

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

REPUBLICAN LUNCHEON
SALINA, KANSAS
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1971

THIS AFTERNOON I WANT TO DEPART FROM THE USUAL POLITICAL TOPICS EXPECTED FROM A REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AND ADDRESS MYSELF TO PERHAPS THE GRAVEST LONG RANGE ISSUE FACING THE COUNTRY TODAY.

ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN A SERIOUS SOURCE OF CONCERN TO THINKING AMERICANS FOR SOME TIME, NOT VERY MUCH HAS REALLY BEEN SAID ABOUT IT -- AND WHAT HAS BEEN SAID HAS OFTEN BEEN GROSSLY MISLEADING.

NOTHING IN LIFE IS MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN SURVIVAL ITSELF, AND YET, IN THE OVERHEATED NATIONAL DIALOGUE ABOUT "RE-ORDERED PRIORITIES" AND "HUMAN NEEDS", THE BASIC ISSUE OF NATIONAL SURVIVAL HAS BEEN DOWNGRADED AND RIDICULED IN FAVOR OF SECONDARY ISSUES WITH SHORT-TERM POLITICAL SEX APPEAL.

DEMOCRATS DENOUNCE DEFENSE

SCARCELY A DAY GOES BY THAT SOME DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANT DOESN'T JOIN THE LYNCH MOB ON THE LEFT, DENOUNCING AMERICA'S DEFENSE PROGRAM AND THAT GREAT HOBGOBLIN OF THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT, THE SO-CALLED MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX.

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TYPICAL ARE THOSE WOULD-BE DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES WHO ARE TRYING TO MAKE A WHIPPING BOY OF AMERICA'S ARMED FORCES AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA'S SURVIVAL IS MORE DEPENDENT THAN EVER ON A STRONG DETERRENT TO ENEMY AGGRESSION.

THERE IS A STRANGE IRONY IN THE WAY THAT THESE SELF-PROCLAIMED DEMOCRAT EXPERTS CLAIM TO BE SPEAKING FOR PROGRESS AND THE FUTURE IN THEIR ATTACKS ON OUR MILITARY PREPAREDNESS.

IT IS IRONIC BECAUSE THEIR EFFORTS TO DISMANTLE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM ARE A THROW-BACK TO SOME OF THE MOST REACTIONARY, OUTDATED POSITIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. IN THEIR SIREN CALL TO ALL BUT ABANDON OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS, THEY ARE ECHOING THE VOICES OF AMERICA'S NARROW ISOLATIONIST PAST -- NOT USHERING IN A NEW AGE OF IDEALISM. THEY ARE THE NEW CHAMBERLAINS IN WHAT THEY HOPE WILL BE ANOTHER ERA OF PEACE THROUGH APPEASEMENT.

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ISOLATIONISM OUT OF DATE

AND THEY ARE EVEN MORE MISTAKEN IN THEIR WAYS THAN THE ORIGINAL ISOLATIONISTS. EARLY IN THIS CENTURY, THERE WAS SOMETHING TO BE SAID FOR ISOLATIONISM. AMERICA WAS TRULY A REMOTE GIANT, PROTECTED FROM THE INCURSIONS OF POTENTIAL ENEMIES BY TWO VAST OCEANS. WE COULD PRIDE OURSELVES IN WHAT WRITERS OF THE PERIOD CALLED OUR "SPLENDID ISOLATION".

BUT TODAY, IN THE ERA OF THE SUPERSONIC JET AND THE GUIDED MISSILE, THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS "SPLENDID ISOLATION". THE GREAT DISTANCE SEPARATING US FROM POTENTIAL ENEMIES IN EUROPE AND ASIA MEANS NOTHING. THE OCEANS, INSTEAD OF INSULATING US, ARE FERTILE HUNTING GROUNDS FOR ENEMY SUBMARINES ARMED WITH ATOMIC WARHEADS.

IN SUCH A CONTEXT, THERE IS NO ESCAPING THE NEED FOR DEFENSE PREPAREDNESS. THE OLD PROBLEM HAS TAKEN ON A NEW URGENCY.

PERHAPS GEORGE WASHINGTON SENSED THAT SUCH A DAY WOULD EVENTUALLY COME FOR AMERICA WHEN HE WROTE THAT, "TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTUAL MEANS OF PRESERVING THE PEACE." YET, DESPITE THIS AND COUNTLESS OTHER WARNINGS, AMERICA HAS A CHRONIC RECORD OF NEGLECT IN THE FIELD OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

MOST OF OUR WARS HAVE TAKEN US BY SURPRISE, WITHOUT ADEQUATE MILITARY PREPARATIONS.

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UNPREPAREDNESS A DISASTER

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ITSELF NEARLY FOUNDERED AGAIN AND AGAIN FOR WANT OF TRAINED REGULAR FORCES AND SUFFICIENT SUPPLIES. IN THE NEXT GREAT NATIONAL TEST, THE WAR OF 1812, AMERICA WENT INTO BATTLE WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE STANDING ARMY AND SUFFERED A SERIES OF HUMILIATING DEFEATS, INCLUDING THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON ITSELF.

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR BEGAN AS AN INDECISIVE CLASH OF ILL-TRAINED, GREEN RECRUITS. ONE REASON IT LASTED SO LONG AND PROVED SO BLOODY WAS SIMPLY THAT NEITHER SIDE WAS PREPARED FOR IT.

IN THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR, MORE AMERICANS DIED OF DISEASE AND NEGLECT IN CAMP THAN WERE FELLED BY ENEMY BULLETS -- AGAIN BECAUSE, WHEN WAR CAME, WE WERE NOT PREPARED.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR ONCE AGAIN FOUND US UNPREPARED, AND ANYONE OLD ENOUGH TO REMEMBER THE NEWSREEL FOOTAGE OF UNITED STATES RECRUITS DRILLING WITH BROOMSTICKS INSTEAD OF RIFLES, KNOWS JUST HOW SERIOUS A SITUATION WE FACED IN THE LATE 1930'S WHEN THE WORLD TOTTERED ON THE BRINK OF A SECOND GREAT GLOBAL STRUGGLE.

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ROOSEVELT FAVORED READINESS

THE PATTERN OF NEGLECT WAS SO CONSTANT THAT WILL ROGERS ONCE REMARKED THAT "WE ARE THE ONLY NATION IN THE WORLD THAT WAITS UNTIL WE GET INTO A WAR BEFORE WE START GETTING READY FOR IT."

THE KIND OF NATIONAL CARELESSNESS THAT BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF RUIN IN THE PAST WOULD BE, IN TODAY'S ATOMIC AGE, NOTHING SHORT OF SUICIDAL. FOR AN UNPREPARED NATION THREATENED BY NUCLEAR OBLIVION, THERE CAN BE NO NINTH ROUND COMEBACK. EITHER YOU ARE READY, OR YOU ARE DONE FOR.

WHAT TEDDY ROOSEVELT WROTE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY IS DOUBLY TRUE TODAY. "PREPARATION FOR WAR," HE SAID, "IS THE SUREST GUARANTY FOR PEACE.....AGAIN AND AGAIN WE HAVE OWED PEACE TO THE FACT THAT WE WERE PREPARED FOR WAR."

YET TODAY, WHEN THIS LESSON IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER, WE ARE WITNESSING A CONCERTED ATTACK ON OUR NATIONAL SECURITY BY HYSTERIA MONGERS WHO RESIDE LARGELY IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY.

I SOMETIMES GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CONTENDERS FOR THE DEMOCRAT NOMINATION ARE CONDUCTING PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST THE ADEQUATE DEFENSE

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WE NEED TO INSURE PEACE. OF COURSE, THESE DAYS IT IS HARD TO TELL WHO IS AN ANNOUNCED CANDIDATE AND WHO ISN'T. THEY ALL ARE TRYING TO GET INTO THE ACT, AND SOMETIMES THE ONLY WAY TO DO THAT IS TO TOP EACH OTHER'S OUTLANDISH STATEMENTS. THIS HAS RESULTED IN A FRENZIED ESCALATION OF POLITICAL RHETORIC, AS WE SAW JUST A FEW DAYS AGO, WHEN ONE OF THE MAJOR DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES TOLD THE NATION THAT HE WAS PERFECTLY WILLING TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT NORTH VIETNAM WOULD EVENTUALLY TAKE OVER SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS IS AS CLOSE AS ANYONE HAS YET COME TO URGING OUTRIGHT SURRENDER TO THE ENEMY.

LOOSE TALK DEMEANS DEMOCRATS

CERTAINLY THIS KIND OF LOOSE TALK -- THIS SHAMEFUL AND DEMEANING COMPETITION AMONG POLITICAL CANDIDATES TO DOWNGRADE OUR DEFENSES AND FAN THE FLAMES OF DISUNITY OVER AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY -- IS NO LAUGHING MATTER.

THERE IS SOME SORT OF SILLY NOTION GOING ROUND THAT WE CAN AFFORD TO "SAVE" OUR MONEY BY CUTTING BACK ON DEFENSE AND POURING MORE MILLIONS INTO WELFARE.

NOW, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NO INTENTION OF NEGLECTING OUR NATION'S SOCIAL NEEDS; BUT OUR DEFENSE NEEDS MUST ALSO BE MET.

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AFTER ALL, NONE OF US WILL BE ABLE TO ENJOY BETTER HEALTH, EDUCATION OR WELFARE UNLESS AMERICA SURVIVES AS A NATION AND AS A WAY OF LIFE ---- A FACT THAT MOST OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE DEMOCRAT NOMINATION SEEM TO HAVE CONVENIENTLY FORGOTTEN.

I DOUBT THAT A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- OR EVEN A MAJORITY OF THE RANK-AND-FILE IN THEIR OWN PARTY -- ARE TAKING THEIR OVERBLOWN RHETORIC VERY SERIOUSLY. BUT ON AN ISSUE THAT IS THIS IMPORTANT, IT SHOULD NOT GO UNCHALLENGED.

TAKE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE RECENT UTTERANCES OF STEADY ED MUSKIE, A LEADING DEMOCRAT HOPEFUL, WHEN HE VISITED MOSCOW. IT'S A STRANGE WORLD WHEN AN UNOFFICIAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES IS KICKED OFF IN MOSCOW, BUT THAT IS WHERE THIS PARTICULAR WANDERING MINSTREL OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY DECIDED TO JOIN THE CHORUS OF THE DISARMERS.

MUSKIE UNDERCUTS NIXON

IN A MEETING WITH THE PREMIER OF THE SOVIET UNION, HE INFORMED THAT NOT-SO-FRIENDLY COMMUNIST LEADER THAT A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT REDUCING MILITARY SPENDING AND ABOUT, AS HE PUT IT, "OUR RESOURCES BEING DIVERTED TO ARMAMENTS". IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH KOSYGIN, THIS CANDIDATE

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ATTEMPTED -- KNOWINGLY OR UNKNOWNLY -- TO UNDERCUT THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. BY HIS OWN ACCOUNT, HE TOLD PREMIER KOSYGIN THAT THERE WAS AN ANTI-ADMINISTRATION POINT OF VIEW IN THE UNITED STATES AND THAT HE "WANTED HIM TO KNOW FIRST HAND..... THAT THERE WAS SUCH A BODY OF OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE HOPE THAT WE'D INFLUENCE HIM."

NOW THERE ARE MANY VOICES AND VIEWPOINTS IN THE UNITED STATES. WE ARE A SOCIETY BASED ON FREEDOM OF OPINION AND FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION. BUT, IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN POWERS, WE HAVE ONLY ONE VOICE THAT SPEAKS AUTHORITATIVELY ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS NATION -- AND THAT VOICE IS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

YET HERE WAS A DEMOCRAT POLITICIAN OPENLY ADMITTING THAT HE WAS ATTEMPTING AN END-RUN AROUND THE PRESIDENT, UNDERCUTTING HIS POSITION IN ANY FUTURE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. HAVE THIS MAN, AND THE OTHER POLITICIANS RUSHING TO DISMANTLE OUR NATIONAL DEFENSES, FORGOTTEN THAT WE LIVE IN AN ERA OF NEGOTIATION? DO THEY BELIEVE THAT WE CAN NEGOTIATE EFFECTIVELY IF OUR HAND IS WEAK AND OUR NATION DIVIDED?

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AND WHAT MUST PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN AND THE OTHER KREMLIN BOSSES HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT SUCH STATEMENTS ABOUT AMERICA? IF I WERE KOSYGIN, I WOULD THINK I WAS DEALING WITH A PUSH-OVER, AND I WOULD BEGIN TO PUSH VERY HARD.

INVITATION TO CONFRONTATION

THIS KIND OF LOOSE TALK IS AN INVITATION TO CONFRONTATION. IT SUGGESTS THAT WE HAVE A WEAKNESS -- ONE THAT IN FACT REALLY ISN'T THERE. BUT IT CAN CAUSE NATIONS THAT HAVE THE STRATEGIC CAPABILITY TO THREATEN, TO DO SO, BECAUSE THEY MISJUDGE OUR WILL TO RESIST AND OUR WILL TO SURVIVE.

THE HARSH FACT OF TWENTIETH CENTURY LIFE IS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS A PARTICIPANT IN A CLOSELY CALCULATED BALANCE OF POWER, NOT ONLY MILITARY, BUT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AS WELL. AND WHENEVER IRRESPONSIBLE POLITICIANS START TAKING POTSHOTS AT OUR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND ADVOCATING A WEAKENED NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE, THEY ARE INVITING PRESSURE AND AGGRESSION FROM THE COMMUNIST WORLD.

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AT A TIME WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON IS WORKING TO COOL DOWN WORLD TENSIONS WITH NEGOTIATIONS AND A MODERATE STANCE, THIS KIND OF LOOSE TALK INFLAMES AND ESCALATES GLOBAL TENSIONS.

THE PROOF OF THIS IS EVERYWHERE. DESPITE THE RHETORIC OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL LEFT, WE ARE STILL FACED WITH A SERIOUS MILITARY THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AROUND THE WORLD.

SOVIET SUPPORTS U. S. FOE

IN INDOCHINA, THE RUSSIANS ARE SUPPORTING NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIET CONG FORCES THAT HAVE EXACTED A DREADFUL TOLL IN AMERICAN LIVES AND RESOURCES. IN THE MIDEAST, THE SOVIETS HAVE COUNTENANCED AND PARTICIPATED IN REPEATED VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE, AND ARE NOW CASTING HUNGRY EYES ON THE OIL-RICH PERSIAN GULF. IN EUROPE, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS PUPPET REGIMES CONTINUE PRESSURE ON FREE BERLIN AND ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO UNDERMINE NATO. IN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA, GUERRILLA BANDS AND TERRORISTS TRAINED AND BACKED BY RUSSIA AND RED CHINA POSE A CONTINUED THREAT TO STABILITY AND ORDERLY SOCIAL PROGRESS.

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AND YET THE TALK OF BUILDING A "NEW COALITION" IN AMERICAN POLITICS, PREDICATED ON UNDERCUTTING OUR DEFENSE PROGRAM, GATHERS FRESH STEAM AMONG THE NEW LEFT RADICALS AND OLD LEFT POLITICIANS LOOKING FOR A FRESH SLOGAN.

THE SLOGAN THEY SEEM TO HAVE RALLIED AROUND IS THAT OF "REORDERING OUR NATIONAL PRIORITIES".

I HAVE ONLY ONE QUESTION FOR THIS MOTLEY CREW OF CANDIDATES AND THEIR POLITICAL CAMP FOLLOWER: WHERE WERE THEY WHEN THEIR PARTY WAS IN CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE?

WE HEARD PRECIOUS LITTLE TALK OF REORDERING NATIONAL PRIORITIES WHEN JOHN KENNEDY AND LYNDON JOHNSON WERE IN OFFICE, EVEN THOUGH MOST OF THE LOUDEST CRITICS HOGGING THE HEADLINES TODAY WERE ALREADY INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS, AND THE CONGRESS HAD OVERWHELMING DEMOCRAT MAJORITIES IN BOTH HOUSES.

I'M AFRAID THE ANSWER IS THAT IT IS EASY TO TALK ABOUT REORDERING PRIORITIES ONLY WHEN THE CRITIC DOES NOT HAVE TO ACT ON HIS OUTLANDISH SUGGESTIONS.

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NIXON CUTS FAT

THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION, ALTHOUGH THE CRITICS ON THE LEFT ALWAYS MANAGE TO GLOSS OVER IT. THE FACT IS THAT IF THEY ARE REALLY INTERESTED ONLY IN CUTTING OUT WASTE AND DUPLICATION IN DEFENSE SPENDING, THEY COME TO THE GAME A LITTLE LATE.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS LONG SINCE SLICED THE FAT OUT OF THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION'S DEFENSE BUDGET, WITHOUT WEAKENING THE MUSCLE.

BETWEEN 1952 AND 1969, DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE UNITED STATES ROSE 74 PERCENT. IN CONTRAST, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS CUT \$8 BILLION IN DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. WHEREAS 66 PERCENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET WAS SPENT ON DEFENSE IN 1952, THE FIGURE HAS BEEN CUT TO 34.6 PERCENT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1971. SINCE 1952, DEFENSE SPENDING HAS FALLEN FROM 13.6 TO 7.2 PERCENT OF THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT.

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CEASEFIRE IN ORDER

AND, FINALLY, WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON SENT HIS BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1971 TO THE CONGRESS, SPENDING ON HUMAN RESOURCES SUCH AS HEALTH AND EDUCATION OUTPACED DEFENSE SPENDING (41 PERCENT TO 31 PERCENT) FOR THE FIRST TIME IN TWO DECADES!!

IN VIEW OF THE HARD, COLD FACTS, ISN'T IT TIME THAT ALL PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS -- NO MATTER HOW DESPERATE THEY ARE FOR PUBLICITY AND ISSUES -- DECLARE A CEASEFIRE IN THE VITAL AREA OF NATIONAL DEFENSE?

THE FIRST REQUIREMENT OF ANY SOCIETY IS SURVIVAL. PRESIDENT NIXON IS DEDICATED TO SOCIAL PROGRESS, BUT HE KNOWS THAT AMERICA CAN ONLY PROGRESS IF AMERICA REMAINS STRONG AND FREE.

AND WHEN WE TALK ABOUT NATIONAL DEFENSE, WE ARE REALLY TALKING ABOUT NOTHING LESS THAN NATIONAL SURVIVAL.