

News from Senator

BOB DOLE



(R - Kansas)

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NOTE: IF YOU HAD THE EMBARGOED VERSION OF THIS STATEMENT THERE ARE NEW 3RD, 4TH AND 5TH PARAGRAPHS ON PAGE 3.

Dole Announces Five Point Plan for Peace in Central America

ST. LOUIS -- SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER BOB DOLE URGED TODAY THAT AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD CENTRAL AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS BE SHAPED BY "FIVE POINTS FOR PEACE:"

First, a good faith pursuit of the Central American talks outlined in the August 7 Arias plan.

Second, a clear understanding that vital U.S. interests, especially the Soviet-Cuban presence in Nicaragua, are not being adequately addressed by the Arias plan, and must be dealt with separately.

Third, reaffirmation that the U.S. will not abandon the contras.

Fourth, reauthorization of U.S. aid to the contras now; with humanitarian aid to be provided under a ceasefire, military aid to be resumed if the Sandinistas were blocking or stalling on an agreement, and all aid to be stopped if an acceptable comprehensive peace plan is fully implemented.

Fifth, undertaking two new negotiations, as a comprehensive and inseparable package with the Central American talks: bilateral U.S.-Sandinista talks limited to the Soviet-Cuban issue; and trilateral talks, to include the contras, on the political future of Nicaragua -- with U.S. support for the results of the process contingent upon the successful conclusion of all three sets of talks.

THE COMPLETE TEXT OF SENATOR DOLE'S REMARKS BEGINS ON PAGE 2.

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DOLE LEADS DELEGATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA

I AM ANNOUNCING TODAY THAT I WILL LEAD A DELEGATION OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS ON A VISIT TO CENTRAL AMERICA, BEGINNING AUGUST 30. WE WILL VISIT COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR AND HONDURAS, AND MEET WITH LEADERS OF THE NICARAGUAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE. WE MAY MEET, TOO, WITH THE SANDINISTA LEADERSHIP -- BUT THAT IS NOT YET LAID ON.

JOINING ME ON THE TRIP WILL BE THE THREE SENATORS I APPOINTED LAST WEEK TO THE SENATE'S CENTRAL AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS OBSERVER GROUP: SENATOR MCCAIN OF ARIZONA, WHO IS THE REPUBLICAN CO-CHAIRMAN OF THE GROUP; SENATOR COCHRAN OF MISSISSIPPI; AND SENATOR SYMMS OF IDAHO.

A STEP ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

STRESSING THAT I AM SPEAKING FOR MYSELF AND NOT FOR THE OTHER SENATORS WHO WILL BE ACCOMPANYING ME, LET ME SAY THIS ABOUT OUR TRIP:

I AM HOPEFUL THE PLAN INITIALED AUGUST 7 CAN BE ONE STEP ON THE WAY TO PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA. THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES IT DESERVES A CHANCE. I'M NOT GOING TO UNDERMINE EITHER THE PRESIDENT, OR THE CHANCE THAT THIS PLAN COULD SUCCEED.

BUT I AM SKEPTICAL ABOUT SOME PROVISIONS -- SOME OMISSIONS -- IN THE PLAN. RIGHT NOW, A PEACE PROCESS IS GOING FORWARD, AND WE'RE NOT REALLY PLAYERS IN IT. AND SOME ISSUES VITAL TO US ARE NOT EVEN BEING ADDRESSED. WE'VE GOT TO FIND A WAY TO DEAL WITH THIS, WITHOUT UNDERMINING THE ARIAS EFFORT. IT SEEMS TO ME THERE IS A WAY TO DO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE, IF WE STICK TO FIVE BASIC POINTS.

GIVE THE PEACE PROCESS A CHANCE

FIRST, AS I SAID, WE WANT TO GIVE THE PEACE PROCESS EVERY CHANCE. THE U.S. IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH; CERTAINLY, PRESIDENT REAGAN IS. BUT GOOD FAITH IS A TWO WAY STREET. AND SO FAR, I SEE LITTLE TO CONVINCE ME THE SANDINISTAS WILL RESPOND IN KIND.

AMERICA'S INTERESTS

SECOND, THERE ARE REAL U.S. INTERESTS AT STAKE HERE -- SEPARATE FROM THE INTERESTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES. AND OUR INTERESTS HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED IF THE U.S., FINALLY, IS TO SUPPORT A PEACE PLAN.

THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THE SOVIET-CUBAN PROBLEM. I'VE READ AND RE-READ THE AUGUST 7 DOCUMENT, AND THAT PROBLEM IS JUST NOWHERE TO BE SEEN.

SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT PUT TOGETHER A PROPOSAL THAT MANY OF US, ON A BIPARTISAN BASIS, ENDORSED. IN THAT PROPOSAL, WE ALL AGREED THAT THE SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE AND THE MASSIVE MILITARY BUILD-UP IN NICARAGUA WAS PROBLEM #1 FOR THE UNITED STATES. UNLESS THAT PROBLEM IS TAKEN CARE OF, THERE IS NO SETTLEMENT FOR US; THERE WILL BE NO LONG-TERM PEACE. IT'S AS SIMPLE AS THAT.

STICKING WITH THE CONTRAS

THIRD, WE JUST CAN'T ABANDON THE CONTRAS. AMERICAN CREDIBILITY CAN'T STAND ONE MORE TRIP DOWN THAT DISASTROUS ROAD.

THEY HAVE TO PLAY A ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS. THEY HAVE TO BE A PARTY TO BOTH CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS AND POST-CEASEFIRE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES INSIDE NICARAGUA. AND IT'S NOT AT ALL CLEAR ANY OF THAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN UNDER THE CENTRAL AMERICAN PLAN.

(more)

CONTINUING AID TO CONTRAS

FOURTH, THE ONLY REASON THE SANDINISTAS HAVE NEGOTIATED AT ALL; THE ONLY REASON WE HAVE MR. ORTEGA'S SIGNATURE ON THE AUGUST 7 AGREEMENT -- IS THAT WE'VE KEPT THE HEAT ON, THROUGH AID TO THE CONTRAS. WE CAN'T LAY DOWN THE CONTRA CARD NOW. WE CAN'T GIVE UP ALL OUR LEVERAGE, JUST AS THE CRUCIAL TALKS START.

SO I OFFER THIS VERY SIMPLE AND REASONABLE PROPOSITION -- NOT AS A WAY TO CONTINUE THE WAR, BUT AS INSURANCE THAT ALL SIDES WILL REALLY TRY TO END IT; NOT AS A SIGN OF OUR LACK OF FAITH, BUT AS A HEDGE AGAINST SANDINISTA BAD FAITH.

LET THE CONGRESS RENEW AID TO THE CONTRAS ON THESE CONDITIONS: FIRST, THE CURRENT AID PACKAGE ALREADY IN PLACE FOR FISCAL 1987 SHOULD BE COMPLETED. DURING SEPTEMBER, THE CONGRESS SHOULD VOTE A NEW ASSISTANCE PACKAGE TO BEGIN ON OCTOBER 1. THAT PACKAGE WOULD INCLUDE BOTH MILITARY AND HUMANITARIAN AID; AND BOTH FORMS OF AID WOULD CONTINUE UNTIL A CEASEFIRE WAS IN PLACE. UPON IMPLEMENTATION OF A CEASEFIRE, HOWEVER, MILITARY AID WOULD BE SUSPENDED.

THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE GIVEN STANDBY AUTHORITY, TO RE-INTRODUCE MILITARY AID IF THE SANDINISTAS VIOLATE THE CEASEFIRE, FAIL TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, OR IF THE SOVIETS CONTINUE TO BUILD-UP THE SANDINISTAS MILITARILY.

IN ANY CASE, HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE RESISTANCE MUST CONTINUE UNTIL ALL THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS ARE FULLY INTEGRATED INTO A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IN NICARAGUA.

AND ON AID, LET ME ADD THIS POINT: UNDER THE WRIGHT PLAN, IT MAY HAVE MADE SOME SENSE TO DEFER THIS ISSUE UNTIL SEPTEMBER 30 -- THE TARGET DATE FOR COMPLETING NEGOTIATIONS. UNDER THIS NEW PLAN, THOUGH, A STAND-DOWN ON AID MAKES NO SENSE; AND IS DANGEROUSLY UNFAIR TO THE CONTRAS. UNDER THIS NEW PLAN, UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE WILL BE NO SETTLEMENT BEFORE LATE NOVEMBER. MEANWHILE, THE CONTRAS WILL DANGLE HELPLESSLY, THROUGH TWO LONG MONTHS OF SANDINISTA ATTACK. I JUST CAN'T BE PARTY TO THAT KIND OF SITUATION.

A STRUCTURE FOR SERIOUS TALKS

FIFTH, AND FINALLY, I WOULD ALSO SAY THIS: I HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO U.S.-SANDINISTA BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS, ANYPLACE, ANYTIME. SEEING DANIEL ORTEGA TRYING TO MAKE THIS A BIG ISSUE JUST STRIKES ME AS TOTALLY PHONY. THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER WE TALK TO THE SANDINISTAS; BUT WHETHER THEY ARE WILLING TO TALK SERIOUSLY, ABOUT MATTERS THAT CONCERN US.

SO TODAY I WANT TO SUGGEST DIRECT TALKS INVOLVING THE SANDINISTAS; NOT INSTEAD OF, BUT AS ADJUNCTS TO THE CENTRAL AMERICAN TALKS; IN TWO SEPARATE BUT RELATED NEGOTIATIONS:

ONE, BILATERAL TALKS, ON THE SINGLE ISSUE OF THE SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE AND SANDINISTA MILITARY BUILD-UP INSIDE NICARAGUA; AND

TWO, TRILATERAL TALKS -- THE U.S., THE SANDINISTAS AND THE CONTRAS -- AIMED AT RE-INTEGRATING THE CONTRAS INTO A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS IN NICARAGUA.

THOSE TALKS SHOULD GO FORWARD, AS AN INSEPARABLE PACKAGE, PARALLEL TO AND IN COORDINATION WITH THE CENTRAL AMERICAN TALKS. SUCCESS IN ALL THREE SETS OF TALKS, IT SEEMS TO BE, WOULD INSURE THAT ALL OF OUR VITAL INTERESTS WOULD BE ACHIEVED;

AND IT WOULD GET THE CONTRAS IN THE PROCESS, WHERE THEY BELONG. FROM THE SANDINISTA STANDPOINT, THESE TALKS WOULD INSURE THAT ALL OF THEIR LEGITIMATE CONCERNS COULD BE ADDRESSED -- IT WOULD TAKE AWAY ALL THEIR PHONY EXCUSES FOR THEIR ASSAULTS AND THREATS TO THEIR NEIGHBORS; AND THEIR FAILURE TO INSTITUTE DEMOCRACY AT HOME.

IN CONCLUDING, LET ME STRESS AGAIN: THE THREE SETS OF TALKS FORM AN INSEPARABLE WHOLE -- THE ONLY WAY THAT ALL IMPORTANT U.S. INTERESTS CAN BE ADDRESSED. FAILURE IN ANY OF THE THREE SETS OF TALKS WOULD LEAVE VITAL U.S. CONCERNS UNRESOLVED, AND RAISE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER THE UNITED STATES COULD SUPPORT THE REMAINING ELEMENTS OF THE PACKAGE.

...GIVE THEM THE CHANCE

THE SANDINISTAS SAY THEY ARE FOR PEACE. THESE TALKS GIVE THEM THE CHANCE TO PROVE IT.

THE SANDINISTAS SAY THEY ARE FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL NATIONS IN THE REGION, WITH NO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE. THESE TALKS GIVE THEM THE CHANCE TO ACHIEVE IT.

THE SANDINISTAS SAY THEY ARE FOR DEMOCRACY. THESE TALKS GIVE THEM THE CHANCE TO IMPLEMENT IT.

IT'S TIME FOR THE SANDINISTAS TO PUT UP, OR SHUT UP. AND IT'S TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO SEE, ONCE AND FOR ALL, WHICH IT IS TO BE; AND THEN TO ACT ACCORDINGLY.