

News from Senator

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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
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IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY.

IT'S A VERY TENSE TIME. TWO MORTAL ENEMIES ARE EYEBALL TO EYEBALL. NEITHER IS GIVING AN INCH. EVERY DAY, THE TENSION ESCALATES.

BUT YOU ALREADY KNOW ABOUT ALAN SIMPSON AND PETER ARNETT.

SERIOUSLY, THESE ARE JUICY TIMES FOR THE "TALKING HEADS" -- THE SELF-PROCLAIMED EXPERTS ON WAR AND POLITICS THAT WE SEE EVERY NIGHT ON THE TUBE. AND THESE ARE SERIOUS TIMES FOR AMERICA.

AMERICA - THE ONLY TRUE SUPERPOWER

BEFORE THE GULF CRISIS TURNED INTO THE GULF WAR, WE HEARD THE SIREN SONGS OF A NEW ISOLATIONISM. AFTER THE WAR ENDS -- AS IT SOON WILL -- WE CAN EXPECT TO HEAR THOSE SWEET-SOUNDING SONGS AGAIN.

IN MY VIEW, WE MUST RESIST THE ALLURE OF THOSE SONGS. THEY TEMPT US IN THE WRONG DIRECTION.

TODAY, AMERICA CAN LEAD AS NEVER BEFORE. WE ARE THE ONLY TRUE SUPERPOWER ON EARTH.

WE HAVE AN ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITY -- NOT ONLY TO DEFEND AGAINST AND MITIGATE THE EVIL IN THE WORLD. BUT TO DO REAL GOOD.

IT IS STILL A DANGEROUS WORLD OUT THERE. THE REPORTS OF THE DEATH OF SOVIET COMMUNISM HAVE PROVEN PREMATURE. ANY NAIVE HOPES OF AN ENTIRE GLOBE AT PEACE HAVE BEEN BLOWN AWAY; NOT ONLY BY THE GULF WAR, BUT BY THE STUBBORN FACTS OF STILL STRONG DICTATORS, THE PROLIFERATION OF NON-CONVENTIONAL WEAPONRY, AND POLITICAL AND ETHNIC STRIFE IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE.

IF AMERICA DOESN'T TAKE THE LEAD IN COMBATTING ALL THOSE DANGERS, WHO WILL?

BUT THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE THERE, TOO.

WE STILL BEAR PROUDLY THE UNCHALLENGED LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE WORLD. OUR STRONG AND PRINCIPLED STAND IN THE GULF REINFORCES OUR ABILITY TO PLAY THAT ROLE.

AND THERE IS NO BETTER PLACE TO START THAN IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THERE IS NO BETTER TIME TO START THAN IN THE IMMEDIATE DAYS AHEAD.

WINNING THE PEACE

WE ARE ABOUT TO WIN THE WAR IN THE GULF. WE MUST BEGIN NOW TO THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT HOW WE CAN ALSO WIN THE ENSUING PEACE.

AN END TO THE WAR WILL NOT SOLVE MANY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE REGION.

IN ALL MY TIME IN PUBLIC LIFE, THAT REGION HAS BEEN MARKED BY ONE OF TWO CONDITIONS -- WAR; OR A TENSE "NON-WAR," FAR SHORT OF TRUE PEACE.

BUT OUR VICTORY IN THE GULF WAR CAN OPEN A DOOR OF OPPORTUNITY, TO MOVE FROM NON-WAR TO REAL PEACE; TO ESTABLISH A "NEW REGIONAL ORDER," AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT IN THAT "NEW WORLD ORDER" THAT IS NOW A PART OF THE EDITORIAL PRODUCT OF EVERY PUNDIT AND PAPER IN WASHINGTON.

OUR SUCCESS WILL DEPEND IN GREAT DEGREE ON THE BEHAVIOR OF COUNTRIES WHO, UP TO NOW, HAVE OFTEN MISBEHAVED. BUT WE HAVE A GREATER CHANCE THAN EVER BEFORE TO NUDGE THOSE NATIONS ONTO THE PATH OF RESPONSIBLE, COOPERATIVE CONDUCT.

THE POST-WAR MIDDLE EAST

THE POST-WAR POWER GRID IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS GOING TO LOOK MUCH DIFFERENT THAN IT DID BEFORE JANUARY 16. WHETHER OR NOT SADDAM CAN CLING TO PERSONAL POWER, HIS MILITARY MIGHT AND PRESTIGE WILL BE GREATLY DIMINISHED. ARAFAT HAS BET ON THE WRONG HORSE, AND -- AFTER THE SHOOTING STOPS -- MAY NOT EVEN BE ABLE TO GET BACK IN THE REAL RACE. KING HUSSEIN HAS DEMONSTRATED A REMARKABLE PROPENSITY FOR MAKING THE WRONG DECISIONS AT THE WRONG TIME. IT WILL COST HIM. AND EVEN A LONG-TIME FOE LIKE ASSAD IS SENDING SIGNALS -- WHICH WE MUST ANALYZE CAREFULLY AND CAUTIOUSLY -- THAT HE MAY BE SERIOUSLY INTERESTED IN NEW REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS.

ONE THING IS CLEAR. ALL THE REGION'S KEY PLAYERS ARE LIKELY TO SEE AMERICA AS THE ONE AND ONLY NATION WHICH CAN MAKE A DECISIVE DIFFERENCE FOR PEACE.



RICHARD NIXON ONCE SAID: "I BELIEVE IN BUILDING BRIDGES, BUT WE SHOULD BUILD ONLY OUR END OF THE BRIDGE." I AGREE WITH THAT, AND BELIEVE IT CAN BE FAIRLY SAID: IN TERMS OF OUR STANDING IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE HAVE BUILT OUR END OF THE BRIDGE, ROCK SOLID.

BUT I WOULD TAKE PRESIDENT NIXON'S PRESCRIPTION ONE STEP FURTHER. WE CAN'T BUILD THE OTHER GUY'S END OF THE BRIDGE. BUT WE CAN USE OUR CONSIDERABLE CLOUT TO ENCOURAGE HIM TO GET DOWN TO HIS OWN SERIOUS CONSTRUCTION WORK.

#### THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION - NO LINKAGE

ISRAEL IS OUR BEST AND MOST RELIABLE FRIEND IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SO LET ME START THERE.

WE REJECT LINKAGE, AS SADDAM HUSSEIN TRIES TO SELL IT. WE REJECT IT ABSOLUTELY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY.

SADDAM HUSSEIN DIDN'T GO INTO KUWAIT BECAUSE HE CARES ABOUT PALESTINE. WHEN I MET WITH HIM LAST APRIL, AND THE DISCUSSION TURNED TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS, HE PRACTICALLY YAWNED.

SADDAM HUSSEIN DOESN'T CARE ABOUT PALESTINIANS. FOR THAT MATTER, HE DOESN'T CARE MUCH ABOUT IRAQIS.

SADDAM HUSSEIN CARES ABOUT SADDAM HUSSEIN, PERIOD.

BUT BECAUSE THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS ARE NOT LINKED TO SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSION DOESN'T MEAN THOSE PROBLEMS AREN'T REAL.

THEY ARE. AND THEY MUST BE ADDRESSED, SERIOUSLY AND URGENTLY -- OR THEY WILL AGAIN BE EXPLOITED BY THE NEXT SADDAM, OR THE ONE AFTER THAT. THEY MUST BE ADDRESSED, OR THE BEST THAT WE -- OR ISRAEL -- CAN EVER HOPE FOR IS NOT PEACE, BUT NON-WAR.

I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CAN WORK.

CERTAINLY, ANY SOLUTION MUST PRESERVE ISRAEL'S SECURITY. I THINK OUR RESPONSE TO THE ATTACK ON ISRAEL BY SADDAM SHOULD GIVE JERUSALEM MORE CONFIDENCE THAT, WHEN WE SAY THAT, WE MEAN IT.

BUT I AM EQUALLY CONVINCED THAT WE -- AND THAT "WE" INCLUDES ISRAEL -- MUST SERIOUSLY CONSIDER ALL OPTIONS. NO ONE PARTY CAN "JUST SAY NO" TO ANY AND EVERY IDEA EXCEPT THOSE THAT IT ADVANCES.

BUT LET ME STRESS: I HAVE GIVEN PRIDE OF PLACE IN THESE REMARKS TO ISRAEL. BUT I AM NOT ABOUT TO PUT ALL, OR MOST OF THE BURDEN, ON ITS SHOULDERS.

WE WANT CREATIVITY, AND COOPERATION, AND COMMON SENSE FROM ISRAEL. BUT WE WANT IT -- WE DEMAND IT -- FROM THE PALESTINIANS, AND THE ARAB STATES, TOO.

#### MIDDLE EAST REALITIES

ISRAEL WAS FOR US, FOUR-SQUARE. YASSER ARAFAT WAS AGAINST US, VEHEMENTLY. WE DON'T OWE THAT CHARACTER A SINGLE THING. AND, TO THE EXTENT THAT OTHER PALESTINIANS CONTINUE TO SIT SILENT WHILE HE CLAIMS TO BE THEIR SOLE MOUTHPIECE, IT IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT FOR US TO DO MUCH TO ADVANCE THEIR LEGITIMATE INTERESTS.

AND WE SHOULD DEMAND A LOT, TOO, FROM OUR ARAB ALLIES IN THE GULF WAR. WHEN THEY FACED AGGRESSION FROM THEIR ARAB NEIGHBOR, SADDAM HUSSEIN, WE STOOD WITH THEM. AT A MINIMUM, THAT GIVES US THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO THEM.

AND THIS IS WHAT WE SHOULD SAY: FELLOWS, IT'S TIME TO FACE FACTS.

ONE, ISRAEL IS HERE TO STAY. UNTIL YOU ACCEPT THAT FACT, YOU -- AND NOT THE ISRAELIS -- MUST BEAR MOST OF THE BLAME FOR THE STALEMATE THAT RESULTS.

TWO, THE REAL ENEMIES OF RESPONSIBLE ARAB LEADERS ARE NOT FOUND IN ISRAEL -- BUT IN THE PALACES OF POLITICAL POTENTATES LIKE SADDAM HUSSEIN AND YASSER ARAFAT. SADDAM IS AN "EQUAL EMPLOYMENT" AGGRESSOR -- HE HAS FIRED JUST AS MANY SCUDS AT SAUDI ARABIA AS HE HAS AT ISRAEL. THERE OUGHT TO BE A LESSON IN THAT FOR MODERATE ARAB LEADERS.

A DOZEN YEARS AGO, ANWAR SADAT SHOWED THE WORLD WHAT COURAGE AND LEADERSHIP COULD ACCOMPLISH.

#### LEBANON

IT IS HIGH TIME FOR NEW "SADATS" TO COME FORWARD ALL AROUND THE REGION.

LET ME ALSO SAY A WORD ABOUT ONE FINAL REGIONAL CHALLENGE -- LEBANON, THE FORGOTTEN "STEPCHILD" OF THE REGION. AS DEVASTATED AS KUWAIT; AS VULNERABLE, INDEED MORE SO, THAN ISRAEL; AND ARGUABLY MORE RENT WITH ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS HATREDS THAN ANY OTHER NATION IN THE REGION.

LEBANON LIES BLEEDING -- AND NO ONE SEEMS TO CARE.

WELL, I CARE. AND I BELIEVE AMERICA MUST CARE.

WE MUST CARE BECAUSE NEARLY THREE HUNDRED AMERICAN MARINES GAVE THEIR LIVES IN A NOBLE, BUT MUDDLED, EFFORT TO SAVE THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THAT NATION.

WE MUST CARE BECAUSE AMERICANS REMAIN HOSTAGE THERE.

WE MUST CARE BECAUSE LEBANON IS A CENTER FOR TERRORISM AND DRUG TRAFFICKING.

AND WE MUST CARE, ABOVE ALL, BECAUSE IT IS MORALLY RIGHT THAT WE DO.

IT IS NOT UP TO AMERICA TO DECIDE LEBANON'S FUTURE. BUT IT IS UP TO US TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO SEE THAT LEBANON IS PART OF THE POST-WAR AGENDA; THAT THE FUTURE OF LEBANON IS DECIDED BY THE LEBANESE PEOPLE -- AND IS NOT SACRIFICED AS A "PAY OFF" FOR SYRIA'S MODEST COOPERATION IN THE CURRENT CONFLICT.

(MORE)



YET ALL OF THAT -- THE PROBLEMS OF THE PALESTINIANS, ISRAELI-ARAB RELATIONS, LEBANON -- ALL OF THAT ADDS UP TO ONLY THE FIRST STEP.

THE LESSONS OF THE GULF WAR, AND THE NEEDS OF A POST-WAR GULF POLICY, ALSO DEMAND THAT WE TAKE TWO ADDITIONAL STEPS: GREATER ENERGY INDEPENDENCE, AND A CLAMP DOWN ON THE PROLIFERATION OF NON-CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.

#### ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

FIRST, GREATER ENERGY INDEPENDENCE. IF THERE IS ONE COMPELLING LESSON OF THESE PAST MONTHS, IT IS THAT AMERICA IS STILL VULNERABLE TO "OIL BLACKMAIL."

WE HAVE SAID IT TIME AND AGAIN: WE MUST STRIVE FOR ENERGY INDEPENDENCE. CAN WE FINALLY STOP TALKING ABOUT IT, AND START DOING SOMETHING ABOUT IT?

OUR OIL-PRODUCING ALLIES IN DESERT STORM OWE US, BIG TIME. WE SHOULD ASK THEM TO MAKE A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO HELP STABILIZE THE SUPPLY AND THE PRICE OF OIL.

WE MUST ALSO DO MUCH MORE AT HOME. IN THE UNITED STATES, WE ARE NOT RUNNING OUT OF OIL -- WE ARE RUNNING OUT OF THE WILL TO PRODUCE OIL. TO GET AT OUR OIL, WHILE PRESERVING THE ENVIRONMENT, IS A BIG, BIG CHALLENGE. BUT IT CAN BE DONE. IT MUST BE DONE.

WE MUST ALSO RE-THINK OUR NUCLEAR ENERGY POLICY. WE HAVE BECOME PARALYZED BY PARANOIA OVER THE POTENTIAL DANGERS. THERE IS A SAFE, SENSIBLE WAY TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR POWER. IT IS JUST STUPID -- ECONOMICALLY AND ENVIRONMENTALLY -- NOT TO TAKE PRUDENT ADVANTAGE OF THAT REMARKABLE POWER SOURCE, AS SO MANY OTHER NATIONS DO.

LET ME ALSO PUT IN A PITCH FOR ONE OTHER ENERGY SOURCE -- ETHANOL. YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE FROM A FARM STATE TO UNDERSTAND THAT AMERICA IS TO GRAIN WHAT SAUDI ARABIA IS TO OIL. AND THERE AREN'T ANY SADDAM HUSSEINS LURKING IN THE WINGS, CAPABLE OF DEPRIVING US OF OUR GRAIN HARVESTS.

#### INTERNATIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE

FINALLY, I'D LIKE TO FLOAT ONE NEW IDEA. IN THE CURRENT CRISIS, WE HAVE BENEFITTED FROM THE FLEXIBILITY OF OUR DOMESTIC STRATEGIC PETROLEUM RESERVE -- THE SO-CALLED SPRO.

I THINK IT IS TIME TO CREATE A SPRO ON AN EVEN LARGER, INTERNATIONAL SCALE -- LOCATED IN STRATEGICALLY SECURE, ECOLOGICALLY SENSIBLE, AND LOGISTICALLY ACCESSIBLE SITES.

PROPERLY STRUCTURED, AN INTERNATIONAL SPRO COULD SERVE SEVERAL PURPOSES SIMULTANEOUSLY.

IT WOULD REDUCE OUR VULNERABILITY TO OIL BLACKMAIL.

IT COULD BE AN IMPORTANT METHOD TO SPREAD MORE FAIRLY THE BURDEN OF INSURING INTERNATIONAL OIL SUPPLIES. LET'S FACE IT: RIGHT NOW, UNCLE SAM IS SHELLING OUT BILLIONS IN MILITARY SPENDING, TO PROTECT OIL SUPPLIES AND SEA LANES FOR THE WHOLE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. UNDER MY SPRO PROPOSAL, THE U.S. WOULD ENJOY EQUITABLE ACCESS TO SPRO'S RESERVES, BUT WEALTHY ALLIES LIKE JAPAN AND GERMANY -- WHO BENEFIT EVEN MORE THAN WE DO BY OUR COMMITMENT TO KEEP THE OIL FLOWING -- WOULD HAVE TO PAY THE LION'S SHARE OF THE COST OF FILLING AND MAINTAINING THE SPRO.

#### HALTING NON-CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION

FINALLY, TO TRULY SECURE THE PEACE, WE MUST HALT THE DEADLY PROLIFERATION OF UNCONVENTIONAL, MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONRY.

UNDER SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATION, REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT, NON-PROLIFERATION POLICY HAS BEEN A BIPARTISAN FAILURE. OUR DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN PERFUNCTORY; OUR WILLINGNESS TO GO TO THE MAT WITH ANYONE, ALLY OR ADVERSARY, HAS BEEN MINIMAL.

AS WE SEE EVERY DAY ON CNN, THIS IS, LITERALLY, A LIFE AND DEATH ISSUE.

PRESIDENT BUSH HAS PLEDGED TO GET TOUGH, AND HAS TAKEN SOME ENCOURAGING STEPS. LAST YEAR, HE ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER, MANDATING SANCTIONS AGAINST FOREIGN COUNTRIES THAT USE CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, OR FOREIGN COMPANIES THAT SELL TO IRRESPONSIBLE NATIONS THE WHEREWITHAL TO PRODUCE THEM.

ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THIS WEEK, THE ADMINISTRATION IS ABOUT TO ANNOUNCE A TOUGH NEW POLICY TO CONTROL THE SALE OF OUR OWN WEAPONS-RELATED TECHNOLOGY.

SO WE ARE MOVING AHEAD. BUT WE MUST GO FURTHER, AND FASTER.

TODAY, ON THE SENATE FLOOR, WE ARE WORKING ON LEGISLATION TO TIGHTEN UP THE SANCTIONS ON BW/CW USERS AND SUPPLIERS EVEN MORE. WE ARE TRYING TO WORK OUT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND SOME IN CONGRESS ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE.

IT IS CRITICAL THAT WE DO. THIS ISSUE IS JUST TOO SERIOUS FOR PARTISAN POLITICS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I AM CONVINCED WE ARE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF WINNING THE PERSIAN GULF WAR.

IT IS A JUST WAR. AND SO IT WILL BE A GREAT VICTORY.

BUT, AS I HAVE SAID, WINNING THE WAR IS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF OUR TASK. FOR THEN WE MUST BIND UP THE WOUNDS OF THE WAR, AND MOVE ON TO THE MOST CHALLENGING AND IMPORTANT TASK -- TO WIN THE PEACE.

WORKING TOGETHER, NOT AS REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS BUT AS AMERICANS, I AM CONVINCED WE CAN.

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