News from Senator

BOB DOLE



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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE DOLE-WARNER AMENDMENT

MR PRESIDENT:

THE SENATE HAS JUST VOTED FOR THE DOLE-WARNER AMENDMENT WHICH OUTLINES THE CONSTITUTIONAL STEPS WE WOULD HAVE TO TAKE IN ORDER TO BREATH LIFE INTO SALT II. NOW WE ARE ABOUT TO VOTE ON AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD LEGISLATE THE SALT II NUMERICAL SUB-LIMITS. I BELIEVE THE TWO ARE INCONSISTENT.

SAY WHAT WE MAY, EVERYONE KNOWS THE HISTORY OF THIS AMENDMENT. ITS SOLE PURPOSE IS TO BIND US TO THAT ONE SHRED OF SALT II WHICH THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY DID NOT VIOLATE BETWEEN 1981 AND 1986--WHILE WE OBSERVED THE TREATY'S EVERY PROVISION.

IT HASN'T TAKEN LONG FOR MOST PEOPLE TO CATCH ON. THE SENATOR FROM VIRGINIA HAS ALREADY SHARED WITH US A NUMBER OF HEADLINES WHICH INTERPRET THE BUMPERS AMENDMENT AS PRECISELY WHAT IT IS: SALT II.

LOOK AT THE LIMITS: 820 MIRV LAUNCHERS; 1200 ICBM AND SLBM MIRV LAUNCHERS; AND 1320 MIRV LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS EQUIPPED WITH CRUISE MISSILES. THESE AREN'T EXACTLY THE SORT OF TERMS MOST PEOPLE COME UP WITH AT THEIR DINING ROOM TABLE. NO-THEY'RE THE LIMITS A CERTAIN GROUP OF PEOPLE--U.S. AND SOVIET SALT II NEGOTIATORS--CAME UP WITH. THEY WROTE THEM DOWN IN ARTICLE FIVE.

MAKE NO MISTAKE--THIS AMENDMENT LEGISLATES THE NUMERICAL SUB-LIMITS FROM SALT II.

IGNORING THE CONSPICUOUS SIMILARITIES WITH SALT II,
PROPONENTS OF THIS AMENDMENT ARGUE THAT IT IS SOMETHING ELSE.
WHAT? IS IT SOME NEW KIND OF ARMS CONTROL WHICH ONLY REQUIRES A
DOMESTIC LAW HERE IN THE UNITED STATES? I DOUBT THAT SUCH A
PROCESS WILL YIELD DESIRABLE RESULTS.

ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS ARE PACKAGES OF NUMERICAL AND QUALITATIVE LIMITS, DEFINITIONS, VERIFICATION AND MANY OTHER PROVISIONS. PEOPLE WORK VERY HARD TO PUT THEM TOGETHER. WHETHER YOU THINK SALT II WAS A GOOD DEAL OR NOT--AND I DO NOT--IT WAS A PACKAGE. OUR NEGOTIATORS ARGUED THAT THE QUALITATIVE LIMITS WERE VERY IMPORTANT. BUT THE SOVIETS CHOSE TO VIOLATE THOSE PROVISIONS. IT DOESN'T FOLLOW THAT WE SHOULD ENACT THE ONE BIT OF THE PACKAGE OF SOVIET CHOICE INTO LAW.

I BELIEVE IT IS TIME TO COME CLEAN. THIS AMENDMENT LEGISLATES COMPLIANCE WITH BITS AND PIECES OF SALT II. IT IS NOT SOME NEW KIND OF ARMS CONTROL. IT IS NOT RESTRAINT WHICH WILL HELP US GET A START AGREEMENT. IN FACT, CLINGING TO THESE SUB-LIMITS IN THE FACE OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR--AND LET'S NOT FORGET THE TWO MISSILE TESTS OFF HAWAII THIS WEEK--CAN ONLY ENCOURAGE THEM TO DIG THERIR HEELS IN.

I HOPE MY COLLEAGUES WILL JOIN ME IN VOTING AGAINST THIS AMENDMENT.