

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

BIPARTISAN CENTRAL AMERICAN ACCORD

AS WE INDICATED AT THE WHITE HOUSE, I HAVE
JOINED WITH THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY BAKER, AND
THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE BIPARTISAN
CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SUPPORTING THE
STATEMENT OF AMERICAN POLICY IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
RELEASED EARLIER TODAY.



THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY BAKER TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO MAKE THIS ACCORD HAPPEN. SECRETARY BAKER SPENT FOUR WEEKS AND COUNTLESS HOURS AT THIS TASK. HE WANTED BIPARTISANSHIP; IN FACT, HE REPEATEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT WE WEREN'T GOING TO GET ANYWHERE IN CENTRAL AMERICAN WITHOUT SOME BIPARTISANSHIP. AND HE'S ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO CONDUCT EFFECTIVE DIPLOMACY WHEN YOU HAVE A BIG FIGHT IN CONGRESS EVERY 60 OR 90 DAYS,



AND YOUR POLICY GOES BACK AND FORTH LIKE A
PENDULUM. IF WE HADN'T STRUCK THIS AGREEMENT,
THAT'S JUST WHERE WE WOULD HAVE BEEN.

ULTIMATELY, THAT IS WHY I HAVE ADDED MY
ENDORSEMENT TO THIS DEAL.

LET ME BE CANDID: THIS AGREEMENT IS A
COMPROMISE, WORKED OUT AFTER A GREAT DEAL OF
NEGOTIATION. IT DOESN'T MEET EVERY STANDARD I
WOULD PREFER. =



AMERICAN POLICY OUGHT TO INCLUDE A CLEAR
ASSERTION THAT WE SHOULD KEEP WIDE OPEN THE
OPTION OF RESUMING MILITARY AID TO THE CONTRAS, IF
THE SANDINISTAS CONTINUE TO 'STONEWALL'. I READ THIS
AGREEMENT AS PRESERVING FOR THE PRESIDENT THE
RIGHT TO PURSUE THAT COURSE, IF NO OTHER COURSE
WILL PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS.



AMERICAN POLICY OUGHT TO BE SET BY THE
PRESIDENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE CONGRESS.
CONGRESS MUST RESIST THE IMPULSE TO PULL THE RUG
OUT FROM UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES BEFORE
THEY HAVE A CHANCE TO WORK. I READ THIS
AGREEMENT AS BINDING ON ALL OF US FOR ITS FULL TEN
MONTH TERM, AND THE END-OF-NOVEMBER REVIEW AS
BEING JUST THAT: NOT A CHANCE TO REINVENT THE
WHEEL, BUT THE



OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THAT THE FUNDAMENTAL
NATURE OF THE SITUATION HASN'T CHANGED, AND THE
BASIC TENETS OF OUR POLICY OUGHT TO CONTINUE.

AMERICAN POLICY OUGHT TO REAFFIRM THAT WE
ARE GOING TO STAND BY OUR COMMITMENT TO THE
"CONTRAS" UNTIL THERE IS TRUE DEMOCRATIZATION IN
NICARAGUA. I READ THIS AGREEMENT AS REAFFIRMING
THAT WE WILL NOT ABANDON THE CONTRAS, AND THAT
VOLUNTARY REINTEGRATION, OR VOLUNTARY REGIONAL
RELOCATION, ARE



OPTIONS THAT WILL BE CONSIDERED ONLY AFTER THE
SANDINISTAS HAVE FULLY LIVED UP TO THEIR PLEDGES IN
ESQUIPULAS AND THE OTHER REFERENCED ACCORDS.

AND, AS AN ASIDE, I WOULD NOT AGREE WITH AN
ASSERTION MADE AT THE WHITE HOUSE THAT THIS
AGREEMENT SOMEHOW PROHIBITS THE CONTINUATION
OF AID TO THE CONTRAS IF THEY ATTEMPT TO
RE-ESTABLISH THEMSELVES INSIDE NICARAGUA, OR
UNDERTAKE MILITARY ACTION. I DOUBT THAT WILL
HAPPEN. BUT THE ACCORD



SIMPLY COMMITS US TO ENCOURAGE THE CONTRAS TO
RESPECT THE EXISTING CEASEFIRE, AS LONG AS THE
SANDINISTAS DO. THAT MAKES SENSE. BUT NO ACCORD
TO WHICH I AM A PARTY -- NEITHER THIS ONE, NOR ANY
PRIVATE "UNDERSTANDING -- GOES BEYOND THAT.

FRANKLY, SOME OF MY REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUES
MAY DECIDE THIS AGREEMENT DOESN'T MEET THEIR
MINIMUM STANDARD OF AN "ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT." I
RESPECT THAT VIEWPOINT, THOUGH I CANNOT AGREE
WITH IT. →

FOR ME THE BOTTOM LINE IS: THIS IS THE REAL
WORLD, NOT THE WORLD AS WE WOULD LIKE IT TO BE.
THIS AGREEMENT DOES GIVE THE PRESIDENT AND THE
SECRETARY SOMETHING CONCRETE TO WORK WITH. WE
CAN BE A "PLAYER" AGAIN, AND REASSERT OUR
LEADERSHIP IN THE REGION.

IT'S NOT AN IDEAL DEAL. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT,
UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS A GOOD DEAL, FOR
THE PRESIDENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION, AND FOR



THE COUNTRY. IF WE ALL WORK AT THIS IN GOOD FAITH,
IF WE LET THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY MOVE
FORWARD VIGOROUSLY ON THE DIPLOMACY THEY PLAN,
WITHOUT UNDERMINING IT -- THEN THIS CAN BE AN
IMPORTANT TURNING POINT; IT GOES BEYOND THE OLD
LAMENT ABOUT "GIVING PEACE A CHANCE." THIS GIVES
PRESIDENT BUSH THE REAL CHANCE TO BRING REAL
PEACE, WITH FREEDOM, TO CENTRAL AMERICA.

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Bipartisan Accord on Central America

The Executive and the Congress are united today in support of democracy, peace, and security in Central America. The United States supports the peace and democratization process and the goals of the Central American Presidents embodied in the Esquipulas Accord. The United States is committed to working in good faith with the democratic leaders of Central America and Latin America to translate the bright promises of Esquipulas II into concrete realities on the ground.

With regard to Nicaragua, the United States is united in its goals: democratization; an end to subversion and destabilization of its neighbors; an end to Soviet bloc military ties that threaten U.S. and regional security. Today the Executive and the Congress are united on a policy to achieve those goals.

To be successful the Central American peace process cannot be based on promises alone. It must be based on credible standards of compliance, strict timetables for enforcement, and effective on-going means to verify both the democratic and security requirements of those agreements. We support the use of incentives and disincentives to achieve U.S. policy objectives.

We also endorse an open, consultative process with bipartisanship as the watchword for the development and success of a unified policy towards Central America. The Congress recognizes the need for consistency and continuity in policy and the responsibility of the Executive to administer and carry out that policy, the programs based upon it, and to conduct American diplomacy in the region. The Executive will consult regularly and report to the Congress on progress in meeting the goals of the peace and democratization process, including the use of assistance as outlined in this Accord.

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Under Esquipulas II and the El Salvador Accord, insurgent forces are supposed to voluntarily reintegrate into their homeland under safe, democratic conditions. The United States shall encourage the Government of Nicaragua and the Nicaraguan Resistance to continue the cessation of hostilities currently in effect.

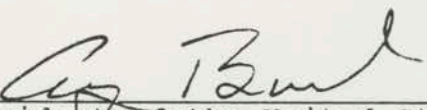
To implement our purposes, the Executive will propose and the bipartisan leadership of the Congress will act promptly after the Easter Recess to extend humanitarian assistance at current levels to the Resistance through February 28, 1990, noting that the Government of Nicaragua has agreed to hold new elections under international supervision just prior to that date. Those funds shall also be available to support voluntary reintegration or voluntary regional relocation by the Nicaraguan Resistance. Such voluntary reintegration or voluntary regional relocation assistance shall be provided in a manner supportive of the goals of the Central American nations, as expressed in the Esquipulas II agreement and the El Salvador Accord, including the goal of democratization within Nicaragua, and the reintegration plan to be developed pursuant to those accords.

We believe that democratization should continue throughout Central America in those nations in which it is not yet complete with progress towards strengthening of civilian leadership, the defense of human rights, the rule of law and functioning judicial systems, and consolidation of free, open, safe, political processes in which all groups and individuals can fairly compete for political leadership. We believe that democracy and peace in Central America can create the conditions for economic integration and development that can benefit all the people of the region and pledge ourselves to examine new ideas to further those worthy goals.

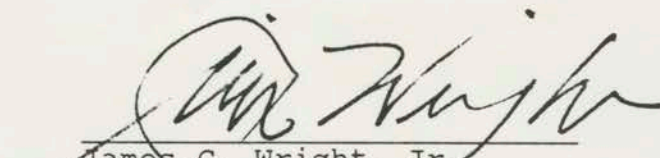
While the Soviet Union and Cuba both publicly endorsed the Esquipulas Agreement, their continued aid and support of violence and subversion in Central America is in direct violation of that regional agreement. The United States believes that President Gorbachev's impending visit to Cuba represents an important opportunity for both the Soviet Union and Cuba to end all aid that supports subversion and destabilization in Central America as President Arias has requested and as the Central American peace process demands.

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The United States Government retains ultimate responsibility to define its national interests and foreign policy, and nothing in this Accord shall be interpreted to infringe on that responsibility. The United States need not spell out in advance the nature or type of action that would be undertaken in response to threats to U.S. national security interests. Rather it should be sufficient to simply make clear that such threats will be met by any appropriate Constitutional means. The spirit of trust, bipartisanship, and common purpose expressed in this Accord between the Executive and the Congress shall continue to be the foundation for its full implementation and the achievement of democracy, security, and peace in Central America.




President of the United States



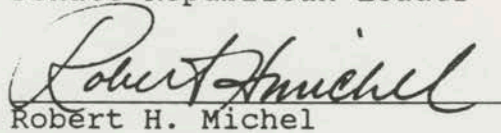
James C. Wright, Jr.
Speaker of the House



Robert Dole
Senate Republican Leader



George J. Mitchell
Senate Majority Leader



Robert H. Michel
House Republican Leader



Thomas S. Foley
House Majority Leader

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 24, 1989.