

News from Senator

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
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STATEMENT BY SENATE MAJORITY LEADER BOB DOLE

DEMOCRACY CAN PREVAIL IN NICARAGUA-- IF WE GIVE IT A CHANCE

I AM PLEASED TO JOIN AS AN ORIGINAL COSPONSOR OF THIS AMENDMENT WITH THE DISTINGUISHED CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, SENATOR LUGAR; THE DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM TEXAS, SENATOR BENTSEN; AND THE DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, SENATOR HOLLINGS.

THE THREAT OF A "NEW CUBA"

"THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO PREVENT BY WHATEVER MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY...THE MARXIST-LENINIST REGIME FROM EXTENDING, BY FORCE OR THE THREAT OF FORCE, ITS AGGRESSIVE OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES TO ANY PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE..." THOSE WORDS, WHICH SOME HERE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CONSIDER BELLICOSE, WERE UTTERED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT THEY WERE UTTERED NEARLY A QUARTER OF CENTURY AGO, BY PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, IN PLEDGING TO RESIST THE THREATENING AND DESTABILIZING ACTIVITIES OF CUBA IN OUR HEMISPHERE.

TODAY, WE ARE FACED WITH A SECOND "CUBA" -- A "CUBA" WHICH AIMS TO MATCH THE FIRST IN ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, ITS HOSPITALITY TO FOREIGN AND TERRORIST FORCES, ITS AGGRESSIVE MILITARY BUILD-UP, ITS OUTRIGHT ATTACKS AND SUPPORT FOR SUBVERSION AGAINST ITS DEMOCRATIC NEIGHBORS AND ITS SUPPRESSION OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. OUR NEW "CUBA" IS THE MARXIST STATE OF NICARAGUA.

OUR GOALS ARE LIMITED

LET US BE STRAIGHTFORWARD. WE DON'T LIKE THE SANDINISTA REGIME. WE DON'T LIKE THE WAY IT ACTS -- TOWARD US, TOWARD ITS NEIGHBORS AND TOWARD ITS OWN PEOPLE. AND WE WANT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

BUT LET US BE EQUALLY CLEAR ABOUT A SECOND POINT. WE DON'T SEE OUR ROLE AS THE SHERIFF OF CENTRAL AMERICA. WE DON'T SEEK TO TOPPLE THE SANDINISTA REGIME. BUT WE DO SEEK

TO ENCOURAGE IT -- USING EVERY REASONABLE MEANS AVAILABLE -- TO LIVE UP TO SOME BASIC STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC CONDUCT.

#### OUR STRATEGY IS SOUND

WE HAVE A STRATEGY THAT MAKES SENSE AND CAN WORK, IF WE LET IT. THAT STRATEGY IS THREEFOLD. FIRST AND FOREMOST, WE WILL SUPPORT, WITH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, NICARAGUA'S THREATENED NEIGHBORS -- OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION THIS WEEK TO PROVIDE \$20 MILLION IN EMERGENCY AID TO HONDURAS TO HELP CONTAIN THE MOST RECENT SANDINISTA INVASION IS EVIDENCE OF OUR DETERMINATION.

SECOND, WE WILL SEEK A REGIONAL, NEGOTIATED, COMPREHENSIVE AND EFFECTIVE SETTLEMENT, BASED ON THE CONTADORA PRINCIPLES AND IN COOPERATION WITH THE CONTADORA NATIONS. OUR COMMITMENT TO THAT PROCESS HAS BEEN OFTEN DEMONSTRATED AND ARTICULATED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION. IT IS REFLECTED IN OUR EXTENSIVE AND CONTINUING CONTACTS WITH THE CONTADORA NATIONS AND OUR GENUINE RESPONSIVENESS TO MANY OF THEIR INITIATIVES.

WE STILL BELIEVE IN CONTADORA; WE WANT IT TO HAPPEN. BUT WE ARE FAR FROM CONVINCED THE SANDINISTAS DO. AND WE ARE FIRM IN OUR BELIEF THAT PART OF ANY PEACE PROCESS MUST BE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SANDINISTAS AND THEIR OPPOSITION, INCLUDING THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION WHICH HAS TAKEN UP ARMS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR FREEDOMS.

THIRD, WE SUPPORT THE CONTRAS. WE SUPPORT THEM NOT AS AN END IN ITSELF BUT BECAUSE THEIR STRUGGLE IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF OUR BROADER STRATEGY. IT IS ONE OF THE KEY POINTS OF PRESSURE WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE MANAGUA REGIME. AND WITHOUT SUCH PRESSURE THERE IS NO CHANCE -- NO CHANCE -- TO ACHIEVE OUR IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES. THERE IS NO CHANCE TO HAVE REAL NEGOTIATIONS. BECAUSE THE SANDINISTAS JUST ARE NOT GOING TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, UNLESS CIRCUMSTANCES PRESS THEM TO THE BARGAINING TABLE. AND IF THERE ARE STILL THOSE WHO ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT THEIR LIES AND FALSE PROMISES AS SUFFICIENT TO JUSTIFY OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THEM, I INVITE THEM TO FLY DOWN TO THE HONDURAN BORDER, TO SEE HOW THE SANDINISTAS TREAT THE SOVEREIGN BOUNDARIES OF THEIR NEIGHBORS; OR GO TO MANAGUA ITSELF, AND SEE HOW THEY TREAT THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

#### ELEMENTS OF AMENDMENT

THE AMENDMENT I OFFER IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THIS BROAD STRATEGY. IT IS BASED ON THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT FOR \$100 MILLION IN AID FOR THE CONTRAS. BUT IT ALSO TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SOME OF THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAM.

THE AMENDMENT PUTS OUR SUPPORT FOR THE CONTRAS IN A BROAD POLICY CONTEXT, CITING OUR GOALS AND OUTLINING OUR STRATEGY -- OUR REALISTIC AND CONCRETE STRATEGY -- FOR

ACHIEVING THOSE GOALS. IT MAKES CLEAR WHAT WE WANT FROM THE SANDINISTAS -- AND WHAT WE DON'T. IT UNDERSCORES OUR DETERMINATION THAT ANY RESISTANCE GROUPS WHICH WE SUPPORT MUST SHARE OUR ESSENTIAL GOALS AND OUR COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND MUST BE, IN EVERY IMPORTANT WAY, "CLEAN." IT STRESSES THAT THE ANTI-SANDINISTA MOVEMENT MUST BE AS BROAD AS POSSIBLE.

THE AMENDMENT REAFFIRMS OUR DESIRE FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND URGES AND PROVIDES TIME AND INCENTIVES FOR ONE MORE MAJOR EFFORT TO GET REAL TALKS GOING.

TAKING NOTE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUED CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION IN POLICY-MAKING AND SUPPORT FOR THE RESULTING POLICY, THE AMENDMENT ESTABLISHES SOME FAIL-SAFE PROVISIONS FOR CONGRESS TO REVIEW THE PROGRAM; MANDATES PRESIDENTIAL CONSULTATION WITH AND REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS; AND ESTABLISHES A CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION TO MONITOR THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND ANY NEGOTIATIONS WHICH RESULT.

FINALLY, THE AMENDMENT PROVIDES THE CONTRAS THE WHEREWITHAL THEY NEED, WHEN THEY NEED IT, TO BE AN EFFECTIVE PART OF THE OVERALL STRATEGY. DURING THOSE INITIAL MONTHS WHEN THE NEGOTIATING OPTION IS BEING INTENSIVELY EXPLORED, IT PROVIDES THEM HUMANITARIAN AND SELF-DEFENSE AID AND EXPANDED TRAINING. IF THE NEGOTIATING OPTION RUNS INTO ANOTHER SANDINISTA STONEWALL, AS SO MANY HAVE IN THE PAST, IT PROVIDES THE CONTRAS THE WEAPONRY THEY NEED TO KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON MANAGUA. AND IF, AT THE END OF THE EFFECTIVE PERIOD OF THIS LEGISLATION, THE PRESIDENT DETERMINES THAT ADDITIONAL LEGISLATION OR RESOURCES ARE NEEDED, IT PROVIDES HIM EXPEDITED PROCEDURES TO SEEK CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL.

#### A BIPARTISAN APPROACH

FOREIGN POLICY, TO BE TRULY EFFECTIVE, MUST BE BIPARTISAN IN NATURE. AND THIS AMENDMENT IS A BIPARTISAN MEASURE, AS THE ORIGINAL COSPONSORSHIP INDICATES AND AS I BELIEVE THE VOTE WILL CONFIRM. INDEED, WE HAD HOPED TO BROADEN ITS INITIAL SUPPORT EVEN MORE. DESPITE SOME COMMENTS TO THE PRESS TO THE CONTRARY, THE FACT THAT SOME NEGOTIATIONS WE HAD WERE NOT AS SUCCESSFUL AS WE HAD HOPED SHOULD NOT DETRACT FROM THE GOOD FAITH EFFORTS ON BOTH SIDES -- THE WHITE HOUSE AND THOSE WHO ARE MORE SKEPTICAL OF THE EFFICACY OF THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST.

I WOULD PARTICULARLY STRESS THAT, THE COMMENTS OF SOME TO THE MEDIA NOTWITHSTANDING, ADMIRAL POINDEXTER PLAYED A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN TRYING TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER. CONSIDERING WHAT HAS BEEN GOING ON IN THE GULF OF SIDRA AND HONDURAS, HE GAVE US AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF HIS TIME. AND, FAR FROM "TORPEDOING" ANYTHING, HE WORKED WITH US INTENSIVELY AND IN ABSOLUTE GOOD FAITH TO TRY TO FIND SOME COMMON GROUND ON WHICH ALL OF US COULD BE COMFORTABLE.

I HOPE THAT WE WILL HAVE ON FINAL PASSAGE A LARGE, POSITIVE VOTE FOR THIS MEASURE. FOR THAT WILL BE ITS ULTIMATE VALUE, EQUAL IN IMPORTANCE TO THE CONCRETE RESULTS

IT WILL SET IN TRAIN. FOR, AS I NOTED IN MY REMARKS YESTERDAY, IF WE ARE TO HAVE A POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA THAT WORKS, IT WILL HAVE TO BE A LONG-TERM, CONSISTENT POLICY, BROADLY UNDERSTOOD AND SUPPORTED ON CAPITOL HILL AND BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

BY VOTING FOR THIS IMPORTANT PIECE OF LEGISLATION, WE WILL HAVE SENT A STRONG MESSAGE -- TO MOSCOW AND HAVANA, TO MANAGUA AND TO THE OTHER CAPITALS OF CENTRAL AMERICA, AND TO THOSE WHO ESPOUSE FREEDOM EVERYWHERE -- THAT THE UNITED STATES IS SINCERE IN ITS PURSUIT OF PEACE, DETERMINED TO PROTECT ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS, CAPABLE OF EFFECTIVE ACTION IN PURSUIT OF ITS GOALS AND READY TO SUPPORT THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

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