WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT, WITH CANADA AND MUCH OF EUROPE MOVING TO OPEN MARKETS AND EASE RESTRICTIONS. INTERNATIONAL AVIATION MARKETS WILL BE SLOWER TO ADJUST. YET EVEN HERE, THE TREND IS UNMISTAKABLE -- AND OUR OWN RESOLVE TO PURSUE IT ABSOLUTE.

AND WE CAN EXPECT TO SEE INCREASED RELIANCE ON USER FEES TO FUND TRANSPORTATION AND A REDUCTION IN FEDERAL PROGRAMS INVOLVING SUBSIDIES. EVEN TODAY, 68 PERCENT OF DOT'S BUDGET COMES FROM SOURCES OTHER THAN GENERAL TAX FUNDS. THE HOUSE BUDGET RESOLUTION FOR FISCAL YEAR 1987 ANTICIPATES THAT COAST GUARD WILL RECOVER \$100 MILLION OF ITS COSTS THROUGH USER CHARGES. SIMILAR MOVES CAN BE EXPECTED WITH REGARD TO THE INLAND WATERWAY SYSTEM. IN FISCAL YEAR 1987, IF I HAVE MY WAY, 85 PERCENT OF DOT'S BUDGET WILL COME FROM USER FEES.

WE ENVISION AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO OUR NATIONAL TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM, MULTI-MODALISM -- AND STATE AND LOCAL DECISION MAKERS GIVEN THE TOOLS AND THE FLEXIBILITY TO MEET MORE OF THEIR OWN TRANSPORTATION NEEDS. WE MUST PROVIDE A PROGRAM STRUCTURE FACILITATING LONG-TERM TRANSPORTATION PLANNING AND BALANCE BETWEEN ALTERNATIVE MODES OF TRANSPORTATION.

THIS CAN BE DONE. IN HOUSTON, A CITY IN WHICH TRANSPORTATION IS A CRITICAL ISSUE, A PLAN WAS DEVELOPED BY THE STATE HIGHWAY DIRECTOR, THE MAYOR, THE TRANSIT AUTHORITY AND THE COUNTY ROAD DEPARTMENT. IT WAS NOT A HIGHWAY PLAN OR A TRANSIT PLAN, BUT A PLAN ADDRESSING REGIONAL MOBILITY. THE RESULT HAS BEEN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NETWORK OF BUSWAYS FUNDED BY BOTH FEDERAL TRANSIT AND HIGHWAY DOLLARS, RATHER THAN SEPARATE PROJECTS. WE ARE ENCOURAGING OTHER CITIES TO FOLLOW HOUSTON'S LEAD RATHER THAN SIMPLY ALLOWING FEDERAL-AID CATEGORIES TO DRIVE INVESTMENT DECISIONS.

AND WE CAN EXPECT MUCH MORE PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT IN TRANSPORTATION WHERE SERVICES CAN OFTEN BE PROVIDED MUCH MORE CHEAPLY.

CHANGE IS IN THE AIR, IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS AND THE BOARDROOMS OF AMERICA. IN WASHINGTON, IT IS ALL TOO EASY TO FALL INTO A MISTAKEN LINE OF REASONING, TO SEE NO FURTHER THAN THE MORNING HEADLINES OR EVENING NEWSCAST. ONE CAN SOON BEGIN TO BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE'S LIVES ARE AFFECTED ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY BY WHAT HAPPENS AT TODAY'S HEARING OR TOMORROW'S STAFF CONFERENCE. IN TRUTH, LIVES ARE SHAPED BY THOSE WHO MANUFACTURE A PRODUCT AS MUCH AS THOSE WHO MAKE A REGULATION.

THE COMMON DENOMINATOR TO ALL THIS IS THE MARKETPLACE ITSELF --FREER, MORE OPEN, MORE CONDUCTIVE TO INNOVATION AND RISK TAKING. LESS GOVERNMENT WILL MEAN LESS INTRUSION IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS BY WHICH PRIVATE INDUSTRY SERVES THE PUBLIC AT THE SAME TIME IT SATISFIES ITS STOCKHOLDERS.

IN THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN, "THE AMERICAN DREAM OF HUMAN PROGRESS THROUGH FREEDOM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE IS STILL THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY IDEA IN THE WORLD TODAY. AND IT'S ALSO THE MOST SUCCESSFUL."

AS WE STRIVE TO ENSURE CONTINUED ECONOMIC EXPANSION BY CONTROLLING FEDERAL SPENDING AND REDUCING THE DEFICIT, THE CHALLENGE BEFORE US IS ENORMOUS. IT WILL CALL UP ALL OUR STRENGTH AND COURAGE. WE STAND AT A CROSSROADS, THE HOUR IS LATE, THE TASK IS LARGE, AND THE STAKES ARE MOMENTOUS.

WITH YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT, I HAVE EVERY CONFIDENCE WE CAN SEIZE THE MOMENT AND MAKE PERMANENT THE PARTNERSHIP OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND A NEWLY SENSITIVE GOVERNMENT.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.