

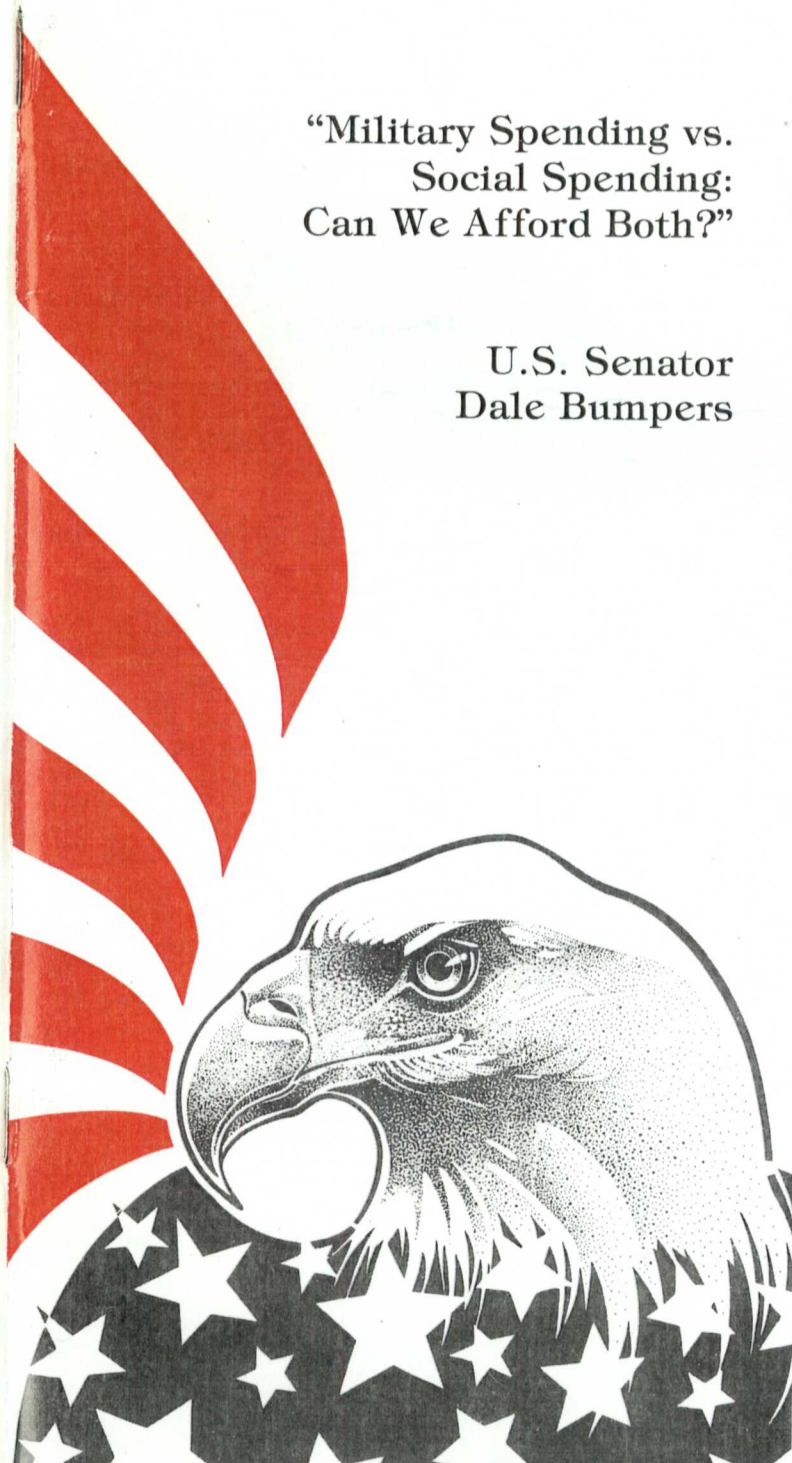
HONORARY  
JOHN C. BOLLENS  
LECTURE COMMITTEE

Jim Algie  
Arnie Berghoff  
Dr. Irving Bernstein  
Mrs. Virgene Bollens  
Ross Bollens  
Dr. Scott Bollens  
Councilman Marvin Braude  
Honorable Yvonne Brathwaite Burke  
Rich Callahan  
Dr. Winston Crouch  
Supervisor Edmund D. Edelman  
Howard Ekerling  
Robert J. Geoghegan  
Jerry Givens  
Dr. J.A.C. Grant  
Dr. LeRoy Graymer  
Dr. Ivan Hinderaker  
Dr. Werner Hirsch  
Dr. Marvin Hoffenberg  
Harry Hufford  
Richard Lawrence  
Susan E. Loewenkamp  
Ray Remy  
Dr. Ronald Rogowski  
Dr. David O. Sears  
Richard Simpson  
Rick Tuttle, City Controller  
Dr. David Wilson, Chair  
Dr. James Q. Wilson  
Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky  
Chancellor Charles Young

The John C. Bollens  
Lecture Series

“Military Spending vs.  
Social Spending:  
Can We Afford Both?”

U.S. Senator  
Dale Bumpers

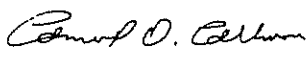


## The John C. Bollens Lecture Series




The aim of the John C. Bollens Lecture Series is to bring together the worlds of academic exploration and practical politics so that the work of those who serve the public will be illuminated by discussion of the broader principles and ideas of representative government. The previous lecturers have been Professor James Q. Wilson, Hale Champion, Dr. William Hamm and Dr. Theodore J. Lowi. John C. Bollens, the distinguished Professor of Political Science at UCLA, was born in 1920 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, earned his bachelor's degree at the College of Wooster, his master's degree at Duke University and his doctorate at the University of Wisconsin. He began his association with UCLA in 1950 and became a full professor in 1960. He established himself as a most productive and influential thinker on local government. Not only did he write 26 books, including profiles of Mayor Sam Yorty and Governor Jerry Brown, and inspire hundreds of students, but he also held important positions with Los Angeles County, Los Angeles City and the cities of Seattle and Chicago. These positions included Civil Service Commissioner of Los Angeles County, member of the Los Angeles Citizens Committee on Zoning Practice, and director of the Town Hall Study of the City of Los Angeles' Charter and Governmental organization, which led to many changes in the City's charter.

We who knew and worked with Professor Bollens as students, colleagues and friends began this lecture series as a legacy not only to the man, but to his unique brand of scholarship.

  
EDMUND D. EDELMAN  
Supervisor, Los Angeles County  
Third District

  
MARVIN BRAUDE  
Los Angeles City Councilman  
11th District

  
DAVID WILSON  
Professor, Political Science  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Chairperson, Lecture Committee

## Fifth Annual John C. Bollens Lecture

U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers

### Military Spending vs. Social Spending: Can We Afford Both?

Back in both 1983 and 1987 I toyed with the idea of running for president. As a matter of fact, I have probably not run for president more than anybody in the United States Senate.

Incidentally, I can tell you that it wasn't big news in Los Angeles when I was thinking about running for president but it was in Little Rock. They were really excited about it and when I decided not to do it I went home to tell them that I would always be the very best senator I could be, always try to reflect the highest credit on my state, and I told them the story about a campaign around the turn of the century.

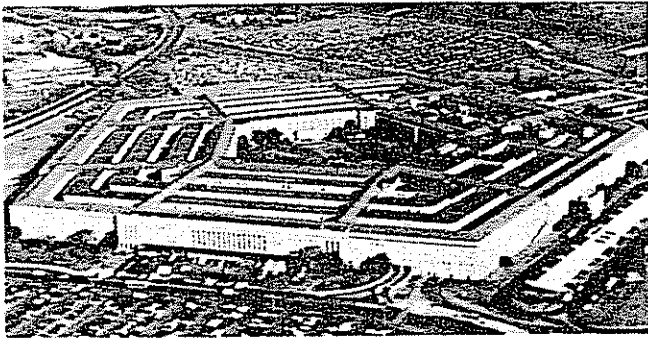
We had a sheriff's race down in south Arkansas in Calhoun County and there were three men running for sheriff. There was a big political rally one night. The first fellow got up and he had a wooden leg and he pointed to it and said, I lost that leg fighting with our beloved Robert E. Lee at the Battle of Antietam and you ought to remember that when you go vote for Sheriff of Calhoun County.

The second fellow got up and he had an empty sleeve, an arm obviously missing, and he pointed to it and he said, I lost that arm in Pickett's Charge at the Battle of Gettysburg fighting for our beloved Confederacy and you ought to remember that when you vote for Sheriff of Calhoun County.

The third fellow got up, no infirmities, healthy as a hound, and he said, in the interest of political candor I have to tell you I didn't even fight in the Civil War. However, he said, I was with Teddy Roosevelt at San Juan Hill. Teddy and I were fighting side by side. The bullets were whizzing, there was blood

everywhere, men dying, and we got within 50 yards of the top of the hill and Teddy Roosevelt pointed to it and said, John, the first man to the top of that hill is going to be the next president of the United States. And I said, Teddy, you go ahead, I just want to be Sheriff of Calhoun County.

Back in 1980, when then-candidate Reagan was going around the country saying that he intended to cut your taxes by 30 percent, double defense spending and balance the budget, a little lady, an 84-year-old Democrat, wrote me and said, what a dynamite idea. I wonder why nobody ever thought of that before. And when Reagan took power as did the Republicans in the Senate, we did something that was unique. It was called the reconciliation process and what it meant was that an arbitrary figure was determined that we ought to cut from social programs. And the figure of \$58 billion was reached so each one of the authorizing and appropriations committees went off in the corner and said, your share of this \$58 billion is \$5 billion, you decide how you're going to reach it.



*The Pentagon Building in Washington D.C., headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense. (Photo courtesy of the Department of Defense)*

And so after we got through with that agonizing process, many of us, including me, voted for a \$58 billion cut; I did so because I really did believe the deficit was an ominous threat to the future economic viability of the nation. Well, within two weeks we turned around and took that \$58 billion, put it in a wheelbarrow and toted it across the Potomac River to the Pentagon. So, in the scheme of budget deficit reduction, we were dead even. Actually, we weren't dead even because it was shortly after that that we passed this monumental tax cut and the Pentagon and their patrons, the defense industry, when they saw all this money coming across the Potomac were

beginning to believe that Ronald Reagan really meant what he said during the campaign. They decided that they could have a 600-ship navy and that they could have the B-1 bomber, which Jimmy Carter had very thoughtfully torpedoed, and the MX. They could have it all. Even old battleships forty years old would be brought out of mothballs and retrofitted. Nobody bothered to coordinate the resulting feeding frenzy with foreign policy, with our strategic arms reduction interests, or with the coordination of the services.

David Jones was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when I went to the Senate. A very intelligent man, and he had an exit interview. You know, everybody will tell you the truth in their exit interview. And he said, it is impossible to coordinate defense and do any sensible defense planning because all I do is referee inter-service rivalries. If I give the Marine Corps \$2 billion, I've got to give \$4 billion to the Navy. If I give \$4 billion to the Navy, I've got to give \$6 billion to the Army, and then the Air Force wants \$10 billion. Nobody really says they need it for any particular purpose but, if the money is going to be doled out, everybody wants his pro rata share.

Incidentally, the famous "triad" of ICBMs in silos, submarines that fire ballistic missiles, and bombers which are supposed to penetrate the Soviet Union, exists primarily because of inter-service rivalries. The Navy said, if the Army is going to man these ICBMs and their silos, we want some submarines that can fire missiles. And the Air Force said, well if they're going to have it, we want bombers that will penetrate the Soviet Union. And so it went. So, now we have these three sacred cows which really don't make much sense. Perhaps I'll come back to that in just a moment.

But, in any event, back at the ranch as revenues declined and military spending skyrocketed, the Republicans in Congress became increasingly apprehensive about what they saw coming. This was round the summer of 1982, and it looked as though the deficit was going to be over \$90 billion. So, Messrs. Laxalt, Dole, Baker and Domenici went to the White House and they said, Mr. President, this deficit is going to grow by leaps and bounds. We overdid the tax cut and in addition to that, you're asking us to cut back on social programs that even we believe in.

As you'll remember, they were suggesting that catsup be made a vegetable on the school lunch program and that Hamburger Helper be the entree.

Dan Quayle even stood on the floor and challenged me — the first debate I ever had with him — on childhood immunizations. At that time, the childhood immunization program, which is now over \$150 million a year, was budgeted at \$6 million, and I was trying to increase that by a million dollars at the request of the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta. The Republicans at that time had 54 members and we had 46, and the vote was 52 to 48 to totally torpedo an immunization program against preventable childhood diseases.



*Mothers and children line up in a public health clinic to receive free immunizations against common childhood diseases such as measles, mumps and diphtheria. (Photo courtesy of the Los Angeles County Department of Health Services.)*

So they said, Mr. President, you're killing us. We can't go on this way. And so for clinchers they said, you probably noticed that under the new tax bill, General Electric is going to make \$5 billion and get a \$780 million refund and nobody could defend that. And incidentally, Mr. President, we've got to raise taxes. The President recoiled in absolute fear and trembling and he said, you can go back over there and if you can get that done without involving me, I'll sign it.

Now to put a few things in perspective, you have to bear in mind that a whole host of things played right into Ronald Reagan's hands in 1980. One was that Jimmy Carter was perceived as being very weak; the attempted rescue of the hostages in Iran had been an abysmal failure. It looked as though we couldn't do anything right.

And Jimmy Carter had killed the B-1 bomber for the very obvious reason that the bomber couldn't get there until the war had been over for several hours. As John Culver said in the Senate room one morning

when a group of us went to the president to ask him to torpedo the B-1, "all you can do is make the rubble bounce a little higher with this airplane. It is not really going to be a penetrating bomber by the 1990s."

I might say that I voted against the B-1 bomber when Ronald Reagan resurrected it. I didn't vote against it because I didn't think the thing would fly, I thought it would at least fly. I voted against it because I knew that the Soviets would get the capability very shortly to shoot it down and, number two, I had serious questions about even the necessity of having what we call a penetrating bomber. In addition, there were a lot of social issues that were on the front burner then and people quite frankly were spitting cotton over prayer in school and abortion and busing. Ronald Reagan played on the emotional fears of all the people of this country and as I say, those issues were what elected him in that literal landslide.

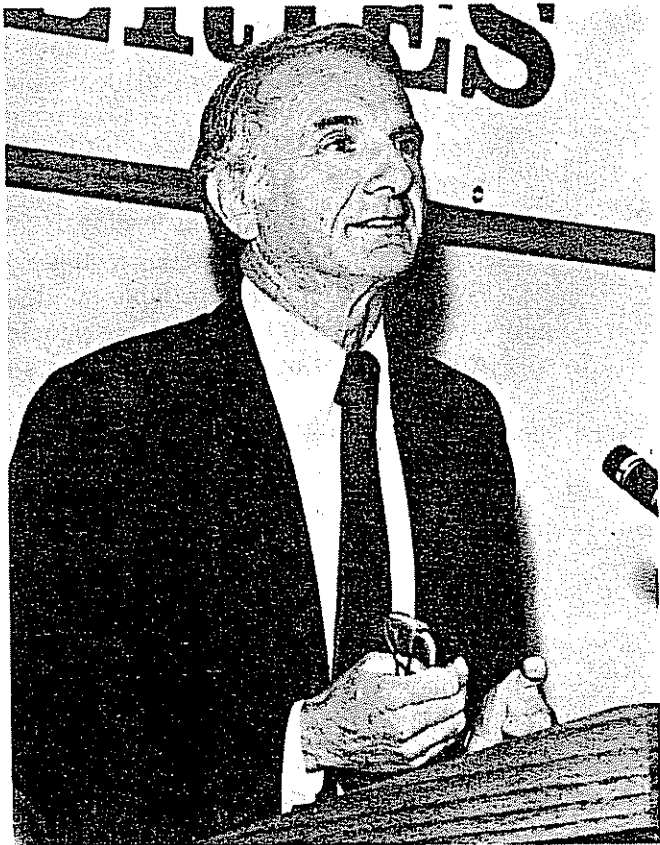
Government regulation was another thing. The business community of the country was terribly upset about what they thought was a tremendous regulatory burden, so Reagan's simple and simple-minded rhetoric really hit the spot at a time when the people were already mad. Again, it was a dynamite idea so far as they were concerned.

Well here are some figures that are important to bear in mind as I speak. In the past eight years, we have doubled the national defense budget on an annual basis and have spent a total of \$2 trillion. I might digress at this point to say that you can't have it both ways. Ronald Reagan said, "We are now so strong after spending \$2 trillion that we have forced the Soviets to the bargaining table and that's the reason we have this great INF treaty. They came out of fear." But when Gorbachev comes to the United Nations and makes one of the greatest statesman-like speeches ever made, saying we can't afford this defense mechanism we have any longer and we're going to unilaterally reduce 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks and 8,500 pieces of artillery, then George Bush and Ronald Reagan both say, "Yes, but you're still so much stronger than we are."

You cannot have it both ways, especially when you remember that the tax cuts of 1981 cost the United States Treasury \$251 billion. Those are not my figures, those are the figures that were in Ronald Reagan and George Bush's budget. And the structural deficit this year in 1989 is not going to be \$150-\$160 billion as

you hear, the structural deficit is about \$260 billion. Because if you add Social Security which is taking in about \$60-\$70 billion more than it's paying out, the airport trust funds, and the higher trust funds, take all those trust funds which are dedicated revenues, and which the government is actually just borrowing to keep us afloat, take those out and the structural deficit is actually closer to \$250 billion.

And just yesterday, Bill Hamilton, one of the most respected pollsters in Washington, released a poll saying that 66 percent of the people in this country are not concerned about the deficit. Only 20 percent think it really matters.



*Supervisor Ed Edelman making introductory remarks at the Fifth Annual John C. Bollens Memorial Lecture.*

To give you some idea of the severity of what we face, there are roughly 500 budget functions, from the landing lights at National Airport to the Drug Enforcement Agency off your coast trying to intercept drugs, to Medicare, to defense, and so on — 500 functions. Let me name seven of them for you: defense, Medicare, Social Security, Medicaid, interest on the debt which we have to pay, civil service pensions, and veterans pensions.

In 1988, if you just funded those seven programs and totally eliminated the rest of government — all 493 functions — you would still have a significant deficit.

In the last eight years, we have cut 76 percent of our housing fund and today we have a new word in our vocabulary that means something different; it's called "homeless." Our high school students are finishing last in all international competition, and a poll of 4,400 seniors in high school recently revealed there were ten — I think I can recall seven or eight of them — most admired people in America by seniors in high school. They included people like Patrick Swayze, Bill Cosby, Mike Tyson, Oprah Winfrey, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Larry Bird and Michael Jordan.

And Japan, which continues to run this tremendous trade deficit with us — and we must be grateful to them because they finance roughly 30 to 40 percent of our deficit — now owns 30 percent of downtown Los Angeles, about 25 percent of downtown Houston, and, yes, 25 percent of your nation's capital, downtown Washington, D.C.

And I don't engage in Japanese bashing. In fact, I'm grateful to them for repatriating the big deficits they incur against us by buying property here.

They said George Bush went to Japan after he was first elected to meet our new landlords. I know you've heard this story but I'll repeat it. George Bush went to sleep for three years just like Rip Van Winkle and he woke up and James Baker and Alan Greenspan were standing over him and he said, what happened? They said, Mr. President, you've been asleep for three years. He said, I can't believe it. What happened? They said, well some great things have happened. We paid off the national debt, we balanced the budget, interest rates are 2 percent, inflation is 1 percent. Bush said, my God, how much is a cup of coffee? And they said, 50 yen.

But you need not bash the Japanese, because actually England is the biggest investor in property in the United States and the Dutch are number two, and the Japanese are number three.

And still our environmental problems continue to grow, not improved any by the fact that EPA funding was recommended for cuts in seven of the eight years Ronald Reagan was president. At this very moment, EPA spending is static, at a time when we know that pesticides and herbicides are poisoning our

underground water supplies, at a time our oceans are being polluted as never before. I just returned from Brazil and Venezuela and those magnificent rivers. All sewage in South America is dumped untreated into the rivers which flow right into the oceans, and anybody that thinks we can't pollute the oceans needs only to go to Valdez.

And then there is this ozone depletion. You'll be happy to know that I started the ozone hearings in 1975 and '76 when it was simply a gleam in Sherwood Rowland's eye at the University of California at Irvine. He and his assistant, Mario Molina, came to Washington and testified and convinced me absolutely that the ozone depletion theory was correct.

Bob Packwood and I then offered an amendment in the Senate to stop the use of all chlorofluorocarbons, the thing that makes the ice in your refrigerator and the aerosol you spray your hair with, and we got 33 votes. The chemical industry beat our brains out. Now we know the ozone is disappearing at a much greater rate than even we thought and we're twelve years behind.

And then this global warming theory. That's really what I was doing in Brazil, trying to convince President Sarney that Brazil had to be very responsible about that magnificent rain forest which is 30 percent of the rain forest of the world, the greatest carbon dioxide absorber in the world. Frankly, the Brazilians have not been good stewards, but I don't know what the solution is either. Mrs. Bollens and I were talking about this this evening. They have proposed a \$100 million program taking away all tax subsidies to go into the rain forest and cut and so on, but they're only funding it at \$30 million and they're destitute.

And then there are 37 million people in America with no health care coverage, while AIDS patients in New York City have the primary health care system bogged down. The number one problem, of course, is the population explosion and all that that entails — more housing, more crime, more prisons, more unemployment, poor education, terrible transportation problems which you certainly have here in Los Angeles so I don't need to lecture you on that.

And then drugs, some good news and bad news. The Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration came over the other day and testified that drug abuse among high school seniors has declined 50 percent since 1982 — while the other

good news is that among middle and upper-middle income people and well-educated people in this country, drug use has also declined. It is becoming an economic problem, a class problem. It is continuing to accelerate among lower-income people and the less well-educated. Of course, among IV-drug abusers is the place where AIDS is still exploding. The instance of AIDS in the homosexual community in this country is actually declining while among IV-drug abusers it continues to go up.

Incidentally, I'll tell you a little interesting personal story. I went out to the National Institutes of Health about a month ago because I sit on the Appropriations Committee, and I visited with about 16 kids aged fourteen and under with AIDS. Most of them got it through blood transfusions; some got it in the womb because their mothers had it.

One little girl from Michigan named Jenny got it in a bad blood transfusion in 1979 and it didn't show up until 1987. I spent quite a bit of time with her. I couldn't believe that I held her, hugged her. I have to tell you truthfully it took a lot of nerve to do it but I felt very good about it.

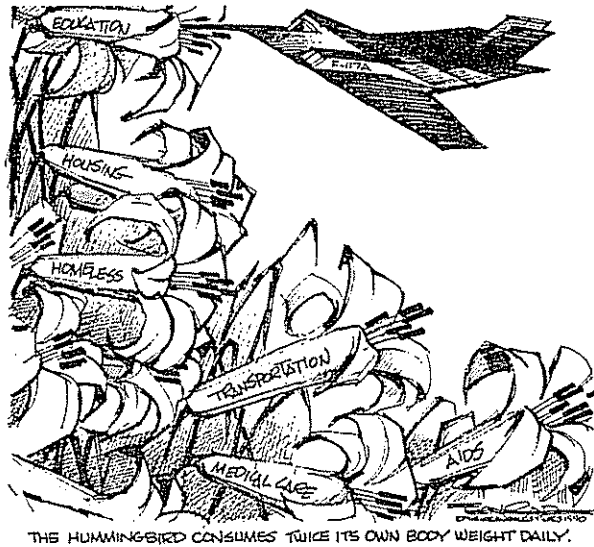
This morning Dr. Pizzo from the National Institutes of Health called me to tell me that they really have great hopes for this new drug Jenny is on, her blood count is extremely improved and that she's doing extremely well — and all we can do, of course, is just keep our fingers crossed.

Well, this population problem is the one thing that nobody talks about. When I was in first grade there were two billion people on this earth. Today there are five billion, and in the year 2020 to 2030 there will be ten billion. Actually, there probably won't be because the planet will not sustain ten billion people.

In America alone, 45 percent of the black youngsters in this country are below the poverty line and 67 percent of all the black births in this country are illegitimate, up from 24 percent in 1964. About 24 percent of all white births are illegitimate. I say those things, and there are a host of other things I could add to it to set out for you the growing, escalating needs of the social agenda in this country and how the whole thing is coalescing now to really bring tremendous pressure on the social fabric of this nation that we must address.

All the tanks and planes and guns in the world will not keep us a strong nation if we continue to

ignore our domestic needs. Walter Lippmann once said that the American people will not tolerate a high level of defense spending in peacetime. As I read that again in 1983, all I could think of was that he probably never met Ronald Reagan. But the Bill Hamilton poll I mentioned previously also showed that a vast majority of the people think that defense spending ought to be frozen. While only 20 percent thought it should be cut, very few thought it should be increased.



Copyright 1990 - Los Angeles Times - reprinted by permission.

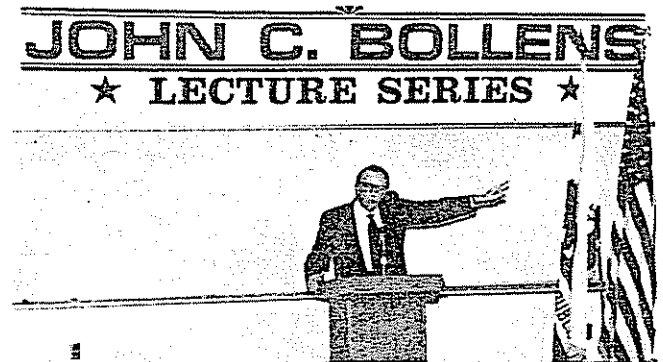
Well, one final but important statistic on this theme: the income distribution in America. In Brazil, 50 percent of the non-urban land is owned by 1 percent of the people and 45 percent of all the national wealth in that country is garnered by 1 percent of the people every year. In this country, economists separate the population into quintiles, 20 percent, top 20, next 20, bottom 20 and so on. A recent study shows that the top 20 percent of the people in this country are taking in a little over 45 percent of the national income and the bottom 20 percent are getting about 5.4 percent.

That is by far the biggest income disparity that we know anything about in the developed world. France is the only country that ranks even close. But if you take away Medicaid; student loans; food stamps; the Women, Infants and Children's food programs; and Maternal and Child Health Care — the social programs that are designed to protect the poorest of the poor — if you take those away, then the figure for the top

20 goes to 55 percent and the figure for the bottom 20 percent goes to 1 percent.

And so what's happening as the poor get poorer in this country? A host of things are happening, not the least of which is that in 1986 only 49 percent of the eligible voters of the country bothered to exercise the most precious franchise they own in the presidential race. We are the lowest voting people in the world outside of little Colombia in South America. Well Barbara Tuchman, the great historian who died a couple of months ago, a wonderful woman, wrote a book called *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam*. Some of you read it. It's a magnificent book about how man has been trying to govern himself for four thousand years, and for four thousand years he keeps shooting himself in the foot. She points out in her book there were always sane voices throughout that four thousand years who said, don't do this or do do that, and those sane voices were always drowned out.

For example, when the Greeks put the Trojan horse outside the Trojan fortress and sailed around behind the islands as though they'd gone. The Trojans opened the gate and found the horse. One lone voice warned, This is a trick. Don't let that horse in here or you'll be sorry. They said, oh, we've got to, this is a tribute to one of the gods. So they let the horse in and the rest is history.



U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers delivers the Fifth Annual John C. Bollens Lecture:

And you go right down through history. In World War I, the German submariner said, you let me start sinking American freighters and I promise you this war will be over. One German admiral said, the only way we can lose this war is to get America involved in it. Don't do it. And of course he was ignored.

And in World War II, Yamamoto, the only guy sitting around the table with Tojo and the warlords who knew anything about the United States because he had studied here, said, I can destroy the fleet at Pearl Harbor, but if you think you're going to defeat the United States, you're crazy. The others were contemptuous of American strength and our willpower and Yamamoto said, as a good soldier, I'll do what the Emperor tells me to do, but I can tell you this is folly.

Dwight Eisenhower said, "don't get bogged down in a war in Asia," and so we promptly get bogged down in the most debilitating war in the history of the country for which we will pay an enormous price for so many years. And on and on it goes.

Well, we never seem to get it just right. We never seem to get the right balance about how much is enough for defense. There is one book, at least, entitled *How Much Is Enough?* I strongly recommend it to you as it points out, we never seem to get the balance about how much to spend for defense, how many taxes we can levy on our people and still keep a viable economy, and how much should we spend to help those who must have help.

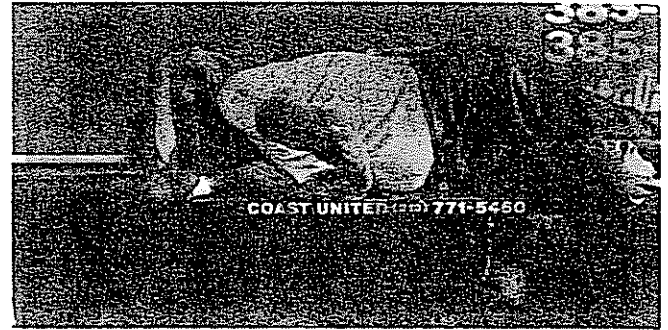
We are not all born equal except in the sight of God.

The day after Christmas my number two son who practices law in Washington called and said, Dad, go with me in the morning. And I said, where are you going? He said, I'm going out to feed the homeless. What time? Five thirty. I said, okay, I'll do that.

My daughter Brooke, who now lives in San Francisco but was home for the holidays, and I got up and we drove over there. At six o'clock we pulled into this parking lot eight blocks from the U.S. capitol. About 400 men, probably 98 percent black, were waiting in line in 28 degree temperatures to be fed.

I stood there and flipped pancakes for four hours to feed those 400 men. And on the way home, I told Brooke, I said, you know, Brooke, when each one of those men were born they were caressed by their mother, nurtured and loved, but in the scheme of things they never had a chance. You didn't see anybody there from Potomac, a suburb where homes start at a million dollars up, you didn't see anybody there from Bethesda or Chevy Chase, where your mother and I live. There's never been a period as long as this in modern times when we have

deliberately eroded the social fabric of the nation and consciously allowed the very poor to grow poorer in the name of national security.



*A homeless man dozes on a bus bench in downtown Los Angeles. The sight is an increasingly familiar one in cities across the country. (Photo courtesy of the Union Rescue Mission, Los Angeles)*

The thing that's most sickening now is we've been waiting for seventy years for the old Bolsheviks to die out, and they have, and a new remarkable man is on the scene. I must say in my lifetime I consider three people truly superior statesmen. One was Franklin Roosevelt, because I grew up poor in the South. We were taught when we died we were going to Franklin Roosevelt. And the second one was Anwar Sadat, and the third is Mikhail Gorbachev.

Here is a man who is saying exactly what the right wing in this country has been saying for years that communism is an abysmal failure economically, socially and politically. He said, we must have elections and let the people decide. We've got to get out of Afghanistan. We're going to free people to worship as they please. We're going to allow 54,000 Jews to emigrate this year and we're going to remove these 500,000 men from the services. Proposals galore almost on a daily basis and George Bush says we have it under review, we're going to study it.

Military spending was already much too high, and now a man like Gorbachev we sit across the bargaining table from, who is obviously intelligent and who is not doing these things to accommodate us. He's doing them out of necessity but he's making a virtue of it.

And we simply sit here while the world is in dynamic change. George Bush and Ronald Reagan like to say it's because of us. We are the example and other people around the world are following us. That's the reason the Chinese have done what they've done, that's the reason democracy is on the upswing in

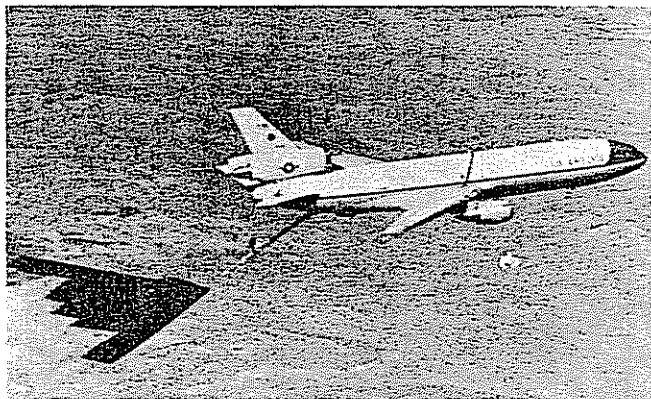


Latin American countries and the Soviet Union. We've finally gotten what we have always wanted but our mindset is so fixed we can't even respond.

And in Germany, the Germans are saying, we don't think the Soviets are a threat anymore and we don't want to modernize the Lance short-range missile on our soil. You want to make the battleground Germany, and we don't. Only Maggie Thatcher of all our NATO allies is arguing with the Germans. One linchpin of Soviet foreign policy has always been to drive a wedge between us and our NATO allies, and now we're helping them in the process.

Polls as recently as two weeks ago showed that in Maggie Thatcher's England and Helmut Kohl's Germany, Gorbachev has twice as high an approval rating as George Bush does.

So, while this ferment and change and dynamism is going on in the world and the world senses it, and they sense the opportunities, we stand in Washington debating about whether to build the MX or the Midgetman missile, or both, instead of going to the conference table.



The "Stealth" bomber is towed aloft by a conventional jet aircraft during a flight test. (Photo courtesy of the Department of Defense)

The other day James Baker testified before the Appropriations Committee on which I sit. We set the State Department's budget. I said, Mr. Secretary, would you agree with me that Gorbachev's survival is important to our future? Absolutely, he said, is that your question? I said, that's the first question. The second question is, why is it we can't respond to their pleas for stepped-up negotiations? We have 1,367 strategic nuclear launchers with multiple warheads, 47 above the limit of 1,320 allowed by the SALT II Treaty. The defense intelligence community, the CIA, everybody says the Soviets have scrupulously abided

by the treaty's limits. Why not take advantage of this golden opportunity to try to reach another accord on arms reductions?

He said, Senator, I don't think we ought to be rushing headlong toward any military and economic concessions to the Soviet Union. I said, Mr. Secretary, I never used the word headlong. Nobody's suggesting you do anything precipitously or headlong or anything else. We're big grownup people, your administration is the one that boasts about how strong we are all the time. If we are, why can't we be competent enough and strong enough to sit down and talk about it.

Japan and Germany and all the other countries of Western Europe are falling all over themselves to try to do business with the Soviet Union, and if they make it and the Soviet Union makes it, they'll be the big beneficiaries. We simply can't break out of the mold of our forty-year Cold War mindset.

President Bush seems — and I know that this occasionally sounds like partisanship — frozen with fear of the resurrection of the "wimp factor," or what Evans and Novak's wing of the party is going to say on any given morning. I can't remember in history when such an opportunity for sensible, meaningful dialogue ever presented itself.

Only the U.S., of all the developed nations, spends 6 percent of its total resources on defense. Paul Kennedy's book — Professor Wilson, I'm sure you've probably read it — *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* is pretty tough sledding, but it's very simple. He simply says that as long as the Japanese spend 1 percent of their gross national product on defense and we spend 6 percent, we're not ever going to catch them. They're going to always have a competitive lead in trade. And the real tragedy is that a case can be made that we're not stronger after spending \$2 trillion, we are weaker. And I say that because we've been trying to be strong everywhere and you remember Frederick the Great said, if you try to be strong everywhere you will almost certainly wind up being weak everywhere.

We have gone from 12 aircraft carrier battle groups to 15 though we don't know why. We have built the B-1 and now we have built the B-2. The B-1 will hardly fly. Rockwell tells us for another \$7 billion they think they can make it work after spending \$28 billion on it. And the B-2 is two years behind schedule. And apparently because of some mechanical technical

difficulties, those four battleships we brought out of mothballs are also out of commission.

You're looking at the guy who stood on the floor for hours pleading with the United States Congress, not to bring those forty-year-old rust buckets out and try to make ships out of them. Not only do they require fifteen hundred men after you've spent \$400 million on them, they have a 15-year life expectancy. The Virginia class cruiser, which has all the sophisticated rocketry, missiles, avionics and electronics that you can imagine and a 35-year life span made so much more sense.

The truth of the matter is both the B-1 and the battleships were brought out because lobbyists needed business for their clients. It was just that simple. And now we would not dare send a battleship to sea and put a man down in one of those turrets until we find out what happened on the Iowa, and we will probably never know what happened because there will be no survivors.

President Bush has shown a marked insensitivity to what our priorities in this country ought to be. In his State of the Union address after I analyzed it, he was asking for \$63 billion in new spending and saying "read my lips" at the same time. He has shown a complete unwillingness to do what is necessary to fulfill his own priorities.

As I've said, you do not have to be a rocket scientist to be president but you do have to be bold. The idea is that we will finesse taxes this year and maybe the people will have forgotten so that next year new taxes can be imposed. There is just one problem with that: you do not raise taxes at a time of recession or depression and most economists say that it's certainly going to come in 1990.

Well in all fairness, 70 percent of the members of Congress know these problems, could stand here and make the same speech I'm making if they'd be truthful with you. They understand the problem, they understand the costs, but they just aren't willing to deliver the unpleasant news to the electorate. Walter Lippmann said something else one time; that the key to political survival is not being right before it's popular. And so what politicians do is go to the coffee shop — I hate to lament my own profession but I see it so often — and they ingest what everybody is saying to each other and they go out at the next political rally and they regurgitate it for them. And



*Left to right: Professor David Wilson, Supervisor Ed Edelman, Mrs. Virgene Bollens, U.S. Senator Dale Bumpers, Councilman Marvin Braude.*

then everybody says, "Isn't he wonderful?"

Robert E. Lee, after he surrendered at Appomattox, offered his sword to Grant and got on his horse and started for Richmond, where a home had been prepared for him. The South lay absolutely leveled, but in every village that Robert E. Lee went through, crowds came out and cheered and hollered. There's probably never been a hero in the history of this country that was worshipped the way he was in the South, but he didn't want the war. He didn't want Virginia to secede, in fact, he pleaded with them not to.

One day, about the third day out, Lee came upon a battlefield where there were still rotting corpses on the field and where everything was devastated, and he turned to an aide and with the sweep of his hand he said, "The politicians caused this." At a time when this nation needed a few men to have courage and wisdom and forbearance, all we got were politicians feeding their prejudices and bigotries and hostilities until this war became inevitable.

So, the answer to the question this evening is, social vs. military spending, can we afford both? Yes, but not at the totally unsustainable military spending levels of the present — and not until politicians trust the people enough to be truthful with them. Thank you very much.

## Questions and Answers

*Senator Bumpers: His question was — I'll embellish it a little: Why is such a dynamic voice as mine not heard across the land?*

To put the question in perspective, quite often as I speak around the country people come up to me and say, why don't you Democrats say that? Well, the truth of the matter is we say it, I've been saying it for 14 years, squealing like a pig under a gate. I voted against every bit of this mess that's going on up there right now and spoke as eloquently as I knew how against it, but we just got run over like a Mack truck hit us. And the truth of the matter is only the President can co-opt three networks, hold a press conference and get the front page covers of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Arkansas Gazette* and all the other newspapers of the country. One senator, unless he is one of the lead contenders for the presidential nomination or unless he is president, his voice is simply not heard in a very meaningful way. Now I go home a lot in my state. Frankly, I vote more liberally than the people of my state would like, but I'll tell you something. People, and I'm convinced as I mentioned a moment ago trusting people, if people believe you're doing what you think is right and that you're intelligent enough to study the issues and make an informed judgment they're very forgiving. But, you know, if a politician just wants to stay in the Senate forever, you don't have to be too bright to understand how to vote. You know, you can take a poll and that's what my people think. You remember old Uncle Earl Long used to say, there go my people. I got to go lead them and see where they're going or something like that. But in any event, there's no good answer to that question. I will say this, there are a lot of very intelligent dedicated people in the United States Senate. I will not speak for the House, I'm sure it's true over there but I'm not in the House. But I can tell you there

are 55 Democrats in the Senate now and I consider 50 plus of those senators outstanding people and so I'm encouraged by that. I can tell you that on our side, and I won't speak for the Republican side, but I can tell you on our side of the aisle we have had a total change in the mix in the past eight years and it's a very healthy one. So you might take some comfort in that.

*Question: We understand that our founding fathers wrote the Constitution for greedy men rather than angels. And if that is the case and the Democrats are blamed for inflation and the Republicans are blamed for the deficit and Independents are growing beyond Democrats and Republicans, what can we Independents do to resolve the present problems?*

*Senator Bumpers:* You know, Betty Bumpers gives humility lessons at our house every evening and says that I have a tendency to be terribly self-serving so I really try to compensate for that. But I do want to say that in Atlanta last summer when Michael Dukakis said that this election is not about philosophy it's about competence, and everybody jumped up and applauded, I cringed. Competence is a wonderful word and it means a lot and it's a very desirable thing, but there's a certain elitism and a certain coldness about competence in politics. I wish he had said, "This election is not about competence, it's about values." To say that it's not about philosophy is to say it's not about what we believe. And you see, I don't think there's anything wrong with Democratic values. I think that the message is as great as it can be, the messenger just simply has not been connecting with the people and that's what happened to Michael Dukakis. I like George Bush but I have trouble with the fact that Lee Atwater is his best friend. And by the time he painted this picture of Michael Dukakis as one who liked to see hardened killers go on furlough and rape and kill again, and a guy who didn't even respect our flag, wouldn't sign a bill, how shameless that was. Incidentally, George Bush said, I would have figured out some way to sign that bill

— that's to say, no matter how unconscionable it was, I would have signed it. What the hell did it mean to him when he stood up and held up his right hand and said I'll preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States? And so, I'm just saying that people don't. The Willie Horton thing was racist. There isn't any question about what that was designed to do. By the same token, it had a double effect because it convinced the American people that Michael Dukakis didn't mind killers going free. And when it came to the Pledge of Allegiance, George Bush will tell you in his inner sanctum, as we say in Arkansas, "in the bosom of the lodge," he'd tell you that he doesn't think people ought to be forced to stand up and recite the Pledge of Allegiance. I spoke at an eastern university a couple of weeks ago, a very prestigious university, with a crowd about this big of students. And the youngster who started it off said, we will start this evening with the Pledge of Allegiance, all will please stand and recite the pledge and I'd say fully a third of the students sat on their fist. If it hadn't been for that flap, everyone of them would have stood. They were showing their independence. Now, you know, as a country boy from Arkansas I was a little bit offended by that, but I wouldn't make any one of them stand up and recite the pledge. I can just hear the 1992 campaign now, it'll be a new twist. You get goose bumps when you say the Pledge of Allegiance? You bet. How many? That's how silly that gets. So you get back to trying to answer your question. You know, incidentally, Harry Truman vetoed the McCarran Act which outlawed the Communist Party and his aide said, Mr. President, you're crazy. Congress will unanimously override your veto within 24 hours. President Truman's precise words were, I ain't signing that damn thing. And they told him, this is the worst political mistake you ever made. He said, look, this thing is patently unconstitutional. If you're going to outlaw the Communist Party, you can outlaw the Democratic Party. If you can outlaw the Democratic Party, you can outlaw the Republican Party. And besides that, the Supreme Court will unanimously throw this thing out. He vetoed it, the Congress, I think, with only 12

votes in support of the veto overrode the veto, and two years later the Supreme Court 9 - zip ruled the law unconstitutional. See, I didn't like Harry Truman when he was president. I couldn't stand his nasal twang voice and the way he plastered his hair down with vaseline and little horn-rim glasses. I didn't like the way he spoke, and I thought it was terrible when he called that music critic an SOB for criticizing Margaret's singing — I thought it was terrible until my daughter was born and then I understood it. But I just think about what a courageous man he was in later years after reading *Plain Speaking* and other biographies of Truman. I just think about what an enormous anomaly he was for his time, not a very well-educated man, but dedicated to constitutional principles. So my point is this, I believe there is a common thread that runs through all people — Republicans, Independents and Democrats alike. And I think that the messenger, if he really knows what he's talking about and really has a deep-seated visceral feel for this country and understands history — most important, don't ever vote for anyone who doesn't understand history. Poor Ronald Reagan hadn't read a book in thirty years. And don't vote for anybody who doesn't have a sense of humor because they take themselves too seriously. But there is that thread and the right person can always hit that chord.

*Senator Bumpers: That's an excellent question. His question is: Why are our youngsters not being educated in the humanities and in the political structure of this country and particularly the Constitution?*

Mortimer Adler said one time, no child ought to be allowed to graduate from high school until he's read the Gettysburg Address and understands it, the Preamble of the Constitution and understands it, the Constitution itself and understands it and de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*. Now, I would add to that things like *March of Folly*; that's too tough for high school kids but it's great reading. And perhaps

even, I just read a book recently that's on my all-time hit parade. It's called *Battle Cry for Freedom*. It's the most definitive history of the Civil War I've ever read. But I'll tell you, you're right on target, and the thing that scares me is we're beginning to put hundreds of millions and billions of dollars into science education which just further exacerbates the very problem you're talking about. And I'm standing in the Senate and screaming my lungs out saying, let's put some of this money into the humanities, let's give elementary and secondary teachers an opportunity to take crash courses in the summertime on philosophy and Constitution, read Virgil's *Aeneid*, Homer's *Ulysses*, so that they can go back home and impart some of those political thoughts to their youngsters. You know when I talk to high school kids about this Pledge of Allegiance thing, I'm reminded of the trial of Socrates. You know the Athenians had already begun to decline. The first democracy ever known but like so many democracies they couldn't stand it. The reason they couldn't stand it is because there were people disagreeing with them and, you know, that's one thing politicians can't stand, people who disagree. And so they had already begun to try people over a 25-year period for disagreeing and finally they got down to old Socrates, 70-years-old, declining years, charge him with treason and bring him in. And incidentally, that's a great book you ought to read too, I. F. Stone's *Trial of Socrates*. And they said, what is it you're trying to do? He said, I'm searching for truth. Now, I'm putting this in simple language. You search for the truth? Yes. It's what you love? Yes. You love the truth? Yes. You love Athens? Yes. What one do you love more? The very same question on the Pledge of Allegiance I mentioned a moment ago. Socrates said there's no contradiction, I love the truth and I love Athens. They weren't having any of that. See, Christ and Socrates are the two people who could have saved their lives by just mouthing the right words. Socrates, the old scholar, wasn't about to knuckle under to them and so you know the rest, he was condemned. But it wasn't just Socrates that died, it was the Athenian democracy that disappeared shortly thereafter too. So, I think in this headlong rush

to produce more scientists to compete in international competition that's all well and good, but don't forget the Constitution, not just the rights that are provided all of us under the Constitution, but the duties. I represented a guy on a divorce case one time and the judge had just socked him with a pretty good-child-support payment — which he richly deserved, incidentally — and when it was over, he said, I wonder if the judge would let me make a speech. And I said, I think he would. I said, Your Honor, my client would like to address the Court. He said, be my guest. So he stood up and proceeded to give a lecture to the judge about his rights and the judge sat very patiently listening to him. And when he finished, he said, now you told me about your rights, I'm going to tell you about your duties, and that's the one thing we're not really spreading with our children these days so it's an excellent question. I have a bill in right now for \$50 million. I don't know where in the world you get the money, you know, you've got to take it off of somebody else. I'd like to take it out of SDI. But you could take \$50 million and start these programs which the National Endowment of the Humanities has been doing on a pilot basis for almost five years, training these elementary and secondary education teachers. I don't care if they're math teachers, teach them something about literature, drama, and the humanities and the fine arts so that they can just casually pass that stuff off to the children to make a better, well-rounded, responsible, civic-minded child.

*Question: I don't want to be overly redundant in terms of what you said, but are we not our own worst enemy? In other words, if we are, in fact, polluting ourselves out of existence and everything seems to be in a deteriorative stage and crime is rampant and we have all these armaments to stave off, what can we really do about it? What can we as citizens, from a local point of view, do to get ourselves on the track so that, for instance, the ozone doesn't disappear?*

*Senator Bumpers:* The answer to that is there's

always an economic tradeoff and as long as you finance elections the way you finance them today, so that those economic interests determine whether that guy is going to be reelected or not, then you're not ever going to get it under control. Thank you all very much.

---

The Fifth Annual John C. Bollens Lecture  
was presented April 27, 1989  
at Haines Hall, UCLA.

---