

*Bob Dole*



**NEWS**

**U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS**

**FROM:**

**SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
MAY 23, 1992

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**DOLE ON U.S FOREIGN POLICY: REJECT "SIREN SONG" OF ISOLATIONISM**  
**CALLS FOR U.S. ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF SERBIA**  
**5-POINT PLAN FOR CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA**  
**YELTSIN COMING TO KANSAS**

**STERLING COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS**  
**STERLING, KANSAS**

**\*\*\* EMBARGOED FOR 6:00 AM CDT, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1992 \*\*\***

IT'S A REAL HONOR TO SHARE THIS DAY WITH THE 100TH GRADUATING CLASS OF STERLING COLLEGE.

IT'S BEEN A TUMULTUOUS WEEK IN OUR NATION. PEROT IS UP, AND CLINTON IS DOWN. CARSON IS OUT, AND LENO IS IN. MURPHY BROWN HAD A BABY, AND DAN QUAYLE LAID AN EGG.

SOMEHOW, THOUGH, THE REPUBLIC SURVIVES, AND -- OUT HERE IN THE REAL WORLD -- LIFE GOES ON.

CERTAINLY, THIS IS AN IMPORTANT DAY IN YOUR LIVES, AND ALL OF YOU ARE TAKING A GIANT STEP OUT INTO THAT REAL WORLD. I HAVE A HUNCH YOU'LL REMEMBER THIS DAY LESS AS AN END THAN AS A BEGINNING.

YOU ARE THE FIRST GRADUATING CLASS OF THE POST-COLD WAR ERA. THE WORLD YOU FACE IS NOT ONLY VASTLY DIFFERENT THAN THE WORLD FACED BY YOUR GRANDPARENTS AND PARENTS -- IT IS VASTLY DIFFERENT THAN THE WORLD FACED BY THE CLASSES OF 1990 OR 1991. IN GEOPOLITICAL TERMS, MORE HAS HAPPENED IN THE STILL-YOUNG DECADE OF THE 1990'S THAN HAPPENED IN THE PREVIOUS HALF CENTURY.

IT'S AN EXCITING NEW WORLD, AND YOU ARE GETTING IN ON THE GROUND FLOOR.

BUT ALL THAT CHANGE BRINGS NOT ONLY EXCITEMENT, BUT UNCERTAINTY AND ANXIETY. WE WERE NEVER TRULY COMFORTABLE WITH LIFE DURING THE COLD WAR, BUT WE DID GET USED TO IT. NOW WE MUST LEARN TO LIVE WITH SOMETHING QUITE DIFFERENT; WE MUST LEARN TO LIVE IN A WORLD THAT IS QUITE DIFFERENT.

OF COURSE, DIFFERENT PEOPLE REACT IN DIFFERENT WAYS TO THAT DIFFERENT WORLD.

**ISOLATIONISM - "DEAD WRONG"**

SOME SEE IN THE END OF THE COLD WAR AN INVITATION, OR EVEN AN IMPERATIVE, FOR AMERICA TO LOOK INWARD; TO RETREAT FROM THE ROLE OF WORLD LEADER WE HAVE PLAYED; TO LAY DOWN THE HEAVY BURDENS OF LEADERSHIP THAT WE HAVE BORNE SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II.

INDEED, AFTER DECADES OF MULTIBILLION DOLLAR DEFENSE BUDGETS; WITH SOME OF THE IMMEDIATE MILITARY THREAT TO AMERICA GOING AWAY; AND IN THE FACE OF SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS -- THE SIREN SONG OF ISOLATIONISM SOUNDS OH-SO-SWEET TO OH-SO-MANY AMERICANS.

THEIR CASE IS SIMPLE. FOR ALL THAT AMERICA HAS DONE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY, WE ARE JUST NOT APPRECIATED AROUND THE WORLD. OUR ALLIES ARE SPOILED, AND OUR TRADING PARTNERS ARE CHEATERS. WHAT DO WE NEED IT FOR? WE ARE STRONG ENOUGH TO DETER ANY AGGRESSION, AND RICH ENOUGH TO MAKE IT ON OUR OWN.

THEIR CASE IS SIMPLE. BUT IT'S DEAD WRONG.

DON'T MISUNDERSTAND ME. THESE NEW ISOLATIONISTS ARE TAPPING A RESPONSIVE CHORD, BECAUSE PART OF WHAT THEY SAY RINGS TRUE TO ALL OF US. I GET AS FED UP AS ANYONE WHEN I HEAR SOME FOREIGNER BAD-MOUTHING AMERICA. I GET AS FRUSTRATED AS ANYONE WHEN I SEE AMERICA BEING UNFAIRLY FENCED OUT OF FOREIGN MARKETS -- ESPECIALLY IN COUNTRIES WE HAVE SPENT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND SPILLED AMERICAN BLOOD TO DEFEND.

**"FEEL GOOD" WALL AROUND AMERICA**

BUT BUILDING A WALL AROUND AMERICA, AND PULLING BACK FROM OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE, IS NOT THE ANSWER TO ANYTHING.

IT'S A SHORT-TERM "FEEL GOOD" REACTION, THAT WILL LEAVE ALL OF AMERICA'S PROBLEMS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA UNRESOLVED AND FESTERING. IT'S A SHORT-TERM "FEEL-GOOD" REACTION FOR WHICH AMERICA AND AMERICANS, IN THE LONG RUN, WILL PAY DEARLY.

(MORE)



THE DAY AFTER TOMORROW COUNTLESS THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS ALL OVER THIS COUNTRY WILL BE PARTICIPATING IN MEMORIAL DAY SERVICES TO HONOR OUR WAR DEAD. FAMILIES AND FRIENDS WILL BE VISITING GRAVE SITES, TO REMEMBER AND HONOR THE DEAD FROM WARS THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY.

MANY, MANY OF THOSE GRAVES DATE FROM THE EARLY 1940'S, WHEN AMERICA WENT TO ITS SECOND WORLD WAR OF THE CENTURY. MOST HISTORIANS BELIEVE THAT ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT REASONS WE HAD TO FIGHT THAT WAR WAS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES, DURING THE 20'S AND 30'S, DECIDED TO TAKE A "HOLIDAY" FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD.

WHILE THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC COLLAPSED AND NAZI GERMANY WAS BORN IN ITS STEEL SHEDS -- WHILE IMPERIAL JAPAN REARMED WITH A VENGEANCE, AND SPREAD ITS TENTACLES FAR AND WIDE IN ASIA -- AMERICA SAT BACK AND SAID: IT'S NOT OUR BUSINESS.

IT WAS A TRAGIC MISTAKE. SOME OF US STILL CARRY THE SCARS OF THAT MISTAKE TO THIS DAY.

THE FACT IS, THE COLD WAR IS OVER BECAUSE AMERICA WAS WILLING FOR NEARLY A HALF CENTURY TO STAND UP FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE WHICH IS THE REAL DEFINITION OF THIS COUNTRY: FREEDOM. WE WERE WILLING, IN THE WORDS OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY, TO "PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, ENDURE ANY HARSHNESS...TO INSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY." AND, BECAUSE OF THAT -- NOT BY ACCIDENT OR LUCK, BUT BECAUSE OF THAT COMMITMENT -- LIBERTY DID SURVIVE AND SUCCEED.

WE CAN NOW ENJOY SOME OF THE FRUITS OF THAT SUCCESS. WE CAN ASK OTHERS TO BEAR A HIGHER PORTION OF THE BURDEN OF KEEPING INTERNATIONAL ORDER. WE CAN REDUCE OUR OWN MILITARY BUDGET. WE CAN PAY MORE ATTENTION, AND DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES, TO PROBLEMS HERE AT HOME.

BUT WE CANNOT LAY DOWN THE MANTLE OF LEADERSHIP. WE CANNOT STICK OUR HEADS IN THE SAND.

TOO MUCH IS AT STAKE. OUR OWN SECURITY. OUR OWN PROSPERITY.

LIKE IT OR NOT, IT'S A SMALLER WORLD THAN IT USED TO BE -- MILITARILY, POLITICALLY, AND ENVIRONMENTALLY. IN THE OLD DAYS, WE SAW THE OCEANS AS OUR PROTECTION. THESE DAYS, THEY NO LONGER REPRESENT BARRIERS AGAINST AGGRESSION -- BUT "HIGHWAYS" TO INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.

THANK GOD, THE WORLD IS SAFER THAN IT WAS A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO. BUT IT CAN STILL BE A DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS PLACE.

#### NEW THREATS, NEW SADDAMS

WE DO NOT KNOW WHEN THE NEXT SADDAM HUSSEIN WILL POP UP -- FINANCED BY PETRO-DOLLARS OR OTHER RESOURCES, ARMED TO THE TEETH, AND HELL-BENT ON ESTABLISHING HIS OWN HEGEMONY IN SOME SENSITIVE PART OF THE WORLD.

INDEED, EVEN AS WE STILL SAVOR THE DESTRUCTION OF MUCH OF SADDAM'S MILITARY POWER AND NUCLEAR POTENTIAL, WE WORRY ABOUT THE INCREASING TENSIONS BETWEEN THE NUCLEAR-ARMED NATIONS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN, EXACERBATED BY THE FINDER BOX OF KASHMIR.

EVEN AS THE REPUBLICS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION START TO DESTROY THEIR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AS ALL OF THEM LIKELY WILL, NEW AND ALARMING QUESTIONS ARISE ABOUT HANDS-ON CONTROL OF THE TENS OF THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WARHEADS WHICH STILL EXIST THERE.

EVEN AS WE STRUGGLE TO KEEP THE LID ON THE PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY, SOME IRRESPONSIBLE NATIONS AND RAPACIOUS ARMS MERCHANTS CONTINUE TO PEDDLE THE TECHNOLOGY AND HARDWARE OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

AND THE CONNECTION BETWEEN AMERICA'S WELL-BEING AND EVENTS AROUND THE WORLD IS EQUALLY TRUE IN TERMS OF OUR ECONOMY.

#### U.S. ECONOMY TIED TO OVERSEAS REALITIES

WE HAVE TO FACE UP TO SOME TOUGH FACTS. FOREIGN MONEY IS CRITICAL TO FINANCING OUR HUGE DEFICITS. FOREIGN MARKETS ARE CRITICAL TO KEEPING OUR INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SECTORS STRONG. FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY IS INCREASINGLY CRITICAL TO HELPING US KEEP OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE.

THE FACT IS THAT, OVERALL, AMERICA HAS NEVER HAD A GREATER STAKE IN HELPING TO SHAPE AND MANAGE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THAN IT HAS TODAY, IN THIS RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD. THE ATTENTION AND RESOURCES WE COMMIT TO ADVANCING AMERICA'S GOALS AND INTERESTS OVERSEAS CAN BE THE BEST INVESTMENT WE CAN MAKE IN THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING

LET ME SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT TWO AREAS IN PARTICULAR WHERE AMERICA CAN AND SHOULD PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE.

#### YELTSIN COMING TO KANSAS & RUSSIAN AID

IN ABOUT THREE WEEKS, I'LL BE BACK IN KANSAS, BRINGING RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN TO VISIT OUR STATE.

I THINK IT'S AN IMPORTANT VISIT. PRESIDENT YELTSIN NEEDS TO SEE THE REAL AMERICA, TO TRULY UNDERSTAND WHAT MAKES AMERICA THE GREAT NATION IT IS; TO TRULY APPRECIATE WHY FREEDOM AND FREE MARKETS ARE THE ONLY WAY FOR HIS NATION TO REBUILD FROM THE RUINS OF 75 YEARS OF COMMUNISM MIS-RULE.

YELTSIN WANTS AND NEEDS OUR HELP. IT WILL COST SOME MONEY. AND SOME WILL SAY -- WHY SHOULD WE HELP? WHY SHOULD WE SPEND MONEY TO HELP RUSSIANS WHEN SO MANY AMERICANS ARE IN NEED?

WELL, I DON'T SEE THIS AS A GIVE-AWAY TO HELP SOME FACELESS FOREIGNERS. I SEE IT AS AN INVESTMENT IN AMERICA'S OWN FUTURE.

IF DEMOCRACY FAILS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, WHO KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN? WHO KNOWS WHO WILL TAKE OVER THE RUSSIAN STATE, THE RUSSIAN



MILITARY, THE RUSSIAN NUCLEAR AND MISSILE ARSENAL? WHO KNOWS WHOSE FINGER WILL BE ON THE NUCLEAR BUTTON?

IF FREE MARKETS DIE ABORNING, IT WILL NOT ONLY BE THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE WHO SUFFER. AMERICA, TOO, WILL LOSE A VAST NEW MARKET FOR OUR PRODUCTS -- ONE WHICH ALREADY HAS A TREMENDOUS IMPACT ON THE HEALTH OF THE KANSAS FARM ECONOMY. WE WILL LOSE A VAST NEW ARENA FOR LUCRATIVE INVESTMENT.

THROWING MONEY AT THE RUSSIANS WILL NOT SOLVE ANY OF THEIR PROBLEMS. BUT WELL THOUGHT OUT, WELL FOCUSED, AND SENSIBLE PROGRAMS OF CREDITS, CREDIT GUARANTEES, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND FACILITATING PRIVATE SECTOR INVESTMENT AND TRADE CAN MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT, IF WE TURN OUR BACKS ON THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE NOW, IT WILL BE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TOO, WHO WILL PAY THE PRICE IN THE LONG RUN.

#### NIGHTMARE IN YUGOSLAVIA

AND LET ME TOUCH BRIEFLY, TOO, ON ONE OTHER TRAGIC SITUATION, THOUSANDS OF MILES FROM AMERICA'S SHORES, BUT IN SOME WAYS CENTRAL TO WHAT OUR COUNTRY IS ALL ABOUT.

THIS HAPPENS TO BE A PARTICULARLY WELL-EDUCATED AUDIENCE, WITH A KEEN INTERESTS IN CURRENT EVENTS. BUT YOU CAN GO TO MANY PLACES AROUND THIS COUNTRY AND ASK FOR A SHOW OF HANDS AS TO WHO HAS HEARD OF THE COUNTRY OF BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA -- AND YOU WOULD SEE MANY HANDS RAISED.

IT'S A TINY COUNTRY, WHICH HAS JUST DECLARED ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA.

IT'S ALSO A NATION IN FLAMES. THE LEADERS OF THE SERBIAN REPUBLIC -- ANOTHER REPUBLIC FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE LAST HARD-LINE COMMUNIST STATE IN EUROPE -- HAVE FOR YEARS LUSTED AFTER WHAT THEY CALL THE "GREATER SERBIA." "GREATER SERBIA" IS AKIN TO THE "GREATER GERMANY" THAT ADOLF HITLER USED TO DREAM ABOUT BACK IN THE 1940'S. AND THE TACTICS OF THE SERBIAN DICTATOR, MILOSEVIC, ARE JUST ABOUT AS SUBTLE AS HITLER'S WERE.

IN THE FEW WEEKS SINCE SERBIAN FORCES HAVE INVADDED BOSNIA, TENS OF THOUSANDS HAVE DIED, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS HAVE BEEN FORCED FROM THEIR HOMES, AND COUNTLESS THOUSANDS FACE THE IMMINENT THREAT OF STARVATION -- CUT OFF FROM FOOD, MEDICINE AND ALL CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD BY THE MARAUDING SERBIAN MILITARY.

SADLY AND SHAMEFULLY, THE WORLD HAS LET MILOSEVIC GET AWAY WITH IT. WE HAVE ISSUED TOUGH SOUNDING STATEMENTS, PUT IN PLACE SOME TIMID SANCTIONS -- BUT SHIED AWAY EVEN CONSIDERATION OF THE STRONG, DIRECT INTERVENTION THAT ALONE WILL STOP MILOSEVIC.

#### DOLE 5-POINT PLAN FOR YUGOSLAVIA: BLOCKADE SERBIA

DON'T GET ME WRONG. WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT SENDING AMERICAN TROOPS. BUT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AMERICA GETTING OFF THE SIDELINES AND LAUNCHING AN AGGRESSIVE DIPLOMACY WITH FIVE ELEMENTS:

- o IMMEDIATE HUMANITARIAN AID. TWO DAYS AGO, THE SENATE PASSED LEGISLATION I INTRODUCED TO PROVIDE \$5 MILLION -- A LOT OF MONEY, BUT AN AMOUNT THAT CAN DIRECTLY SAVE THOUSANDS OF HUMAN LIVES.
- o A TOTAL ECONOMIC BLOCKADE OF SERBIA -- WHICH IMPORTS MUCH OF THE WEAPONRY AND MUCH OF THE OIL FOR ITS WAR MACHINE.
- o A TOTAL FREEZE ON SERBIA'S ASSETS HERE AND AROUND THE WORLD.
- o A SUSPENSION OF ALL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.
- o TAKING THE LEAD IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE COUNCILS OF EUROPE -- NATO, CSCE AND INDIRECTLY THE EC -- TO INSURE THAT PEACEKEEPING FORCES MOVE IN QUICKLY.

A YEAR AND A HALF AGO, SADDAM HUSSEIN INVADDED KUWAIT, AND AMERICA AND THE WORLD RESPONDED VIGOROUSLY AND EFFECTIVELY.

WE NOW FACE A NEW TEST OF AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP, ITS WILL, AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THE IDEALS WHICH HAVE ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED OUR NATION.

WE MUST PASS THIS TEST, IF AMERICA IS TO REMAIN AMERICA.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, AND GRADUATES: THIS IS A GREAT DAY. ENJOY IT FOR ALL ITS WORTH.

AND THIS IS A REMARKABLE TIME. TAKE EVERY ADVANTAGE OF THOSE REMARKABLE OPPORTUNITIES AND ADVENTURES LYING AHEAD.

AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF ANOTHER GENERATION, LET ME CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT I ENVY YOU, NEW GRADUATES OF STERLING COLLEGE, AND AMERICA'S LEADERS OF THE 21ST CENTURY.

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