

News from Senator

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THE FOLLOWING IS SENATOR BOB DOLE'S OPENING STATEMENT URGING THE PASSAGE OF THE MX MISSILE.

THE MX MISSILE

AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF OUR NUCLEAR TRIAD

SENATOR DOLE. MR. PRESIDENT, LAST WEEK I REPORTED TO THE SENATE ON OUR GENEVA TRIP. ONE OF OUR MAIN GOALS WAS TO DEMONSTRATE SUPPORT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S ARMS CONTROL EFFORTS. NOW IT IS TIME TO MATCH OUR WORDS OF GOOD FAITH WITH ACTION--IT IS TIME FOR THE SENATE TO VOTE TO RELEASE FENCED FY 1985 FUNDS AND PROCEED IN AN ORDERLY WAY WITH THE MX PROGRAM.

FOR TOO LONG, THE MX HAS SERVED AS A PARTISAN POLITICAL WEAPON WITH ITS WARHEADS AIMED AT DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION. THE CASE FOR THE MX SYSTEM IS CONVINCING ENOUGH AND SHOULD BE BASED ON THREE ESSENTIAL PREMISES--DO WE NEED MX MILITARILY? WILL IT ENHANCE OUR UNDERCUT STRATEGIC STABILITY? WILL IT FURTHER THE CAUSE OF ARMS CONTROL?

THE MILITARY JUSTIFICATION OF MX

WE MUST BE ABLE TO MEET ANY SOVIET THREAT. IF THE SOVIETS HAVE THE SENSE THAT THEY CAN ENGAGE IN CRISIS BARGAINING AND BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BACK DOWN FIRST, THE POLITICAL LEVERAGE GAINED BY THE SOVIET MONOPOLY OF HARD KILL CAPABILITY WILL CERTAINLY AFFECT THE U.S.-SOVIET NUCLEAR EQUATION. THE MX MISSILE RETURNS SOME MEASURE OF BALANCE.

CONTINUED DEPLOYMENT OF MX WILL MAKE THE SOVIETS COGNIZANT THAT THEY NO LONGER HAVE A MONOPOLY IN THIS AREA AND THAT THEY MUST BE AWARE OF AND TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THIS BALANCING FACTOR.

THE SCOWCROFT COMMISSION MADE THE MILITARY CASE CONVINCINGLY: THE U.S. NEEDS A SYSTEM WITH HARD-TARGET KILL CAPABILITY, WITH BIGGER PAYLOAD, INCREASED RANGE AND ACCURACY.

ENHANCEMENT OF STRATEGIC STABILITY

ACQUISITION OF MX WILL NOT DESTABLIZE THE EXISTING NUCLEAR BALANCE. RATHER, IT WILL SERVE AS A CREDIBLE DETERRENT TO ENHANCE STRATEGIC STABILITY. IT IS THE SOVIET UNION THAT CAN NOW ELIMINATE U.S. LAND BASED-SYSTEMS USING ONLY A FRACTION OF ITS ICBM FORCES. THEREFORE, THE QUESTION REMAINS WHAT CAN BE DONE TO REDUCE THIS SOVIET THREAT.

OUR STRATEGIC DETERRENT IS BASED ON THE TRIAD CONCEPT: THE PRESENCE OF THREE SEPARATELY BASED AND POWERFUL NUCLEAR ARMS SYSTEMS. TO THE EXTENT THAT ONE LEG OF THE TRIAD COULD BE WEAKENED -- AS IT WILL BE IF WE TERMINATE THE MX PROGRAM -- OVERALL DETERRENCE WILL BE SERIOUSLY DAMAGED.

ATTAINMENT OF ARMS CONTROL LEVERAGE

MX IS NOT A "BARGAINING CHIP." MORE ACCURATELY, MX PROVIDES FOR BARGAINING LEVERAGE.

THE MILITARY VALUE OF THE WEAPON IS CRITICAL FOR THE U.S. TO ACQUIRE, AND THIS IS PRECISELY WHY IT WILL BE A USEFUL TOOL IN GENEVA. HOWEVER, TIME AND EXPERIENCE SHOULD TELL US THAT WHEN THE SOVIETS BARGAIN, THEY BARGAIN HARD AND CONSIDER ONLY THOSE MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN THE FIELD. MAKING CONCESSIONS UP FRONT WILL SIMPLY MAKE THE SOVIETS ASK FOR MORE CONCESSIONS.

A DEFEAT OF MX BY THE CONGRESS WILL ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO STALL AND DRAG THEIR FEET IN THE ARMS NEGOTIATIONS AND WAIT AND SEE WHAT ELSE WE WILL DO TO OURSELVES IN UNILATERALLY ELIMINATING WEAPON SYSTEMS. IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE CONGRESS ACT PRUDENTLY AND DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP A SOLIDARITY OF AMERICAN PURPOSE AND REASONABLENESS. THE SOVIETS MUST BRING THEIR SYSTEMS TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND BARGAIN FOR REDUCTIONS AND NOT EXPECT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL UNILATERALLY REDUCE ITS OWN SYSTEMS ON THEIR BEHALF.

THE QUESTION IS WHETHER IN THE FACE OF SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS, THE UNITED STATES HAS THE WILL TO MEET THE MILITARY THREAT, TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE BALANCED STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT AND TO SECURE FOR OUR GENEVA NEGOTIATORS THE DETERRENT CAPABILITY UPON WHICH PEACE AND OUR SECURITY RESTS. WITH THESE THREE ELEMENTS SECURED, WE CAN NEGOTIATE IN GENEVA FROM A SOUND POSITION, ONE WHICH PROTECTS THE SECURITY OF THE WESTERN WORLD AND ONE WHICH IS BASED UPON HARD-HEADED REALITY RATHER THAN WISHFUL THINKING. LET US GIVE OUR NEGOTIATORS THE TOOLS TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH--LET US VOTE TO AUTHORIZE CONTINUED PRODUCTION OF THE 21 MX MISSILES.