

Adequate Budget Discussed in Decision Topic

Budget Emphasis On Revolutionary New Weapons

(Editor's note: This is the second in a series of eight articles discussing this year's Great Decisions topics. This week's subject deals with security in the rocket age and the proposed budget for next fiscal year.)

The administration's proposed defense budget of 39 billion dollars for the next fiscal year is the highest ever requested in peacetime. Yet a Sputnik-conscious Congress and public have raised a national debate whether or not the budget will be adequate.

The emphasis in the new budget will be on revolutionary new weapons. More money will be spent on research and development. At the same time, military manpower and conventional armaments will get less money.

Budget Message
The President's budget message describes the "areas which should now receive greater emphasis." These include "ballistic missiles, ballistic missile submarines, ballistic missile detection and defense, the further dispersal of the retaliatory forces (such as the Strategic Air Command) and the improvement of their alert status, modernization of the early warning system, outer space projects and basic research."

The budget message also argues that "rapid progress in military technology has diminished the importance of certain other areas of the military program." There will be "lessened efforts" to maintain conventional hardware.

The Air Force will get the largest share of the new budget — \$18,736,000,000. This is 2 per cent more than last year (1957-58). A major part of this sum will be spent for weapons not yet in production. One billion dollars, for example, will be spent on the B58, a supersonic bomber that is not expected to be operational for another year.

Ballistic Missiles
The Air Force will also invest heavily in its ballistic missiles, Titan and Atlas, which will not be ready this fiscal year.

The B52 present work horse of the Strategic Air Command will, meanwhile, go out of production as soon as current contracts are filled.

At the same time the Air Force will cut its operating strength from 130 to 105 wings by June 1959 and will lose 1,200 of its 22,000 airplanes and 40,000 of its 890,000 officers and men.

Present Hardware
Some experts outside the administration question whether present military hardware should be allowed to lapse before the "new" weapons become operational.

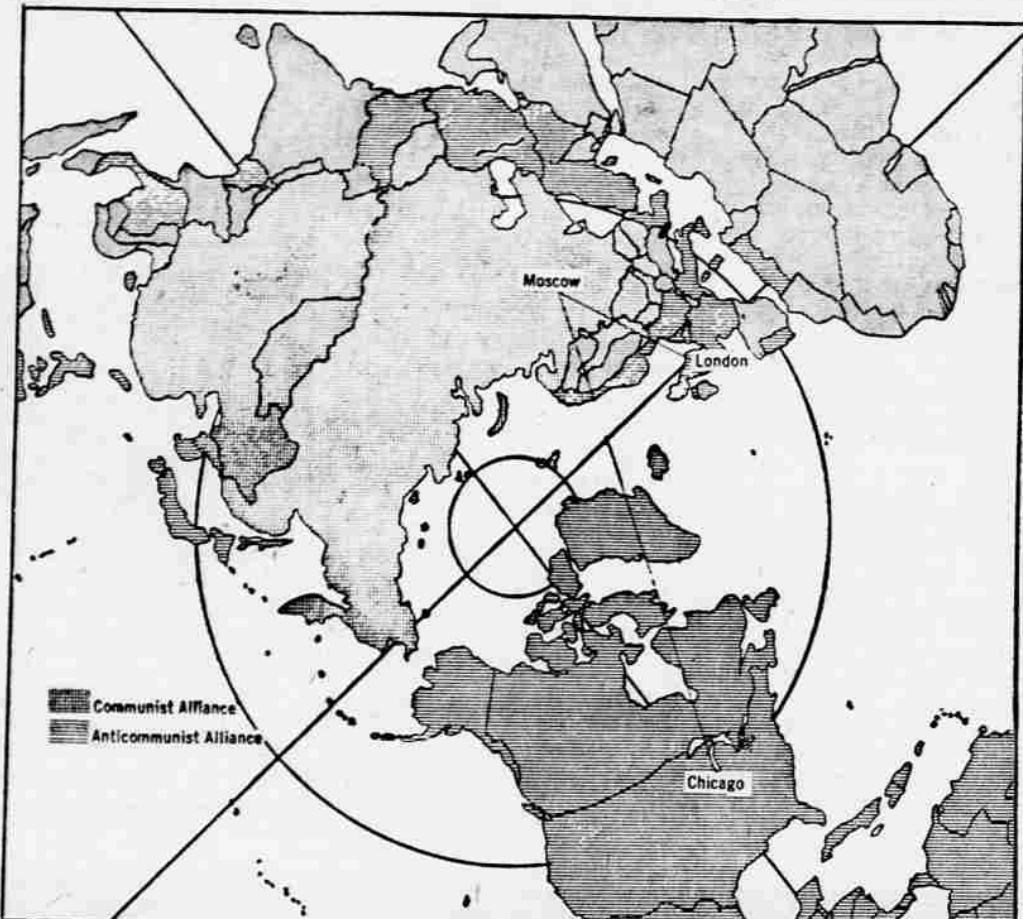
The Navy's budget is to be increased by 2½ per cent to \$10,913,000,000. This is expected to buy 11 guided missile destroyers and frigates, the first nuclear-powered guided missile frigate, a bigger nuclear-powered submarine fleet and other "new" weapons.

But the Navy will decrease the number of commissioned ships in service.

Rapid progress in the development of the Navy's solid fuel, 1,500-mile Polaris missile may produce a Navy request for nine new submarines capable of launching this missile either surfaced or submerged. This would give the Navy what Rear Adm. Hyman G. Rickover likens to "the ideal mobile platform. It could go anywhere at any time. It could remain well hidden from the enemy. It would draw the enemy's missiles and bombs away from our cities and factories and farms."

Over-All Cut
The Army is the one service to take an over all cut in its budget — down a quarter of a billion \$8,800,000,000.

The Army will lose another division (leaving 14 by the end of the fiscal year). Missiles will get 40 per cent of this service's procurement money.



Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

ROCKET AGE — This week's Great Decisions topic concerns security in the rocket age, and President Eisenhower's \$93 billion budget for the new fiscal year. The question

of whether the budget is adequate for defense purposes in an age of missiles is discussed.

Nothing in the new budget, it is being done about improving the Army's "airlift mobility." As long ago as 1956 Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, director of plans for military operations, warned that "in order to lift one 5,000 ton division, practically the whole available Air Force transport capacity would be utilized."

One contract for new Douglas transport planes (C132) was killed.

The new defense budget, its supporters claim, will build in the next few years the kind of massive nuclear defense force we need at a price the nation's economy can afford. Some critics, worried about the downgrading of conventional weapons, are not so sure. We may, they warn, be putting all our eggs in a nuclear basket, leaving ourselves helpless for anything but all-out nuclear war.

Adequate Defense
Adequate defense, in the opinion of some critics of present policies, means an adequate military force to handle any kind of war which the United States may be called on to fight.

The budget currently before Congress favors a defense establishment capable of massive nuclear retaliation. The current arsenal of conventional ground forces will receive less emphasis.

Yet, some observers point out, all the battles fought since the end of World War II — Greece, Korea, Indo-China, Suez, Algeria — have been fought with conventional, not nuclear weapons.

Rockefeller Report
The Rockefeller Brothers Fund report on national security, released Jan. 5, warned "it would be dangerous to rely too heavily on the principal deterrent . . . Though all-out war is our greatest danger, it does not represent the most likely threat."

The report calls for a flexible military establishment capable of "discrimination and versatility . . . modern sea lift and an airlift capacity we do not now possess . . . Limited wars may require . . . nuclear weapons (and) they may involve conventional forces . . . We do not now possess the necessary versatility."

Nor, in the opinion of some critics, will the proposed new budget provide that versatility.

Not Manned, Equipped
Secretary of the Army Wilber M. Brucker, testifying before a House committee on Jan. 21, complained, "we can't do the job we are committed to." The United States, he testified, is neither manned nor equipped to fight a limited war.

Russia, meanwhile, appears to be building both its conventional and its nuclear forces. "There is no good evidence," observes Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of The New York Times, "that there has been any decrease in the numerical strength of the Soviet armed forces in recent years; in fact Moscow maintains more divisions in

Eastern Europe today than two years ago."

A versatile defense establishment, equipped to fight limited wars with conventional weapons as well as massive nuclear wars, would cost more than the proposed budget, all experts agree. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund report calls for three billion to be added to the defense budget each year for the next several years.

Business Recession
In the midst of a business recession some observers feel the nation cannot afford this

kind of outlay. Others say that higher defense spending will in fact stimulate the economy. At present the national product increases by about 15 billion dollars a year, enough to absorb the higher expenditures without substantial tax increases, they argue. The Rockefeller study comments, "we can afford to survive."

The debate has not yet ended. But the American public — and its representatives in Congress — will have to make a decision soon. It may well be the most critical decision of the cold war.

Matter of Fact By Joseph Alsop

DIALOGUE AT TEMPELHOF

Berlin—The scene is the rather bleak restaurant at Tempelhof, the great airport that was like a great artery nourishing all Berlin through-out the Soviet blockade of this city. The time is shortly after the bitter foreign policy debate in the German Parliament.

Supping at one of the restaurant tables is the man who most passionately denounced Chancellor Adenauer in the Bonn debate—Gustav Heinemann, once a member of the Adenauer Cabinet and now a neutralist Socialist. In his pale face, good intentions damply, unmistakably shine from the pale, prominent blue eyes.

Heinemann's questioner, who perhaps lacks the same outer guarantee of virtue, is your correspondent. In the resulting dialogue, the most significant passage runs approximately as follows:

QUESTIONER: No doubt you have noticed, Herr Heinemann, that the Soviets keep saying they only want to negotiate "on the basis of the status quo." Obviously, the status means some kind of Communist rule in East Germany, and it is even hard to see how the status quo can be consecrated without the abandonment of West Berlin. Would you advise the Western allies to consider such conditions?

HEINEMANN (with horror): Of course not.

QUESTIONER: What do you think the Western allies should do, Herr Heinemann, if the Soviets again blockade Berlin?

HEINEMANN: Start another airlift, of course.

QUESTIONER: But the new radar jamming devices will certainly prevent all-weather landings here at Tempelhof so an airlift will not work again. What then?

HEINEMANN (after a long pause): Then you should re-

lieve Berlin with an armored column.

QUESTIONER: That was the idea of Gen. Clay. But you yourself, Herr Heinemann, are an ardent advocate of the so-called Rapacki Plan, which would have the effect of depriving the Western forces of tactical nuclear weapons while leaving such weapons in the hands of the Soviets. How can we send an armored column in these conditions?

HEINEMANN (indignantly): I have always said the Rapacki Plan must be controlled. I would not have one side give up atomic weapons unless the other side also gives them up.

QUESTIONER: Well, Herr Heinemann, we have had some experience in Korea with "controls" applied to Communist armies. No control of the Rapacki Plan could possibly be relied on, unless Western control teams had the right to open every truck and railroad car entering Poland and East Germany. Do you think the Soviets would accept that kind of control?

HEINEMANN (after another long pause): No. I do not think the Soviets would accept.

QUESTIONER: Most assuredly the President of the United States could not accept any weaker form of control after the Korean experience. Otherwise he would have to assume that the other side possessed nuclear arms while our own forces did not; and he would therefore be morally bound to withdraw the American divisions from Germany. Do you favor such a unilateral American withdrawal, leaving the Soviets of course in the East Zone?

HEINEMANN: Certainly not.

QUESTIONER: Am I mistaken then, Herr Heinemann, in supposing that you favor the Rapacki Plan?

HEINEMANN: I have only said I favor it as a basis for negotiation. Maybe it is not a good plan. Maybe as a plan it is worthless. But I think we should take it as a starting point for talks.

QUESTIONER: But in pub-

licly welcoming the Rapacki Plan and urging negotiations on this basis, without ever once hinting that the plan is worthless, are you not gravely deceiving your own people by raising all sorts of false hopes?

HEINEMANN (with triumphant accusation): Now you are speaking the language of the cold war. I believe in ending the cold war.

THROUGHOUT this curious dialogue, it should be added, Heinemann quite visibly wriggled with discomfort every time he was asked to consider any of the hard facts of Germany's tragic situation. The point about the Heinemanns of the world, in truth, is that they actively detest hard facts and positively love false hopes. They even regard not cherishing false hopes as a symptom of bad character.

But if you study the foregoing dialogue, with all its evidence of false hopes, you will also find in it reasons for real hope. On the one hand, even such a German leader as Gustav Heinemann retains a kind of vestigial sense of

political reality. He has not reached the ultimately wishful stage of favoring unilateral disarmament, for instance.

On the other hand, Gustav Heinemann is still, in Germany at least, an extreme and isolated case. In contrast, Socialist leader Ollenhauer and the vast majority of other advocates of negotiation-for-negotiation's-sake are still rather toughly realistic under their political surfaces. So here in Germany, there is no need to fear any really damaging paroxysm of wishfulness at present. The time for that will only come if the West is further demoralized by further great defeats.

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GRANTS VISA

Washington—The state Department has authorized a visa for Hungarian track star Istvan Rozzavolgyi to enter this country for the National Amateur Athletic Union's indoor meet Feb. 22. The Hungarian distance runner holds world records for the 1,000, 1,500 and 2,000 meter events.

Burright Tosses Hat in State Ring

Salem — Lawrence Larry Burright, Portland, filed late Friday for the Democratic nomination for state representative from the east Multnomah county subdistrict.

Richard Anderson, Newport, filed for the nonpartisan post of circuit judge of the 21st judicial district. Anderson is the present judge.

House Hunting?

Check the Bulletin Board Section 2 Page 11

Oregon Scout Talks To U. S. Leaders

Washington — Eagle Scout Robert A. Vetter of Silverton Saturday spoke for the entire Western Scout region at the annual Boy Scout breakfast here honoring leaders in government and industry. His topic was last year's Scout Jamboree at Valley Forge.

Vetter, 18, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Vetter of Silverton and was sponsored at the breakfast by Sen. Richard L. Neuberger, (D-Ore.).

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