

REMARKS BY SENATOR BOB DOLE
U.S. ARMY COMMAND & GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE
FORT LEAVENWORTH
FRIDAY, APRIL 19, 1985

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO JOIN YOU THIS MORNING AT THIS HONORED MILITARY INSTITUTION. AS YOU KNOW, THE HISTORY OF FORT LEAVENWORTH IS BOTH COLORFUL AND CLASSIC: HARDLY A HERO OR VILLAIN IN THE SETTLING OF THE OLD WEST--FROM THE TEXAS WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR--DID NOT TOUCH BASE, AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER, AT THIS FRONTIER POST. CERTAINLY, THE UNMATCHED RECORD OF THE U.S. ARMY COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE MAKES FOR AN IMPRESSIVE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF OUR STATE--AND NATION.

TO MANY, LEAVENWORTH SIMPLY MEANS "THE GENERALS' SCHOOL." IN FACT, ONE OF YOUR MOST OUTSTANDING GRADUATES, GENERAL GEORGE MARSHALL, SAID AS MUCH IN A SPEECH IN KANSAS CITY FORTY YEARS

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AGO: "LEAVENWORTH"--HE SAID--"PROVIDED THE LEADERS WHO PLAYED A DETERMINING PART IN THE LIBERATION OF EUROPE AND ASIA IN 1945. THE LAND BATTLES OF EUROPE AND THE PACIFIC WERE FIRST WON IN THE HEART OF AMERICA. MACARTHUR, EISENHOWER, ARNOLD, BRADLEY, AND A LONG LIST OF OUR GREAT COMMANDERS WERE DEVELOPED ON THE HEIGHTS OVERLOOKING THE MISSOURI RIVER AT FT. LEAVENWORTH."

YOU, THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW, COULD FIND NO GREATER INSPIRATION--OR PREPARATION--THEN TO PASS THROUGH THE HISTORIC HALLWAYS OF THIS GREAT INSTITUTION.

RECALLING THOSE GREAT AMERICAN GENERALS WHO STUDIED HERE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE WORLD WAR TWO ENDED SOME 4 DECADES AGO. AS ONE WHO FOUGHT IN THAT GREAT CONFLICT, IT IS ALSO DIFFICULT FOR ME TO BELIEVE THAT JUST LAST SUNDAY WAS THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DATE ON WHICH I WAS WOUNDED NEAR THE ITALIAN MOUNTAIN TOWN OF CASTEL D'AIANO. THAT PERSONAL ANNIVERSARY WAS MARKED IN ITALY A WEEK AGO, WHILE LEADING A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO NATO ALLIES. AS I PLACED A WREATH AT THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER IN ROME, I WAS REMINDED OF THE PEACE THAT HAS EXISTED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SINCE THE WAR. TODAY, AS A SENATOR, MY GOAL IS TO

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MAKE SURE THAT THE PEACE WE FOUGHT FOR SO VALIANTLY IS MAINTAINED. IT REQUIRED SO MUCH OF US, IN MANPOWER, IN MONEY, AND ABOVE ALL, IN SPIRITUAL AND NATIONAL RESOLVE. THOSE OF US WHO TOOK PART IN THE FIGHTING BLESS THE SUBSEQUENT PEACE. WE HAIL THE FRIENDSHIPS THAT GREW OUT OF THE HOSTILITY AND WE PLEDGE OURSELVES ANEW TO THE CAUSE FOR WHICH SO MANY GAVE SO MUCH.

OUT OF THE RAVAGES OF WORLD WAR II A NEW ALLIANCE WAS BORN, SPANNING THE ATLANTIC AND BRINGING TOGETHER THE FREE NATIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA. THE NATO ALLIANCE HAS BEEN THE SHIELD WHICH, MORE THAN ANY OTHER, HAS KEPT US SECURE AGAINST THE THREAT OF A HOSTILE AND POWERFUL ADVERSARY. LET US HOPE THAT THE LESSONS OF THE PAST HAVE BEEN LEARNED, AND THAT NO FUTURE WARS NEED BE FOUGHT.

WORKING TRIP TO EUROPE

ACTUALLY, YOUR CLASSES ON STRATEGY MIGHT PROVE HELPFUL TO ME AS I CONFRONT THE CHALLENGE OF PUSHING A MAJOR DEFICIT REDUCTION PACKAGE THROUGH THE CONGRESS THIS YEAR. OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING

ARMS CONTROL, THE MX MISSILE, AND TRADE ISSUES HAVE ALSO BEEN ON THE SENATE LEGISLATIVE PLATTER, ALL OF THEM TOUGH, TACTICAL SKIRMISHES. BELIEVE ME, IT HAS BEEN A BUSY 99TH CONGRESS.

DURING THE RECENT EASTER RECESS, OUR SIX-MEMBER SENATE DELEGATION TRAVELLED OVERSEAS ON A WORKING VISIT TO WESTERN EUROPE. IT WAS A PRODUCTIVE TRIP WHERE WE HAD THE CHANCE TO MEET WITH SENIOR LEADERS OF FOUR OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT ALLIES: THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND ITALY--ALL OF WHICH HAVE REPRESENTATIVES HERE AT THE COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF COLLEGE. WE ALSO HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF A PRIVATE AUDIENCE IN THE VATICAN WITH HIS HOLINESS, POPE JOHN PAUL II. I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY OBSERVATIONS.

FIRST, WITH ALL OF OUR ALLIES, WE FOUND ENORMOUS INTEREST IN--AND HOPE FOR--THE GENEVA ARMS CONTROL TALKS. WE STRESSED THE STRONG SUPPORT OF THE SENATE FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS IN GENEVA, AND WE FOUND A SIMILARLY UNIFIED ALLIED SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION. WE WERE ESPECIALLY HEARTENED TO FIND THAT, DESPITE THE EXISTENCE IN SOME EUROPEAN COUNTRIES OF POLITICAL MINORITIES

PUSHING FOR UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS TO THE SOVIETS, EVERYONE WITH WHOM WE SPOKE DISPLAYED WHOLE-HEARTED BACKING FOR A TOUGH, PATIENT STANCE IN GENEVA.

SECOND, WE FOUND A GROWING UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE. THERE IS WIDESPREAD EUROPEAN INTEREST IN THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATING IN SDI-RELATED RESEARCH, THOUGH IN SOME PLACES THAT INTEREST HAS NOT YET CRYSTALLIZED INTO A FIRM NATIONAL DECISION TO PARTICIPATE.

THIRD, WE FOUND STRONG UNREST ABOUT SOARING U.S. DEFICITS AND INTEREST RATES, WHICH OUR ALLIES SEE AS AT THE ROOT OF THE PROBLEMS NOW DISTORTING INTERNATIONAL TRADE. OBVIOUSLY, TRADE IS A TWO-WAY STREET AND THERE ARE MAJOR REFORMS TO BE MADE OVERSEAS. BUT NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THE FEDERAL DEFICIT IS A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE TRADE AREA. LET ME TELL YOU WHAT I TOLD OUR NATO FRIENDS--THE U.S. SENATE IS DETERMINED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT OUR DEFICITS, AND TO DO IT NOW. WE WILL BE ACTING IN THE DAYS AHEAD TO LIVE UP TO THAT PLEDGE.

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I WOULD BE REMISS IF I DID NOT MENTION ONE PARTICULAR MEETING--CERTAINLY ONE OF OUR MOST ENCOURAGING SESSIONS. IN PARIS, FRENCH DEFENSE MINISTER HERNU SPOKE AT LENGTH ABOUT THE NEW WAVE OF SUPPORT FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AMONG FRANCE'S YOUNG PEOPLE. I AM HAPPY TO REPORT IT WAS A THEME WE HEARD REPLAYED EVERYWHERE. IT SEEMS THE NEW GENERATION, NO LESS THAN OUR OWN, IS COMMITTED TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR MUTUAL SECURITY. IT IS DEDICATED, NO LESS THAN WE ARE, TO THE PRESERVATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS ON WHICH THE ALLIANCE IS BASED. AND IT IS READY TO CARRY ON THE WORK BEGUN BY THE ALLIANCE NEARLY FORTY YEARS AGO, TO PRESERVE PEACE, DEFEND FREEDOM, AND BUILD PROSPERITY ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, BY TALKING, WORKING AND STICKING TOGETHER.

THE MX--A CRUCIAL VOTE BY CONGRESS

IN MY VIEW, THE CONGRESS TOOK A MAJOR STEP TOWARD KEEPING OUR COMMITMENT TO OUR ALLIES BY VOTING FOR PRODUCTION OF THE MX MISSILE.

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DESPITE NEWS REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY, THE UNDERLYING MESSAGE OF THE MX IS THAT AS THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD, WE MUST BE ABLE TO MEET ANY SOVIET THREAT.

DEFEAT OF MX BY THE CONGRESS WOULD HAVE ENCOURAGED THE SOVIETS TO STALL AND DRAG THEIR FEET AT THE GENEVA ARMS TALKS SO THEY MIGHT SEE WHAT OTHER DAMAGE WE COULD DO TO OURSELVES BY UNILATERALLY ELIMINATING WEAPONS SYSTEMS. CLEARLY, IT IS CRUCIAL FOR THE CONGRESS TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP A SOLIDARITY OF AMERICAN PURPOSE. LET'S FACE IT, THE SOVIETS ARE NOT AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE BECAUSE WE SENT THEM POLITE INVITATIONS. THEY ARE THERE BECAUSE THIS NATION--AND ITS PRESIDENT--DEMONSTRATED A DETERMINATION TO DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY STRONG.

WHITE HOUSE-SENATE BUDGET PLAN

ANOTHER KIND OF OPPONENT--THE RECORD-SETTING FEDERAL DEFICIT--IS LOOMING OVER US. ON MONDAY, THE SENATE BEGINS THE ARDUOUS TASK OF PUTTING TOGETHER A BUDGET, AND AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, THE ONLY CREDIBLE BUDGET WILL NECESSARILY FEATURE A

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MAJOR ASSAULT ON FEDERAL RED INK. THAT MEANS THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE BUDGET--FROM AGRICULTURE TO THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT--WILL HAVE TO FACE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS...

AGAINST CONSIDERABLE ODDS, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND THE SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP RECENTLY AGREED ON A COMPROMISE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1986. THIS PACKAGE TAKES DIRECT AIM AT THE HORRENDOUS DEFICIT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS RACKED-UP OVER THE YEARS: MORE THAN \$212 BILLION IN 1985. THAT DEFICIT ALONE REPRESENTS 5.5% OF OUR GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT!

THIS IS NOT A FORMULA FOR A SOUND ECONOMY. IT IS A PRESCRIPTION FOR SOARING INTEREST RATES AND MORE TAXES IN THE SHORT RUN AND, OVER THE LONG RUN, FOR ECONOMIC COLLAPSE.

BUT BY WORKING WITH THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS CAN BOTH AVERT DISASTER AND CONTINUE THE VIGOROUS ECONOMIC EXPANSION THAT IS MAKING LIFE BETTER FOR ALL AMERICANS. IF WE SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY, WE WILL SECURE A NEW ERA OF PROSPERITY FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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MAKE NO MISTAKE, OUR COMPROMISE PLAN IS A VERY TOUGH, VERY SERIOUS BUDGET--NO ONE UNDERESTIMATES THE DIFFICULTY OF GETTING IT PASSED. TO DEMONSTRATE HOW SERIOUS THIS BUDGET IS, LET ME TELL YOU THAT 17 FEDERAL PROGRAMS WOULD BE ELIMINATED; AND DEFENSE WOULD BE HELD TO A 3% INCREASE IN EACH OF THE NEXT THREE YEARS: WE HAVE TO BE REALISTIC--IT WOULDN'T BE FAIR, OR POLITICALLY FEASIBLE, TO PRESENT A BUDGET THAT DID NOT INCLUDE AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD APPROACH TO DEFICIT REDUCTION.

HOWEVER, LET ME UNDERScore ONE FINAL POINT: IN OUR EFFORT TO SLASH THE DEFICIT, THE SECURITY OF THIS NATION WILL NOT BE COMPROMISED. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT EVERY FEDERAL PROGRAM AND BUREAUCRACY CAN BE MADE--AND SHOULD BE MADE--MORE EFFICIENT. BELIEVE ME, THERE'S PLENTY OF ROOM FOR TIGHTENING-UP IN EVERY CORNER OF WASHINGTON. BUT I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE YOU WITH THE PROMISE THAT THE DEFENSE OF THIS COUNTRY WILL NOT BE SACRIFICED TO APPEASE RECKLESS BUDGET CUTTERS. IT JUST SEEMS TO ME THAT THE PAST TWO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS INDICATED OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR A REVITALIZED MILITARY. THIS GOAL CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN A COST-EFFICIENT AND COST-EFFECTIVE MANNER.

I BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DEVELOPED A FOREIGN POLICY, A NATIONAL STRATEGY, APPROPRIATE TO OUR ECONOMY, APPROPRIATE TO OUR LIBERTIES, AND APPROPRIATE TO THE CHARACTER OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. THIS WILL MEAN HARD CHOICES ABOUT WHAT WE WANT TO DO IN THE WORLD, THE ALLIANCES WE MAKE, THE ADVERSARIES WE CHALLENGE, AND THE POLICIES, YOU IN PART, WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR CARRYING OUT.

THE RESURGENCE OF A SENSE OF UNITY AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ALL HER ALLIES RESULTS FROM THIS NATION'S RESUMING ITS RIGHTFUL ROLE AS A WORLD LEADER.

WORLD WAR II MAY HAVE ENDED FORTY YEARS AGO. YET THE DANGERS PERSIST. THE NEED FOR A STRONG AND EQUITABLE DEFENSE IS EVER PRESENT. SO LET US RESOLVE: SO LONG AS HUMAN FREEDOM IS THREATENED, THEN WE WILL KEEP OUR WATCH. I KNOW YOU POSSESS THE STRENGTH TO DO WHAT HISTORY TELLS US IS RIGHT. UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, MAY EACH OF YOU FIND THE WISDOM TO DO WHAT MAY BE NECESSARY. GENERAL MARSHALL, ARCHITECT OF VICTORY IN EUROPE AND GRADUATE OF THIS COLLEGE, MAY HAVE PUT IT BEST: "THE ONLY WAY TO WIN A WAR:, HE DECLARED, "IS TO PREVENT IT." THAT IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT BOTH OF US SHARE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.