

MAY 24, 1972

MEMORANDUM

FOR: SENATOR

FROM: DAN

SUBJECT: TOWN HALL ADDRESS

THIS SPEECH IS BASED ON AN EXPERT ANALYSIS OF MCGOVERN'S DEFENSE BUDGET PREPARED FOR US BY A HIGH-LEVEL ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER. THIS MAN WAS A MEMBER OF MCNAMARA'S DEFENSE ANALYSIS TEAM. WE HAVE CHECK THE ACCURACY OF THE FIGURES WE USE. MAX HAD A MAJOR PART IN DRAFTING THE SPEECH. I AM INCLUDING A COPY OF THE MEMO MENTIONED ABOVE.

Samuel R. Navy

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REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

TOWN HALL

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1972

Mr Hansen
Townhall

AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PRESIDENT IS CHARGED BY THE CONSTITUTION

TO PROTECT AND DEFEND THE NATION,

"Provide for the Common Defense"

EVERY PRESIDENT HAS REALIZED THIS FUNDAMENTAL

Responsibility
~~PRIORITY~~

AND EVERY PRESIDENT HAS SOUGHT TO MARSHAL THE

STRENGTH ~~IN HIS OWN~~ THAT HE BELIEVED WAS NECESSARY

TO SAFEGUARD THE NATION.

TODAY, AMERICANS ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT NATIONAL

DEBATE AS TO WHAT BEST CONSTITUTES AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE

POSTURE FOR THE 1970'S,

AMERICANS RIGHTLY ASK:

HOW MUCH OF OUR NATIONAL WEALTH MUST WE SPEND

FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES?

THIS BASIC QUESTION IS AN APPROPRIATE ISSUE IN A

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PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, INDEED, IT IS AN ESSENTIAL QUESTION TO BE FULLY DISCUSSED IF THE ELECTION IS TO BE TRULY MEANINGFUL.

THE VOTERS OF CALIFORNIA HAVE A RIGHT TO KNOW THE VIEWS OF THE CANDIDATES ON DEFENSE AND RELATED ISSUES,

THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL DEFENSE IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE SENATOR McGOVERN HAS PROPOSED THAT IF HE WERE ELECTED PRESIDENT, HE WOULD REDUCE THE DEFENSE BUDGET BY 1975 BY \$32.4 BILLION--A CUT OF APPROXIMATELY 43 PERCENT.

I BELIEVE A PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF MY OWN VIEWS IS ESSENTIAL, AND I SHALL STATE MY POSITION FIRMLY AND WITH DIRECTNESS FOR THERE IS NO MORE VITAL ISSUE BEFORE US TODAY.

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I LOOK UPON SENATOR McGOVERN'S PROPOSAL AS A UNILATERAL PROGRAM FOR MILITARY REDUCTIONS, I CANNOT AGREE WITH IT. I CONSIDER IT DANGEROUS TO OUR NATIONAL SELF-INTEREST.

MY PUBLIC CAREER HAS BEEN DEDICATED TO PEACE AND DISARMAMENT.

--I WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE LEGISLATION WHICH CREATED THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY IN 1955.

--I WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARMS CONTROL OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE FROM 1955 TO 1958.

--I WAS THE AUTHOR OF THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963.

--I WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN THE PLANNING AND

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY
OF 1968.

--AND AS VICE PRESIDENT, I PLAYED A LEADING
ROLE IN THE CREATION OF A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN LATIN
AMERICA.

THESE ARE SOME OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE
NAME OF PEACE FOR WHICH I AM VERY PROUD.

BUT I BELIEVE THAT DISARMAMENT CAN ONLY LEAD
TO PEACE IF IT IS THE RESULT OF MUTUAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN
NATIONS, OTHERWISE, IT CAN LEAD ~~TO~~ TO DISASTER.

SENATOR McGOVERN'S PROPOSALS ARE UNRELATED TO
THE REALITIES OF SOVIET POWER, INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES.
AS SUCH, THEY ARE DANGEROUS TO THE BEST INTERESTS OF OUR

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Industrial-military complex

NATIONAL SECURITY.

TO SAVE \$32 BILLION SOUNDS VERY APPEALING, BUT
I WANT TO ASK: AT WHAT COST?

--SENATOR McGOVERN'S PROGRAM WOULD UNILATERALLY
HALT THE FURTHER PRODUCTION OF SUCH IMPORTANT WEAPONS AS
THE MINUTEMAN III AND THE POSEIDON MISSILE. / THE POSEIDON
MISSILE IS OUR MOST INVULNERABLE AND DEPENDABLE
DEFENSIVE WEAPON.

--SENATOR McGOVERN ALSO PROPOSES THE PHASE OUT OF
ANYWHERE FROM 30 TO 60 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN STRATEGIC
BOMBER FORCE, PLACING THE ENTIRE BURDEN OF OUR STRATEGIC
DETERRENT ON NUCLEAR SUBMARINES.

--HE PROPOSES REDUCING OUR CARRIER FORCE FROM
15 TO 6 BY 1975. THIS INVOLVES A MASSIVE MOTHBALLING

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PROGRAM OF 9 CARRIERS AND WOULD LEAVE US WITH ONLY 6
CARRIERS FOR THE ENTIRE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC. / DURING
THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, PRESIDENT KENNEDY DEPLOYED
7 CARRIERS IN THE ATLANTIC ALONE. / THE McGOVERN 6 CARRIER
FORCE WOULD ASSIGN ONLY ONE CARRIER TO THE MEDITERRANEAN
THUS SEVERELY REDUCING OUR PRESENCE THERE, TO THE
DETTRIMENT OF OUR ALLIES, ^{+friends} SUCH AS ISRAEL. / DURING THE
JORDANIAN CRISIS OF 1970, WE STATIONED 3 CARRIERS IN
THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

--SENATOR McGOVERN'S DEFENSE CUTBACKS WOULD ALSO
REDUCE THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN NAVAL AIR SQUADRONS BY
ABOUT 80 PERCENT, REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF CRUISERS,

--JANE'S FIGHTING SHIPS, THE INFORMATION BIBLE OF NAVAL WEAPONS SYSTEMS, CALLS THE SOVIET NAVY "THE SUPER NAVY OF A SUPERPOWER."

--THE SOVIET UNION IS BUILDING 7 OR MORE NUCLEAR ATTACK SUBMARINES PER YEAR. THAT MEANS TORPEDO SUBS--NOT MISSILE SUBS. THEY ARE ALSO BUILDING 7 OR MORE NUCLEAR BALLISTIC SUBS PER YEAR. THE UNITED STATES IS BUILDING 5 OR 6 NUCLEAR ATTACK SUBS AND NO MISSILE SUBMARINES. SOME OF THE SOVIET ATTACK SUBMARINES, HAVE CRUISE MISSILES FOR ATTACKING SURFACE SHIPS. WE DO NOT HAVE A COMPARABLE SYSTEM DEPLOYED.

--SOVIET SURFACE SHIPS ALSO HAVE SURFACE TO SURFACE MISSILES. WE DO NOT HAVE SUCH SHIPS. THE SOVIET UNION HAS 5 GUIDED MISSILE CRUISERS EQUIPPED WITH SURFACE TO SURFACE MISSILES--WE DO NOT HAVE A COMPARABLE SYSTEM.

--IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, THE SOVIET UNION HAS 290 ATTACK
SUBMARINES, 50 TO 60 BALLISTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES HALF OF WHICH
ARE NUCLEAR. THE UNITED STATES HAS 92 ATTACK SUBMARINES AND
41 BALLASTIC MISSILE SUBMARINES.

--SINCE 1968, THE U.S. COMMAND HAS BEEN CUT BACK 25 PERCENT
IN SHIPS AND 19 PERCENT IN MEN.

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FRIGATES AND DESTROYERS BY MORE THAN 40 PERCENT, AND

HALT ALL NAVAL SURFACE SHIPBUILDING, HE SAYS THAT "NO

FURTHER CONSTRUCTION IS REQUIRED". (HE WOULD ALSO REDUCE

THE NUMBER OF SUBMARINES BY 11, AND CUT THE RATE OF

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW SUBMARINES, AFTER 1975, IN HALF.

(To save navy-)

I AM AFRAID ~~THAT~~ THAT SENATOR McGOVERN IS NOT CHOOSING

BETWEEN A ONE OR TWO OCEAN NAVY. HIS PROGRAM WOULD ~~BE~~

PROVIDE THIS NATION WITH A GREAT LAKES NAVY.

--SENATOR McGOVERN PROPOSES CUTTING OUR ACTIVE
ARMED FORCES DOWN TO A TOTAL OF 1,735,000 MEN. THIS IS
THE LOWEST NUMBER OF AMERICANS UNDER ARMS SINCE 1950.

L
IT IS 66,000 MEN BELOW THE LEVEL IN THE ARMED FORCES SIX
MONTHS BEFORE PEARL HARBOR.

--WITH THESE PERSONNEL CUTBACKS, SENATOR McGOVERN

SAYS THAT THERE WOULD BE "CORRESPONDING CUTBACKS IN BASE
AND INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT..." THIS WOULD IMPLY A CLOSING OF
ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THE ARMY BASES TO MATCH THE MASSIVE
CUTBACKS.

--THE MCGOVERN DEFENSE BUDGET WOULD CAUSE ABOUT
A 30 PERCENT CUT IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT DOLLARS ~~FROM~~
~~AN EXPECTED \$8 BILLION LEVEL THIS YEAR, TO \$5.5 BILLION.~~

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FUNDS ARE CUT SO SEVERELY THAT
WE WOULD BE MODERNIZING OUR ARMED FORCES AT A RATE OF ONE
THIRD THE LEVEL WE SUSTAINED IN THE DECADE BEFORE VIETNAM.

I BELIEVE THE MCGOVERN APPROACH IN THIS AREA, IS A
THROWBACK TO THE DAYS BEFORE KOREA--OR EVEN TO THE 1930's.

--AND FINALLY, THE MCGOVERN BUDGET DRASTICALLY

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REDUCES THE OPERATING FUNDS OF OUR ARMED FORCES TO THE DAYS OF THE LATE 1950'S, WHEN TRAINING AND READINESS WERE POOR AND THE STOCKS OF AMMUNITION AND SUPPLIES WERE LOW.

THE DEFENSE BUDGET WHICH HE PROPOSES, ALLOWS ONLY \$200

MILLION FOR THE OVERHAUL OF SHIPS; PLANES AND WEAPONS;

MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND SERVICES; SPARE PARTS; TRANSPORTATION;

FUEL FOR SHIPS AND PLANES AND OTHER OPERATING COSTS; THESE

COSTS RUN NOW AT \$10 BILLION PER YEAR. EITHER THE SENATOR

HAS MADE A GRIEVOUS ERROR IN HIS 98 PERCENT CUT IN OPERATING

FUNDS, OR HE PLANS TO HAVE A COMPLETELY INOPERABLE ARMY,

NAVY AND AIR FORCE.

I STATED EARLIER, THAT SENATOR McGOVERN'S

PROPOSALS WERE UNRELATED TO THE REALITIES OF SOVIET POWER

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AND CAPABILITIES, THE ENORMOUS IRRESPONSIBILITY OF THESE PROPOSALS COMES INTO SHARP FOCUS WHEN WE UNDERSTAND THAT WITHOUT A CLEAR AND PRECISE MUTUAL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THE McGOVERN PROPOSALS WOULD BE WEAKENING OUR DEFENSES, WHILE THE SOVIET UNION INTENSIFIES ITS MILITARY AND NAVAL MODERNIZATION AND EXPANSION.

--WE KNOW NOW THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE CONSTRUCTED NEARLY 100 NEW ICBM SILOS -- SOME OF WHICH ARE VERY LARGE, INDICATING INCREASED PAYLOADS CAPABLE OF THREATENING OUR LAND BASED ICBM'S.

--THE SOVIETS HAVE DEVELOPED AN IMPROVED AND LONGER RANGE MISSILE TO BE LAUNCHED FROM A NUCLEAR SUBMARINE.

--DEPLOYMENT OF A NEW SWING-WING BOMBER ABOUT

HAVE BEEN STRIVING FOR DURING MY PUBLIC LIFE, AND SHOULD PRESIDENT NIXON SIGN A TRULY FAR-REACHING AND EFFECTIVE AGREEMENT, I WOULD ENTHUSIASTICALLY JOIN ALL AMERICANS IN COMMENDING HIM, FREE FROM ANY PARTISAN CONSIDERATIONS.

BUT I ASK YOU, COULD ANY SUCH AGREEMENT, OR CAN ANY FUTURE AGREEMENTS BE REALISTICALLY ARRIVED AT, IF PRIOR TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, WE UNILATERALLY REDUCED OUR STRENGTH AND OUR FORCES?

~~IF I CAN SUGGEST AN ANALOGY,
SENATOR McGOVERN'S THOROUGH AND ALMOST COMPLETE
CESSATION OF ALL OF OUR STRATEGIC WEAPONS PROGRAMS IS
ABOUT AS LIKELY TO PRODUCE MUTUAL ARMS REDUCTIONS AS
DEPLETING YOUR STRIKE FUND IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE CONCESSIONS
BY MANAGEMENT IN LABOR NEGOTIATIONS.~~

ALL OF US RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS ~~WASTE~~ WASTE IN THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT. WE ALL WANT TO ELIMINATE THIS WASTE. MY VOTING RECORD IN THE SENATE IS PROOF OF MY OWN DETERMINATION TO ELIMINATE WASTE IN THE MILITARY, WHEREVER IT IS FOUND.

WE MUST GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE ELIMINATION OF MANY WASTEFUL AMERICAN BASES OVERSEAS.

WE MUST EXAMINE OUR TOP-HEAVY COMMAND STRUCTURE WHICH IS LOADED WITH TOO MANY ADMIRALS AND GENERALS. WE MUST PREVENT OUR DIVISIONS FROM BEING PADDED WITH TOO MANY NON-COMBAT TROOPS. WE MUST DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM TO REVIEW THE NEED FOR A WEAPON SYSTEM BEFORE - NOT AFTER - IT HAS BEEN PRODUCED. AND I BELIEVE THAT THE PENTAGON MUST REVAMP ITS PROCUREMENT SYSTEM TO AVOID THE

TREMENDOUS WASTE INVOLVED WITH COST OVER-RUNS.

BUT LET US NOT, IN THE INTEREST, OR UNDER THE
 GUISE OF ELIMINATING WASTE, SHARPLY CURTAIL THE STRENGTH
 AND FIBER OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE POSTURE.

and, [#] ANY REALISTIC EVALUATION OF OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE

REQUIREMENTS, MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE ROLE OF THE
 DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IN OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE
 ECONOMY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

But we should ~~we should~~ NEVER URGE EXPENDITURES FOR DEFENSE SOLELY

IN THE INTERESTS OF CREATING EMPLOYMENT. *before I*

reducing ~~we would~~ DEFENSE SPENDING, *we* WOULD SEE TO IT THAT THERE

are ~~are~~ EFFECTIVE, ON-GOING PROGRAMS FOR THOSE MEN AND WOMEN

AND THOSE COMMUNITIES HARD HIT BY SPENDING CUTBACKS.

 NOT ONLY ARE SENATOR McGOVERN'S PROPOSALS A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION, BUT THEY ARE, INDEED, A DIRECT THREAT TO THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF WORKING FAMILIES AND THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

--NEARLY 20 PERCENT OF ALL DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PRIME CONTRACTS COME TO CALIFORNIA -- THAT'S ABOUT \$5.2 BILLION A YEAR.

--IN THE AREA OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, 28 PERCENT OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S MONEY COMES TO CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATIONAL, NON-PROFIT AND BUSINESS COMMUNITIES.

--AND NEARLY 500,000 CALIFORNIANS WORK ON

MILITARY BASES OR IN DEFENSE RELATED JOBS,

THE JOBS OF THESE PEOPLE AND THE BASIC ECONOMIC
HEALTH OF THIS STATE DESERVE TO BE CONSIDERED IN ANY
PROPOSAL FOR REDUCED DEFENSE SPENDING.

I DO NOT FIND SUCH CONSIDERATION IN SENATOR

McGOVERN'S PROPOSED 40 PERCENT REDUCTION IN THE DEFENSE
BUDGET,

*unemploy comp. - so not enough. -
Inventions needed, Red in other Areas
House*

~~--THE JOBS OF THOUSANDS OF CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES WORKING ON
CALIFORNIA BASES COULD BE LOST WHEN UP TO A QUARTER OF THEM
MAY BE FORCED TO CLOSE BECAUSE OF THE MCGOVERN CUTBACKS,
AND THE COMMUNITIES AND THE BUSINESSES DEPENDENT ON THESE
BASES WILL BE IN DANGER OF ECONOMIC DECLINE.~~

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--THE CIVILIAN AND MILITARY SHIPYARDS IN CALIFORNIA
WILL BE SEVERELY INJURED BY THE MCGOVERN NAVAL CUTBACKS,

--THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT GOING ON
AT CALIFORNIA'S EDUCATIONAL INSTIUTIONS WILL BE ENDANGERED
BY A 50 PERCENT REDUCTION IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
DOLLARS COMING INTO THIS STATE UNDER THE MCGOVERN BUDGET,

~~--AND CALIFORNIA'S ALREADY DEPRESSED ~~INDUSTRY AND~~~~

Aerospace
~~AEROSPACE INDUSTRY WOULD BE IRREPARIBLY HARMED AS A
RESULT OF THE MASSIVE MCGOVERN SPENDING CUTBACKS, THE
FAMILIES AND COMMUNITIES SO DEPENDENT ON THE CONTINUED
VITALITY OF THIS INDUSTRY WOULD RECEIVE A SEVERE BLOW
IF THESE CUTBACKS CAME INTO EFFECT,~~

~~IF THE MCGOVERN DEFENSE BUDGET BECAME THE BUDGET FOR~~

~~THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, IDLE FACTORIES, INCREASING~~

UNEMPLOYMENT, DYING COMMUNITIES, CONTINUED RECESSION AND THWARTED OPPORTUNITIES WOULD ABOUND.

I WILL NOT GO DOWN SUCH A PATH IN THE NAME OF *Politics or*

ECONOMY, ~~AND~~ AND SENATOR MCGOVERN'S RECONVERSION PROGRAM, AS AN ANSWER TO SOFTENING THE IMPACT OF HIS MASSIVE CUTBACKS, FALLS WAY SHORT OF AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC CHAOS AND DISLOCATION HIS PROGRAMS WOULD GENERATE.

THE MCGOVERN RECONVERSION BILL:

--DOES NOT SUPPLY SUFFICIENT INCENTIVES FOR INDUSTRY TO DIVERSIFY,

--TOTALLY NEGLECTS THE NON-AEROSPACE WORKERS WHO NEED ASSISTANCE,

--PROVIDES FUNDS WHICH ARE A DROP IN THE BUCKET

~~COMPARED TO THE DRASTIC CUTBACKS HE PROPOSES.~~

~~AND MOST IMPORTANT, HIS PLAN WOULD TAKE YEARS TO~~

~~IMPLEMENT.~~

✓ Our strength is in our people
united.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE ESSENTIAL DRIVING FORCE IN

THE DESIRE TO REDUCE DEFENSE SPENDING LIES IN THE NEED

TO ELIMINATE THE POVERTY AND HUMAN SUFFERING WHICH STILL

EXIST IN AMERICA.

many unmet needs

I HAVE SPENT A LIFETIME FIGHTING TO IMPROVE THE

QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL AMERICANS.

I WANT TO END HUNGER.

I WANT TO PROVIDE GOOD HOUSING AND ADEQUATE HEALTH

CARE FOR ALL AMERICANS. I WANT TO REBUILD OUR CITIES

AND PROVIDE ALL OF OUR CHILDREN WITH A GOOD EDUCATION.

AND I WANT TO SEE THIS NATION WITH PEOPLE AT WORK--

NOT ON WELFARE.

Housing

- Natl. Domestic
Development Bank

RVD
Transit
Pollution Control

- Job opportunities

How
Such
Program

child care
Higher
educ

AND WE CAN HAVE THESE THINGS AND MORE WITHOUT
JEOPARDIZING THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION,
THE DEFENSE BUDGET CAN BE REDUCED AND THE JOBS
OF CALIFORNIANS PROTECTED IF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS ARE
MUTUALLY AGREED TO AND ADEQUATE JOB REPLACEMENT PROGRAMS
IN AND OUTSIDE THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY ARE DEVELOPED.

THE CHOICE IS NOT BETWEEN MAINTAINING OUR PRESENTLY
HIGH LEVEL OF DEFENSE SPENDING OR EMBARKING ON A PROGRAM
OF IRRESPONSIBLE AND DRASTIC CUTBACKS AS SENATOR MCGOVERN
WOULD HAVE US DO.

THERE IS A MIDDLE GROUND OF RESPONSIBILITY WITH
SECURITY, THAT IS A COURSE ANYONE WHO SEEKS THE PRESIDENCY
MUST FOLLOW.

THAT IS THE COURSE TO WHICH I AM COMMITTED.



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