

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
ARMED SERVICES YMCA DINNER
FORT RILEY, KANSAS
MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1979

Jim Jones
Don Samuels

I'M VERY HONORED TO BE WITH ALL OF YOU THIS EVENING, AND TO ADD MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS AND ADMIRATION FOR ALL THE GOOD WORK BEING DONE BY FT. RILEY'S YMCA. AN ORGANIZATION LIKE THE Y EXISTS TO HELP PEOPLE DEVELOP THEIR STRENGTHS, TO FIND WITHIN THEMSELVES THE TALENTS AND ABILITIES THEY MIGHT NEVER OTHERWISE KNOW THEY POSSESS. THIS FORT IS A LITTLE LIKE THAT--A COMMUNITY OF CONCERNED, CARING PEOPLE, WHOSE PROFESSIONAL LIVES ARE DEVOTED TO PROTECTING THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS, AND WHOSE PUBLIC LIVES ARE DEDICATED TO PROTECTING THE QUALITIES OF NEIGHBORLY SUPPORT AND INDIVIDUAL REALIZATION THAT MAKE US PROUD TO CALL THIS STATE OUR HOME.

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HUMANITY HUNGERS FOR PEACE. I NEEDN'T REMIND ANY OF YOU, WHOSE LIVES ARE WRAPPED UP IN THE PROTECTION OF PEACE, THAT AMERICA SHOULD NEVER HESITATE TO TAKE CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS TOWARD A WORLD FREE FROM WAR, OR THE THREAT OF WAR. SUCH STEPS DO NOT INCLUDE THE WEAKENING OF OUR ARMED FORCES, IN THE NAME OF MISPLACED ECONOMY. THIS YEAR, THE SOVIET UNION WILL OUT-SPEND OUR NATION ON DEFENSE BY OVER \$50 BILLION. WHILE SOVIET SPENDING HAS INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY SINCE 1964, AMERICA'S MILITARY ALLOCATION IN REAL OR PRE-INFLATIONARY DOLLARS, HAS ACTUALLY DECLINED BY 1/3.

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1. VERIFICATION

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS STATED THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL BE "ADEQUATELY" AND "SATISFACTORILY" VERIFIABLE. THESE TERMS ARE HIGHLY SUBJECTIVE. WHAT MAY BE CONSIDERED "ADEQUATE" BY THOSE WHO NEGOTIATED THE TREATY MAY BE CONSIDERED DANGEROUSLY INADEQUATE BY THOSE CHARGED WITH ITS IMPLEMENTATION DURING THE YEAR TO COME. WHILE OUR TECHNICAL METHODS OF VERIFICATION ARE EXCELLENT IN SOME RESPECTS, THEY FALL SHORT IN OTHERS. WHILE SILOS MAY BE RELIABLY COUNTED, FOR EXAMPLE, NUMBERS OF WARHEADS AND STOCKPILED MISSILES CANNOT. WHILE THE RANGE OF BALLISTIC MISSILES MAY BE RELIABLY ESTIMATED, THAT OF CRUISE MISSILES CANNOT.

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IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE INTERPRETATIONS EACH SIDE ASSIGN TO EACH IMPORTANT PROVISION OF SALT II BE THE SAME. IF SALT IS TO FURTHER SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, TREATY LANGUAGE THAT IS INTERPRETED IN CONTRADICTORY WAYS MUST BE ELIMINATED.

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ALTHOUGH THE CONTROL AND REDUCTION OF NUCLEAR FORCES IS OUR GOAL, WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE INCREASING VULNERABILITY OF THOSE WEAPONS RETAINED FOR OUR ULTIMATE DEFENSE. THE AGREEMENT MUST SPECIFICALLY PROTECT SUCH SYSTEMS.

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THE AGREEMENT MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THE BACKFIRE BOMBER PROBLEM. IF THE SENATE CONCLUDES, AS A RESULT OF ITS INQUIRY, THAT THE BACKFIRE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO MAKE STRATEGIC STRIKES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, IT MUST BE LIMITED IN THE TREATY. IT WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH TO DEPEND ON PLEDGES OF GOOD INTENTIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

5. INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES

THE TREATY MUST NOT PROVIDE RANGE LIMITATIONS FOR AMERICAN MEDIUM RANGE CRUISE MISSILES BELOW THE AGREED INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE LIMITS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, PERMITTING WITHOUT LIMITATION, DEPLOYMENT OF MORE THREATENING MEDIUM RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILES BY THE SOVIETS.

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SUNDAY, APRIL 15

6:00 p.m. Lv. National - TWA # 439 coach
8:33 p.m. Arrive Kansas City

RON: Alameda Plaza (816) 756-1500

MONDAY, APRIL 16

Woolf Brothers opens at 9:30 -- Chuck Reese will be there.

(Chuck said if you need to come in earlier, he can be there -- just call him at home Sunday evening and let him know.
His home number is: (913) 648-3160)

6:30 p.m. Cocktails followed by dinner - Armed Services YMCA Appreciation
Dinner -
Ft. Riley NCO Open Mess
SPEAK - approx. 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17

7:00 a.m. Depart K.C. - TWA # 374 F/C - 1st coach
10:56 a.m. Arr. National

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AS IT IS WITH COMMUNITIES, SO IS IT WITH NATIONS. WE MUST NEVER SHRINK FROM SELF-SACRIFICE. WE MUST NEVER ABANDON OUR OBLIGATION TO DEFEND FREEDOM, OVERSEAS AND HERE AT HOME. AND WE MUST NEVER BE RAILROADED INTO ACCEPTING ANY PACKAGE THAT PROMISES PEACE WITHOUT GUARANTEEING IT.

TO US, MUCH IS GIVEN. FROM US, MUCH IS EXPECTED. IN THE WEEKS TO COME, LET US REMEMBER THOSE FACTS OF MODERN LIFE, AND LET US REMEMBER ALSO OUR OBLIGATION TO GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS YET UNBORN. FOR WE WILL DECIDE THE KIND OF WORLD IN WHICH THEY LIVE. THAT SOLEMN REALIZATION MUST BE THE GUIDING LIGHT TO ILLUMINE OUR DEBATE ON SALT.

THE STAKES ARE HIGH, AND THE COST OF FAILURE TOO GREAT TO CONTEMPLATE. WITH YOUR INTEREST AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THIS GREAT NATIONAL DEBATE, WE WILL NOT FAIL. WE WILL NOT CAPITULATE. WE WILL NOT MORTGAGE THE FUTURE FOR TEMPORARY RELIEF FROM FEAR. WE WILL LIVE UP TO OUR IDEALS, AND WE WILL PRESERVE A PEACE THAT IS GENUINE AND LASTING. THANK YOU AND GOOD EVENING.

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THE AGREEMENT MUST COME TO GRIPS WITH THE BACKFIRE BOMBER PROBLEM. IF THE SENATE CONCLUDES, AS A RESULT OF ITS INQUIRY, THAT THE BACKFIRE HAS THE CAPABILITY TO MAKE STRATEGIC STRIKES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, IT MUST BE LIMITED IN THE TREATY. IT WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH TO DEPEND ON PLEDGES OF GOOD INTENTIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

5. INTERMEDIATE RANGE MISSILES

THE TREATY MUST NOT PROVIDE RANGE LIMITATIONS FOR AMERICAN MEDIUM RANGE CRUISE MISSILES BELOW THE AGREED INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE LIMITS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME, PERMITTING WITHOUT LIMITATION, DEPLOYMENT OF MORE THREATENING MEDIUM RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILES BY THE SOVIETS.

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6. ALLIANCE CONSIDERATIONS

THE SALT TREATY MUST ASSURE THAT THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES ARE FULLY PROTECTED. THERE MUST BE SPECIFIC PROHIBITION OF ANY OBSTACLES TO THE SHARING OF U.S. CRUISE MISSILE AND OTHER TECHNOLOGIES WITH OUR ALLIES FOR THE PURPOSE OF MODERNIZING THEIR NUCLEAR FORCES.

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WE WILL NOT BE DEBATING SALT II IN A VACUUM. SUCH A TREATY CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER. AS I'VE ALREADY POINTED OUT, I BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUBSTANTIALLY AUGMENTED ITS MILITARY FORCES OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS. CAN WE SAY THE SAME OF THE AMERICAN DETERRENT?

FINALLY, WE MUST ALL TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE EFFECTS OF TEN YEARS OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE TWO SIDES' APPROACH TO DEFENSE. THE SOVIETS HAVE MOLDED THEIR DEFENSE STRUCTURE-- AND DETERMINED THEIR BARGAINING POSITION--WITH SALT IN MIND. SALT HAS NOT INTERFERRED WITH ANY SOVIET DEFENSE PROGRAMS. CAN WE SAY THE SAME ABOUT OUR OWN PREPAREDNESS?

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THE MX MISSILE, THE CRUISE MISSILE, THE B-1 BOMBER--THESE SYSTEMS HAVE BEEN DELAYED, DEFERRED OR DROPPED ALTOGETHER IN ANTICIPATION OF SALT LIMITATIONS. THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF ARMS RESTRAINT, AS IF BY SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE WE MIGHT PERSUADE NATIONS TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD.

WELL, MY FRIENDS, THE MODERN WORLD DOESN'T WORK THAT WAY. WE MIGHT WISH IT WOULD, BUT WE HAVE TO ACCEPT THE HARSH REALITY THAT STRENGTH RESPECTS ONLY STRENGTH. I HAVE SEEN FIRST-HAND THE HORRORS OF WAR. I HAVE SEEN MEN DIE IN BATTLE. I CARRY WITH ME THE PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SCARS OF COMBAT. NO ONE YEARNS FOR PEACE MORE THAN THE SOLDIER. NO ONE YEARNS FOR PEACE MORE THAN I.

BUT WHAT KIND OF PEACE DO WE SEEK? IS IT THE PEACE OF FREEDOM, OF REALISM, OF A PROTECTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY THE WORLD OVER? OR IS IT THE PEACE OF THE GRAVE?

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I HAVE NOT YET DECIDED HOW I WILL VOTE ON THE FORTHCOMING SALT TREATY. TONIGHT I'VE TRIED TO RAISE WITH YOU SOME OF THE QUESTIONS I PLAN TO ASK MY COLLEAGUES ONCE DEBATE GETS UNDERWAY IN A FEW WEEKS.

IF A UNITED STATES SENATOR HAS A SINGLE OVERRIDING FUNCTION IT IS TO PROMOTE THE COMMON WELFARE AND INSURE THE COMMON DEFENSE. THERE CAN BE NO WELFARE IN AN UNDEFENDED STATE. THERE CAN BE NO BLOSSOMING OF INDIVIDUAL TALENTS IN A STATE WHERE INDIVIDUALISM IS DISCOURAGED. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WITHOUT STRENGTH.

YOU TEACH THAT LESSON EVERY DAY OF YOUR LIVES. FORT RILEY STANDS AS A LIVING REMINDER THAT PEACE SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH WISHFUL THINKING. THE WORK OF THE Y.M.C.A. IS HARD WORK, WHOSE REWARDS COME EARLY THROUGH INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY EFFORT.

SUNDAY, APRIL 15

6:00 p.m. Lv. National - TWA # 439 coach
8:33 p.m. Arrive Kansas City

RON: Alameda Plaza (816) 756-1500

MONDAY, APRIL 16

Woolf Brothers opens at 9:30 -- Chuck Reese will be there.

(Chuck said if you need to come in earlier, he can be there -- just call him at home Sunday evening and let him know.
His home number is: (913) 648-3160)

6:30 p.m. Cocktails followed by dinner - Armed Services YMCA Appreciation
Dinner -
Ft. Riley NCO Open Mess
SPEAK - approx. 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, APRIL 17

7:00 a.m. Depart K.C. - TWA # 374 F/C - list coach
10:56 a.m. Arr. National