

STATEMENT OF SENATOR DOLE  
RESOLUTION ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS

MR. PRESIDENT, THIS IS A DAY WHICH, BY TRADITION, IS LARGELY OCCUPIED BY IMPORTANT CEREMONIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES. TODAY, THOUGH, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE DISTINGUISHED MINORITY LEADER, I WOULD ASK THAT THE SENATE PUT ASIDE THIS TRADITION BRIEFLY AND CONSIDER IMMEDIATELY ONE SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION, WHICH I HAVE SENT TO THE DESK.

THIS RESOLUTION DEALS WITH WHAT MAY BE THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH ANY OF US IN THE 99TH CONGRESS WILL FACE: THE ISSUE OF THE CONTROL AND REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

I NEEDN'T DWELL ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE. IT IS CENTRAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. IT IS CENTRAL TO OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR MOST FORMIDABLE ADVERSARY, THE SOVIET UNION. AND IT IS CENTRAL TO THE PEACE -- INDEED, TO THE VERY EXISTENCE -- OF THE CIVILIZED WORLD AS WE KNOW IT. ON THESE GROUNDS ALONE, THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL IS A FITTING FOCUS FOR THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE ACT OF THIS NEW SENATE.

BUT THERE IS ANOTHER REASON FOR US TO ACT NOW. AS WE ALL KNOW, SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ WILL BE LEAVING FOR GENEVA THIS SATURDAY, TO ENGAGE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IN AN INITIAL

ROUND OF TALKS AIMED AT SETTING AN AGENDA FOR FOLLOW-ON ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS. AS HE BEGINS THOSE TALKS, SECRETARY SHULTZ NEEDS, AND HE DESERVES, OUR STRONG SUPPORT.

IF HISTORY IS A GUIDE, THE RUSSIANS ARE GOING TO BE TOUGH AND EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATORS. THEY WILL TRY TO EXPLOIT ANY CHINKS THEY SEE IN OUR NEGOTIATING ARMOR, ANY DIVISIVENESS, ANY IMPATIENCE. IF WE LET THEM KNOW NOW THAT WE ARE UNITED IN OUR WISH FOR SOUND AND VERIFIABLE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS -- UNITED IN OUR DETERMINATION TO WORK HARD AND PATIENTLY FOR SUCH AGREEMENTS -- AND UNITED IN OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THEM -- OUR PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS WILL BE MUCH GREATER.

THIS RESOLUTION ALSO SERVES OTHER ENDS. IT RECOGNIZES THE SUCCESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S STRATEGY IN GETTING THESE TALKS STARTED AND, IN SO DOING, ENCOURAGES THE CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

IT UNDERSCORES THE DEEP INTEREST OF THE SENATE, AS AN INSTITUTION, IN NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, BOTH AS AN ISSUE AND AS A NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IT MAKES CLEAR THAT THIS BODY INTENDS TO PLAY ITS CONSTITUTIONALLY MANDATED ROLE IN HELPING SHAPE AND CONFIRM OUR COUNTRY'S ARMS CONTROL POLICIES AND STRATEGIES.

IT ALSO RECOMMENDS A MECHANISM FOR APPROPRIATE AND RESPONSIBLE SENATE INPUT INTO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, THROUGH A BODY OF DESIGNATED SENATE OBSERVERS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE. FULLY COGNIZANT OF THE EXECUTIVE'S PRIMACY IN CARRYING OUT OUR FOREIGN POLICIES, THESE SENATORS WOULD NOT BE NEGOTIATORS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE, OR OTHER OFFICIALS DESIGNATED BY THE PRESIDENT, WOULD HAVE THE SOLE AUTHORITY TO SPEAK FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES IN THE INTRICATE BARGAINING PROCESS WHICH WILL INEVITABLY CHARACTERIZE THESE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THESE SENATORS WOULD SERVE AS THIS BODY'S CHANNEL FOR INFORMATION AND FEED-BACK AS FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS ENSUE, SO THAT THE SENATE COULD MORE KNOWLEDGEABLY PLAY THE RATIFYING OR OTHER ROLE WHICH MIGHT LATER BE REQUIRED.

THE DISTINGUISHED MINORITY LEADER, I KNOW, HAS ALREADY BEEN IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THIS MATTER, AND I, TOO, HAVE DISCUSSED IT WITH ADMINISTRATION REPRESENTATIVES. WE WILL CERTAINLY WANT TO HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS, TO INSURE THAT THE FUNCTIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF SENATE OBSERVERS ARE AS CLEARLY DELINEATED AS POSSIBLE. IN THAT REGARD, AND FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE SENATE, I WOULD LIKE TO INCLUDE IN THE RECORD A LETTER WHICH I RECEIVED YESTERDAY FROM ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE KEN DAM, WHICH GIVES SOME INITIAL THOUGHTS ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S PERCEPTION OF WHAT ROLE THESE OBSERVERS MIGHT BEST PLAY.

FINALLY, THE RESOLUTION WHICH I INTRODUCE CAN BE AN IMPORTANT FIRST MANIFESTATION OF WHAT I HOPE -- WHAT I PLAN -- WILL BE AN ON-GOING PROCESS TO REESTABLISH A BIPARTISAN SPIRIT IN THIS BODY'S CONSIDERATION OF VITAL NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. THE DISTINGUISHED MINORITY LEADER AND I HAVE WORKED TOGETHER ON THIS RESOLUTION. WITHOUT HIS SUPPORT AND HIS SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS, WE COULD NOT HOPE TO SEE ITS PASSAGE TODAY. WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF THIS BODY, ITS PASSAGE WOULD HAVE FAR LESS MEANING AND IMPACT.

REBUILDING THIS SPIRIT OF BIPARTISANSHIP WILL NOT BE A QUICK OR EASY PROCESS. BUT IT IS A TASK WE MUST UNDERTAKE, AND THERE IS NO ISSUE MORE IMPORTANT ON WHICH TO BEGIN THAN THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL. THERE IS NO TIME BETTER TO BEGIN THAN RIGHT NOW.

MR. PRESIDENT, I ASK THE UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF THE SENATE FOR THE IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION OF THIS RESOLUTION AND THE SUPPORT OF ALL SENATORS FOR ITS IMMEDIATE PASSAGE.