

BOB DOLE



(R - Kansas)

SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
MAY 4, 1990

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-5358

GRAPPLING WITH THE BEAR -- REVISITED U.S./SOVIET RELATIONS

JUST BEFORE COMING HERE TODAY, GEORGE MITCHELL AND I HOSTED A COFFEE FOR A REMARKABLE LADY -- PRIME MINISTER PRUNSKIENE OF LITHUANIA.

REPORTEDLY SOME OF HER COUNTRYMEN HAVE TAKEN TO REFERRING TO HER AS "LITHUANIA'S MARGARET THATCHER" OR EVEN "IRON LADY." I GUESS SHE ISN'T THRILLED WITH THAT PARTICULAR TITLE, BUT I CAN TELL YOU -- SHE IS TOUGH; SHE IS SMART; AND SHE HAS A LOT OF COMMON SENSE.

IF THERE IS A PEACEFUL WAY OUT OF THE CURRENT CRISIS, WHICH CAN RESULT IN THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE THAT THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE DESERVE -- SHE CAN HELP FIND IT.

THAT MEETING, AND THIS SPEECH, REMIND ME THAT -- BACK IN 1986 -- I WROTE A MAGAZINE ARTICLE CALLED "GRAPPLING WITH THE BEAR." THE SUBJECT WAS HOW TO MANAGE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

SINCE THEN, A LOT HAS HAPPENED. THERE WAS A PERIOD THERE -- WHICH LASTED UP UNTIL MOSCOW BEGAN TO TURN THE SCREWS ON LITHUANIA -- WHERE SOME PEOPLE STARTED TO THINK OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS AS "GRAPPLING WITH THE TEDDY BEAR."

I THINK THE LAST FEW WEEKS HAVE PUT THAT ROSE-COLORED ILLUSION TO REST. AND WHILE I AM CERTAINLY SORRY THAT IT HAS TAKEN THIS CRISIS IN LITHUANIA TO DO THE TRICK, I DO THINK IT IS HEALTHY FOR ALL OF US TO GET BACK DOWN TO EARTH IN CONSIDERING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

I SAY THIS IN FULL COGNIZANCE OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE WITH US TODAY SOME VERY DISTINGUISHED SOVIET GUESTS. BUT I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THEM TO HEAR THE TRUTH -- AT LEAST AS I SEE IT. IT IS AS IMPORTANT FOR THEM -- FOR THE SOVIET UNION -- AS IT IS FOR THE UNITED STATES, THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP BE BASED ON A CLEAR, REALISTIC FOUNDATION.

PROGRESS

A LOT HAS HAPPENED IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS THESE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS -- ALMOST ALL OF IT POSITIVE. WE'VE COME A LONG WAY.

WE'VE SIGNED THE FIRST TREATY EVER THAT ACTUALLY REDUCED THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS.

WE'VE TAKEN DRAMATIC STRIDES IN ENDING, OR REDUCING THE LEVEL, OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS.

WE'VE SEEN REMARKABLE CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL AND HUMAN RIGHTS ENVIRONMENT INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION.

AND, MOST DRAMATIC OF ALL, WE'VE SEEN A VIRTUAL EXPLOSION OF DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE AROUND THE GLOBE.

MANY OF THESE PROFOUND CHANGES HAVE COME -- DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY -- AS A RESULT OF INITIATIVES AND POLICIES PURSUED BY PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, AND BY PRESIDENTS REAGAN AND BUSH. THEY HAVE COME AS A RESULT OF CHANGES INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION, AND IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

MISTAKE

THE OTHER DAY ON THE SENATE FLOOR, I DID SOMETHING A BIT UNUSUAL FOR AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN -- I ADMITTED THAT I MADE A MISTAKE. I DIDN'T EVEN WAIT TO BE INDICTED TO ADMIT MY MISTAKE. I JUST VOLUNTEERED IT.

IT HAPPENED TO BE ON A LITTLE PIECE OF LEGISLATION -- A RESOLUTION DEALING WITH JERUSALEM. INITIALLY, I SUPPORTED THE RESOLUTION. NOW I'M CONVINCED I SHOULDN'T HAVE. AND I SAID SO PUBLICLY.

LET ME TELL YOU: A SENATOR ADMITTING A MISTAKE WAS A LOT BIGGER NEWS THAN THE LEGISLATION ITSELF.

(more)

SO LET ME COMPOUND THE AMAZEMENT TODAY: I MADE SOME MISTAKES BACK IN THAT 1986 ARTICLE, TOO. I DIDN'T FORESEE ANY OF THE PROFOUND CHANGES INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION, OR IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, THAT WE HAVE SEEN THESE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS.

ABOUT THE ONLY SOLACE I HAVE IS THAT, BACK IN 1986, VERY FEW OTHERS -- MAYBE NO OTHERS -- WERE PREDICTING SUCH CHANGES, EITHER.

BY THE END OF 1989, MIKHAIL GORBACHEV WAS NOT ONLY "MAN OF THE YEAR" -- BUT "MAN OF THE DECADE." HE DESERVED THE TITLE. NO ONE HAS DONE MORE THAN HE HAS TO INSPIRE AND SHAPE THE CHANGES THAT HAVE SHAKEN THE WORLD.

AND NO ONE HAS DONE MORE TO CHANGE THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

SO WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY. LIKE ALL AMERICANS -- AND, I BELIEVE, ALL SOVIET CITIZENS -- I AM PROFOUNDLY PLEASED THAT WE HAVE COME THIS FAR. AND I WANT US TO GO EVEN FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD ON WHICH WE ARE EMBARKED -- TO AN EVEN MORE STABLE, COOPERATIVE, AND CLOSE RELATIONSHIP.

I HOPE THAT OUR SOVIET GUESTS, IN PARTICULAR, WILL UNDERSTAND THAT -- WHATEVER OUR CURRENT PROBLEMS, AND THERE ARE SOME -- WE DO UNDERSTAND HOW MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, IN A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. AND WE WANT, VERY MUCH, TO MAKE EVEN MORE PROGRESS IN THE DAYS AND MONTHS AHEAD.

SO WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY.

BUT WE STILL DO HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO. AND THE ROAD TOWARD OUR DESTINATION IS NOT ALWAYS GOING TO BE STRAIGHT AND EASY.

IT DOESN'T DO EITHER OF OUR NATIONS ANY GOOD TO IGNORE, OR FORGET, THAT.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES

THERE ARE STILL FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN OUR TWO NATIONS. GLASNOST AND PERESTROIKA HAVE MADE AN ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION. THEY HAVE BROUGHT THE KIND OF OPENNESS AND DYNAMISM TO SOVIET LIFE THAT MOST AMERICANS THOUGHT WE WOULD NEVER SEE IN OUR LIFETIME.

BUT GLASNOST IS NOT DEMOCRACY -- AT LEAST, NOT YET.

AND WITH THE OPENNESS WHICH WE ALL WELCOME HAVE COME SOME THINGS THAT ARE NOT SO CLEAR AND, PERHAPS, NOT EVEN SO WELCOME.

ANTI-SEMITISM

SOME OF THESE ARE MATTERS THAT -- WHILE OF IMPORTANCE AND INTEREST TO US -- ARE REALLY ONLY THE BUSINESS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE; FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEWLY EMPOWERED OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY, WHICH GORBACHEV HAS CREATED AND ASSUMED.

SOME ARE MATTERS THAT ARE PROPERLY THE BUSINESS OF ALL PEOPLE, THOUGH -- AND I SPECIFICALLY HAVE IN MIND THE CONCERN ABOUT A NEW WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM THAT SOME OBSERVERS SEE PERCOLATING ON THE EDGES OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY.

ALL AMERICANS -- JEW AND GENTILE ALIKE -- WE IMPLORE YOU, THE LEADERS OF SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY, NOT TO PERMIT THIS UGLY SPECTER FROM STAINING YOUR NEWLY-OPEN SYSTEM.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

WE ARE ALSO MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT -- WHILE WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN ONE BIG STEP TOWARD REDUCED NUCLEAR ARSENALS, AND ARE WORKING HARD TO TAKEN EVEN LARGER STRIDES -- THE SOVIET UNION RETAINS A VAST ARSENAL OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY.

MORE, IN OUR VIEW, THAN IT NEEDS. MORE, IN THE VIEW OF MOST ECONOMISTS, THAN IT CAN AFFORD.

AND STILL MORE ARE BEING DEVELOPED AND PRODUCED.

FRANKLY, THAT WORRIES MANY OF US. AND IT WILL CONTINUE TO WORRY US, AND SHAPE OUR OWN DEFENSE AND OTHER POLICIES, UNTIL THE ARMS BUILD-UP IS TRULY HALTED, AND FUNDAMENTALLY REVERSED.

CERTAINLY, THE SOVIET UNION HAS LEGITIMATE DEFENSE NEEDS. AND, CERTAINLY, MUCH OF THE BUILD-DOWN IN WEAPONRY NEEDS TO BE MUTUAL.

SOVIET AID

BUT THERE IS MORE THE SOVIETS SHOULD DO UNILATERALLY.

I WOULD ALSO MENTION A RELATED CONCERN -- THE CONTINUED SUPPLY OF VAST AMOUNTS OF MILITARY AID TO CLIENT REGIMES IN AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA AND CUBA.

(more)

ONE MEMBER OF CONGRESS RECENTLY SUGGESTED THAT WE BEGIN TO CONSIDER ECONOMIC AID TO THE SOVIET UNION. I CAN TELL YOU CANDIDLY: THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT GET INTO THE BUSINESS OF SUBSIDIZING THE SOVIET STATE -- AS LONG AS SOVIET POLICIES INCLUDE SHOVELING OUT, LITERALLY, BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN AID TO REPRESSIVE REGIMES IN AFGHANISTAN, ANGOLA AND CUBA.

THE CONTINUATION OF SUCH AID IS TOTALLY INCONSISTENT WITH GORBACHEV'S PROPERLY PROCLAIMED "NEW THINKING" ABOUT REGIONAL CONFLICTS; AND MAKES NO SENSE IN LIGHT OF THE ENORMOUS PROBLEMS IN THE SOVIET ECONOMY.

LITHUANIA

NOW, OF COURSE, ANOTHER MAJOR PROBLEM HAS BEEN PILED ON TOP OF THESE ON-GOING CONCERNS -- LITHUANIA.

I DO NOT WANT TO "SUGAR COAT" OUR FEELINGS ON THIS ISSUE.

IF THE SOVIET UNION USES FORCES TO SUPPRESS THE DRIVE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM IN THE SOVIET UNION, ALL BETS WILL BE OFF IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

I STRESS THIS TO OUR SOVIET GUESTS HERE TODAY -- THAT IS NOT A THREAT. IT IS A SIMPLE STATEMENT OF FACT.

WE HAVE COME TO BELIEVE THAT OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A COMMON COMMITMENT TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS THROUGH COOPERATION, NOT COERCION.

WE HAVE COME TO BELIEVE THAT EACH OF OUR NATIONS IS COMMITTED TO A POLICY THAT ALLOWS PEOPLE TO ARTICULATE THEIR OWN VIEWS, AND SHAPE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SEE LITHUANIA AS A "LITMUS TEST" OF SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THOSE PRINCIPLES.

I THINK IT IS CLEAR THAT PRESIDENT BUSH IS DOING EVERYTHING HE CAN NOT -- REPEAT: NOT -- TO COMPLICATE LIFE FOR PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. AS YOU ALL PROBABLY KNOW, HE IS TAKING SOME HEAT -- INCLUDING FROM SOME IN OUR PARTY -- FOR THE RESTRAINT, THE PATIENCE, HE HAS SHOWN.

HE HAS DEMONSTRATED, THROUGH THAT PATIENCE AND RESTRAINT, THE IMPORTANCE HE ATTACHES TO CONTINUED GOOD U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

HE IS NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING TO JEOPARDIZE THOSE RELATIONS.

BUT PRESIDENT BUSH CAN ONLY DO SO MUCH.

THE REST -- EQUAL RESTRAINT; EQUAL GOOD COMMON SENSE -- THE REST MUST COME FROM MOSCOW.

I SEND THAT MESSAGE AS ONE WHO STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP, BOTH IN GENERAL AND ON THIS ISSUE. I SEND IT IN THE HOPE THAT IT WILL NOT IN ANY WAY BE MISUNDERSTOOD, BUT SEEN AS EXACTLY WHAT IT IS -- CANDID COUNSEL, GIVEN IN GOOD FAITH.

THAT IS THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF OUR RELATIONS -- VASTLY IMPROVED, BUT WITH IMPORTANT QUESTIONS MARKS AND SOME NEW TROUBLE SPOTS.

SUMMIT

WHAT ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE ISSUES?

THE SUMMIT IS ON COURSE. BARRING A SUDDEN DETERIORATION IN LITHUANIA -- AND I DON'T EXPECT THAT -- IT WILL STAY ON COURSE.

IT WILL BE AN IMPORTANT EVENT, BOTH FOR THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS THAT WE ARE STILL HOPING TO ACHIEVE, AND ALSO TO GIVE NEW MOMENTUM TO OUR RELATIONSHIP AT A SENSITIVE TIME.

THE LAST TIME GORBACHEV CAME TO WASHINGTON, HE WOWED US ALL. THIS TIME, I EXPECT THE RECEPTION WILL BE A LITTLE LESS GIDDY. BUT -- IF NEITHER SIDE MAKES ANY SERIOUS MISSTEPS THIS MONTH -- I HOPE THE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS OF THIS ENCOUNTER WILL BE EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT.

DESPITE CONCERNS ABOUT LITHUANIA AND OTHER ISSUES, WE ARE STILL MAKING PROGRESS ON IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

WE'RE NOT QUITE AS OPTIMISTIC AS WE WERE A NUMBER OF MONTHS AGO ABOUT ACTUALLY ACHIEVING AGREEMENTS ON LONG-RANGE MISSILES AND ON CHEMICAL WEAPONRY. BUT WE HAVE NOT GIVEN UP HOPE, AND ARE STILL WORKING HARD.

AND -- WHETHER OR NOT WE CAN ACTUALLY SIGN SUCH AGREEMENTS IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONTH -- THE FACT IS THAT WE HAVE MADE ENORMOUS PROGRESS IN THESE CRITICAL AREAS. GOOD AGREEMENTS CAN SERVE THE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES, AND CONTRIBUTE GREATLY TO INTERNATIONAL STABILITY.

I HAVE SAID, AND REPEAT AGAIN TODAY: OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THESE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL TREATIES OUGHT TO BE "FENCED", OR "DE-LINKED," AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FROM OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS.

AS LONG AS THE AGREEMENTS ARE SOUND, BINDING, AND VERIFIABLE -- WE OUGHT TO PURSUE THEM UNTIL THEY ARE READY, AND SIGN THEM WHEN THEY ARE.

WE ARE ALSO MOVING AHEAD ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS -- THOUGH, CANDIDLY, THERE IS MUCH GREATER SKEPTICISM IN WASHINGTON ON THE WISDOM OF MOVING RAPIDLY ON THAT FRONT RIGHT NOW, AGAIN BECAUSE OF LITHUANIA.

IN ANY CASE, AS THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT IN PARIS INDICATED, WE HAVE NEARLY REACHED AGREEMENT ON THE OUTLINES OF A GENERAL TRADE PACT. JUDGING BY MEDIA REPORTS, WE ARE ALSO IN THE PROCESS OF LIBERALIZING SOVIET ACCESS TO CERTAIN KINDS OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY AND EQUIPMENT, SUCH AS COMPUTERS.

TRADE

ONE THING I DID GET RIGHT BACK IN THAT 1986 ARTICLE WAS A STRONG PITCH FOR EXPANDED U.S.-SOVIET TRADE. OBVIOUSLY, THAT KIND OF TRADE IS MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL.

REPRESENTING A GRAIN-PRODUCING STATE, I KNOW HOW IMPORTANT THE SOVIET MARKET ALREADY IS IN SOME AREAS; AND CAN BE IN OTHERS.

BEING FAMILIAR WITH SOVIET ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, I ALSO KNOW HOW IMPORTANT ACCESS TO OUR MARKET CAN BE FOR THE SOVIET UNION. WE HAVE THE TECHNOLOGY, GOODS AND SERVICES THAT ARE IN CRITICALLY SHORT SUPPLY IN THE SOVIET UNION.

AGAIN, THOUGH -- I DON'T WANT TO SOUND LIKE A "BROKEN RECORD," BUT I MUST ADD THIS CAUTIONARY NOTE: A BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING PROVISION OF MFN STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION, WILL REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. AND, UNTIL THE LITHUANIAN SITUATION CLARIFIED, THAT APPROVAL JUST CAN'T BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

ONE OTHER MATTER THAT COULD BE USEFULLY ADDRESSED IN MOSCOW, TO "GREASE THE SKIDS" FOR THE TRADE AND MFN PACT, IS THE SOVIET-ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON DIRECT FLIGHTS TO ISRAEL FOR SOVIET JEWS.

IMMIGRATION

GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE ISSUE OF SOVIET JEWRY AND IMMIGRATION. WE UNDERSTAND THAT, AND APPRECIATE THE MAJOR STEPS THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN. BUT IT IS ONE THING TO ALLOW PEOPLE, ON PAPER, TO LEAVE -- AND ANOTHER TO TAKE THE CONCRETE STEPS THAT MAKE IT POSSIBLE, IN PRACTICE, FOR THEM TO DO SO.

WHATEVER CONCERNS MIGHT EXIST OVER EXACTLY WHERE SOME OF THOSE IMMIGRANTS WOULD SETTLE, THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM OF IMMIGRATION IS SOMETHING BOTH OF OUR NATIONS HAVE ACCEPTED; AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS AGREED TO PERMIT THE DIRECT FLIGHTS.

IT OUGHT NOW TO TAKE THE FINAL STEP, AND PERMIT THOSE FLIGHTS TO BEGIN. IT'S THE RIGHT THING TO DO, AND WOULD SEND A POSITIVE SIGNAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AT JUST THE RIGHT TIME.

THAT ABOUT COMPLETES THE IMMEDIATE "LAUNDRY LIST." IT IS AN AMBITIOUS LIST -- BUT ONE THAT IS REALISTIC IN LIGHT OF THE GREAT PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED DURING THESE PAST TWO YEARS.

LET ME END, THEN, ON A HOPEFUL NOTE.

BUSH/GORBACHEV

GEORGE BUSH DID NOT GET TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT WORKING HARD, AND SUCCESSFULLY, AT IT FOR YEARS. HE KNOWS OUR COUNTRY, HE KNOWS THE WORLD. HE KNOWS WHERE HE WANTS TO LEAD US, AND HOW TO GET THERE.

AS OUR POLLS DEMONSTRATE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY AGREE WITH THE COURSE HE HAS CHARTED, AND SUPPORT HIS LEADERSHIP IN GETTING TO THE FUTURE HE ENVISIONS.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV HAS PROVEN TO BE A GREAT LEADER, TOO -- BOTH AT HOME, AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

EACH OF THOSE MEN UNDERSTANDS THAT ENMITY AND TENSION BETWEEN OUR NATIONS SERVES NO ONE'S INTEREST.

EACH OF THEM ACTS FROM THE FIRM CONVICTION THAT INCREASING COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR NATIONS CAN BRING ENORMOUS BENEFITS TO BOTH.

THEY HAVE US ON THE RIGHT PATH. IT'S UP TO THEM, AND TO ALL OF US, TO KEEP WORKING HARD -- TO MAKE SURE WE STAY THERE.

###