

News from Senator

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STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
THE PRESIDENT DEPARTS FOR THE SUMMIT

THIS MORNING, PRESIDENT REAGAN DEPARTS WASHINGTON, EN ROUTE TO HIS FOURTH SUMMIT MEETING WITH SOVIET GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN MAY 29 IN MOSCOW.

AS DO ALL SUMMITS, THIS ONE OFFERS THE PROMISE OF PROGRESS ON IMPORTANT BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES; AND THE PERIL OF INFLATED EXPECTATIONS.

AS WITH ALL SUMMITS, THE BEST ATTITUDE FOR APPROACHING THIS ONE IS TO KEEP OUR EYES AS WIDE OPEN AS OUR MINDS; AND TO KEEP OUR FEET FIRMLY ON THE GROUND.

WE CAN ACHIEVE MUCH IN MOSCOW; WE CANNOT ACHIEVE EVERYTHING. AND WE CAN ONLY BE DISAPPOINTED IF OUR GOALS EXCEED OUR REACH.

WE CAN ACHIEVE IMPORTANT RESULTS ON ARMS CONTROL. IF WE IN THE SENATE DO OUR PART, WE CAN PUT INTO EFFECT A GROUND-BREAKING NUCLEAR ARMS REDUCTION AGREEMENT, THE INTERMEDIATE RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES TREATY; THE FIRST EVER TO REDUCE EXISTING NUCLEAR STOCKPILES, AND ELIMINATE WHOLE CLASSES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

WE CAN MOVE CLOSER TO AN UNDERSTANDING ON VERIFICATION REGIMES WHICH COULD YIELD THE REALISTIC PROSPECT OF SENATE ACTION ON AT LEAST ONE OF THE TWO NUCLEAR TESTING TREATIES BEFORE US.

WE MAY BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

AND WE CERTAINLY SHOULD PUSH GORBACHEV HARD -- VERY HARD -- ON THE NEED FOR REAL PROGRESS TO ADDRESS THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS IMBALANCE IN EUROPE. THAT OUGHT TO BE OUR HIGHEST ARMS CONTROL PRIORITY.

IN SHORT, WE CAN MAKE THIS A LANDMARK ARMS CONTROL SUMMIT.

BUT LET US KEEP THIS PROMISE IN PERSPECTIVE; AND LET US MAKE SURE THAT PRUDENCE SHAPES BOTH OUR EXPECTATIONS AND OUR INTENTIONS.

-MORE-

WHILE THERE MAY BE SOME PROGRESS IN MOSCOW ON START, THIS SUMMIT WILL NOT PRODUCE A START AGREEMENT -- AND IT SHOULD NOT. IN FACT, IN MY VIEW, THE SUMMIT IS UNLIKELY EVEN TO PRODUCE THE KIND OF START "FRAMEWORK" UNDERSTANDING THAT WOULD SERVE THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES. IN START, EVEN MORE THAN IN INF, IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE MOVE CAREFULLY -- NOT QUICKLY. AND OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIETS OVER START, AND UNCERTAINTY OVER OUR OWN GOALS AND PLANS FOR A POST-START WORLD, ARE STILL TOO GREAT TO PERMIT AN ACCEPTABLE START AGREEMENT.

AND, OF COURSE, ARMS CONTROL IS NEITHER THE ONLY -- NOR EVEN NECESSARILY THE MOST IMPORTANT -- ITEM ON THE SUMMIT AGENDA.

EVEN WHILE WELCOMING THE BEGINNING OF A SOVIET MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN, WE MUST CONTINUE TO STICK BY THE GOALS WE HAVE ESPOUSED SINCE THE SOVIET INVASION: A TOTAL END TO THE SOVIET OCCUPATION; A RESTORATION OF TRUE INDEPENDENCE; A GOVERNMENT REFLECTING THE WILL OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE; THE RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES IN SAFETY; AND AN END TO ANY THREATS OR INTIMIDATION AGAINST PAKISTAN.

EVEN WHILE WELCOMING MORE SERIOUS AND WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS OF THE DIFFICULT ISSUES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE MUST CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE ANGOLAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS -- WHO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED SO MUCH WITH SO LITTLE AMERICAN AID -- ARE PROTECTED AND ADVANCED THROUGH ANY NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS WHICH RESULTS. AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO INSIST THAT ANY SETTLEMENT INCLUDE THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA.

AND WE CANNOT FAIL TO PUT HIGH ON THE AGENDA OUR CONTINUED INSISTENCE THAT THE SOVIETS TERMINATE THEIR INTERVENTION IN THE AMERICAS, AND MOST PARTICULARLY THEIR MASSIVE MILITARY AID PROGRAM FOR THE SANDINISTA COMMUNISTS IN NICARAGUA. THERE IS SUPPOSED TO BE A GOOD FAITH PEACE EFFORT GOING FORWARD IN THAT COUNTRY. IT'S PRETTY CLEAR THAT WE ARE ACTING IN GOOD FAITH; AND THAT THE CONTRAS ARE, TOO. AND EVEN THE SANDINISTAS ARE CLEARLY FEELING RESTRAINED BY THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE PEACE ACCORDS.

BUT ONE PARTY HAS SHOWN NO RESTRAINT AT ALL: THE SOVIET UNION. SOVIET "NEW THINKING" DOESN'T SEEM TO HAVE FOUND ITS WAY AT ALL INTO THIS OLD PROBLEM. IF THE SOVIETS ARE LOOKING FOR A FEW BILLION DOLLARS TO REFURBISH THEIR TOTTERING ECONOMY, THERE'S NO BETTER PLACE TO START THAN TO STOP SHIPPING TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF MILITARY AID WEEKLY, TO A REGIME SUPPOSEDLY ENGAGED IN, AND COMMITTED TO, A CEASEFIRE.

AND, OF COURSE, MR. PRESIDENT, THERE IS AT LEAST ONE OTHER MAJOR ISSUE THAT WILL BE -- AND MUST BE -- ON THE AGENDA OF ANY U.S.-SOVIET MEETING: THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

DESPITE "GLASNOST", THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO IGNORE BOTH THE SPIRIT AND THE LETTER OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS. THE EVIDENCE CAN BE SEEN ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION IN THE REPRESSION OF UKRANIANS, ESTONIANS, LITHUANIANS, ARMENIANS, AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS, WHICH HAS LED TO PROTESTS -- SOME OF THEM SO VIOLENT THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DOZENS OF DEATHS.

IT CAN BE SEEN IN THE REPRESSION OF RELIGION. REPRESSION THAT IS EXPRESSED SOMETIMES IN SUBTLE TERMS, AND OTHER TIMES IS AS BLATANT AS LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT, OR EVEN TRUMPED-UP CHARGES THAT RESULT IN PRISON SENTENCES.

AND IT CAN BE SEEN IN THE REPRESSION OF THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION TO BE REUNITED WITH FAMILIES, OR BEGIN THEIR LIVES ANEW IN FREEDOM, IN THE WEST.

UNDER GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, THE SOVIETS HAVE WAGED A BRILLIANT, CANNY, PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN. ALMOST EVERY ONE OF THE CELEBRATED DISSIDENTS WHO HAD PETITIONED THE GOVERNMENT TO EMIGRATE HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO LEAVE -- THE NATAN SHARANSKYS, THE IDA NUDELS ARE GONE, MANY OF THEM RESETTLED IN THEIR SPIRITUAL HOMETLAND -- ISRAEL. NOW, IT IS THE LESSER LIGHTS, BUT JUST AS IMPORTANT LIGHTS, WHO REMAIN, STRUGGLING AGAINST A SYSTEM THAT DEFIES RHYME OR REASON WHEN IT COMES TO GRANTING EXIT VISAS.

THE EMIGRATION NUMBERS HAVE INCREASED. BUT NOT ENOUGH. THERE IS NO REASON TO DENY THE FREEDOM TO LEAVE TO SOMEONE LIKE BENJAMIN CHARNY SUFFERING FROM CANCER WHO WANTS TO SEEK TREATMENT AND LIVE OUT HIS DAYS WITH HIS FAMILY IN AMERICA; OR TO BORIS ORLOV AND ESFIR SLUTZKY, BOTH IN THEIR EIGHTIES, WITH NO RELATIVES LEFT IN THE SOVIET UNION TO CARE FOR THEM BUT HAVE A DAUGHTER IN JERUSALEM JUST WAITING; OR TO VLADIMIR DASHEVSKY, WHO THE AUTHORITIES SAY CANNOT DEPART BECAUSE THE MOTHER OF HIS 50-YEAR OLD WIFE WILL NOT GIVE HER PERMISSION TO LEAVE.

THE LIST GOES ON AND ON. THESE MEN AND WOMEN ARE NOT HOUSEHOLD NAMES IN THE SOVIET UNION, OR HERE. BUT THEIR PLIGHT IS NO LESS MEANINGFUL. WE MUST LET GORBACHEV KNOW THAT WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THEM; THAT WE HAVE NOT, WILL NOT ABANDON THEIR CAUSE UNTIL EVERY SOVIET CITIZEN WHO WANTS TO LEAVE, CAN LEAVE. I HAVE NO DOUBT, PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL.

MR. PRESIDENT, PRESIDENT REAGAN WILL CARRY TO MOSCOW AN AGENDA WITH ALL THESE TOPICS -- AND PROBABLY MORE. BUT HE WILL ALSO CARRY WITH HIM SOMETHING EQUALLY IMPORTANT -- THE UNIFIED SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THEIR PRAYERS AND HOPE.

THROUGH THREE SUMMITS, AND MORE THAN SEVEN YEARS OF LEADERSHIP, PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS CARRIED OUR NATIONAL BANNER WITH STRENGTH, SKILL AND HONOR.

AND IT IS WITH PRIDE THAT I WISH THE PRESIDENT WELL, AND CONFIDENCE, I KNOW ALL SENATORS DO.