

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
BADIN AIR NATIONAL GUARD BASE
BADIN, NORTH CAROLINA
SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1979

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, IT IS A GREAT HONOR FOR ME TO JOIN IN
~~YOUR CELEBRATION OF THIRTY YEARS OF SERVICE BY THE AIR~~
~~NATIONAL GUARD.~~ NO WORDS CAN ADEQUATELY SUMMARIZE THE GRATITUDE
OF YOUR FELLOW AMERICANS, WHOSE SAFETY YOU HOLD IN YOUR HANDS.
PERHAPS THE ULTIMATE TRIBUTE THAT CAN BE PAID TO YOUR WORK IS
PEACE ITSELF. AND THAT IS THE GOAL EACH OF US IS PLEDGED TO
ATTAIN--NOT ONLY FOR OUR GENERATION, BUT FOR GENERATIONS YET
UNBORN.

PLATO SAID "ONLY THE DEAD HAVE SEEN THE END OF WAR." YOU AND I
KNOW THE AGONIES OF THE BATTLEFIELD. SOME OF US CARRY THE WOUNDS
OF WAR. MANY HAVE SEEN MEN DIE AT AN ARM'S LENGTH. AND NONE
OF US CAN REST UNTIL WE DISPROVE THE WORDS OF THAT GREAT AND
ANCIENT PHILOSOPHER.

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ON THIS ARMED FORCES DAY, WE MIGHT REFLECT ON THE ROLE OF THE SOLDIER IN AMERICA. TOO OFTEN HE--OR SHE--IS UNAPPRECIATED. TOO OFTEN, THE SOLDIER IS CONFUSED WITH THE MAKERS OF FOREIGN POLICY, AND MUST BEAR THE CRITICISMS OF THOSE WHO WOULD HAVE US WITHDRAW FROM THE WORLD. TOO OFTEN, WE FAIL TO APPRECIATE THE SACRIFICE, THE DANGER, THE SELFLESSNESS WHICH MARKS THE LIFE OF A PATRIOT.

PEOPLE ARE WRONG WHEN THEY CONFUSE SOLDIERING WITH WARMONGERING. IN AN AGE OF SOMETIMES RECKLESS INDIVIDUALISM, HOW MANY CAN UNDERSTAND THE STOIC VIRTUES OF THE SOLDIER, SHARED BY HIS FAMILY? IT IS A FACT I KNOW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE--YOU ARE NOT MEN OF WAR.

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YOU ARE THE PROTECTORS OF PEACE. BUT IT IS A LASTING PEACE THAT WE SEEK. IT IS A PEACE BETWEEN EQUALS, NOT THE PEACE OF RETREAT OR ABSTENTION. WE KNOW THAT WEAKNESS ONLY BEGETS NEW AND DEADLIER WAR. WE KNOW THAT A GREAT NATION MUST SHOULDER RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD, OR ONE DAY THE WORLD WILL BE A HOSTILE PLACE. WE KNOW THAT GREAT NATIONS MUST SPEND DOLLARS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE--OR THEY ARE DOOMED TO SPILL BLOOD IN MORTAL COMBAT.

LIVING IN A DANGEROUS WORLD

WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD, WHERE DESTRUCTION ITSELF IS BUT A PUSHBUTTON AWAY. WE INHABIT DANGEROUS TIMES, TOO VOLATILE TO PERMIT PARTISAN DEBATE WHERE OUR VERY SURVIVAL IS AT STAKE. THOSE DANGERS WARN US AGAINST ACCEPTING BEST INTENTIONS ALONE AS AN ADEQUATE NATIONAL DEFENSE. NO MATTER HOW ELOQUENT THE RHETORIC OR NOBLE THE INTENT, WORDS ALONE DO NOT INSURE PEACE. ONLY STRENGTH INSURES PEACE, IN A WORLD WHERE WEAPONS AND ARMIES SPEAK FAR TOO OFTEN, FAR TOO LOUDLY.

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AND SO WE CONFRONT THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN DEFENSE. LAST WEEK, PRESIDENT CARTER ANNOUNCED AGREEMENT ON A NEW SALT TREATY, AND I CONGRATULATE HIM AND HIS NEGOTIATING TEAM FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENT.

SALT AND A PEACEFUL WORLD

LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE: THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES AND INDEED, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WISH TO REDUCE WORLD TENSION AND SLOW THE ARMS RACE. HUMANITY HUNGERS FOR PEACE. THUS WE APPROACH SALT II HOPEFUL THAT IT CAN REDUCE THE RELENTLESS STOCKPILING OF WEAPONS AND ACTUALLY ENHANCE AMERICAN SECURITY. THAT IS WHAT WE HOPE. THAT IS ALSO WHAT WE MUST QUESTION.

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SALT AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

WE WILL NOT BE DEBATING SALT IN A VACUUM. SUCH A TREATY CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER. 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.

WE HAVE SCRAPPED AND CANCELLED ARMS SYSTEMS THAT MIGHT THEMSELVES PROVE TO BE IMPORTANT NOT ONLY AS BARGAINING CHIPS IN NEGOTIATING PEACE BUT MORE CRUCIAL YET, AS KEY COMPONENTS OF DETERRENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION. WE'VE CANCELLED THE B-1 BOMBER. WE'VE SLOWED THE MX MISSILE. IN THE LAST 18 YEARS, U.S. NAVAL COMBATANT VESSELS HAVE DECLINED BY OVER 40%. THE U.S.' ENTIRE STANDING ARMY HAS FALLEN TO LESS THAN HALF THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. AMERICAN CONVENTIONAL WEAPONRY IN EUROPE IS IN MANY CASES OUT-MODED, EVEN OBSOLETE. ALL IN ALL, NOT AN ENCOURAGING PROSPECT.

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BUT THE BALANCE OF POWER IS NOT MEASURED IN WEAPONS ALONE. ALL ACROSS THE GLOBE, EVIDENCE PILES UP OF SOVIET ADVENTURISM. IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND AFRICA, SOVIETS AND THEIR CUBAN ALLIES DESTABILIZE PRECARIOUS GOVERNMENTS. IN THE FAR EAST, THE UNITED STATES HAS SHUNNED A FAITHFUL ALLY IN TAIWAN IN A CAVALIER AND ALTOGETHER UNBECOMING MANNER. IRAN IS IN TURMOIL; THE WHOLE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION OF ANY NEW ARMS LIMITATION TREATY IS THROWN INTO DOUBT.

THE FACT IS, WE WILL BE TAKING UP THE SALT TREATY AT A TIME WHEN AMERICA IS PERCEIVED BY MANY OF HER FRIENDS TO BE RETREATING FROM HER GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES. IT ISN'T ENOUGH TO VOTE MORE MONEY FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE, OR MAKE VERBAL PLEDGES OF SUPPORT TO OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES. IT'S TIME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO START ACTING LIKE A GREAT POWER AGAIN.

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IT'S TIME WE DEVELOPED A COHERENT APPROACH TO THE WORLD, WHICH RECOGNIZES THAT WE HAVE CERTAIN VITAL INTERESTS WORTH PURSUING. WE ARE LOCKED IN AN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. WE REMAIN THE LAST BEST HOPE OF FREEDOM. IF WE ABANDON THAT OBLIGATION, THEN WE FORFEIT OUR VERY IDENTITY AS A NATION.

SO SALT MUST BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF ALL THIS AND MORE. IT IS NOT JUST ANOTHER TREATY. MORE THAN ANY FOREIGN AGREEMENT SINCE WOODROW WILSON SUBMITTED THE VERSAILLES TREATY TO THE U.S. SENATE IN 1919, IT IS A PACT THAT DEFINES WHAT AMERICA IS AND WHAT SHE WANTS TO BE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

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RAISING SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT SALT

THE SENATE WILL NOT BE VOTING ON THE PRINCIPLE OF ARMS CONTROL-- WHO CAN OPPOSE THAT? WE WILL, HOWEVER, BE ASKED TO RATIFY OR REJECT A COMPLEX AND HIGHLY TECHNICAL TREATY--CONTAINING LITERALLY THOUSANDS OF SPECIFICS WHICH, PUT TOGETHER IN FINAL FORM, MAY CRITICALLY AFFECT THE VERY SECURITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I WON'T BOMBARD YOU WITH ALL MY QUESTIONS ABOUT SALT II. BUT I DO WANT YOU TO BE AWARE OF SEVERAL WHICH MUST BE ANSWERED TO MY SATISFACTION.

FIRST OF ALL, WE MUST NOT ACCEPT ANY ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT PERMANENTLY WEAKEN AMERICA'S POSITION AS A GREAT POWER. WE MUST NEVER EMBRACE A FALSE PEACE. HISTORY PROVES BEYOND THE SHADOW OF A DOUBT THAT, AS DOUGLAS MACARTHUR PUT IT, "APPEASEMENT ONLY BEGETS NEW AND BLOODIER WAR."

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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 WHEN THE SOVIETS OUTSPEND US 3 TO 1 IN STRATEGIC FORCES?

WE MUST ALSO 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 INTERFERED WITH ANY SOVIET DEFENSE PROGRAMS. CAN WE SAY THE SAME ABOUT OUR OWN PREPAREDNESS?

SYSTEMS HAVE BEEN DELAYED, DEFERRED OR DROPPED ALTOGETHER IN ANTICIPATION OF SALT LIMITATIONS. OUR PLANS FOR TESTING AND DEPLOYING CRUISE MISSILES FOR DETERRENCE AGAINST ATTACK BY THE WARSAW PACT IS THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLE OF SELF-DENIAL IN THE STRATEGIC REALM. THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF ARMS RESTRAINT, AS IF WE ACTUALLY BELIEVED THAT BY SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE, WE MIGHT PERSUADE NATIONS TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD.

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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. WE HAVE TO ASK TOUGH QUESTIONS ABOUT VERIFICATION; ABOUT THE BACKFIRE BOMBER, ABOUT SHARING OUR TECHNOLOGY WITH OUR ALLIES. WE HAVE TO EXAMINE THE BALANCE OF STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES AND MAKE CERTAIN THAT NOTHING IN SALT II WILL ERODE AMERICA'S POSITION ABROAD.

WE SEEK PEACE. IT IS THE PEACE OF FREEDOM, OF REALISM, OF A PROTECTIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRIENDS OF LIBERTY THE WORLD OVER. IT IS NOT THE PEACE OF OPPORTUNISM. IT IS NOT THE PEACE OF THE GRAVE.

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THE SENATE'S OBLIGATIONS

I HAVE YET TO DECIDE HOW I WILL VOTE ON THE SALT TREATY, BUT I CAN ASSURE YOU OF THIS: IF A UNITED STATES SENATOR HAS A SINGLE OVERRIDING FUNCTION, IT IS TO PROMOTE THE COMMON WELFARE IN A SECURE STATE. THERE CAN BE NO BLOSSOMING OF INDIVIDUAL TALENTS IN A STATE WHERE INDIVIDUALISM IS DISCOURAGED. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE WITHOUT STRENGTH, THAT IS THE BOTTOM LINE ON SALT II.

TO US, MUCH IS GIVEN. FROM US, MUCH IS EXPECTED. IN THE WEEKS TO COME, LET US REMEMBER THOSE FACTS OF MODERN LIFE. LET US REMEMBER ALSO OUR OBLIGATION TO GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS YET TO COME. FOR WE WILL DECIDE THE KIND OF WORLD IN WHICH THEY LIVE.

YOUR WHOLE LIVES ARE DEDICATED TO AMERICA. YOU HAVE NEVER LET US DOWN. AND I HAVE NO INTENTION OF LETTING YOU DOWN. WITH YOUR INTEREST AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THIS GREAT NATIONAL DEBATE, WE WILL NOT FAIL. WE WILL LIVE UP TO OUR IDEALS, AND WE WILL PRESERVE A PEACE THAT IS GENUINE AND LASTING. AND ONE DAY, WE ALL PRAY, THE LIVING TOO, SHALL HAVE SEEN THE END OF WAR.

THANK YOU.