

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION, ROTC BREAKFAST
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 21, 1974

I AM PLEASED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME THIS
OUTSTANDING GROUP OF ROTC STUDENTS TO WASHINGTON.

AS YOUNG PEOPLE WITH A SERIOUS INTEREST IN NATIONAL
AFFAIRS AND AS DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE TASK OF PROVIDING
LEADERSHIP FOR OUR ARMED SERVICES, YOU HAVE COME TO OUR
NATION'S CAPITAL AT A CRUCIAL TIME.

NEW BUDGET SUBMITTED

THE PRESIDENT'S YEARLY BUDGET FOR FEDERAL SPENDING WAS
UNVEILED ON FEBRUARY 4. AND THE CONGRESS IS NOW BEGINNING
ITS EXAMINATION OF THOSE PROPOSALS.

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THE PRESIDENT'S BLUEPRINT FOR SPENDING MORE THAN \$300 BILLION IS AN AMAZINGLY COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENT. IT REPRESENTS AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF WORK AND THOUGHT. BUT BECAUSE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO GIVE EVERY DEPARTMENT, AGENCY AND PROGRAM ALL THE MONEY IT CONSIDERS WORTHWHILE -- THE BUDGET IS A CHILD OF COMPROMISE WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. IT REFLECTS A GREAT NUMBER OF DIFFICULT CHOICES BASED ON A NECESSARY RANKING OF PRIORITIES.

CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION

NOW, AS OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM REQUIRES, THE CONGRESS IS STARTING TO EXAMINE THE BUDGET, JUDGING THE COMPROMISES WORKED OUT WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION AND BEGINNING THE PROCESS OF ASSERTING ITS PRIORITIES FOR THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN FISCAL YEAR 1975.

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IN THE COMING MONTHS WE WILL SPEND A GREAT DEAL OF TIME IN CONGRESS WORKING ON THE BUDGET AND ATTEMPTING TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE PRESIDENT ON THE SPECIFICS OF AMERICA'S AGENDA FOR THE COMING YEAR.

IT IS A LONG, DIFFICULT PROCESS. BUT IT IS ONE WHICH IS VITAL TO OUR GOVERNMENT -- AND TO THE FUTURE OF EVERY AMERICAN.

AND THERE IS NO MORE VITAL AREA OF THE BUDGET THAN THAT WHICH DEALS WITH OUR ARMED FORCES. EACH YEAR THE PORTION OF THE BUDGET DEVOTED TO NATIONAL DEFENSE IS A SOURCE OF MAJOR CONCERN. AND THIS YEAR IS NO EXCEPTION.

DEFENSE IMPORTANT IN PEACETIME BUDGET

THANKFULLY, THIS IS THE FIRST TRUE PEACETIME BUDGET TO BE PRESENTED IN MORE THAN A DECADE. OUR COMBAT INVOLVEMENT

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IN THE VIETNAM CONFLICT HAS ENDED, AND WE ARE NOT ENGAGED IN HOSTILITIES WITH ANY OTHER NATION. WE HAVE A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION THAN AT ANY TIME IN OUR HISTORY. AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO COMMUNICATE WITH CHINA AFTER MORE THAN 20 YEARS OF ISOLATION AND HOSTILITY. THESE ARE ALL GREAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND SOURCES OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

BUT REGARDLESS OF THESE SUCCESSES AND THE POSSIBILITY OF OTHER PEACE INITIATIVES THERE ARE STILL GRAVE RISKS AND UNCERTAINTIES AT WORK ABROAD.

THE END OF ONE WAR AND THE THAWING OF GREAT POWER RELATIONSHIPS IS SIGNIFICANT, BUT THEY HAVE NOT MEANT AN END TO THE UNITED STATES' RESPONSIBILITIES FOR PROVIDING LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTION FOR PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND

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BECAUSE THESE RESPONSIBILITIES -- TO OURSELVES AND THE REST OF MANKIND -- HAVE NOT DIMINISHED, WE CANNOT RELAX OUR VIGILANCE. NOR CAN WE DIMINISH OUR COMMITMENTS TO SECURING THE LASTING PEACE WHICH IS OUR HIGHEST NATIONAL GOAL.

LIKE IT OR NOT, OUR MILITARY STRENGTH AND THE WAY OTHER NATIONS VIEW THAT STRENGTH ARE A KEY ELEMENTS IN OUR POLICIES FOR PEACE. STRENGTH IS THE UNIVERSAL QUANTITY THAT IS UNDERSTOOD BY ADVERSARIES AND ALLIES ALIKE. SO, THE UNITED STATES MUST MAINTAIN -- NOT A GOOD MILITARY CAPABILITY, NOT AN EXPENSIVE MILITARY CAPABILITY -- BUT THE NECESSARY MILITARY CAPABILITY TO SECURE OUR OWN DEFENSE AGAINST AGRESSION AND TO SERVE AS THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS DIRECTED TOWARD PEACE.

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DURING WARTIME OR IN THE FACE OF MAJOR THREATS TO OUR SECURITY, THE PROCESS OF AGREEING ON THIS NECESSARY CAPABILITY IS RELATIVELY EASY. SURVIVAL TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER ANY OTHER CONCERN, AND THE QUESTION IS USUALLY, "DID WE PROVIDE ENOUGH?"

COMPETING CONCERNS

BUT WHEN WAR IS PAST AND WHEN THREATS TO OUR SURVIVAL ARE DISTANT AND UNCERTAIN, THE PRESS OF OTHER CONCERNS COMPETES MORE STRONGLY AGAINST NATIONAL DEFENSE IN OUR DECISIONS ON SPENDING. AT THESE TIMES THE QUESTION USUALLY CHANGES TO "ARE WE DOING TOO MUCH?"

AND THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. THE REQUESTED \$85.8 BILLION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE'S BUDGET IS A HUGE AMOUNT OF MONEY BY ANY STANDARDS. AND WHEN THE COST OF ONE

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AIRCRAFT CARRIER CAN BE TRANSLATED INTO SO MANY NEW SCHOOLS, EXPANDED POLLUTION CONTROL PROGRAMS OR ADDITIONAL CANCER RESEARCH, IT IS EASY TO SEE WHY MANY MAY QUESTION SUCH EXPENDITURES.

MOST RELIABLE INVESTMENT

BUT TO BE FAIR AND REALISTIC, I BELIEVE IT IS NECESSARY TO TAKE A LONGER VIEW OF THESE MATTERS. AND IN MY MIND, DEFENSE SPENDING -- AT THIS TIME -- IS THE MOST RELIABLE INVESTMENT WE CAN MAKE IN THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.

OF COURSE, DIPLOMACY IS ALSO A NECESSARY COMPANION TO OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAMS. AND WE ALL FERVENTLY HOPE THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO BEAR FRUIT.

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BUT IN TERMS OF RELIABILITY, I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY QUESTION THAT OUR DIPLOMATIC ACHIEVEMENTS -- TO THIS POINT -- DO NOT PROVIDE US THE DEGREE OF ASSURANCE THAT I WOULD WANT TO RELY ON AS THE FOUNDATION OF AMERICAN SECURITY OR WORLD PEACE.

I HEARTILY SUPPORT THE SALT AGREEMENT ON LIMITING US AND RUSSIAN MISSILE STRENGTH. I BELIEVE THE NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCING SOVIET AND AMERICAN TROOP LEVELS IN EUROPE ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED. I APPLAUD THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS TOWARD MORE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA.

BUT QUITE FRANKLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE RUSSIANS OR CHINESE HAVE PROVED ANYTHING TO US YET. AND UNTIL THEY DO, I WILL PLACE A GREAT DEAL MORE CONFIDENCE IN THE MIGHT OF

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OUR ARMY, NAVY AND AIR FORCE THAN IN BREZHNEV'S SIGNATURE
OR MAO'S HANDSHAKE.

THEREFORE, MY VIEW OF THE NATION'S INTEREST IS THAT
DEFENSE MUST RECEIVE THE HIGHEST PRIORITY IN REVIEWING
THE COMPETING CALLS ON OUR BUDGET RESOURCES.

CAREFUL SCRUTINY REQUIRED

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS,
SHOULD BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT CRITICAL EXAMINATION. ON THE
CONTRARY, CONGRESS HAS A CLEAR RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE
THE DEFENSE BUDGET APART AND SEARCH OUT UNNECESSARY OR
WASTEFUL ITEMS. CONGRESS SHOULD QUESTION, PROBE AND EXAMINE
EVERY ASPECT OF THE DEFENSE PROGRAM TO DETERMINE ITS
JUSTIFICATION AND NECESSITY.

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THERE MAY BE SOME AREAS WHICH WE WILL DISAGREE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION AND EVEN THE SERVICES AS TO EMPHASIS, DIRECTION AND GOALS. AND WHEN THESE POINTS ARE IDENTIFIED CONGRESS HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROPOSE ALTERNATIVES, SUGGEST CHANGES OR REQUIRE REVISIONS.

PERSPECTIVE ON DEFENSE SPENDING

WHEN LOOKING AT THE COLD BUDGET FIGURES, ONE-YEAR INCREASE FROM \$79.5 BILLION TO \$85.8 BILLION IN DEFENSE SPENDING APPEARS QUITE SUBSTANTIAL. AND THERE IS NO QUESTION OF THIS BEING A SIZEABLE SUM. BUT A FEW PERSPECTIVES CAN BE PLACED ON THESE FIGURES BY LOOKING AT THEM IN TERMS OF CONSTANT DOLLARS WHICH COMPENSATE FOR THE INFLUENCE OF

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INFLATION. ON THIS BASIS THE 1975 DEFENSE BUDGET SHOWS A BASICALLY EVEN LEVEL OF EXPENDITURES WITH THE PAST TWO YEARS.

AND WHEN COMPARED WITH 1968, THE PEAK YEAR OF VIETNAM WAR OUTLAYS, THE 1975 BUDGET SHOWS A \$39 BILLION REDUCTION IN OVERALL DEFENSE SPENDING. AND IF YOU GO BACK TO 1964 BEFORE THE VIETNAM BUILDUP BEGAN, THE FIGURES FOR 1975 REPRESENT AN \$8 BILLION DECLINE.

AS THE AVERAGE CITIZEN LOOKS AT HIS TAXES, DEFENSE SPENDING IN THIS BUDGET IS SET AT 29¢ OUT OF EACH DOLLAR -- COMPARED WITH 30 CENTS LAST YEAR, 41 CENTS IN 1965 AND 49.8 CENTS IN 1960.

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THERE IS ALSO THE ADDITIONAL POINT TO CONSIDER THAT MANPOWER EXPENSES -- WITH THE ENDING OF THE DRAFT AND UP-GRADING OF MILITARY PAY RATES -- NOW ACCOUNT FOR 55 PERCENT OF DEFENSE OUTLAYS. THIS IS A 13 PERCENT INCREASE SINCE 1968 AND IS GREATER THAN THE COMBINED TOTALS FOR ALL MILITARY OPERATIONS, PROCUREMENT, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND CONSTRUCTION.

IMPORTANT PROCESS

SO I BELIEVE THERE ARE SEVERAL WAYS OF LOOKING AT DEFENSE SPENDING AND AT WHAT IT MEANS TO US AS A NATION AND AS INDIVIDUALS.

I WOULD HESITATE TO MAKE ANY PREDICTIONS AS TO SPECIFIC ACTIONS CONGRESS MAY TAKE ON THE DEFENSE BUDGET THIS YEAR. IT IS A BIT EARLY TO DETERMINE ANY TRENDS OF THINKING.

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SECRETARY SCHLESSINGER MADE HIS PRESENTATION TO THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE JUST LAST WEEK. AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF ARE JUST STARTING TO MAKE THEIR APPEARANCES BEFORE THE HOUSE AND SENATE COMMITTEES THIS WEEK.

I CAN SAY, HOWEVER, THAT THE OUTCOME OF CONGRESS' WORK ON THE DEFENSE BUDGET WILL MEAN A GREAT DEAL TO THIS AUDIENCE AS YOU RECEIVE YOUR COMMISSIONS AND BEGIN SERVING ON ACTIVE DUTY.

IT MAY MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CONTINUED PROGRESS ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT TOWARD A STABLE STRUCTURE FOR PEACE OR A REVERSION TO COLD WAR CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE THREAT OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

I AM HOPEFUL THAT CONGRESS WILL LIVE UP TO THE

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RESPONSIBILITY THIS PROCESS PLACES UPON IT. OUR EXAMINATION OF THE BUDGET MUST BE THOROUGH, OUR CRITICISMS MUST BE SOUND AND OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES AND IMPROVEMENTS MUST BE CONSTRUCTIVE.

THERE ARE MANY COMPETING CONSIDERATIONS TO BE WEIGHED IN ASSESSING THIS FIRST PEACETIME BUDGET IN SO MANY YEARS. BUT I TRUST THAT WE SHALL NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED FOR AMERICA ALWAYS STO BE UNQUESTIONABLY CAPABLE OF DEFENDING ITS VITAL INTERESTS AND FULFILLING ITS COMMITMENTS TO PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.