

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

TESTIMONIAL DINNER  
HONORING  
SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH  
SKOWHEGAN, MAINE  
SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1971

*Bob Dole*  
*Sen. Payne*

SOMEONE ONCE COMMENTED ON ONE OF THE PROBLEMS OF OUR GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA BY SAYING THAT THERE ARE TOO MANY DEMOCRAT AND REPUBLICAN SENATORS AND NOT ENOUGH UNITED STATES SENATORS.

AS A PURELY PRACTICAL MATTER, I AM AFRIAD I CANNOT AGREE WITH THE CONTENTION THAT THERE ARE TOO MANY REPUBLICAN SENATORS. BUT THE POINT IS WELL TAKEN, AND IT REFLECTS A FACT ABOUT MARGARET CHASE SMITH. SHE IS A UNITED STATES SENATOR.

MEN AND WOMEN IN POLITICS ARE FACED EVERY DAY WITH THE NECESSITY OF MAKING DIFFICULT DECISIONS.

BUT WHAT IS RIGHT MAY NOT ALWAYS BE WHAT IS POPULAR.

WHAT IS POPULAR MAY NOT ALWAYS BE WHAT IS EXPEDIENT.

WHAT IS EXPEDIENT MAY NOT ALWAYS BE RIGHT.

SOMETIMES, HOWEVER, POPULARITY AND EXPEDIENCY CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH WHAT IS RIGHT. IN THIS SITUATION, WHEN FACED WITH THE REALLY HARD DECISIONS, SOME CHOOSE TO PUT PERSONAL STANDARDS OF INTEGRITY ASIDE FOR

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THE MOMENT AND PRACTICE A CURIOUS EXERCISE KNOWN AS "RISING ABOVE PRINCIPLE".

SOME MIGHT RISE ABOVE PRINCIPLE TO GET ELECTED OR TO GAIN CERTAIN ADVANTAGES FOR CONSTITUENTS OR TO MAINTAIN THE FAVOR OF OTHER PARTY MEMBERS. SOME MIGHT RISE ABOVE PRINCIPLE FOR ANY NUMBER OF REASONS.

BUT RISING ABOVE PRINCIPLE IS A DANGEROUS BUSINESS FOR THOSE WHO MUST GOVERN AMERICA. IT IS A DANGEROUS BUSINESS BECAUSE IT INVOLVES SELF DELUSIONS. IT INVOLVES PRETENDING THAT THE PERTINENT THING IS, IN FACT, SOMETHING ABOVE PRINCIPLE, SOMETHING HIGHER THAN ONE'S OWN PRINCIPLE.

SENATOR SMITH DOES NOT INDULGE IN SELF DELUSIONS. SHE DOES NOT PRETEND. SHE DOES NOT RISE ABOVE PRINCIPLE. SHE STANDS ON HER PRINCIPLES, AND THAT IS WHY HER NAME HAS BECOME SYNONYMOUS WITH BED-ROCK INTEGRITY IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

#### THE LADY FROM MAINE

AS YOU KNOW, MOST PEOPLE IN THE GOVERNMENT -- MOST PEOPLE IN THE NATION IN FACT -- THINK OF HER AND REFER TO HER AS THE "LADY FROM MAINE".

I HAVE NEVER BEEN SURE WHETHER THAT REFERENCE IS TO BE TAKEN AS A TRIBUTE TO HER FEMININITY, OR AS A TRIBUTE TO THE GREAT STATE SHE REPRESENTS.

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SENTS SO ABLY. WHILE SHE MAY DISAGREE, I THINK IT IS A TRIBUTE TO BOTH.

AND AMONG THOSE PRIVILEGED TO KNOW HER, I THINK THERE WOULD BE BROAD AGREEMENT THAT MAINE COULD NOT ASK FOR OR RECEIVE ANY HIGHER TRIBUTE THAN CLOSE IDENTIFICATION WITH THIS MOST GRACIOUS LADY: THE UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MAINE.

RESPECT FOR SENATOR SMITH

AS A JUNIOR MEMBER OF THE SENATE, I HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF WORKING WITH SENATOR SMITH FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS NOW. I HAVE SEEN FIRST-HAND, IN THIS SHORT TIME, HOW VALUABLE SHE IS TO THE SENATE AND TO HER STATE AND TO THE NATION. HER WISDOM AND EXPERIENCE ARE HELD IN HIGHEST REGARD BY ALL OF HER COLLEAGUES, PARTICULARLY HER FELLOW REPUBLICANS.

I HAVE COME TO SHARE THE UNIVERSAL ADMIRATION EVERY SENATOR HAS FOR SENATOR SMITH. AS AN AMERICAN, AND ESPECIALLY AS A KANSAN, I ADMIRE SENATOR SMITH BECAUSE SHE LIKED IKE. AND SHE STOOD BY HIM THROUGH THICK AND THIN. I REMEMBER -- AND YOU HERE IN MAINE REMEMBER -- HOW SHE DEFENDED PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AFTER THE U-2 INCIDENT AND HOW SHE REFUTED THE FALSE AND VISCIOUS ATTACKS ON HIM IN THE SENATE -- WHICH WERE ALLEGED TO REFLECT THE "GRASS ROOTS" THINKING OF THE PEOPLE IN MAINE.



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AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE AIR AND WATER POLLUTION SUBCOMMITTEE, I HAVE SPECIAL ADMIRATION FOR SENATOR SMITH AS A LEADER IN THE RIGHT TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE THE BEAUTY AND VALUE OF OUR GREAT NATURAL RESOURCES. TODAY, THERE ARE MANY SO-CALLED LEADERS IN THE ANTI-POLLUTION CRUSADE. BUT HOW MANY OF THEM WERE AROUND IN 1945 -- SOME 26 YEARS AGO -- WHEN MARGARET CHASE SMITH INTRODUCED LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS TO ESTABLISH A DIVISION OF WATER POLLUTION CONTROL IN THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE?

WE ALL RESPECT SENATOR SMITH FOR THESE REASONS, BUT MOST OF ALL, I RESPECT MARGARET CHASE SMITH BECAUSE SHE IS A NATIONAL LEADER OF COURAGE, INTELLIGENCE AND INTEGRITY -- THE KIND THAT WE NEED MORE OF IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE TODAY -- AND BECAUSE SHE IS A LADY IN THE TRUE SENSE OF THE WORD.

VICTORY IN '72

AND JUST AS SENATOR SMITH HAS DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB OF REPRESENTING HER STATE, SO I BELIEVE SHE WILL HELP US TO KEEP MAINE IN THE VANGUARD OF VICTORY IN NOVEMBER OF 1972.

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FOR RICHARD NIXON HAS GIVEN AMERICA THE SAME KIND OF QUALITY LEADERSHIP THAT SENATOR SMITH HAS GIVEN MAINE.

AND HE HAS DONE SO AGAINST OVERWHELMING ODDS -- AGAINST TREMENDOUS BURDENS HE INHERITED FROM HIS PREDECESSORS IN OFFICE -- BURDEN OF A TRAGIC WAR, GROWING VIOLENCE, AND A RUNAWAY INFLATION.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT PRESIDENT NIXON CAN AND WILL WIN AGAIN, HERE IN MAINE AND ACROSS THE NATION. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT WINNING WILL REQUIRE A NATIONWIDE GRASS ROOTS EFFORT INVOLVING ALL OF US -- ONE THAT MUST BEGIN TODAY AND KEEP ON BUILDING WITH EACH PASSING WEEK, ALL THE WAY TO NOVEMBER OF '72.

AMERICA'S FUTURE AT STAKE

DOING THIS WILL NOT BE EASY, BUT IT WILL BE WORTH IT, FOR AT STAKE IS THE VERY BASIC ISSUE OF WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN ARE GOING TO INHERIT.

I BELIEVE -- AND I THINK THAT MOST AMERICANS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY, BELIEVE -- THAT THE WAY TO A BETTER FUTURE IS THROUGH THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP AND REFORM THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS GIVEN AMERICA.

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ENDING AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT AND AMERICAN CASUALTIES IN VIETNAM;  
BRINGING FULL HEALTH AND VIGOR BACK INTO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY; REFORMING  
A WASTEFUL AND DISASTROUS WELFARE SYSTEM; GIVING THE STATES AND CITIES  
NEW FINANCIAL RESOURCES FOR COPING WITH THEIR PROBLEMS THROUGH REVENUE  
SHARING; CLEANING UP THE ENVIRONMENT; REFORMING THE POSTAL SYSTEM; STAND-  
ING FIRM FOR PUBLIC ORDER AND RESPECT FOR THE LAW ----- EACH OF THESE  
THINGS MUST BE A PART OF A BETTER LIFE FOR AMERICA, AND RICHARD NIXON  
HAS ALREADY MADE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN EACH OF THESE AREAS.

IT IS UP TO US TO SEE THAT HE HAS THE SECOND TERM AND THE CON-  
GRESSIONAL SUPPORT HE WILL NEED TO COMPLETE THE WORK OF THIS POSITIVE,  
PROGRESSIVE, AND PEACEFUL "NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION".

CONSIDERATION FOR SURVIVAL

EACH OF THESE GOALS IS IMPORTANT. EACH OF THEM DESERVES THE  
SUPPORT OF ALL OF US. EACH OF THEM CAN AND WILL BE ACHIEVED. BUT, IN  
A WORLD THAT IS STILL MADE UP OF FRIENDLY AND UNFRIENDLY POWERS -- SOME  
OF WHICH HAVE THE MILITARY POTENTIAL FOR TOTAL DESTRUCTION -- THERE ARE  
OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE SIGHT OF, IF WE ARE TO  
SURVIVE AS A FREE NATION.



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PRESIDENT NIXON'S GOALS ARE A GENERATION OF PEACE, A GENERATION OF PROSPERITY, AND A GENERATION OF PROGRESS.

BUT WE CAN ONLY HAVE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS AS LONG AS WE MAINTAIN THE STRENGTH AND THE WILL TO PROTECT OURSELVES FROM THOSE WHO WOULD SEE AMERICA WEAKENED OR EVEN DESTROYED.

STRENGTH TO AVOID CRISES

AND, EVEN AS THE PRESIDENT IS SUCCESSFULLY WINDING DOWN THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT SOME POLITICIANS ARE SEEKING TO DEPRIVE AMERICA OF THE STRENGTH AND INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY IT WILL NEED, IF WE ARE TO AVOID FUTURE CRISES OF A SIMILAR OR EVEN GRAVER NATURE.

ONLY RECENTLY WE HAVE SEEN POWERFUL POLITICIANS, INCLUDING THE MAJORITY LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, CALL FOR A UNILATERAL, FIFTY PERCENT REDUCTION IN AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE.

NOW, ON THE FACE OF IT, THIS PROPOSAL MAY SOUND SENSIBLE. IT IS ARGUED THAT MORE THAN A GENERATION HAS PASSED SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR; THAT SOVIET INTENTIONS HAVE "MELLOWED"; AND THAT IT IS TIME FOR OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO TAKE UP MORE OF THE BURDEN FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE.

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NEW THREAT TO PEACE

AND THERE IS A MEASURE OF TRUTH IN EACH OF THESE ASSERTIONS. THE SECOND WORLD WAR HAS BEEN OVER FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY -- BUT THE CRUSHING OF NAZI AGGRESSION LEFT THE WORLD FACED WITH A NEW AND EVEN MORE POWERFUL TOTALITARIAN THREAT FROM THE SOVIET UNION -- AS THE MILLIONS OF CONQUERED PEOPLES OF HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE OTHER RUSSIAN SATELLITE STATES CAN ATTEST TO.

AS FOR SOVIET INTENTIONS MELLOWING, THIS MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRUE. WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT A UNILATERAL AMERICAN REDUCTION IN EUROPE WOULD ENCOURAGE A HARDER, NOT A SOFTER, LINE FROM THE RUSSIANS. IT WOULD LEAVE THEM WITH ALL OF THE CARDS IN THEIR HANDS AND LEAVE WESTERN EUROPE VULNERABLE TO MILITARY BLACKMAIL. THIS, IN TURN, COULD WELL LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION. AND THAT IS THE GRIM PROSPECT THAT AMERICAN POLICY AND AMERICAN STATESMEN SHOULD SEEK TO PREVENT.

ALL OF US REMEMBER PRESIDENT JOHN KENNEDY'S VISIT TO THE FREE CITY OF BERLIN. HE SAID THAT HE, TOO, WAS A BERLINER IN THE SENSE THAT FREE MEN EVERYWHERE ARE PART OF WHAT THAT CITY STANDS FOR, AS AN ISLAND OF FREEDOM, SURROUNDED BY COMMUNIST TYRANNY.



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AND, MORE RECENTLY, WE REMEMBER RICHARD NIXON'S SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO BERLIN, ONE OF SEVERAL HE HAS MADE OVER THE YEARS, WHEN THE PEOPLE OF BERLIN TURNED OUT BY THE MILLIONS TO CHEER AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHO SYMBOLIZED TO THEM THE HOPES AND DREAMS OF FUTURE FREEDOM.

POTENTIAL TRAGEDY

WHAT A TRAGEDY IT WOULD BE -- AND WHAT A BLOW TO FREEDOM AND THE HOPES FOR FUTURE PEACE -- IF SHORT-SIGHTED POLITICIANS IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE WERE TO SUCCEED IN UNDERCUTTING THIS NATION'S COMMITMENT TO THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF FREE EUROPE AND FREE BERLIN AND -- YES -- FREE AMERICA.

WHAT A MOCKERY IT WOULD MAKE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S WORDS OF HOPE IN 1960, AND OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S REAFFIRMATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S DETERMINATION TO STAY TRUE TO ITS TRUST.

AND WHAT A PANDORA'S BOX OF FUTURE DEMANDS AND CONFRONTATIONS IT WOULD OPEN UP WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

EASY POLITICAL COURSE

THE EASY POLITICAL COURSE TODAY, WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WAR-WEARY AND TIRED OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, IS TO PREACH A PULL-BACK; TO JOIN THE BUG-OUT BRIGADE AND PRETEND THAT, LIKE THE OSTRICH, ALL WE HAVE

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TO DO TO SOLVE WORLD PROBLEMS IS TO FORGET ABOUT THEM -- TO CLOSE OUR EYES AND BURY OUR HEADS IN THE SANDS OF AN AMERICAN BEACHHEAD. ~~X~~ THAT MIGHT BE THE POPULAR COURSE TO TAKE TODAY. BUT PRESIDENT NIXON IS CONCERNED ABOUT TOMORROW, AND WHAT IT WOULD HOLD FOR AN AMERICA THAT ABANDONED ITS ALLIES AND ENCOURAGED ITS ENEMIES TO NEW DEMANDS. THE PEACE HE SEEKS, HE HAS REMINDED US, IS NOT ALONE FOR OUR GENERATION, BUT ALSO FOR THEIR GENERATION -- THE GENERATION OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN REPRESENT.

WEAKENS CHANCES FOR SOVIET AGREEMENT

X { THIS LAST WEEK THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUGGESTED THAT IT MIGHT BE WILLING TO DISCUSS A MUTUAL PULL-BACK OF TROOPS IN EUROPE. HOW EASY IT WOULD BE FOR THEM TO WITHDRAW THAT OFFER IF THEY THOUGHT THAT AMERICAN POLITICIANS AT HOME WERE GOING TO FORCE A ONE-SIDED PULLOUT OF OUR TROOPS THAT WOULD NOT BE TIED TO RUSSIAN WITHDRAWAL. GIVEN THIS NEW RUSSIAN INTEREST IN NEGOTIATING MUTUAL ACTION, THE WORST THING THE SENATE COULD DO WOULD BE TO UNDERCUT THE PRESIDENT'S OPTIONS.

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NATO FOSTERS STABILITY

ONE REASON THAT RUSSIA HAS SHOWN A WILLINGNESS TO TONE DOWN ITS BEHAVIOR IN RECENT YEARS HAS BEEN BECAUSE -- NOT IN SPITE OF -- OUR STRONG MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE. THE EXISTENCE OF A CREDIBLE NATO DETERRENT HAS BEEN CONCURRENT WITH THE SO-CALLED MELLOWING OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY.

THE PRESENCE OF U. S. FORCES IN WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES UNDER NATO HAS KEPT TRADITIONAL RIVALS LIKE ENGLAND, GERMANY, ITALY, BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS WORKING TOGETHER, WITH A UNIFIED DEFENSE THAT HAS WITHSTOOD COMMUNIST RPESSURES FROM WITHOUT, AND DISCOURAGED COMMUNIST AGITATION FROM WITHIN.

EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION

X WHILE WE RIGHTLY SEEK GREATER PARTICIPATION BY EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF NATO, THE FACT IS THAT NON-AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SPENT MORE THAN \$24 BILLION FOR DEFENSE IN 1967. THEY MAINTAIN MORE THAN TWO MILLION MEN UNDER ARMS IN EUROPE AND TURKEY. YES, THEY CAN DO MORE -- BUT THEY ALREADY ARE DOING A GREAT DEAL.



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FOR US TO UNDERCUT THEIR EFFORTS AT DEFENSE, INSTEAD OF ENCOURAGING THEM, WOULD BE TO DEMORALIZE THE FORCES OF FREEDOM IN WESTERN EUROPE. AND THAT WOULD SET THE STAGE FOR INCREASED RUSSIAN PRESSURE AND GROWING ALIENATION OF AMERICA FROM OUR FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD.

NIXON GOAL IS PEACE

OUR GOAL IS PEACE -- AND THAT GOAL IS SERVED BY REACHING A MUTUAL AGREEMENT WITH OUR ALLIES AND THE SOVIET UNION, NOT -- AS SOME POLITICIANS WOULD HAVE IT -- BY LEAVING A TEMPTING POWER VACUUM FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO FILL.

THIS IS AN ERROR THAT PRESIDENT NIXON WILL NEVER BE GUILTY OF -- AND WE SHOULD SUPPORT HIS FORTHRIGHT, INTELLIGENT STAND ON THIS MATTER, FOR IT COULD BE THE KEY TO FUTURE PEACE AND SECURITY NOT JUST IN EUROPE, BUT IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT.

PLEDGES STRONG DEFENSE

IT IS WITH THIS SAME CONCERN FOR FUTURE PEACE AND SECURITY IN MIND THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION HAS PLEDGED ITSELF TO MAINTAINING A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE.

THE ONLY WAY THIS NATION CAN LIVE FREE FROM FEAR IS TO REMAIN MILITARILY STRONG, REMAIN, IF YOU WILL, NUMBER ONE. WHEN WE REACH THE

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POINT WHEN WE ARE CLEARLY NUMBER TWO TO A NATION WITH WORLD DOMINATION AS ITS AIM, WE WILL BE IN NO POSITION TO TRY HARDER. WE WILL BE A PEOPLE LIVING IN FEAR.

AND YET THERE ARE THOSE WHO DO NOT RECOGNIZE THIS, OR WILL NOT ADMIT IT OR DO NOT CARE ABOUT IT.

*X* IN RECENT WEEKS, A GROUP OF PERSONS BOTH IN AND OUT OF CONGRESS HAS BEGUN TO SLASH AWAY AT THE PROPOSED DEFENSE BUDGET FOR FY 1972. NOT A WEEK GOES BY BUT A PANEL ANNOUNCES RESULTS OF SOME NEW INVESTIGATION WHICH PURPORTEDLY SHOWS THAT DEFENSE FUNDS ARE BEING GRAVELY MISSPENT. NOW, NOBODY APPROVES OF WASTE, AND I AM SURE THAT IN SOME CASES IT MAY BE THAT A PROGRAM COULD BE IMPROVED OR A TIGHTER REIN COULD BE HELD OVER COSTS. YET, THE FACT IS THAT WHEN THE MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP ARE NOT FOR THE MOST PART CONCERNED WITH IMPROVING A SINGLE PROGRAM OR EVEN WITH OFFERING CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPING OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITIES, BUT RATHER ARE LAUNCHING AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD ATTACK ON EACH AND EVERY NEW OR PROJECTED MILITARY PROGRAM, WE CAN RIGHTLY QUESTION THE OVERALL AIM.

THRIFT NEEDED IN OTHER FIELDS

*—* IN ANY GOVERNMENT SPENDING PROGRAM, NOT JUST IN DEFENSE, THERE IS A CONSTANT STRUGGLE TO KEEP THE COST IN LINE, BUT I DO NOT RECALL ANY MEMBER OF THIS BIPARTISAN GROUP LAUNCHING AN ATTACK ON COST OVERRUNS IN A WELFARE PROGRAM OR DEMANDING ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUTBACKS IN DOMESTIC SPENDING.



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A CLOSE LOOK ALSO SHOWS THAT THIS ORGANIZED ATTACK ON OUR DEFENSE BUDGET IS ALSO AN ATTACK ON THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM. IT IS AN ATTACK ON THE MANNER IN WHICH CONGRESS HAS ORGANIZED ITSELF TO DO BUSINESS. CONGRESS CANNOT FUNCTION IF EVERY ITEM OF BUSINESS IS TO BE SUBJECTED TO AN EXTRA-LEGAL ATTACK BY AN ORGANIZED MINORITY. ~~X~~ EVERY PROGRAM IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET IS SUBJECTED TO THE SCRUTINY OF THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE SENATE ARMED FORCES COMMITTEE. EVERY PENNY THAT IS SPENT FOR THESE PROGRAMS IS SCRUTINIZED BY THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE. AND I THINK THAT A FAIR EXAMINATION OF THE ROSTERS OF THESE COMMITTEES WILL SHOW NO DISCERNIBLE BIAS OR COLLECTIVE PHILOSOPHICAL BENT. BOTH COMMITTEES HAVE A WIDE SPECTRUM OF MEMBERS OF EVERY PHILOSOPHICAL PERSUASION, AND I CANNOT BELIEVE THAT THEY ARE SO LACKING IN OBJECTIVITY THAT THEIR WORK HAS TO BE REEXAMINED AND UNDERMINED BY A SELF-APPOINTED AD HOC GROUP. ~~X~~ WHO IS MORE APT TO COME UP WITH A RESPONSIBLE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF OVERSIGHT ON MILITARY SPENDING -- A GROUP CHOSEN BY THE RULES OF THE SENATE AND THROUGH THE BALANCED WORKING OF POLITICAL FORCES, OR A HASTILY-ASSEMBLED, PART-TIME COMMITTEE LACKING THE RESOURCES OF THE COMMITTEE EXPERTS AND INTERPRETING EVERY FACT THROUGH THE PRISM OF THEIR PARTICULAR POLITICAL VISION?

*[Handwritten signature]*



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IT IS CERTAINLY PROPER FOR THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEES TO BE CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZED AND TO BE DEBATED ON THE FLOORS OF CONGRESS, BUT I AM WARY OF AND I SEE NOTHING BUT TROUBLE COMING OUT OF AN ORGANIZED "SHADOW-COMMITTEE" SYSTEM WHICH IS MOUNTING THE DEBATE IN PRESS CONFERENCES AND MEDIA PRESENTATIONS.

DEFENSE A FIRST PRIORITY

UNDER THE PRESS OF DOMESTIC CONSIDERATIONS AND DEMANDS, PERHAPS IT IS NOT EASY TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT NATIONAL DEFENSE MUST BE OUR FIRST PRIORITY IF WE ARE TO BE ABLE TO ADOPT A PLAUSIBLE STANCE IN OUR BARGAINING WITH THE SOVIET UNION. X IN RECENT WEEKS, DEFENSE SECRETARY MELVIN LAIRD HAS CLEARLY OUTLINED THE STRATEGIC PROBLEMS WHICH THIS NATION FACES. HE HAS POINTED OUT THAT THE STRATEGY OF REALISTIC DETERRENCE ADOPTED BY THIS ADMINISTRATION IS BASED ON FOUR REALITIES: A STRATEGIC REALITY; A FISCAL REALITY; A MANPOWER REALITY; AND A POLITICAL REALITY. THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSION OF THOSE REALITIES LEADS ME TO THIS EXPRESSION OF GRAVE CONCERN OVER OUR FUTURE DEFENSE POLICY AND CAPABILITY.

X IN HIS RECENT REMARKS, THE SECRETARY ASSESSED THE STRATEGIC REALITY AS THE "MOST PRESSING" ONE. THAT REALITY STEMS, PRIMARILY, FROM "THE TREMENDOUS GROWTH IN SOVIET MILITARY STRENGTH IN RECENT YEARS," THE SECRETARY SAID. X HE ADDED THAT IT ALSO INCLUDES "AN EMERGING NUCLEAR CAPABILITY ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA."

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ADVOCATES OF WEAKNESS AT HOME

WHAT CONCERNS ME DEEPLY IS THAT, IN THE FACE OF THIS GROWING THREAT, THE PRIMARY FACTORS WITH WHICH THE SECRETARY MUST CONCERN HIMSELF AS REGARDS THE FISCAL AND POLITICAL REALITIES ARE THE HEAVY PRESSURE FROM ANTI-DEFENSE GROUPS IN CONGRESS AS WELL AS FROM CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL SPECTRUM OUTSIDE THE CONGRESS. THE REAL ENEMY IS ABROAD, YET IT APPEARS THAT MUCH OF THE BATTLE MUST BE FOUGHT AT HOME.

I CANNOT UNDERSTAND THOSE WHO APPEAR TO THINK THAT ONCE WE ARE OUT OF VIETNAM WE CAN FORGET ABOUT DEFENSE NEEDS ENTIRELY AND CONCENTRATE BOTH OUR ATTENTION AND OUR VAST NEW RESOURCES -- RELEASED FROM THE DEFENSE BUDGET -- ON DOMESTIC PROBLEMS.

SUCH A CONCEPT IS TOTALLY LACKING IN REALISM, IF VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOVIET AND CHINESE MILITARY GROWTH POSTURE OUTLINED BY THE SECRETARY AND BY THE BLUE RIBBON DEFENSE PANEL APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IN JULY, 1969.

RUSSIA BOOSTS DEFENSE EFFORT

LET'S LOOK AT THE BARE FACTS. THE IMPACT OF INFLATION IS SUCH THAT, IN TERMS OF BUYING POWER, OUR DEFENSE BUDGET IS TODAY VIRTUALLY



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THE SAME AS IT WAS ~~IN 1964~~ WHEN WE SENT THE FIRST OBSERVERS TO VIETNAM. <sup>2</sup>  
YET THE RUSSIANS HAVE INCREASED THEIR DEFENSE SPENDING IN ABSOLUTE TERMS  
APPROXIMATELY 25 PERCENT PER YEAR OVER THAT SAME PERIOD OF TIME.

MILITARY PAY AND RELATED COSTS IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1972 BUDGET WILL  
CLAIM SOME 52 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL DEFENSE BUDGET IF THE RECOMMENDED PAY  
INCREASES ARE ADOPTED. IT WILL COST US ALMOST \$18 BILLION MORE THAN IT  
DID IN 1964 FOR 133,000 FEWER PEOPLE -- AND WITHOUT ANY CONSIDERATION  
FOR THE INFLATION FACTOR. THE RUSSIANS, ON THE OTHER HAND, SPEND ABOUT  
25 PERCENT OF THEIR DEFENSE FUNDS ON THEIR 3.3 MILLION MAN ARMED FORCE.

U. S. COSTS RISE

<sup>3</sup>  
COSTS OF VIRTUALLY EVERY PIECE OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT WE PURCHASE  
ARE SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER NOW THAN IN THE PAST -- AND I DO NOT BUY THE  
DEMAGOGIC ARGUMENT THAT THIS IS DUE TO GROSS "WASTE" AND "MISMANAGEMENT".  
THESE ARE HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS NECESSARY TO MEET THE NEW TECH-  
NOLOGY OF THE ENEMY. THE F-14 AND F-15 FIGHTER PLANES WHICH TODAY COST  
\$12 MILLION APIECE REPLACE FIGHTERS THAT COST \$3 MILLION IN 1961 AND  
\$53,000 IN WORLD WAR II.



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THE NAVY'S NEWEST DESTROYERS NOW COST \$90 MILLION EACH AND REPLACE WORLD WAR II VINTAGE VESSELS THAT ORIGINALLY COST \$6.5 MILLION TO BUILD.

THE WORLD WAR II ERA M-4 TANK COST ABOUT \$70,000. TODAY'S MAIN BATTLE TANK WILL COST US AT LEAST \$600,000.

THE SAME STORY IS TRUE FOR ANY OTHER NEW WEAPON SYSTEM, SUBMARINES, BOMBERS, CARRIERS, ETC.

AND THE COST OF ALL THESE CONVENTIONAL WEAPON SYSTEMS IS RATHER INSIGNIFICANT IF COMPARED WITH THE STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AND SPACE MILITARY TECHNOLOGY.

#### SOVIET MISSILE BUILD-UP

IN DECEMBER AND JANUARY, THE REPORTS REACHED US THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD SLOWED DOWN ITS RATE OF MISSILE DEPLOYMENT AFTER HAVING REACHED A LEVEL OF APPROXIMATELY 1,450 LAND-BASED ICBM'S OR ABOUT 400 MORE THAN THE COMPARABLE U. S. NUMBER. BUT RECENT EVIDENCE SEEMS TO INDICATE AN EXTENSIVE BUILD-UP OF NEWER AND EVEN LARGER MISSILES.

ON TOP OF THAT, NEW EVIDENCE SHOWS THAT MOSCOW HAS SPEEDED UP TESTING OF NEW ABM MISSILES AND ASSOCIATED ADVANCED RADAR EQUIPMENT.

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THEY SEEMED TO HAVE RESUMED THE CONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION OF THEIR ABM DEFENSE SYSTEM AROUND MOSCOW, AFTER A HALT OF SOME THREE YEARS.

THE SAME SITUATION APPEARS IN THE AREA OF SUBMARINE-BASED MISSILE POWER. WHILE WE APPARENTLY STILL HAVE SOME ADVANTAGE IN POLARIS AND POSEIDON CLASS VESSELS TODAY, THE USSR IS RAPIDLY CLOSING THAT GAP WITH AN ENERGETIC CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM THAT CONTINUES FAR AHEAD OF OUR PRESENT LEVEL OF EFFORT AND ANYTHING WE COULD PRACTICALLY MATCH IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

IN SPACE, THE RUSSIANS ARE MAKING SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A SYSTEM OF SPACE SHIP "HUNTERS" WITH A CAPABILITY FOR INSPECTING AND POSSIBLY DESTROYING U. S. SPACE VEHICLES -- A PROJECT WHICH IN THIS COUNTRY WAS ABANDONED OVER THE OBJECTION OF THE AIR FORCE A DECADE AGO.

#### STRENGTH FOR PEACE

IN THE FACE OF ALL THESE DEVELOPMENTS, IT SHOULD BE AMPLY CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET PURPOSE OF DECISIVE SUPERIORITY IN MILITARY HARDWARE HAS NOT DIMINISHED AND THAT MORE THAN EVER OUR HOPES FOR A GENERATION OF PEACE MUST BE GROUNDED IN AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE SYSTEM.

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TO FAIL TO PROVIDE FOR AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE FOR TOMORROW BECAUSE WE ARE WINDING DOWN AN UNPOPULAR WAR TODAY IS TO FAIL THE SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY OF TODAY'S AMERICANS AND ALL HER FUTURE GENERATIONS.

WHAT RATIONAL EXPLANATION WILL ANY OF US HAVE FOR THAT FAILURE, AND WHO WILL BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THAT EXPLANATION IF A MISGUIDED FEW SUCCEED IN TURNING THE PRESIDENT'S HOPES FOR A GENERATION OF PEACE INTO THE ABYSS OF A CENTURY OF FEAR?

FORTUNATELY, THESE HOPES FOR AMERICA CAN BE SAVED -- BUT THEY CAN ONLY BE SAVED IF WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT LEADERS LIKE RICHARD NIXON AND MARGARET CHASE SMITH. I BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE OF MAINE REALIZE THIS, AND THAT THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA REALIZE THIS. IN THE COMING MONTHS, WE MUST KEEP THEIR AWARENESS OF THESE VITAL ISSUES, AND THEIR COMMITMENT, ALIVE AND GROWING.



Maine - 1 John. Crane  
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Bear Story - \$ 5.00  
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