

tion cost. You would also have a good deal of litigation in terms of what those costs would involve, and you would increase the costs of work being done on other ships that that yard is working on. So there are costs involved, and I am sure that information will be made available to Senator Bingaman on that.

Second, there is the issue of our looking at the \$1.6 trillion defense budget. That is important. I think you also have to place that in the context of the total 5-year budget, which is about a \$5 trillion budget. So out of that \$5 trillion, we are looking at \$1.4 trillion for defense. Historically, that does not seem out of proportion. If you go back to the Kennedy years, for example, 48 percent of the budget was spent on defense. I am less concerned with how much we spend, but rather, how we are spending it. How are we spending that money, and what are we getting for it?

I do not know of too many people who are looking at the nature of the threat which confronts us. That really ought to be the thrust. I do not think the world is a safer place than it was 20 years ago. I think it is a more dangerous place. I do not think we ought to minimize the nature of the kind of dangers that we face.

Second, with respect to what Senator Levin was getting at, I do not think it is entirely appropriate to look at the relative services—the U.S. force level versus the Soviet Union. If you go to war, we will have NATO forces fighting together with the United States as the Soviets will have the Warsaw Pact nations.

If you go to the war in the Persian Gulf, which President Carter committed us to doing in the event of an interruption of our oil supplyline, I doubt very much whether a NATO country is going to be there. They have specifically declared that their area of responsibility is not beyond the NATO confines. We may very well be there alone without the assistance of the British or certainly the Germans or the Italians or the others. I am not sure that it really helps to say that we are not including them in each specific situation.

Finally, just let me say that I think, once again, that it is a mistake to try and simply total up what we did in the past years and go forward from there. I do not know what the Budget Committee is going to do. Senator Sasser, I think, is probably correct in his assessment as to what the majority of the Budget Committee members are going to vote for.

One of the problems I tried to articulate earlier is the difficulty we are having in Congress when we don't have sufficient information to understand how DOD is doing business. There is a temptation to go back and say, we do not want to deal with the specifics. We are just going to cut it. We are going to cut it 5 percent on what the President wants and you deal with the problem, and we do not care what you do with it when you cut. Readiness, do not cut it. By the way, do not cut the submarine, that is 18 percent of the budget. We want to make cuts with a meat ax and not say how you should do it. That is brought about because people have lost confidence in what we are doing. They know there is waste out there. I know there is waste out there. I can talk about the Tomahawk cruise missile, and that is way over budget.

What is the reason? Is it mismanagement? I cannot go back and tell my constituents, the Defense Department mismanaged that