

Bob Dole



NEWS

U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS

FROM:

SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-5358

THE NEW CHALLENGES FOR US-SOVIET RELATIONS

REMARKS BY SENATOR BOB DOLE TO THE COMMISSION ON ACCREDITATION FACILITIES 25TH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE GRAND HYATT HOTEL, WASHINGTON, DC

OVER THE PAST COUPLE OF WEEKS, ALL EYES HAVE BEEN FOCUSED ON THE SOVIET UNION.

SOONER THAN ANY OF US THOUGHT, WE MOVE FROM THE TRANSITION ERA OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV TO THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA OF BORIS YELTSIN AND HIS DEMOCRATIC ALLIES.

I SAID, AS THE COUP UNFOLDED AND FAILED, THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD NOT YET TAKEN A GIANT STEP FORWARD -- BUT HAD ONLY AVOIDED A DISASTROUS STEP BACK.

TODAY, AS EVENTS MOVE FORWARD AT A BREATH-TAKING PACE, I WOULD AMEND THAT OBSERVATION. SURVIVING THE COUP WAS, INDEED, "DODGING A BULLET" -- A SIGN OF POLITICAL FRAGILITY, NOT MATURITY. BUT THE REMARKABLE EVENTS SINCE, AS MORE AND MORE BORIS YELTSIN AND HIS ALLIES APPEAR TRULY IN CHARGE, AND AS THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN THE REPUBLICS ASSERT THEMSELVES, ONE BY ONE -- THOSE EVENTS DO REPRESENT GREAT FORWARD STRIDES. THEY ARE CAUSE, NOT JUST FOR RELIEF, BUT FOR REJOICING.

BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPERATIVE -- EVEN AS WE JOIN IN THE WORLDWIDE CELEBRATION OF DEMOCRACY'S GREAT VICTORY -- THAT WE ALL KEEP COOL; JUST AS COOL AS BORIS YELTSIN DID IN HIS TIME OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CRISIS.

OTHER BATTLES TO COME

DEMOCRACY HAS WON A GREAT VICTORY. BUT THERE MAY YET BE OTHER BATTLES, BEFORE A LASTING VICTORY IS SECURED.

ONE THING IS PREDICTABLE -- THE FUTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION WILL MOSTLY BE DETERMINED BY SOVIET LEADERS AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE. GORBACHEV STILL HAS A ROLE TO PLAY -- ALBEIT A MORE LIMITED ONE THAN BEFORE. AND, UNLESS HE MOVES DECISIVELY NOW TO ALIGN HIMSELF WITH THE FORCES OF REAL REFORM, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, HIS DAYS ARE NUMBERED.

YELTSIN NOW TOWERS OVER THE POLITICAL SCENE -- THE "800 POUND GORILLA" WHO, THESE DAYS, CAN PRETTY MUCH GET WHAT HE WANTS. BUT POLITICAL HONEYMOONS -- EVEN ONE AS WELL EARNED AS THIS ONE -- HAVE A WAY OF BEING SHORT-LIVED.

HARD WORK AHEAD FOR YELTSIN, GORBACHEV

ESPECIALLY WHEN THE REAL HARD WORK NOW BEGINS.

◆ TURNING FROM THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS -- WHICH HE MANAGED SO SUPERBLY -- TO THE EVEN TOUGHER TASK OF DAY-TO-DAY LEADERSHIP AND PERHAPS ULTIMATELY GOVERNANCE, AS AN ELECTED SOVIET PRESIDENT.

◆ DEALING WITH THE EVER MORE RESTIVE REPUBLICS -- SOME OF WHOM ARE GOING TO BE NO MORE COMFORTABLE LIVING IN YELTSIN'S SHADOW, THAN THEY WERE MANEUVERING FOR GREATER SOVEREIGNTY ON GORBACHEV'S CHESSBOARD.

◆ KEEPING THE OLD GUARD -- DISCREDITED AND MOMENTARILY DE-FANGED, BUT BITTER AND POTENTIALLY POWERFUL STILL -- KEEPING THEM SUCCESSFULLY AT BAY.

◆ AND, MOST DIFFICULT OF ALL, MEETING THE SOARING EXPECTATIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND FREE MARKET REFORMERS -- THEREBY PRESERVING HIS IMMENSE POPULARITY AND POLITICAL MOMENTUM.

AFTER THE PARTIES ARE OVER, THE SOVIET CITIZENRY IS GOING TO HAVE TO START Q-ING UP ALL OVER AGAIN: FOR FOOD, FOR SOAP, FOR TOILET PAPER -- FOR EVERYTHING. STANDING IN LINE FOR TWO HOURS, IN A FREEZING SNOWSTORM, WAITING FOR YOUR WEEKLY RATION OF SIX EGGS AND A BAR OF SOAP -- THAT TENDS TO DAMPEN ENTHUSIASM FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT AND ITS LEADERS, NO MATTER WHO THEY ARE.

AND LET'S NOT FORGET THAT DEMOCRACY, GREAT AS IT IS, HAS ONE VERY INTERESTING CHARACTERISTIC. IT'S PRETTY UNPREDICTABLE.

WHEN PEOPLE GO INTO A BOOTH TO VOTE, SOMETIMES THEY DO EXACTLY WHAT THEY'RE NOT EXPECTED TO DO. AND ONE THING YOU CAN BE SURE OF:

YELTSIN IS NOT GOING TO HAVE A CLEAR POLITICAL FIELD FOR VERY LONG. PRETTY SOON THE CRITICS, AND MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACKS, AND "BOO BIRDS" ARE GOING TO COME OUT OF THE WOOD- WORK. PRETTY SOON SOME OF THESE OTHER SECOND AND THIRD ECHELON LEADERS ARE GOING TO START THINKING: MAYBE I CAN DO THIS BETTER THAN BORIS.

SO IT'S GOING TO BE AN INTERESTING AND CHALLENGING TIME FOR MR. GORBACHEV, AND MR. YELTSIN, AND THE LEADERS OF THE REPUBLICS -- AND FOR ALL OF THE LEADERS AND PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

CHALLENGES FOR U.S. POLICY

AND IT IS GOING TO BE A CHALLENGING TIME FOR U.S. POLICY, TOO. I SAID WE NEEDED TO STAY COOL. NOT EVERYONE IS HEEDING MY ADVICE.

ALREADY PEOPLE ARE OUT THERE ADVOCATING A BILLION DOLLARS IN NEW AID -- IN TAXPAYERS DOLLARS -- FOR THE SOVIET UNION. THEY WANT US TO START WRITING THE CHECKS, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIET UNION'S NEW, CHIEF ECONOMIST, AND FOREMOST FREE-MARKET REFORMIST, IS SAYING, AND I QUOTE HIM FROM YESTERDAY'S NEW YORK TIMES: "THE WEST SHOULD NOT RUSH. NOTHING HAS HAPPENED YET."

HE MAKES A PRETTY SENSIBLE POINT. HOW CAN WE START WRITING OUT THE CHECKS -- WHEN WE DON'T EVEN KNOW WHOSE NAME TO WRITE IN ON THE TOP LINE. PAY TO THE ORDER OF -- WHO? GORBACHEV? YELTSIN? THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT? THE REPUBLICS?

AND YET ANOTHER PROMINENT, REFORM-MINDED SOVIET ECONOMIST POINTS OUT -- ALSO IN A QUOTE FROM YESTERDAY'S PAPERS -- "REALISTICALLY, WE CANNOT USE THE BIG MONEY RIGHT NOW. WE CANNOT USE IT EFFECTIVELY."

AND THEY WON'T BE ABLE TO USE IT UNTIL THEY WORK OUT WHO IS IN CHARGE. UNTIL THEY WORK OUT WHO IS ACTUALLY STILL IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND WHO IS OUT. UNTIL THEY WORK OUT A DIVISION OF POWER AND FUNCTION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE REPUBLICS THAT OPT TO STAY IN. UNTIL THEY MAKE A FIRM COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL REFORM, AND BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THAT REFORM.

NEED FOR SOVIET REFORM

AND, EVEN BEYOND THAT, WE SHOULDN'T START WRITING OUT THE CHECKS UNTIL THEY HAVE SOME OTHER ASPECTS OF THEIR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. LET ME OFFER JUST TWO EXAMPLES.

THEY NEED TO SLASH THEIR MILITARY BUDGET. THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER HAS NO BUSINESS SUBSIDIZING THE ARMS INDUSTRY OF WHAT REMAINS THE SECOND MOST POWERFUL MILITARY FORCE ON EARTH.

AND THEY NEED TO END, COLD TURKEY, ALL AID TO CUBA, EXCEPT STRICTLY HUMANITARIAN AID. THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER HAS NO BUSINESS SUBSIDIZING ONE OF THE LAST HARD-LINE COMMUNIST STATES ON EARTH.

ONE KIND OF AID WE MIGHT LOOK AT IS SOME ADDITIONAL FOOD AID. AS I INDICATED, THIS IS GOING TO BE ONE TOUGH WINTER IN THE SOVIET UNION. AND THE ONE THING THAT COULD JEOPARDIZE THE GREAT PROGRESS OF THE PAST WEEKS IS THE KIND OF WIDESPREAD DISORDER THAT FOOD RIOTS COULD SPARK.

THAT KIND OF SITUATION WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF HELPING PRESERVE THE PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION, AND IT WOULD NOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY.

AND ONE LAST POINT: WHEN WE GET TO THE POINT OF SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING FOREIGN AID, LET'S DO TWO THINGS.

AID REPUBLICS DIRECTLY

LET'S GET IT DIRECTLY TO THE REPUBLICS, WHERE ALL THE ACTION IS LIKELY TO BE. I'VE BEEN ADVOCATING THAT FOR MORE THAN A YEAR. I PUT IN TWO SEPARATE PIECES OF LEGISLATION AUTHORIZING THE PROVISION OF AID DIRECTLY TO THE REPUBLICS MONTHS AGO -- AND WE DID SUCCEED IN PASSING BOTH IN THE SENATE JUST BEFORE THIS RECESS, AND SEVERAL WEEKS BEFORE THE COUP.

NOW IS THE TIME TO FINISH THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, GET THESE BILLS PASSED IN THE HOUSE AND SENT TO THE PRESIDENT -- TO PUT US IN A POSITION, WHEN THE TIME IS RIGHT, TO GET AID TO THE PEOPLE WHO DESERVE IT, AND CAN USE IT EFFECTIVELY.

NO TIME TO RAID DEFENSE BUDGET

THE OTHER THING WE SHOULD DO IS AVOID THE TEMPTATION TO START GRABBING MONEY OUT OF THE DEFENSE BUDGET TO FUND SOME NEW MULTI-BILLION FOREIGN AID PROGRAM.

I'D LIKE TO OFFER THIS REVOLUTIONARY IDEA. IF WE WANT TO PROVIDE FOREIGN AID TO THE SOVIET UNION, HOW ABOUT TAKING IT OUT OF THE FOREIGN AID BUDGET? THAT'S A POT OF NEARLY \$15 BILLION. IF OUR PRIORITIES FOR SPENDING THAT MONEY ARE CHANGING, AS THE WORLD CHANGES -- AND I BELIEVE THOSE PRIORITIES ARE CHANGING -- LET'S MAKE SOME SLIGHT READJUSTMENTS IN OUR INDIVIDUAL FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS. THAT'S THE WAY TO FUND NEW FOREIGN AID -- NOT THROUGH NEW TAXES, OR CUTTING OUR STILL VITAL DEFENSE.

LET'S NOT FORGET: A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO, WE HAD NO IDEA WHO HAD HIS FINGER ON THE BUTTON OF THE SOVIET MISSILE AND NUCLEAR ARSENAL. AND IT IS NOT INCONCEIVABLE THAT, TOMORROW, OR NEXT WEEK, OR NEXT MONTH -- WE'RE GOING TO BE WONDERING ABOUT THIS QUESTION AGAIN. EVEN

FAILING SOME NEW COUP ATTEMPT OR WIDESPREAD INSTABILITY, CAN ANYONE GUARANTEE THAT SOME DISGRUNTLED LOCAL COMMANDER IN ONE OF THE REBELLIOUS REPUBLICS IS NOT GOING TO GRAB A COUPLE OF NUCLEAR ARMED MISSILES; CAN ANYONE GUARANTEE THAT SOME STUBBORN HARD-LINE SUBMARINE COMMANDER IS NOT GOING TO CREATE HIS OWN "RED OCTOBER" -- AND START ENGAGING IN A LITTLE GAME OF DEADLY BLUFF OR BLACKMAIL?

THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO RUSH TO DISARM. MAYBE, IF THINGS WORK OUT RIGHT IN THE SOVIET UNION -- AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND A COUPLE OF OTHER PLACES, FOR THAT MATTER -- MAYBE THEN WE CAN START EXAMINING WHETHER WE CAN SLASH OUR DEFENSE SPENDING. BUT LET'S AT LEAST WAIT UNTIL THE DUST SETTLES IN MOSCOW BEFORE WE START PULLING THE PLUG ON OUR OWN NATION'S SECURITY.

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