

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
ORIGINS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1980

OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS, OUR GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN FORCED TO FACE UP TO LAWLESS, TOTALITARIAN CHALLENGES ON A BROAD FRONT AROUND THE GLOBE. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II, RUSSIAN TROOPS HAVE OCCUPIED AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE. AT THE SAME TIME, THE IRANIAN HOSTAGE CRISIS HAS CREATED A U.S. FOREIGN POLICY PARALYSIS. THIS CRISIS NOW SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN THE INITIATIVE TO THE SOVIET UNION, POISED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR PARALYSIS BY MOVING ITS TROOPS ACROSS THE AFGHAN BORDERS INTO IRAN OR PAKISTAN.

AMERICAN INACTION IS DUE TO A LOSS OF DIPLOMATIC CREDIBILITY AND MILITARY CAPABILITY THAT EVOLVED OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS. WE MUST START NOW TO RENEW OUR POWER AND PRESENCE. BUT HOW DID WE GET IN THE HOLE WE'RE IN NOW?

SINCE BEFORE WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONSTANTLY FACED AN OVERSEAS CHALLENGE TO VITAL ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS. THIS GREAT CHALLENGE, FIRST BY HITLER'S GERMANY AND THEN BY RUSSIA, CAUSED THE NEED FOR A BIPARTISAN APPROACH TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY. AMERICANS RALLY BEHIND THEIR PRESIDENT IN A CRISIS, NO MATTER WHICH PARTY HE BELONGS TO. I CERTAINLY HAVE SUPPORTED THOSE ACTIONS BY PRESIDENT CARTER INTENDED TO ACHIEVE THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. FROM THE VERY BEGINNING I HAVE URGED NATIONAL UNITY, CALLING ON ALL THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION OF STRONG SUPPORT.

THE PRESENT CRISIS

THE CRISIS HAS ESCALATED WITH THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN, AND WITH IT THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I SUGGESTED MOVING THE OLYMPICS BEFORE THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO DO IT, BUT OPPOSED THE GRAIN EMBARGO AS ESSENTIALLY NON-EFFECTIVE AGAINST RUSSIA AND EXTREMELY HARMFUL TO THE AMERICAN FARMER AND TAXPAYERS IN GENERAL. BUT THESE ARE BOTH MAINLY ACTS OF SYMBOLISM.

MOST REPUBLICANS LIKE MYSELF HAD BEEN URGING EVEN STRONGER MEASURES FOR A LONG TIME TO BEEF UP OUR ABILITY TO RESPOND.

THESE ARE SAD TIMES FOR AMERICA WHEN OUR PRESIDENT AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISORS SUDDENLY FIND OUT WHAT THE REALITIES OF THE WORLD ARE, AFTER THREE YEARS OF CUTTING BACK FUNDS AND PROGRAMS FOR OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE. AFTER THE 1976 VICE-PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES THERE WAS A LIBERAL ASSAULT ON ME FOR EVEN SUGGESTING THAT UNPREPAREDNESS COULD LEAD TO WAR.

I STILL BELIEVE WE NEED BIPARTISAN SUPPORT WHEN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY IS CHALLENGED. BUT NOW WHEN THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION IS ABOUT TO REAP THE DISASTERS IT HAS SOWN OVER THREE YEARS OF NEGLECT, THE WHITE HOUSE HAS TRIED TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR OUR PRESENT DIFFICULTIES ONTO THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. THEY CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS, ASKING FOR BIPARTISAN SUPPORT ON THE ONE HAND AND ON THE OTHER BLAMING REPUBLICANS FOR THEIR OWN WEAKNESSES AND INDECISION IN FOREIGN POLICY.

CARTER DEFENSE POLICIES NO SURPRISE

WHEN JIMMY CARTER WAS RUNNING FOR PRESIDENT IN 1976, HE CLAIMED HE WOULD TRIM FROM 7 TO 15 BILLION DOLLARS FROM OUR DEFENSE BUDGET. UNFORTUNATELY, HE SUCCEEDED. DURING THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES IN HOUSTON, I WARNED THAT THESE DEFENSE CUTS COULD LEAD US INTO A RISK OF WAR. THE LIBERAL PRESS JUMPED ON THIS COMMENT, THE DEMOCRATS DERIDED MY CLAIM, AND I WAS CALLED THE HATCHET MAN FOR EVEN SUGGESTING THAT IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO PARE BACK AN ALREADY LEAN DEFENSE BUDGET.

WELL, WHAT ARE WE DOING NOW BUT TALKING OF REINSTATING THE DRAFT AND A CRASH PROGRAM TO INCREASE MILITARY SPENDING? THE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN THE CONGRESS ARE NOW SAYING THIS WILL BE A SECURITY-CONSCIOUS LEGISLATURE. MY QUESTION IS THIS: WHERE HAVE THEY BEEN FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS WHILE WE GRADUALLY GOT INTO THIS MESS?

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AS THE ADMINISTRATION SLIDES FROM ONE CRISIS TO ANOTHER,
THE WHITE HOUSE IS TRYING TO REWRITE HISTORY.

TWO WEEKS AGO, NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI
SAID IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, "AFTER EIGHT YEARS OF
SUSTAINED REPUBLICAN NEGLECT FOR THE REQUIREMENTS OF
DEFENSE, THE PRESIDENT REVERSED THE TREND AND IN THREE
SUCCESSIVE YEARS INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING."

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD

THIS IS JUST NOT TRUE -- LET ME GIVE YOU THE FACTS. IN
FISCAL YEARS 1976, 1977, AND 1978 IN BUDGET AUTHORITY AND
IN FISCAL YEARS 1977 AND 1978 IN OUTLAYS (EXPENDITURES)
THE FORD ADMINISTRATION REVERSED THE DOWNWARD TREND IN DEFENSE
SPENDING, DESPITE ANNUAL REDUCTIONS BY A DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY
IN THE CONGRESS. BUT WHAT DID PRESIDENT CARTER REALLY DO?

THE RECORD SHOWS THE PRESIDENT REDUCED PROPOSED DEFENSE BUDGETS FOR 1979 THROUGH 1983 (A SIX YEAR PERIOD) BY \$57 BILLION, AN AVERAGE CUT OF \$9.5 BILLION PER YEAR. HE SLASHED THE STRATEGIC PROGRAM \$24 BILLION, GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES BY \$25 BILLION, AND OUR VITAL LONG-RANGE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM BY \$10 BILLION. CARTER CUT THE PROJECTED NAVY BUDGET THROUGH 1983 BY ALMOST \$26 BILLION (41% OF THE TOTAL).

IN THE STRATEGIC SECTOR, IN ORDER TO BUY SALT II, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION TRAGICALLY DELAYED OR CANCELLED VITAL PROGRAMS. THE MX MISSILE, DESIGNED TO PREVENT RUSSIA FROM ACHIEVING A FIRST-STRIKE CAPABILITY, WILL BE DELAYED AT LEAST FOUR YEARS UNTIL 1989 AT A TIME WHEN OUR MINUTEMAN MISSILES WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY VULNERABLE TO SOVIET STRATEGIC STRENGTH.

PRESIDENT CARTER IN 1977 CANCELLED THE B-1 BOMBER PROGRAM WHICH WOULD HAVE BROUGHT 244 MODERN AIRCRAFT ON LINE TO REPLACE THE AGING B-52'S, NOW 25 YEARS OLD AND NOT ADEQUATE FOR THE DECADE OF THE 80'S.

THE TRIDENT SUBMARINE UNDER CARTER WAS CUT BACK AND THE INITIAL OPERATIONAL DEPLOYMENT WAS DELAYED BY TWO YEARS. THE NEUTRON BOMB, A VALUABLE WEAPON FOR SECURING THE NATO FLANK, WAS CANCELLED.

FACTS INSTEAD OF FICTION

THAT'S A LOOK AT THE RECORD. MR. BRZEZINSKI AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF ARE GUILTY OF OUTRIGHT MISREPRESENTATION, AT THE SAME TIME BIPARTISAN SUPPORT IS SOLEMNLY REQUESTED.

IN 1976, PRESIDENT FORD AND I CHALLENGED THE CARTER-MONDALE TEAM DURING THE DEBATES TO JUSTIFY THEIR IRRESPONSIBLE CALLS FOR CUTS IN DEFENSE-SPENDING PROGRAMS. NOW THE SOVIET UNION IS STRONGER MILITARILY AND HAS PERHAPS ACHIEVED STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY.

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THE RUSSIANS FEEL FREE TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE WORLDWIDE, WHILE ALL OUR FOREIGN SIGNALS TO THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN NEGATIVE. THERE IS A LITANY OF FOREIGN POLICY FAILURES FROM THE TIME CARTER FIRST TOOK OFFICE AND CANCELLED OUR OVERFLIGHTS OVER CUBA. PRESIDENT CARTER CONSISTENTLY RETREATED FROM OUR WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES: IN PANAMA, BY GIVING AWAY THE CANAL; IN TAIWAN, BY CANCELLING OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY; IN SOUTH KOREA THE THE PHILIPPINES, BY REDUCING OUR TROOPS STATIONED THERE. HE FAILED TO CHALLENGE RUSSIAN AND CUBAN-PROXY AGGRESSION IN AFRICA. HE SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH NORTH VIETNAM AND CUBA. HE FAILED TO SUPPORT THE SHAH OF IRAN AND MAY HAVE DIRECTLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF HIS GOVERNMENT. AND TWENTY MONTHS AGO HE FAILED TO MAKE ANY PROTEST WHEN THE COMMUNISTS FIRST SEIZED POWER IN A PREVIOUSLY NEUTRAL AFGHANISTAN.

NOW THE PRESIDENT, FIGHTING FOR REELECTION, TAKES A TOUGH TONE, BUT WE'RE LEFT WITH EMPTY THREATS WITHOUT SUBSTANCE. DOES ANYONE REALLY THINK THAT BY REINSTATING REGISTRATION, A PROCESS THAT WILL TAKE OVER SIX MONTHS, THAT WE CAN DETER SOVIET AGGRESSION? OR BY SUDDENLY REVAMPING OR REMOVING CONGRESSIONAL CHECKS ON THE CIA WE CAN PREVENT FUTURE AFGHANISTANS?

ON THE CONTRARY . . . WE KNEW ABOUT THE IRANIAN SITUATION. WE KNEW ABOUT SOVIET TROOPS MASSING ON AFGHANISTAN'S BORDERS. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS CUT OFF AID TO PAKISTAN BECAUSE THEY WERE RESPONDING TO A NUCLEAR THREAT FROM INDIA THAT WE DID NOTHING TO PROTECT THEM FROM. STRATEGICALLY WE ARE NOW ISOLATED IN THE PERSIAN GULF. WHAT HAS THE PRESIDENT PREPARED FOR THIS CRISIS OVER THE LAST THREE YEARS?

AMERICA DOES NOT DESIRE A NEW COLD WAR, BUT WE NOW ARE FACED WITH THE MOST SERIOUS CONFRONTATION SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. WE NEED STRONG, BIPARTISAN LEADERSHIP AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN THEY WILL RALLY AROUND IN THIS HOUR OF CRISIS, GIVING A STRONG SUPPORT TO STRONG MEASURES. IF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MEN WANT TO DISCUSS THE FACTS, THE RECORD IS THERE, PLAIN TO SEE, AND I AM HAPPY TO DEFEND MY OWN POSITION FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS.

WE NEED TO ANSWER THOSE QUESTIONS THE PRESIDENT LEFT OUT DURING HIS STATE OF THE UNION SPEECH. WE NEED MORE SPECIFIC PROGRAMS TO COUNTER THE SOVIET BUILD-UP. DOES THE U.S. HAVE ANY SUPPORT FROM OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, AND IF SO HOW MUCH? WILL THEY ACCEPT A U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE OR NOT? WILL OUR ALLIES PARTICULARLY THOSE DEPENDENT ON MID-EAST OIL, PROVIDE COOPERATION? AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, WITH ALL THE DEFENSE CUTBACKS THE PRESIDENT HAS SPONSORED, WITH WHAT MILITARY FORCES, SPECIFICALLY, ARE WE GOING TO RESPOND? SECRETARY BROWN'S RECENT BUDGET WAS FORMULATED BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S TURN-ABOUT REALIZATION OF RUSSIA'S AGGRESSIVE INTENTIONS AROUND THE GLOBE. THERE ARE NO NEW PROGRAMS, NO INCREASES IN SPENDING IN ORDER TO GET SHORTER LEAD TIMES.

SOME OF THE SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS CAN COME JUST BY HAVING A STRONG, CONSISTENT AND COHESIVE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY. WE NEED A POLICY THAT OTHER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY OUR ENEMIES, WILL BELIEVE THAT WE WILL FOLLOW THROUGH ON -- THAT WE HAVE NOT ONLY THE CAPABILITIES BUT THE WILL AND SENSE OF DIRECTION TO BACK OUR POLICY UP. FOR THE SHORT TERM, WE NEED TO EXPAND OUR NAVAL FLEXIBILITY. PRESIDENT FORD'S PROJECTED SHIPBUILDING PLAN CALLED FOR 157 SHIPS IN FIVE YEARS. PRESIDENT CARTER, AFTER SLASHING THIS TO ONLY 67, STILL PLANS ONLY FOR 97. THE FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, MAXWELL TAYLOR, SUGGESTS THAT UNTIL NEW SHIPS ARE BUILT WE CONSIDER LEASING CIVILIAN SHIPS FOR TRANSPORT AND SUPPLY. THESE COULD HELP WITH THE RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCE THAT WE PRESENTLY COULDN'T MOVE, EVEN IF WE HAD IT.

AND WHAT OF THE PEOPLE? THE PRESIDENT TALKS ABOUT REGISTRATION, BUT WHAT ABOUT THE LACK OF SEASONED MILITARY PERSONNEL, THOSE VITALLY NECESSARY, TRAINED SPECIALISTS IN THE MIDDLE GRADES -- THAT IS WHERE OUR REAL PERSONNEL SHORTFALL IS. THE CNO SAYS HE MAY HAVE TO LAY UP SOME SHIPS FOR LACK OF THESE TRAINED PEOPLE. WHAT SPECIFIC ACTIONS SHOW THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING STEPS TO COMMIT ITS WILL AND POWER TO BACK ITS STRATEGIC INTERESTS?

WE HAVE EMBARGOED OUR FARMER'S GRAIN SO THAT ARGENTINA COULD SELL THEIRS TO THE RUSSIANS INSTEAD OF US. WE HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GOING TO WAR. THE SOVIET UNION IS SUPERIOR TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE THINGS THAT COUNT IN CRISES: CONVENTIONAL FORCES, AND NOW, FOR THE TIME, THEY ARE ARGUABLY SUPERIOR, IN STRATEGIC FORCES. RUSSIA IS HARDLY LIKELY IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES TO HEED SYMBOLIC GESTURES OR ALARMIST RHETORIC.

I FEAR THE SOVIET UNION WILL DISREGARD CLARK CLIFFORD'S WARNING ABOUT GOING TO WAR. THEY SEE THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE AS LITTLE MORE THAN AN ATTEMPT AT INTIMIDATING PROPAGANDA. THIS MAY BE INCORRECT, BUT SUCH MISCALCULATIONS CAN LEAD TO DANGEROUS CONFRONTATIONS AND UNINTENTIONED WARS.

I URGE THE PRESIDENT TO GO FORWARD FROM THIS POINT, SEEKING BROAD-BASED SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS, TO DO THOSE THINGS WHICH MUST AND SHOULD BE DONE NOW TO RESTORE THE UNITED STATES TO ITS PREEMINENT WORLD POWER ROLE.