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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE  
MINNEAPOLIS PRESS CLUB  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA  
JULY 6, 1979

THERE ARE THIS MORNING MANY ISSUES CRYING OUT FOR STRONG AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. I NEEDN'T REMIND YOU ABOUT ENERGY, INFLATION, A BLOATED FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY OR THE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN FARMER. BUT TODAY, I'D LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU FOR A FEW MOMENTS MY THOUGHTS ON AN ISSUE OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE, A TOPIC WHOSE ULTIMATE SOLUTION MAY HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO SAY IN SHAPING - OR PRESERVING - THE WORLD OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN INHERIT.

I SPEAK, OF COURSE, OF AMERICA'S MILITARY POSTURE, AND THE RECENTLY NEGOTIATED SALT II TREATY. TO ME, THE TWO ARE ONE, INSEPARABLE AND MUTUALLY CRITICAL TO THE LIVES WE LIVE.

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AMERICAN DEFENSE: AN IMPENDING CRISIS

WE LIVE OUR LIVES AT A DANGEROUS TIME, IN A DANGEROUS  
WORLD. WE MAY NOT LIKE THAT FACT, BUT WE CANNOT DENY IT.  
IN TODAY'S WORLD, DESTRUCTION IS BUT A PUSHBUTTON AWAY.  
IN SUCH A WORLD, WORDS ALONE CANNOT GUARANTEE PEACE. ONLY  
STRENGTH INSURES PEACE, IN A WORLD WHERE ARMIES AND WEAPONS  
SPEAK THE ULTIMATE LANGUAGE.

WE ARE A GREAT NATION AND GREAT NATIONS MUST ASSUME GREAT  
RESPONSIBILITIES. IF THEY WISH TO AVOID SPILLING BLOOD IN  
COMBAT, THEY MUST BE WILLING TO SPEND DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE.

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BUT LOOK AT THE RECENT RECORD: THE UNITED STATES NAVY IS DOWN TO LESS THAN 400 SHIPS, WHILE HUNDREDS OF OTHERS HAVE BEEN SCRAPPED--ALMOST HALF THE ENTIRE FLEET IN THE LAST 18 YEARS. WE'VE CANCELLED THE B-1 BOMBER. WE'VE DELAYED DEVELOPMENT OF THE MX MISSILE. OUR ENTIRE STANDING ARMY HAS FALLEN TO LESS THAN HALF THAT COMMANDED BY THE SOVIET UNION. IN MUCH OF WESTERN EUROPE, OUR ARMOR IS OUTMODED, EVEN OBSOLETE.

BLEAK AS THE PICTURE IS, STOP AND THINK A MOMENT ABOUT THE YEARS AHEAD.

IT TAKES BETWEEN TWO AND FIVE YEARS FOR THE PREPARATION OF MOST WEAPONS SYSTEMS, WHOSE LIFESPAN THEN LASTS FROM FIVE TO TWENTY YEARS. AS A RESULT, DECISIONS MADE TODAY WILL AFFECT AMERICA'S STRENGTH TOMORROW. INDEED, ALLOCATIONS PAID TODAY WILL INFLUENCE NOT ONLY OUR SECURITY, BUT ALSO OUR DIPLOMACY YEARS AND DECADES FROM NOW.

IT IS FOR THIS VERY REASON THAT I AM SO CONCERNED BY A RECENT CIA STUDY COMPARING SOVIET AND AMERICAN DEFENSE EFFORTS. THE AGENCY FOUND TOTAL SOVIET MILITARY EXPENDITURES LAST YEAR SOME 25 PERCENT TO 45 PERCENT GREATER THAN THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. RUSSIA'S STRATEGIC BUDGET WAS THREE TIMES OURS, WHILE FUNDS DIRECTED TO GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES--INCLUDING THE NAVY--WERE A THIRD GREATER.

OVERALL, THE SOVIETS WILL OUTSPEND THE U.S. ON DEFENSE BY SOME \$50 BILLION THIS YEAR ALONE. AND IT'S NOT JUST THE TREND TOWARD SOVIET MILITARY SUPERIORITY THAT WORRIES ME; THEY'RE USING ALL THOSE WEAPONS, MY FRIENDS. THE PLANES AND TANKS AND ARTILLERY AND GUNS AREN'T SITTING IN WAREHOUSES IN SIBERIA. THEY'RE CHEWING UP THE SOIL OF EAST AFRICA. THEY'RE BEING MANNED BY CUBAN MERCENARIES TO DESTABILIZE GOVERNMENTS IN THAT CRITICAL CONTINENT. THEY'RE ROLLING ACROSS THE PLAINS OF AFGHANISTAN. THEY'RE POISED NEAR THE BORDER OF IRAN. THEY ARE MOUNTED IN MISSILE SILOS, AIMED AT EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, CHINA AND JAPAN, AND--YES--THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ITSELF.

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AND WHAT OF OUR RESPONSE TO THIS OMINOUS TREND? WHAT KIND OF LEADERSHIP HAVE WE OFFERED TO THE FREE WORLD? IN THE FAR EAST, THE UNITED STATES HAS DROPPED A FAITHFUL ALLY IN TAIWAN IN A CAVALIER AND SECRETIVE MANNER. OUR FORMER ALLY, IRAN, IS NOW AGAINST US AND AN INVITING TARGET FOR SOVIET ADVENTURISM. OLD FRIENDS LIKE MEXICO ARE BALKING AT HIGHHANDED TREATMENT FROM WASHINGTON. AND TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN ALLIES SHAKE THEIR HEADS IN WONDER AT AMERICA'S INDECISION IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET BUILD-UP.

EVER SINCE VIETNAM, SOME AMERICAN POLICYMAKERS SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT, IF ONLY WE LEFT THE REST OF THE WORLD ALONE, WE MIGHT STICK OUR HEAD IN THE SAND AND GO ABOUT OUR BUSINESS. THE RESULT IS, WE HAVE BEEN ABANDONING OUR FRIENDS WHO COULD HELP US AND SUPPORTING THOSE WHO CANNOT AND WILL NOT HELP US.

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SOME PEOPLE MAY HAVE FORGOTTEN THE FACT BUT NOT ME:  
WE AMERICANS REMAIN THE LAST, BEST HOPE OF FREEDOM IN THIS  
WORLD. WE RESCUED EUROPE FROM TOTALITARIAN DICTATORS--TWICE--  
NOT BECAUSE WE SOUGHT AN EMPIRE, OR WORLDLY WEALTH. QUITE  
THE OPPOSITE; WE BAILED A SHATTERED CONTINENT OUT BECAUSE  
WE BELIEVED FREEDOM TO BE PREFERABLE TO TYRANNY. WE HAVE  
SOUGHT TO PROTECT SMALL NATIONS FROM LARGE ONES WHICH WOULD  
ENSLAVE THEM. AND IF THE DAY EVER COMES WHEN AN AMERICAN  
PRESIDENT LACKS EITHER THE COURAGE OR THE MILITARY RESOURCES  
TO STAND TRUE TO OUR IDEALS, THEN WE MAY NOT LIVE TO  
SECOND-GUESS HIS TIMIDITY.

SALT IN A LARGER CONTEXT

I MENTION ALL THIS, ALL THE SETBACKS, ALL THE DEFENSE CUTS, ALL THE CONFUSION AND DRIFT IN WASHINGTON, BECAUSE THE TIME APPROACHES WHEN MY COLLEAGUES AND I IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE WILL TAKE UP THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE TREATY SINCE WOODROW WILSON CAME BACK FROM PARIS WITH THE TREATY OF VERSAILLE IN 1919. LIKE WILSON, PRESIDENT CARTER IS ALREADY TELLING THE SENATE THAT THIS TREATY MUST BE ADOPTED IN ITS ENTIRETY, WITHOUT AMENDMENT OR RESERVATION.

EVERYONE KNOWS WHAT HAPPENED TO WILSON AND, WITH HIM, TO THE PEACE OF THE MODERN WORLD.

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, WILL CRITICALLY AFFECT THE FUTURE 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, WE MUST NOT ACCEPT ANY ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT THAT MIGHT PERMANENTLY WEAKEN AMERICA'S POSITION AS A GREAT POWER. AS I'VE ALREADY POINTED OUT, THE SOVIET UNION HAS SUBSTANTIALLY AUGMENTED ITS MILITARY FORCES OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS. CAN WE SAY THE SAME OF THE AMERICAN DETERRENT?

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?

BY CONTRAST, THE UNITED STATES HAS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF ARMS RESTRAINT, AS IF WE BELIEVED THAT BY SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE, WE MIGHT PERSUADE NATIONS TO FOLLOW OUR LEAD. 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.

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## SALT AND A WORLD AT PEACE

I RAISE THESE QUESTIONS, NOT OUT OF POLITICAL PARTISANSHIP. QUITE THE CONTRARY. I WANT TO VOTE FOR SALT II, AS I VOTED FOR SALT I. I THINK THE LAST THING MY PARTY SHOULD DO IS TO TRY AND MAKE THIS A PARTISAN-ISSUE. WE KNOW THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE PROSPERITY; THEY SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO CLAIM EXCLUSIVE CREDIT FOR PEACE, HOWEVER FRAGILE OR VULNERABLE.

WITH THIS IN MIND, I APPROACH THE SALT DEBATE WITH A FIRM RESOLVE: TO ASK THE TOUGH QUESTIONS THAT NEED TO BE ASKED, BUT ALWAYS IN THE HOPE THAT THEY MIGHT BE ANSWERED TO MY SATISFACTION AND THE TREATY ITSELF MOLDED TO A SATISFACTORY RESULT. AS IT IS NOW, THE TREATY IS IMPERFECT. THAT MUCH IS APPARENT.

BUT IMPERFECTION IS NO REASON TO ABANDON THE QUEST FOR A WORKABLE ARMS CONTROL SETTLEMENT. AT A SERIES OF EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS I'VE CALLED WITH SENATE COLLEAGUES, WE'VE PONDERED THE IMPERFECTIONS, AND HOW BEST TO REMOVE THEM. WHEN I TESTIFY BEFORE THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE LATER THIS MONTH, I WILL SPELL OUT IN DETAIL SOME OF MY IDEAS FOR MAKING THE PACT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THOSE WHO SHARE MY CONCERNS.

BUT UNTIL THAT TIME, I WILL MAKE NO DECLARATIONS, NO BLANKET CRITICISMS, NO DEFINITIVE PRONOUNCEMENTS. THE REASON IS SIMPLE: WE'RE DEALING WITH AN EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX DOCUMENT, AND A POLITICAL CLIMATE THAT IS TENSE AND CLOUDED. I DON'T WANT TO ADD TO THE TENSION, NOR CLOUD THE ISSUES FURTHER.

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I DISAGREE WITH COLLEAGUES WHO MAY DECIDE TO USE THE  
SALT AGREEMENT AS A POLITICAL FOOTBALL, OR TO WIN POINTS  
SQUANDERED AWAY IN PREVIOUS FOREIGN POLICY DEBATES.  
THE ISSUE IS TOO IMPORTANT, AND THE STAKES TOO HIGH, FOR  
ANY OF US TO FOCUS OUR ATTENTION ON THE GALLUP POLL.  
SURVIVAL ITSELF IS THE ISSUE, AND THE KIND OF WORLD WE  
WISH TO INHABIT. AGAINST SUCH A BACKDROP, PARTISANSHIP  
IS A POOR SUBSTITUTE FOR STATESMANSHIP.