This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE SOUTH CAROLINA JAYCEES CONVENTION CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA MAY 23, 1970

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. FIRST, IT IS GOOD TO BE OUT OF WASHINGTON. OUR NATION'S CAPITAL IS AN EXCITING AND INTERESTING PLACE TO WORK, BUT IT IS GOOD TO GET AWAY TO BE WITH THOSE IN TOUCH WITH THE TIMES. IT IS GOOD TO TALK WITH THOSE WHO START OFF THE DAY BY READING SOMETHING OTHER THAN <u>THE NEW YORK TIMES</u> AND THE <u>WASHINGTON POST</u>.

WHEN I GO HOME, THE PEOPLE THERE DEMONSTRATE (PROPERLY) THAT THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT OUR COUNTRY ARE STILL IMPORTANT TO THE VAST MAJORITY OF AMERICANS. THEY ALSO INDICATE THAT MOST AMERICANS ARE TIRED OF LISTENING TO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN DOWN, RIDICULE AND BELITTLE THOSE THINGS WHICH MAKE THIS A GREAT AND GOOD NATION. -2-

THIS IS TRUE OF KANSANS AND OF SOUTH CAROLINIANS. IN BOTH STATES THEY KNOW THE UNITED STATES FACES DIFFICULTIES AND CHALLENGES, BUT THEY LOVE THEIR COUNTRY AND BELIEVE IN THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED. CALL IT "SQUARE" OR "OLD FASHIONED" OR "STRAIGHT". CALL IT WHAT YOU WILL, CALL IT "PATRIOTISM".

# SOUTH CAROLINA'S TRADITION

KANSANS HAVE A GREAT PATRIOTIC TRADITION OF <u>SERVICE</u> TO THEIR COUNTRY IN ITS TIMES OF NEED; <u>SUPPORT</u>, IN DAYS OF CRISIS; AND <u>DEVOTION</u> IN HOURS OF PERIL. I WILL PLACE KANSAS SECOND TO NONE IN PATRIOTISM AND SERVICE, BUT IN CHARLESTON AND IN SOUTH CAROLINA, THE AMERICAN TRA-DITION HAS SOME OF ITS DEEPEST, EARLIEST AND STRONGEST ROOTS. GOING BACK TO THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA HAS STOOD IN THE FRONT RANKS WHENEVER THE CALL HAS SOUNDED. THE MEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA HAVE -3-

ALWAYS BORNE ARMS IN DEFENSE OF THEIR BELIEFS WITH DISTINCTION AND HONOR. FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE CONFLICT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AMERICA HAS BEEN LED AND INSPIRED BY MEN FROM YOUR GREAT STATE. ONE SURE REASON FOR THIS RECORD IS THE PRESENCE IN CHARLESTON OF ONE OF THE FOREMOST MILITARY SCHOOLS IN THE WORLD. <u>THE CITADEL</u> HAS A HIS-TORY RIVALED BY FEW PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS AND **IS** ON A PLANE WITH THE NOBLEST TRADITIONS OF WEST POINT AND ANNAPOLIS.

# AMERICA NEEDS THE SOUTH

AS A MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE, AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS, AND AS A CITIZEN OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY, LET ME REPEAT THAT I AM PROUD TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. THE SOUTH IS NO LONGER A STEPCHILD OF OUR UNION. IT IS A VITAL AND VIABLE PART OF OUR COUNTRY, AND IS ALL THE MORE VALUABLE IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS AND CHALLENGE. -4-

THIS YEAR MARKS YOUR TRI-CENTENNIAL, BUT MORE THAN THE BE-GINNINGS OF A GREAT CITY AND STATE, IN A LARGER SENSE YOU ARE CELEBRAT-ING THE BIRTHPLACE OF AMERICA'S BACKBONE AND FORTHRIGHT DEVOTION TO PRINCIPLE.

WHEN ARSONISTS AND AGITATORS SEEK TO UNDERMINE THE FOUNDA-TIONS OF OUR INSTITUTIONS; WHEN FAULT-FINDERS AND DOUBTERS TRY TO ERODE THE SELF-CONFIDENCE AND SELF-RESPECT OF OUR PEOPLE; AND WHEN WOULD-BE LEADERS ATTEMPT TO WEAKEN THE ABILITY OF THOSE WHO MUST BEAR THE TERRIBLE BURDENS OF LEADERSHIP ---- IN THESE TIMES AMERICA NEEDS THE STRENGTH AND DEDICATION; YES, THE PATRIOTISM, OF THE SOUTH. AMERICA ALSO NEEDS YOUR NATURAL BEAUTY, YOUR HISTORICAL RICHNESS, YOUR INDUSTRY AND YOUR RESOURCES. BUT MOST OF ALL, YOUR COUNTRY NEEDS THAT FIRMNESS AND RESOLVE FOR WHICH YOU ARE SO WIDELY KNOWN AND OF WHICH YOU ARE SO JUSTLY PROUD. AMERICA NEEDS THE CEMENT OF YOUR COURAGE. -5-

# PEACE NOW

ACROSS THE NATION AND IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS TODAY, THE CRY OF "PEACE NOW" RINGS OUT. PEACE NOW --- IN VIETNAM. PEACE NOW ---IN CAMBODIA. PEACE NOW -- IN LAOS. THE CRY FOR PEACE HAS GONE UP, RAISED IN MANY THROATS, DIRECTED AT MANY EARS. YET, I WONDER IF THOSE WHOSE VOICES ARE LOUDEST HAVE STOPPED TO HEAR THE ECHOES OF THEIR CHANTS AND PAUSED TO CONSIDER WHOSE MINDS THEIR CRIES PERSUADE.

"PEACE NOW" RECALLS ANOTHER CRISIS ON ANOTHER CONTINENT, WHEN "PEACE IN OUR TIME" WAS THE SLOGAN TO WHICH MANY RALLIED.

AS THE NAZI MENACE SPREAD ACROSS EUROPE, SOME SOUGHT PEACE FOR THAT TIME AND TURNED A DEAF EAR TO THE PLEAS OF FREE EUROPE. BY REFUSING TO BECOME INVOLVED IN A "FOREIGN WAR", THEY BELIEVED THEY COULD INSURE AMERICAN SECURITY AND TRANQUILITY. -6-

APPEARING BEFORE SENATE HEARINGS ON THE <u>LEND-LEASE ACT</u> IN 1941, A YOUNG MAN SAID:

> "I ASSUME I HAVE BEEN INVITED HERE TO PRESENT AND EXPLAIN THE POINT OF VIEW OF THOSE MANY YOUNG CITIZENS WHO OPPOSE ACTIVE OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR ABROAD.....

"FUNDAMENTALLY, WE BELIEVE THAT THE PEACE OF THIS HEMISPHERE HAS MORE TO OFFER THE WORLD OF TOMORROW THAN ANY POSSIBLE OUTCOME OF A DEFASTATING TRANSOCEANIC WAR."

HISTORY PROVED DIFFERENTLY, AND LAST WEEK THIS SAME MAN AP-PEARED AGAIN IN WASHINGTON. THIS TIME HE ARGUED FOR AMERICAN ABDI-CATION OF RESPONSIBILITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THE FIRST TIME HE SPOKE IN WASHINGTON, HE WAS A STUDENT AT YALE UNIVERSITY. NOW HE IS ITS PRESIDENT. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THERE HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN AMPLE

Hingman Bunk

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SUPPLY OF THOSE WHO FIRST HARKEN TO THE EASY PATH AND THE SAFE WAY WHETHER "PEACE IN OUR TIME" OR "PEACE NOW" HAS BEEN THEIR SLOGAN.

WE CAN ONLY WONDER HOW EMBOLDENED HITLER WAS BY THE OATH OF THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY STUDENTS WHO DECLARED THEY WOULD NOT BEAR ARMS FOR KING OR COUNTRY. THE SAME DOUBTS HANG HEAVY TODAY AS CRIES FOR "PEACE NOW" ARE HEARD BEYOND OUR BORDERS IN THE CAPITALS OF NORTH VIETNAM, RUSSIA, AND COMMUNIST CHINA.

### THE VOICE OF THE YOUNG

OF COURSE, YOUNG PEOPLE AT ANY STAGE IN OUR HISTORY HAVE HAD THE RIGHT AND, INDEED, RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS HEARD. THE IDEALISM, THE ENTHUSIASM AND THE ENERGIES OF YOUTH ARE AN INVALUABLE ASSET TO THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS.

I HAVE MET AND SPOKEN WITH HUNDREDS OF CONCERNED YOUNG PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON OVER THE LAST FEW WEEKS. THEIR PRESENCE AND ATTITUDE -8-

ASSURES ME THAT THE MAJORITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE, JUST AS THE VAST MAJORITY OF ALL AMERICANS, ABHOR, REJECT AND CONDEMN THE TACTICS OF VIOLENCE AND CONFRONTATION WHICH SOME WOULD EMPLOY FOR NARROW AND SELFISH REASONS.

THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A PLACE IN THIS COUNTRY FOR RESPONSIBLE, PEACEFUL DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES -- FOR YOUNG AND OLD, RICH OR POOR, BLACK OR WHITE. BUT THERE IS NO PLACE HERE FOR ANARCHY, REBELLION, AND MOB RULE. LET THAT BE UNDERSTOOD BY ALL.

## WHAT KIND OF PEACE?

FRANKLY, I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THE "PEACE NOW" SPOKESMEN ARE SEEKING.

THERE IS CERTAINLY NO DISPUTE OVER THE DESIRE OF EVERY AMERICAN FOR PEACE. THE PRESIDENT WANTS PEACE. THE CONGRESS WANTS PEACE. AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT PEACE. -9-

NO ONE WANTS WAR. THERE HAVE BEEN NO CALLS FOR MORE TROOPS, FOR AN END OF WITHDRAWALS, OR FOR MORE FIGHTING. AMERICA WANTS PEACE. IT ALWAYS HAS.

WHAT, THEN, IS THE DISAGREEMENT ABOUT? THE ANSWER WOULD AP-PEAR TO LIE IN THE KIND OF PEACE WE ARE GOING TO HAVE. ARE WE GOING TO HAVE A JUST, HONORABLE AND LASTING PEACE? OR ARE WE GOING TO HAVE PEACE FOR NOW AND WORRY LATER ABOUT THE PRICE OF THAT PEACE TO THIS COUNTRY AND FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND AROUND THE WORLD?

I BELIEVE AMERICA AND THE WORLD WANT A JUST PEACE. THE PEOPLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA WANT SECURITY AGAINST FURTHER WARS OF DOMINATION AND OPPRESSION. THIS IS WHAT OUR PRESIDENT WANTS, AND IN HIS QUEST FOR IT, HE NEEDS AND DESERVES ALL THE SUPPORT WE CAN GIVE HIM. -10-

## CAMBODIA RESTRICTIONS

THERE ARE THOSE IN THE SENATE TODAY WHO BELIEVE THEY CAN BRING AN END TO THE CONFLICT IN INDOCHINA BY IMPOSING RESTRICTIONS ON THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN BRING PEACE BY DOUBTING THE PRESIDENT'S PUBLIC PROMISE TO END A LIMITED OPERATION.

THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN SPEED THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS BY LIMITING THE PRESIDENT'S POWER TO PROTECT THEM.

I STRENUOUSLY DISAGREE.

WHEN THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CAMBODIAN OPERATIONS, I, AS DID OTHERS, EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS AT INVOLVING UNITED STATES TROOPS IN STILL ANOTHER ASIAN COUNTRY. I STILL HAVE SOME DOUBTS, BUT, MORE THAN CONCERN FOR WIDENING THE CONFLICT, I AM CONCERNED FOR THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF OUR MEN. MORE THAN CONCERN FOR THE PRESTIGE AND IMAGE OF THE SENATE, I AM CONCERNED FOR THE PRES-IDENT'S ABILITY AND POWER TO PROTECT OUR TROOPS. -11-

# THE PRESIDENT'S CREDIBILITY

THE PRESIDENT SAID HE SENT OUR FORCES INTO CAMBODIA FOR TWO REASONS: (1) TO PROTECT AMERICAN TROOPS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND (2) TO INSURE THE CONTINUED SUCCESS OF OUR WITHDRAWAL AND VIETNAMI-ZATION PROGRAMS.

PERHAPS IT IS UPBRINGING, PERHAPS IT IS SERVICE AS A SOLDIER AND MEMBER OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE, AND PERHAPS IT IS RESPECT FOR THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND RICHARD NIXON PERSONALLY, BUT I AM NOT IN-CLINED TO DOUBT THE WORD OF A MAN BEFORE HE HAS PROVEN HIMSELF UNWORTHY OF MY CONFIDENCE.

THERE IS NO REASON TO DOUBT PRESIDENT NIXON'S CREDIBILITY ON CAMBODIA ---- OR ANY OTHER AREA.

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<u>HE</u> IS THE PRESIDENT WHO PLEDGED TO END THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, AND HE STOPPED THE PATTERN OF SPIRALING ESCALATION AND INCREAS-ING TROOP COMMITMENTS. <u>HE</u> PROMISED TO BRING OUR TROOPS HOME, AND MORE THAN 115,000 HAVE RETURNED. <u>HE</u> HAS MADE RESPONSIBLE PROMISES, AND HE HAS STUCK TO THEM. HIS CREDIBILITY IS UNIMPEACHABLE.

ON THE ISSUE OF CREDIBILITY, LET US LOOK AT THE RECORD. WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE, THIS WAS THE SITUATION:

---- 545,000 U. S. TROOPS WERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM; 35,000 HAD LOST THEIR LIVES THERE.

---- THE OTHER SIDE WAS PREPARING FOR A NEW OFFENSIVE.

---- THERE WAS A WIDE GULF OF DISTRUST BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND SAIGON.

---- IN 8 MONTHS IN PARIS, THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS.

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THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION LAUNCHED AN INTENSIVE REVIEW OF EVERY ASPECT OF THE VIETNAM POLICY, MAKING A SYSTEMATIC, SERIOUS EXAMINATION OF ALL THE ALTERNATIVES OPEN TO THE U. S. AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERING RECOMMENDATIONS OFFERED BY CRITICS AND SUPPORTERS OF PAST U. S. POLICIES.

FOLLOWING THIS IN-DEPTH REVIEW, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED UPON A POLICY THAT:

---- HONORS OUR COMMITMENT TO SOUTH VIETNAMESE SELF-DETERMINATION.

---- PROVIDES FOR THE ORDERLY REPLACEMENT OF U. S. COMBAT TROOPS BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE.

---- PROVIDES A PLATFORM UPON WHICH AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT COULD BE NEGOTIATED. -14-

#### RESULTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S POLICY?

IN THE <u>FIRST INSTANCE</u>, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS CONSTANTLY INFORMED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM AND OF HIS EFFORTS TO EXTRICATE US. <u>SECONDLY</u>, IN JANUARY, MARCH AND MAY OF 1969, PRESIDENT NIXON LISTED PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS AND THE ESSENTIAL PRIN-CIPLES FOR SETTLEMENT.

ON MAY 14, IN AN HISTORIC ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HE MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT WE SEEK NO BASES OR MILITARY TIES, NOR WOULD WE SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED AT THAT TIME, AFTER FULL CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT THIEU, CONCRETE MEASURES TOWARD ACHIEVING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

ON JUNE 8, 1969, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THE FIRST TROOP REDUCTIONS IN THE VIETNAM WAR. HE STATED THAT 25,000 U. S. COMBAT TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN. SOME 30 DAYS LATER, SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENT THIEU ANNOUNCED AN ELECTION PROPOSAL WHICH PROVIDES THAT ALL POLITICAL FORCES, INCLUDING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, COULD PARTICIPATE. -15-

NOTWITHSTANDING PRESIDENT NIXON'S EFFORTS AND THE EFFORTS OF PRESI-DENT THIEU, THE INTRANSIGENCE ON THE OTHER SIDE CONTINUED AND IN FACT AT THIS VERY TIME, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HANOI'S TROOPS ARE PREPARING TO WAGE OR ARE WAGING WAR AGAINST LAOS, CAMBODIA AND THAILAND.

IT WAS AN UNDAUNTED PRESIDENT WHO ON SEPTEMBER 17 ANNOUNCED A SECOND REDUCTION OF 35,000 U. S. TROOPS. ON NOVEMBER 3, THE PRESI-DENT AGAIN REPORTED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE BY NEGOTIATION, AND OF HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE THROUGH VIETNAMIZATION. YOU MAY RECALL AT THAT TIME THE PRESIDENT ASKED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR SUPPORT, AND SUPPORT POURED IN FROM AMERICANS EVERYWHERE. AGAIN ON DECEMBER 15, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED A THIRD TROOP WITHDRAWAL OF 50,000 TO BE COMPLETED BY APRIL 15, 1970. THIS GOAL WAS REACHED, AND BY APRIL 15, THERE WAS A TOTAL TROOP REDUCTION OF 115,500 LOWER THAN THE TROOP CEILING AUTHORIZED WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON WAS SWORN IN. AND,

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AS YOU KNOW, ON APRIL 20, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED STILL ANOTHER RE-DUCTION OF 150,000 TROOPS OVER THE NEXT YEAR. THIS WILL MAKE A TOTAL REDUCTION -- IN KEEPING WITH HIS ANNOUNCED COMMITMENTS -- OF 265,000 TROOPS. THAT IS A CREDIBLE RECORD IF THERE EVER WAS ONE.

WHY, THEN, SHOULD THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAS A GREAT TRADITION OF RESPECT FOR ITS OWN MEMBERS' WORDS AND PROMISES, CAST DOUBT ON THE SOLEMN WORD OF THE PRESIDENT?

WHY SHOULD THE SENATE CONDEMN HIM BEFORE HE CAN FULFILL HIS COMMITMENT?

THE PRESIDENT DESERVES A CHANCE. HIS POLICY DESERVES A CHANCE. AND I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS WANT TO GIVE HIM THAT CHANCE. I FIND NONE OF THE ARGUMENTS DEALING WITH SENATORIAL PREROGATIVES, OR BALANCES OF POWER PERSUASIVE. THE PRESIDENT ACTED AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY -- HIS AUTHORITY WAS SOUND AND HIS DUTY CLEAR. -17-

# THE NEED FOR EXECUTIVE ACTION

ONE OF THE CLEAREST DESCRIPTIONS OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER IS FOUND IN THE FALL, 1961, EDITION OF THE CORNELL LAW QUARTERLY:

"THE DYNAMIC FORCES OF THE 20TH CENTURY -- COMMUNISM, FASCISM, AGGRESSIVE NATIONALISM, AND THE EXPLOSIVE AWAKENING OF LONG QUIESCENT PEOPLES -- ARE GROWING MORE AND MORE AMANAGEABLE UNDER THE PROCEDURES OF LEISURELY DELIBERATION WHICH ARE BUILT INTO OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYS-TEM. TO COPE WITH THESE FORCES WE MUST BE ABLE TO ACT QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY ON THE ONE HAND, AND PERSISTENTLY AND PATIENTLY ON THE OTHER..

"THE SOURCE OF AN EFFECTIVE FOREIGN POLICY UNDER OUR SYSTEM IS PRESIDENTIAL POWER. THIS PROPOSITION, VALID IN OUR OWN TIME, IS CERTAIN TO BECOME MORE, RATHER THAN LESS, COMPELLING IN THE DECADES AHEAD....

"THE PRESIDENT ALONE CAN ACT TO MOBILIZE OUR POWER AND RESOURCES TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF CLEARLY DEFINED OBJECTIVES AND TO WEAN THE -18-

AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE LUXURIES OF PARO-CHIALISM AND SELF-INDULGENCE THAT THEY CAN NO LONGER AFFORD. THE ENHANCEMENT OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER IS, AS I HAVE SAID, A DISAGREEABLE AND DANGEROUS PROSPECT. IT IS SEEN TO BE A COMPELLING NECESSITY, HOWEVER, WHEN SET AGAINST THE ALTERNATIVE OF IMMOBILITY, WHICH CAN ONLY LEAD TO CONSEQUENCES IMMEASURABLY MORE DISAGREEABLE AND DANGEROUS."

THE AUTHOR OF THOSE STATEMENTS WAS SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT.

SOME MAY SAY, "BUT THAT WAS 1961. THIS IS 10 YEARS LATER." OF COURSE. IT WAS TEN YEARS AGO, BUT THE CONDITIONS SUBSTANTIATING THAT POSITION HAVE BECOME, AS PREDICTED, EVEN MORE COMPELLING. THE NEED FOR SWIFT, SURE ACTION TO MEET OUR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS INCREASES DAILY.

THE MISSILE AGE CANNOT AFFORD TO HAVE COMMAND DECISIONS DE-BATED IN SENATORIAL GRANDEUR AND AT SENATORIAL LEISURE. DELIBERATION IS THE CONGRESSIONAL HALLMARK. ACTION IS THE EXECUTIVE'S <u>BADGE</u>. THE SPEED AND TIMING OF DECISIONS ARE OFTEN AS IMPORTANT AS THEIR SUBSTANCE. IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE HOW LONG OR HOW LOUDLY A PRO-POSAL FOR THE CAMBODIAN OPERATIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED BY THE SENATE. A SAFE ASSUMPTION MIGHT BE BASED ON THE STATE OF THE CURRENT DEBATE. -19-

### THE SENATE IN FOREIGN POLICY

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE SENATE SHOULD PLAY NO ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. IT CLEARLY HAS A ROLE. BUT THAT ROLE SHOULD NOT BE TO LOOK OVER THE PRESIDENT'S SHOULDER AND SECOND GUESS HIS COMBAT DECISIONS. A RECENT AND APPROPRIATE EXERCISE OF SENATE INITIATIVE CAN BE FOUND IN THE LAOS - THAILAND AMENDMENTS TO THE DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS BILL. IT WAS A FORWARD-LOOKING ACTION WITH A PROSPECTIVE EFFECT. NO PRESIDENTIAL ACTION HAD BEEN INITIATED, AND THE CONGRESS CLEARLY STATED ITS INTENTION THAT NO U. S. GROUND COMBAT TROOPS SHOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO LAOS OR THAILAND. AND IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT MENTION OF CAMBODIA WAS CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM THE AMENDMENT. IN THE PRESENT ISSUE BEFORE THE SENATE, WE ARE DEALING WITH PRESIDENTIAL ACTION ALREADY UNDERTAKEN. WE ARE DEALING WITH ATTEMPTED SENATORIAL RESTRICTIONS OF THAT ACTION. WE ARE CONSIDERING, ESSENTIALLY, AN AFTER-THE-FACT IMPOSITION OF LEG-ISLATIVE AUTHORITY. -20-

#### FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

WHETHER CONGRESS HAS THE RIGHT, OR THE POWER, TO ACT IS NOT THE QUESTION. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER CONGRESS SHOULD ACT.

IT IS WELL AND GOOD THAT THE SENATE DEBATE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE, THE EXECUTIVE'S LIMITATIONS, AND THE THREAD OF HISTORY AS IT WINDS BETWEEN THEM. BUT LET US REMEMBER -- IN THE SENATE AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY -- THAT THE UNDERLYING CONCERN IN THIS MATTER IS THE LIVES AND SAFETY OF AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN. AND LET US ALSO REMEMBER THAT THE DUTY, THE BURDEN OF PROTECTING THEM IS ON <u>ONE MAN</u>, THE PRESIDENT. HE HAS ACTED TO PROTECT OUR MEN IN VIETNAM. NO BASES, TERRITORY OR FAVOR ARE SOUGHT FROM CAMBODIA. HIS ACTION WAS BOLD AND DECISIVE.

INSTEAD OF PETULANT EXPRESSIONS OF SENATORIAL PRIDE, THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE RECEIVING FIRM EXPRESSIONS OF SENATORIAL ENCOUR-AGEMENT. RATHER THAN DOUBTING HIS CREDIBILITY, WE SHOULD BE PRAIS-ING HIS COURAGE. IN PLACE OF CRITICISM, THERE SHOULD BE SUPPORT. -21-

I INTEND TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT -- AND THE MEN HE SEEKS TO PROTECT -- ALL THE SUPPORT, ENCOURAGEMENT, AND ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE. I BELIEVE MOST AMERICANS SHARE THIS VIEW -- AND I KNOW THE PEOPLE OF KANSAS AND SOUTH CAROLINA DO.

### CONCLUSION

IN FACING THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY AND THE PROMISE OF TOMORROW, WE MIGHT PAUSE TO CONSIDER THE WORDS OF A GREAT MILITARY FIGURE FROM THE SECOND WORLD WAR. GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON WROTE:

> "IN PLANNING ANY OPERATION, IT IS VITAL TO REMEMBER TWO THINGS: 'IN WAR NOTHING IS IMPOSSIBLE, PROVIDED YOU USE AUDACITY,' AND 'DO NOT TAKE COUNSEL OF YOUR FEARS'....."

---- THE GREAT POSSIBILITY TODAY IS A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

---- THE PRESIDENT'S ACTION WAS AUDACIOUS AND BOLD.

---- AND WE MUST PRAY THAT NEITHER THE PRESIDENT NOR THIS GREAT COUNTRY EVER TAKES COUNSEL OF THE FEARS SURROUNDING US. Letter from Mrs. Mahlon Arnold, Salina, Kansas

Dear Senator Dole,

I AM WRITING TO LET YOU KNOW THE FEELING A FEW OF US WAITING WIVES HERE HAVE ON THE WAR.

OUR HUSBANDS ARE THERE. THEY SEEM TO THINK IT WAS A GOOD THING WE FINALLY WENT INTO CAMBODIA. THIS IS A VERY GENERAL OPINION OF A LOT OF OUR MEN. WE ARE BEHIND OUR HUSBANDS AND PRESIDENT NIXON. I MAY NOT AGREE WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE MOVING SO SLOW. I WISH THEY WOULD RESUME THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM.

I ASKED MY HUSBAND HIS FEELING ON THE WAR. HE SENT A POEM:

"WE ARE THE UNWILLING

FIGHTING FOR THE IGNORANT

DOING WHAT IS NECESSARY

FOR ALL THE UNGRATEFUL."

MIGHTY TRUE, I THINK, AND AS A PILOT HE SEES A LOT OF COUNTRY AND MEN AND THEY ALL SEEM TO FEEL THIS WAY. THEY ARE DOING A GREAT JOB OVER THERE.....

PLEASE SUPPORT THIS MOVE IN CAMBODIA -- WE NEED IT; WE NEED TO GET THEM WHERE THEY ARE! ALSO, WHY DON'T THEY BOMB THE NORTH AGAIN?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT FOR OUR MIA AND POWEMEN. WE SURELY APPRECIATE IT HERE AT SCHILLING MANOR.

THANK YOU FOR READING THIS LETTER.

SINCERELY,

MRS. MAHLON ARNOLD