

Shadlegg -
proposed for L.A.

(Acknowledgements)

My friends, this nation, this society of free men, stands in deadly peril. Powerful enemies are dedicated to the total destruction of our way of life. Some of these forces arrayed against us possess ICBM's and nuclear warheads. They threaten physical annihilation. At this moment, we can find comfort in the knowledge that the United States possesses an overwhelming military superiority and we must recognize that it has been this military power which has so far prevented our enemies from launching a frontal attack.

There are less obvious but no less deadly methods available to our enemies.

By propaganda and subversion they are working to destroy our will to resist their aggression.

At this moment America is the richest nation in the world. Our enemies hope to undermine the economic security of this nation by persuading us to adopt and accept policies which lead to self destruction.

The true strength of America has always been its dedication to the cause of freedom and here we find our enemies successfully persuading us to adopt many of their own collectivist methods and concepts.

Since the end of World War II we have, to our shame, indulged ourselves in the childish, destructive game of "let's pretend".

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Insert - Long Beach

ONE NECESSITY IS TO MAINTAIN OUR ARMED
SUPERIORITY OVER COMMUNISM. WE HAVE
SUCH SUPERIORITY TODAY, THANKS TO
PROGRAMS WHICH WERE INSTITUTED UNDER
DWIGHT EISENHOWER.

THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT INTRODUCED A
SINGLE NEW MAJOR STRATEGIC WEAPON
SYSTEM. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER HIMSELF
HAS CONFIRMED THIS CHARGE IN A RECENT
STATEMENT.

FURTHERMORE, THIS ADMINISTRATION IS
PURSUING A DEFENSE POLICY WHICH WILL,
IN EFFECT, PLACE ALL OF OUR EGGS IN
THE INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE
BASKET.

I SAY THAT THIS IS A DANGEROUS COURSE.

OUR MOST OUTSTANDING MILITARY
LEADERS SAY THAT THIS IS A DANGEROUS
COURSE.

THERE ARE TWO OBVIOUS REASONS. GENERAL
CURTIS LEMAY, OUR RESPECTED AIR FORCE
CHIEF OF STAFF, HAS STATED ONE OF THE
REASONS IN TESTIMONY JUST RELEASED
THIS WEEK. HE SAYS THAT COMPLETE
RELIANCE ON MISSILE WEAPONRY IN THE
FUTURE WILL PUT THE U.S. "IN A MUSCLEBOUND
POSITION." HE SAYS THAT "YOU ARE
ENDANGERING THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY
BY DEPENDING ON THIS WEAPONS SYSTEM
ALONE BECAUSE YOU HAVE NO FLEXIBILITY."

NOW, WHEN IT COMES TO WEAPONS AND THE DEFENSE OF THIS NATION, I WOULD FAR RATHER TRUST THE EXPERIENCED JUDGEMENT OF A CURTIS LEMAY THAN THE POLITICAL DECISIONS AND COMPUTER EXERCISES OF A ROBERT MCNAMARA.

BUT LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT MCNAMARA IS SAYING, IN THE SAME TESTIMONY.

HE REPEATS HIS PERSONAL ATTACKS AGAINST ME. HE OFFERS NO NEW FACTS. HE JUST OFFERS REPEATED INSULTS. AND WHY? BECAUSE I HAVE QUESTIONED THE RELIABILITY OF INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES AS PART OF MY PLEA FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF A PROVEN AND FLEXIBLE U.S. DEFENSE FORCE.

MR. MCNAMARA KNOWS, AND I KNOW, AND THE
SOVIET UNION KNOWS THAT THE ULTIMATE
RELIABILITY OF OUR ICBM'S IS BASED
UPON THEORY, NOT UPON PRACTICE, AND
NOT UPON TESTING.

YET, IT IS UPON THESE WEAPONS SYSTEMS THAT
THIS ADMINISTRATION IS WILLING TO
STAKE THE LIFE OF THIS NATION.

I SAY THAT DRAWING-BOARD RELIABILITY IS NOT
ENOUGH UPON WHICH TO STAKE THE LIFE
OF THIS NATION AND THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM!

AND I AM NOT ALONE. NOR WILL ALL OF THE
PERSONAL ATTACKS THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION
CAN LAUNCH DISPROVE ONE WORD OF WHAT
I HAVE SAID OR ADD ONE BIT TO THE
DEFENSE OF THIS NATION.

GENERAL LEMAY HAS TESTIFIED THAT HE IS NOT
AS "OPTIMISTIC" AS MCNAMARA ABOUT THE
MISSILE PICTURE.

GENERAL HOWELL ESTES, OF THE AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND, HAS STATED PUBLICLY AND RECENTLY THAT "PROGRESS IN SYSTEM RELIABILITY, THOUGH NOTABLE IN MANY INSTANCES, HAS SIMPLY NOT BEEN ADEQUATE OVERALL."

GENERAL THOMAS POWER, OF THE STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND, HAS STATED THAT ONLY BY A MIX OF MANNED AND UNMANNED VEHICLES CAN HE "GET A RELIABILITY FACTOR THAT IS ACCEPTABLE."

THE NAVY HAS EXPRESSED THE SAME CONCERN. ADMIRAL GEORGE ANDERSON, JUST RETIRED AS CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS, HAS STATED FLATLY THAT "I DO NOT HAVE THE SAME CONFIDENCE IN ANY OF OUR MISSILE SYSTEMS AS DO SOME OF THE TECHNICIANS WHO ATTEST TO THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MISSILES."

JUST LAST YEAR, SECRETARY MCNAMRA HIMSELF HAD TO ADMIT BEFORE THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE THAT " NONE OF THE WEAPONS SYSTEMS HAVE PASSED THROUGH THAT WHAT I CALL A RELIABILITY TESTING PROGRAM AS YET. THEY HAVEN'T PASSED THROUGH IT BECAUSE OF LACK OF TIME."

HE WAS REFERRING TO OUR MISSILE SYSTEMS!

AND I ASK HIM THIS TONIGHT: WHEN WILL WE HAVE TIME FOR A MEANINGFUL

RELIABILITY TESTING PROGRAM, NOT JUST A COMPUTER PROGRAM, NOT JUST A DRAWING-BOARD PROGRAM, BUT A REAL PROGRAM OF REAL TESTING?

UNDER THE TEST BAN TREATY, AS THIS ADMINISTRATION KNOWS FULL WELL, NOT ONE OF OUR STRATEGIC MISSILES CAN BE TESTED AS A COMPLETE UNIT INCLUDING THE WARHEAD. THEY KNOW FULL WELL THAT THE MISSILES CANNOT BE TESTED UNDER ACTUAL COMBAT CONDITIONS, INCLUDING THE VERY CONDITIONS FOR WHICH THE MISSILES ARE MAINTAINED -- RETALIATION AFTER AN ENEMY NUCLEAR ATTACK. THE TEST BAN TREATY PROHIBITS SUCH TESTS.

IT WAS FOR SUCH REASONS THAT I AND OTHERS IN THE SENATE VOTED AGAINST THE TEST BAN TREATY. IT IS FOR SUCH REASONS THAT I REMAIN SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE RELIABILTIY OF OUR ICBM'S AND, JUST AS IMPORTANTLY, ABOUT THE NECESSITY OF MAINTAINING A BALANCED, FLEXIBLE AND MODERN DEFENSE FORCE.

UNLESS THE DEFENSE POLICIES OF THIS
ADMINISTRATION ARE CHANGED, WE WILL
MOVE INTO THE 1970 S WITH A DEFENSE
POSTURE WHICH THE CHIEF OF STAFF OF
THE AIR FORCE RIGHTFULLY CALLS
"MUSCLEBOUND."

WE WILL FACE A DETERRENT GAP THROUGH WHICH
THE FULL FORCE OF ADVANCED SOVIET
WEAPONS MAY BE FELT.

WE WILL FACE THE TERRIBLE DAY WHEN OUR
ABILITY TO DETER WAR BY THE PREPONDERANCE
OF OUR POWER WILL BE NOTHING BUT A
PAPER WALL.

I SAY THAT IT SHOULD BE A PRIME RESPONSIBILITY
OF A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
TO INCREASE OUR POWER SO LONG AS WE
ARE THREATENED.

I CHARGE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION, INSTEAD,
IS LETTING OUR POWER LAG AND SLIDE.

I PLEDGE THAT THE IMMEDIATE AND FULL
RESTORATION OF OUR DEFENSES WOULD
BE ONE OF MY FIRST ACTS AS PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sub P-7 - ~~mid 14~~ ^{mid-14} ~~15~~
or mid 17

of 9/10/2

One necessity is to maintain our armed superiority over Communism. We have such superiority today, thanks to programs ~~which~~ which were instituted under Dwight Eisenhower.

This Administration has not introduced a single new major ~~strategic~~ strategic weapons system. & President Eisenhower himself has confirmed this charge in a recent statement.

Furthermore, this Administration is pursuing a defense policy which will, ~~in effect~~ in effect, place all of our eggs in the intercontinental ballistic missile basket.

I say that this is a dangerous course. Our most outstanding military leaders say that this is a dangerous course. ~~Only the military and the administration~~
~~policy and the administration~~

There are two obvious reasons. General Curtis LeMay, our respected Air Force Chief of Staff, has stated one of the reasons in testimony just released this week. He says that complete reliance on missile weaponry in the future will put the U.S. "in a musclebound position." He says that "you are endangering the defense of the country by depending on this weapons system alone because you have no flexibility."

Now, when it comes to weapons and the defense of this nation, I would far rather trust the experienced judgement of a Curtis LeMay than the political decisions and computer exercises of ~~Robert~~ a Robert McNamara.

But let's take a look at what McNamara is saying, in the same testimony.

He repeats his personal attacks against me. He offers no new facts. He just offers ^{substantiated} insults. And why? Because I have questioned the reliability of intercontinental ballistic missiles as part of my plea for the maintenance of a proven and flexible U.S. defense force.

Mr. McNamara knows, and I know, and the Soviet Union knows that ultimate the reliability of our ICBM's is based upon theory, not ^{upon} practice, and not ^{upon} testing.

~~And we are also certain that nothing is more important to us than the reliability of our weapons~~

Yet, it is upon these weapons systems that this Administration is ^{willing} ~~trying~~ to stake the ~~entire~~ life of this nation.

I say that drawing-board reliability is not enough ~~upon which~~ upon which to stake the life of this nation and the future of freedom!

And I am not alone. Nor will all of the personal attacks that this Administration can launch disprove one word of what I have said or add one bit to the defense of this nation.

~~If this Administration spent as much time attacking the problems of defense and the problems of Communism as it seems to spend attacking me, we might have some answers to this reliability problem rather than just throw new epithets.~~

~~As I said, I am certainly not alone in my concern over the reliability of the weapons ^{on} in which this Administration is willing to rest the fate of the nation.~~

General LeMay, ~~in~~ ^{about} has testified that he is not as "optimistic" as McNamara ~~in~~ the missile picture.

General Howell Estes, of the Air Force ~~Systems~~ Systems Command, has stated publicly and recently that "progress in system reliability, though notable in many instances, ~~is~~ has simply not been adequate overall."

General Thomas Power, ~~commander~~ of the Strategic Air Command, has stated that only by a mix of manned and unmanned vehicles can ~~be~~ ^{he} "get a reliability factor that is acceptable."

The Navy has expressed the same concern. Admiral George ~~Anderson~~ Anderson, just retired as Chief of Naval Operations, has stated flatly that "I do not have the same confidence in any of our missile systems as do some of the technicians who attest to the performance of the missiles."

~~Even Secretary McNamara repeatedly has admitted, to Congressional hearings,~~

Just last year, Secretary McNamara himself had to admit before the Senate Armed Services Committee that "None of the weapons systems have passed through that what I call ^a reliability testing program as yet. They haven't passed through it because of lack of time."

He was referring to our missile systems! And I ask him this tonight: when will we have time for a meaningful reliability testing program, not just a computer program, ~~not just~~ a drawing-board program, but a real program of real testing?

Under the test ban treaty, as ~~the~~ this Administration knows full ~~well~~ well, not one of our strategic missiles can be tested as a complete unit including ~~warhead and warhead~~ the warhead. They know full well that the missiles cannot be tested under actual combat conditions, including the very conditions for which the missiles are maintained--retaliation after an enemy nuclear attack. The test ban treaty prohibits such tests.

It was for such reasons that I and others in the Senate voted against the test ban treaty. It is for such reasons that I continue to insist that it is the duty of the President of the United States to assure ~~us~~ the fullest measure of reliability for our weapons and not just attack those

[It was for such reasons that I and others in the Senate voted against the test ban treaty. It is for such reasons that I remain seriously concerned about the reliability of our ICBM's and, just as importantly, about the necessity of maintaining a balanced, flexible and modern defense force.

[Unless the ~~present~~ defense policies of this Administration are changed, we will move into the 1970's with ~~unwillingness to~~ a defense posture which the chief of staff of the air force rightfully calls "musclebound."

[We will face a deterrent gap through which the full force of advanced Soviet weapons may be felt.

[We will face the terrible day when our ability to deter war by the preponderance of our power will be nothing but a paper wall.

[I say that it should be a prime responsibility of a President of the United States to increase our power so long as we are threatened.

[I charge that this Administration, instead, is letting our power lag and slide.

[I pledge that the immediate ^{and full} restoration of our defenses would be one of my first acts as President of the United States.

