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REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE
VIRGINIA STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1970

REPUBLICAN REALITIES

THE BUSINESS AT HAND TODAY IS ELECTION OF THOSE WHO
SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS OF RICHARD NIXON. IT IS
IMPORTANT, NOT MERELY BECAUSE IT IS VIRGINIA'S BUSINESS, BUT
BECAUSE IT IS AMERICA'S BUSINESS.

TWO YEARS AGO THE VOTERS OF THIS COUNTRY WANTED CHANGE.
THEY WERE TIRED OF DEMOCRAT PROGRAMS WITHOUT PLANNING -- TIRED OF
WAR WITHOUT A PLAN FOR PEACE. SEVEN MONTHS AGO, VIRGINIANS AGAIN
VOTED FOR CHANGE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ELECTED RICHARD NIXON
PRESIDENT, AND VIRGINIA ELECTED LINWOOD HOLTON GOVERNOR. BOTH MEN
HAVE INITIATED CHANGE, PROGRESS, AND NEW APPROACHES. LET ME BEGIN
BY REVIEWING THE NIXON RECORD.

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WHEN RICHARD NIXON WAS INAUGURATED IN JANUARY, 1969,
HE INHERITED A MULTITUDE OF PROBLEMS, BUT HE HAD A PLAN FOR PEACE,
HE BELIEVED IN THE RULE OF LAW AND HE BROUGHT A NEW FEDERAL
PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN IN OFFICE NOW FOR 17 MONTHS.
HE HAS ESTABLISHED A REMARKABLE RECORD. THERE HAVE BEEN CRISES BOTH
AT HOME AND ABROAD WHICH HAVE TESTED HIS WISDOM, HIS COURAGE AND HIS
DETERMINATION. HE HAS EMERGED FROM EACH TRIAL WITH INCREASED STATURE
IN THE EYES OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC AND THE WORLD. IF YOU ARE EXPOSED
ONLY TO THOSE IN THE MEDIA WHO DISLIKE RICHARD NIXON, HIS STRENGTH
WOULD NOT BE APPARENT. BUT FROM RECENT VISITS WITH PEOPLE IN ALL
PARTS OF THE COUNTRY -- I AM CONFIDENT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS
SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON, AND BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA DO TOO?

THE BASIC REASON FOR THIS APPROVAL IS RECOGNITION THAT
PRESIDENT NIXON IS PREPARED TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT -- NOT NECESSARILY
POPULAR OR EASY -- BUT WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA AND ITS PEOPLE,
RATHER THAN WHAT MAY BE GOOD FOR RICHARD NIXON.

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THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE ECONOMY

THERE IS NO AREA OF THE NATION'S DOMESTIC LIFE WHERE THE PRESIDENT'S RESOLVE AND FIRMNESS HAVE BEEN TESTED MORE STRONGLY THAN THE ECONOMY. HE HAS PLEDGED HIS ADMINISTRATION TO ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY. HE HAS TAKEN BOLD STEPS TO FULFILL THAT COMMITMENT. HE HAS REPLACED THE OUTMODED BUREAU OF THE BUDGET WITH A NEW ORGANIZATION KNOWN AS THE OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET. THIS NEW AGENCY REPRESENTS THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO COORDINATE AND CONTROL THE EXPENDITURES AND PROGRAMS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE.

IN HIS MESSAGE ON THE ECONOMY LAST WEEK, THE PRESIDENT DETAILED THE ADMINISTRATION'S PAST ACTIONS, PRESENT APPROACHES AND FUTURE GOALS FOR THE ECONOMY. ONCE AGAIN HE REFUSED TO TAKE THE EASY OR POPULAR STEPS WHICH SOME HAD URGED ON HIM -- BUT INSTEAD DID WHAT HE SAW WAS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY. HE DID NOT IMPOSE GUIDELINES OR OTHER IDLE GESTURES -- HE REJECTED WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS. HE DID REVIEW SPECIFIC LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES AND PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY AND REDUCE THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS ON THOSE MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED.

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DEMOCRAT MYTHS

THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS TO BRING ECONOMY TO GOVERNMENT AND TO ASSURE A SOUND FINANCIAL CLIMATE HAVE BEEN OVERSHADOWED LATELY BY A BROADSIDE OF DEMOCRAT PROPAGANDA, HALF-TRUTHS AND DISTORTIONS.

EVERY DAY SOME DEMOCRAT IS SAYING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS BRINGING ON A RECESSION, A DEPRESSION OR WORSE. DAILY, DEMOCRATS TAKE THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE OR SENATE TO PREDICE OUR ECONOMY'S COLLAPSE BECAUSE OF NIXON POLICIES.

ONLY TWO DAYS AGO, THE DEMOCRAT LEADER, ON NATIONAL TELEVISION, CONTINUED THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM. THEIR SPOKESMAN SAID, AND I QUOTE, "INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR DESCRIBE THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ECONOMY, AND THEY ADD UP TO RECESSION."

I DO NOT QUESTION THE ARITHMETIC OF ANY OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE, BUT INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR ADD UP TO THE LEGACY OF TWO DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS AND A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS -- NOT THE PRODUCT OF A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION AND 17 MONTHS OF RESTRICTED EXPENDITURES, BUDGET REDUCTIONS AND A DECLINING INVOLVEMENT IN THE INDOCHINA CONFLICT.

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BETWEEN MID-1965 AND MID-1968, DEMOCRAT-DIRECTED
FEDERAL SPENDING INCREASED \$53 BILLION. MORE THAN HALF THIS AMOUNT
WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO OTHER THAN THE VIETNAM WAR. AND, SPEAKING OF
THE WAR, IN 1966 THE DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION UNDERESTIMATED THE COST
OF THAT WAR FOR FISCAL YEAR 1967 BY \$10 BILLION -- OR 100 PERCENT.
THIS GROSS MISCALCULATION, COMBINED WITH POORLY PLANNED, EXPENSIVE
DOMESTIC "WARS ON THIS AND THAT" PRODUCED TODAY'S INFLATION.

THE UNEMPLOYMENT AND COST-OF-LIVING WE ARE SEEING ARE NOT
THE SHORT-TERM RESULTS OF REPUBLICAN BELT-TIGHTENING, BUT THE LONG-TERM
EFFECTS OF RUNAWAY DEMOCRAT SPENDING.

REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE, HE RECOGNIZED THE GRAVITY
OF THE SITUATION, HE ALSO KNEW THAT THE JOB OF REPAIRING HIS
INHERITANCE OF DEMOCRAT IRRESPONSIBILITY WOULD NOT BE A POPULAR
UNDERTAKING.

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ALTHOUGH THE AMERICAN ECONOMY DID NOT HAVE A DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION TO CONTINUE ITS SPENDING BINGE, RESPONSIBLE RECOVERY WAS STILL NOT ASSURED, BECAUSE A DEMOCRAT CONGRESS WAS STILL INTENT ON PURSUING THE SAME OLD LINE OF POPULAR, EASY AND DANGEROUS SPENDING.

AT A TIME WHEN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAD CLEARLY DEFINED THE NEED FOR A FEDERAL BUDGET SURPLUS, THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESS TURNED THE TAX REFORM BILL INTO A TAX-REDUCTION ACT. THE IMPACT OF REDUCED REVENUES ON FEDERAL PROGRAMS OVER THE NEXT THREE YEARS WILL BE SUBSTANTIAL. THERE WILL BE FAR TOO LITTLE MONEY TO FINANCE EVEN THE MOST WORTHWHILE AND VITAL PROGRAMS, AND NO ONE WILL CRY LOUDER THAN THE DEMOCRATS WHOSE VOTES ON THE TAX BILL DENIED THE MONEY IN THE FIRST PLACE.

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OTHER EXAMPLES OF THE DEMOCRATS' ECONOMIC IRRESPONSIBILITY
AND FISCAL DUPLICITY ARE TO BE FOUND THROUGHOUT THE RECORD OF THE
91st CONGRESS:

---THE LABOR-HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE BILL, H.R. 13111,
AND THE HOSPITAL AND MEDICAL FACILITIES CONSTRUCTION BILL, H.R. 11102,
WERE BALLOONED BY DEMOCRAT SPENDERS TO SUCH PROPORTIONS THAT THE
PRESIDENT WAS FORCED TO VETO THEM.

---THE POSTAL REFORM BILL HAS BEEN LANGUISHING AT THE HANDS
OF DEMOCRAT COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN IN SPITE OF THE \$8 BILLION DEFICIT
OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT OVER THE LAST 10 YEARS.

---IN ADDITION, THE DEMOCRAT CONGRESS HAS STALLED ACTION ON
MAJOR LEGISLATION TO COMBAT CRIME, TO ALLEVIATE THE HOUSING SHORTAGE
AND TO MEET SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY, SMALL BUSINESSES,
UNEMPLOYMENT AND JOB TRAINING.

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LET THERE BE NO MISTAKE. OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES TODAY ARE THE DIRECT RESULT OF EIGHT YEARS OF DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS IN WASHINGTON. AND AN IRRESPONSIBLE, UNRESPONSIVE DEMOCRAT-CONTROLLED CONGRESS IS BLOCKING THIS ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMY AND DEAL WITH OTHER PRESSING NATIONAL PROBLEMS. IN THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGNS WE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH DEMOCRAT CROCODILE TEARS AND HAND-WRINGING OVER THE ECONOMY AND ADMINISTRATION POLICIES, SO WE MUST BE PREPARED TO REBUT THEM WITH THE FACTS.

WE CAN AND SHOULD STAND PROUDLY ON THE REPUBLICAN RECORD --
BOTH DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.

AND WE SHOULD THROW THE DEMOCRATS' RECORD BACK AT THEM AT
EVERY OPPORTUNITY.

REPUBLICANS HAVE INITIATED A PROGRAM TO ACHIEVE ECONOMIC STABILITY WITHOUT SEVERELY DISRUPTIVE READJUSTMENTS. THE DEMOCRATS' ONLY ECONOMIC POLICY HAS BEEN LIMITLESS FEDERAL SPENDING AND RUINOUS INFLATION.

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REPUBLICANS HAVE PROPOSED SPECIFIC, REASONABLE LEGISLATIVE SOLUTIONS TO NATIONAL PROBLEMS. THE DEMOCRATS HAVE ONLY BLOCKED, STALLED AND DISTORTED THESE PROPOSALS.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IS ENGINEERING THE TRANSITION OF OUR ECONOMY FROM A WARTIME-INFLATIONARY BASE TO ONE OF PEACE AND STABILITY. IT IS DIRECTING THIS TRANSITION AS GENTLY AND EVENLY AS POSSIBLE. OF COURSE SOME SHORT-TERM DISLOCATIONS AND DIFFICULTIES ARE BEING FELT; UNFORTUNATELY, THIS CANNOT BE AVERTED. BUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY IS AVOIDING MAJOR DISRUPTIONS IN THE ECONOMY -- SUCH AS MASSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAGE-PRICE CONTROLS. AND IT IS AVOIDING FURTHER, CRIPPLING INFLATION WHICH DESTROYS SAVINGS AND FIXED INCOMES AND SPIRALS COST OF LIVING EVER HIGHER. THE RESULT WILL BE A STRONG AND HEALTHY U.S. ECONOMY BENEFITTING ALL AMERICANS AND THE MONETARY AND ECONOMIC CLIMATE OF THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS A WORKING PLAN FOR PEACE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. HE HAS BROUGHT 115,500 AMERICAN SERVICEMEN HOME. PAST DEMOCRAT PRESIDENTS FOLLOWED A POLICY OF ESCALATION WHICH SENT MORE THAN HALF A MILLION YOUNG AMERICANS INTO AN INDECISIVE AND DIVISIVE WAR. THIS WAR -- AND ALL ITS' AGONIES WERE ON NIXON'S DOORSTEP ON JANUARY 20, 1969.

GREAT DEBATE

WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS DISENGAGING EFFECTIVELY, CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION HAS BEEN GENERATED IN THE PAST MONTH OVER ACTION TAKEN IN CAMBODIA.

WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE THAT AMERICAN GROUND TROOPS HAD ENTERED THE CAMBODIAN SANCTUARY AREAS OF THE VIET CONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE, MANY WERE HIGHLY CONCERNED THAT THIS FORESHADOWED AN EXPANDED WAR, INCREASED U.S. CASUALTIES AND DIMINISHED HOPES FOR ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR.

MANY MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, MYSELF INCLUDED, EXPRESSED DOUBTS OVER THE NECESSITY OF INSTITUTING SUCH ACTION. THE RISKS WERE CONSIDERABLE, AND OUR PAST EXPERIENCE WITH McNAMARA MASTER STROKES AND LBJ.'S LIGHTS AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL, HAD LEFT A LINGERING SKEPTICISM WITH MANY OF US.

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A DIFFERENT SITUATION

HOWEVER, SEVERAL FACTS STOOD OUT IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. THIS WAS A DIFFERENT TIME, A DIFFERENT PLACE AND A DIFFERENT PRESIDENT. THIS WAS AFTER FIFTEEN MONTHS OF A WORKING PROGRAM OF DISENGAGEMENT FROM VIETNAM.

THIS WAS IN AN AREA WHICH HAD BEEN UNDER THE DOMINATION OF ENEMY FORCES JUST AS SURELY AS IF IT HAD BEEN IN NORTH VIETNAM PROPER.

AND THIS WAS A PRESIDENT WHO HAD MADE REASONABLE PROMISES AND COMMITMENTS REGARDING VIETNAM. AND, MOST IMPORTANT, THIS WAS A PRESIDENT WHO HAD KEPT EVERY ONE OF HIS PROMISES AND MET EVERY ONE OF HIS COMMITMENTS.

SO, MY PERSONAL DOUBTS ASIDE, I PUT MY VOICE AND MY SUPPORT WHERE MY FAITH AND CONFIDENCE WERE -- WITH THE PRESIDENT.

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THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

WE SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THAT THE PRESIDENT, AND ONLY THE PRESIDENT, IS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF OUR ARMED FORCES. IN ADDITION TO HIS DUTY TO DEPLOY AND COMMIT OUR FORCES IN DEFENSE OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, HE HAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ASSURING THE SAFETY OF THE MEN HE COMMANDS -- TO THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE EXTENT CONSISTENT WITH THE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR MISSIONS.

ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S TWO STATED OBJECTIVES IN LAUNCHING THE CAMBODIAN OPERATIONS WAS THE PROTECTION OF OUR FIGHTING MEN. THE PRESIDENT HAD NO ALTERNATIVE IN EXERCISING HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS TROOPS THAN TO MOVE QUICKLY AND FORCEFULLY TO PROTECT THEM. AND TO HIS LASTING CREDIT, HE DID WHAT HE SAW WAS NECESSARY.

A LIMITED OPERATION

THE PRESIDENT MADE IT CLEAR IN ANNOUNCING HIS ACTION THAT THIS WAS NOT AN ESCALATION OR A WIDENING OF THE WAR. IT WAS, AS HE SAID, A "DECISIVE" MOVE AND ONE WHICH WAS SPECIFICALLY DEFINED IN EXTENT AND DURATION.

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HE SAID U.S. FORCES WOULD NOT PROCEED INTO CAMBODIA BEYOND 21 MILES, AND HE SAID THEY WOULD NOT REMAIN BEYOND JUNE 30.

THOSE WERE THE PRESIDENT'S REASONS, AND THOSE WERE THE PRESIDENT'S PROMISES.

I BELIEVED HIM, THEN, I BELIEVE HIM NOW, AND I FEEL A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS BELIEVE HIM.

THERE WERE SOME WHO DID NOT. THEY SAID, "IT IS ESCALATION." "IT IS MORE WAR."

THEY MARCHED AND THEY PROTESTED AND THEY OPPOSED -- WHICH THEY HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO DO, SO LONG AS THE DISSENT IS PEACEFUL.

DOUBTING THE PRESIDENT

SOME WHO DOUBTED THEIR PRESIDENT'S REASONS AND PROMISES ARE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. THEIR RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS AND HIS STATEMENTS WAS TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION TO STOP THE PRESIDENT FROM CONDUCTING THE OPERATIONS IN CAMBODIA.

THE LEGISLATION THEY PROPOSED WOULD HALT THE CAMBODIAN OPERATIONS. IT WOULD ALSO DO SEVERAL OTHER THINGS.

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IT WOULD PROHIBIT THE UNITED STATES FROM FURNISHING MILITARY INSTRUCTORS, INSTRUCTION OR SUPPORT TO CAMBODIAN FORCES OR HELPING ANY OTHER COUNTRY PROVIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CAMBODIA.

IN OTHER WORDS, IT WOULD GUT THE NIXON DOCTRINE OF HELPING ASIAN COUNTRIES TO ASSUME THE BURDENS OF SELF-DEFENSE.

IT WOULD SAY, "WE DO NOT BELIEVE YOU CAN OR WILL KEEP YOUR PROMISE TO HAVE OUR MEN OUT OF CAMBODIA BY THE END OF JUNE."

IT WOULD SAY, "MR. PRESIDENT, WE DO NOT WANT YOU TO SEND U.S. FORCES INTO CAMBODIA -- EVEN TO PROTECT OUR MEN IN VIETNAM."

IT WOULD SAY, "MR. PRESIDENT, WE DO NOT WANT YOU TO SEND U.S. FORCES INTO CAMBODIA--- EVEN TO RESCUE AMERICAN PRISONERS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIET CONG."

IT WOULD SAY, "MR. PRESIDENT, THE SENATE CAN DO A BETTER JOB AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF THAN YOU."

I DOUBT THAT 100 SENATORS WOULD BE BETTER COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF. CERTAINLY IF I WERE A SOLDIER ON THE CAMBODIAN BORDER OR IN SOUTH BIETNAM, OR A PRISONER OF THE VIET CONG IN THE CAMBODIAN JUNGLE -- I WOULD RATHER HAVE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES MAKING THE DECISIONS AFFECTING MY SAFETY OR POSSIBLE RESCUE THAN 535 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS -- OR THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE.

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END THE WAR LEGISLATION

I DID NOT SUPPORT THIS LEGISLATION. MANY OTHERS IN THE SENATE DID NOT SUPPORT IT. AND WE HAVE ENGAGED IN AN EXTENDED DEBATE TO EXPLORE THE FULL DIMENSIONS OF THESE PROPOSALS. WE HAVE ALSO PROPOSED SEVERAL AMENDMENTS TO ELIMINATE THE FEATURES WHICH WOULD BROADCAST A DISCOURAGING AND UNTIMELY MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT, TO THE MEN IN OUR ARMED SERVICES AND TO THE ENEMY IN HANOI WHO IS COUNTING ON AMERICAN DIVISION TO WIN THE WAR FOR HIM.

COOPER-CHURCH AMENDMENT

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THE DRAMATIC CHANGES IN ATTITUDES OR SPONSORS AND OTHER SUPPORTERS TOWARD AMENDMENTS OFFERED TO THE COOPER-CHURCH AMENDMENT. IN THE BEGINNING THOSE SUPPORTING COOPER-CHURCH WERE OPPOSED TO ANY CHANGES IN THEIR ORIGINAL AMENDMENT. THEY SAID CHANGES WOULD RENDER THE AMENDMENT MEANINGLESS -- BUT THEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, YOUNG AND OLD -- RICH AND POOR -- IN AND OUT OF UNIFORM -- MOTHERS, WIVES AND FAMILIES OF SERVICEMEN -- BEGAN RAISING QUESTIONS ABOUT SENATE EFFORTS TO LIMIT A PRESIDENT'S POWER TO PROTECT AMERICAN FORCES.

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THE FIRST SIGN OF CHANGING ATTITUDES CAME WHEN A PERFECTING AMENDMENT WAS ADOPTED TO THE PREAMBLE OF COOPER-CHURCH. THE PREAMBLE THEN SPOKE OF "ACTING IN CONCERT WITH THE DECLARED OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESIDENT." IT WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY.

THE FIRST MAJOR AMENDMENT PROPOSED, MY AMENDMENT TO ASSURE THE PRESIDENT'S POWER TO RESCUE AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR, WAS DEFEATED BY A MARGIN OF 18 VOTES. BUT AS DEBATE CONTINUED, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MORE FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE IMPLICATIONS OF COOPER-CHURCH AND VOTES STARTED TO CHANGE.

THE SECOND MAJOR VOTE, ON THE FIRST SO-CALLED "PROTECTION OF FORCES" OR BYRD AMENDMENT, FAILED. THE COUNT, HOWEVER, WAS 47-52 -- A MARGIN OF ONLY FIVE VOTES. THEN THE MANSFIELD-DOLE AMENDMENT WAS ADOPTED 91-0. IT SAID IN EFFECT THAT THE PRESIDENT IS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THAT HE COULD ACT AS SUCH TO PROTECT OUR FORCES WITHOUT CONSENT OF CONGRESS.

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NOW A SECOND BYRD AMENDMENT HAS BEEN PASSED BY A VOTE OF 79-5. THIS AMENDMENT IS BROADER IN SCOPE THAN THE ONE ORIGINALLY PROPOSED BY THE SENATOR FROM WEST VIRGINIA. IT APPLIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, RATHER THAN ONLY SOUTHEAST ASIA. IT CLEARLY AFFIRMS THE PRESIDENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO PROTECT THE MEN UNDER HIS COMMAND. THIS IS THE POINT MANY OF US HAVE BEEN STRESSING IN DEBATE SINCE MID-MAY: THE PRESIDENT HAS THIS POWER, AND NO ACTION BY THE CONGRESS SHOULD CLOUD IT.

MANY WHO OPPOSED THE FIRST BYRD AMENDMENT, VOTED FOR THE SECOND ONE, BECAUSE THEY NOW RECOGNIZE THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SUPPORTS THE PRESIDENT.

IT IS CLEAR NOW THAT THE CRITICS AND THOSE WHO WOULD LIMIT THE PRESIDENT HAVE FINALLY CAVED IN -- AND PROPERLY SO. YES, WE HAVE POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN CONGRESS -- TO DECLARE WAR -- AND TO APPROPRIATE MONEY TO SUPPORT THE ARMED FORCES -- BUT REASONABLE MEN HAVE NEVER ADVOCATED THAT WE SHOULD DETERMINE MILITARY TACTICS -- OR LIMIT THE PRESIDENT'S POWER AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO PROTECT AMERICAN FORCES.

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THAT'S WHAT THE DEBATE HAS BEEN ALL ABOUT, AND THE PRESIDENT -- WILL BE SUSTAINED -- AND HE WILL -- AS PROMISED -- CONTINUE TO DISENGAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, FROM THE WAR HE INHERITED FROM DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS.

THIS WEEK'S DEBATE

I SHALL TAKE A MOMENT TO MENTION THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS WEEK'S DEBATE ON THE FOREIGN MILITARY SALES ACT AND THE "COOPER-CHURCH" AMENDMENT.

FOR SOME TIME IT HAS BEEN KNOWN AROUND WASHINGTON THAT SENATE OPPONENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S SOUTHEAST ASIA POLICY WERE MANUFACTURING A "SETBACK" FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. THEIR PLAN WAS SIMPLE. TO THE ACCOMPANIMENT OF WELL-PUBLICIZED SPEECHES AND CONTRIVED DEBATES ON THE SENATE FLOOR, THEY WERE SET TO REPEAL THE 1964 TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION IN A DRAMATIC "REBUKE" OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S ASIAN POLICY.

THE ONLY OVERSIGHT WAS THAT THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION HAS NEVER BEEN A PART OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S POLICY. HE DID NOT ASK FOR IT. HE HAS NEVER RELIED ON IT. HE HAS NEVER CITED IT AS AUTHORITY FOR DISENGAGEMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

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THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION WAS PART OF LYNDON JOHNSON'S POLICY. HE ASKED FOR IT IN 1964; AND HE USED IT TO ESCALATE OUR COMMITMENT AND INVOLVE OVER HALF A MILLION AMERICAN FIGHTING MEN IN A FULL SCALE WAR. THE GULF ON TONKIN RESOLUTION WAS AN INSTRUMENT OF ESCALATION. IT HAS NO LOGICAL CONNECTION WITH A POLICY OF DE-ESCALATION AND A REDUCED COMMITMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SAID MANY TIMES THAT THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION WAS OBSOLETE.

REGARDLESS OF THE FACTS, THE SENATE OPPONENTS WERE READY TO STAGE A GREAT SHOW. THEY WERE LICKING THEIR CHOPS IN ANTICIPATION. THEY WOULD HAVE THEIR CAKE AND EAT IT TOO. AFTER FINISHING THEIR SPEECHES AND DEBATES, NO ONE COULD VOTE FOR REPEAL AND SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT; FOR THIS WAS TO BE PAINTED A BASIC PART OF HIS POLICY; BUT ANYONE WHO VOTED AGAINST REPEAL WOULD BE VOTING AGAINST PEACE. THE CHOICE WOULD BE CLEAR -- SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT AND BE FOR WAR; SUPPORT PEACE AND BE AGAINST THE PRESIDENT. A NICE PLAN.

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BUT THERE ARE SOME OF US IN THE SENATE WHO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT AND ARE TIRED OF BEING LABELED "WAR SENATORS" BECAUSE OF THAT SUPPORT. WE WANT PEACE JUST AS SINCERELY AS ANY OTHER MEMBERS OF THAT BODY -- BUT WE ALSO BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT HAS CHOSEN THE RIGHT COURSE AND NEEDS AND DESERVES OUR SUPPORT.

SO WE TOOK THE INITIATIVE AND INTRODUCED THE TONKIN GULF REPEALER BEFORE THE GAME PLAYERS COULD MANUFACTURE THEIR "DEFEAT" FOR THE ADMINISTRATION AND PIN THE "WAR SENATOR" LABEL ON US AGAIN. WE SUCCEEDED.

81 SENATORS VOTED FOR REPEAL, AND THE ADMINISTRATION "DEFEAT" WAS AVERTED. STRANGELY ENOUGH, THE LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR REPEAL THESE PAST YEARS VOTED AGAINST IT.

A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS

TWO YEARS AGO AMERICA VOTED FOR A CHANGE AND NOW ^{WE} ~~A~~ HAVE A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT. BUT THE CHANGE IS NOT YET COMPLETE, AND THE PRESIDENT CANNOT SOLVE THE NATION'S PROBLEMS UNTIL IT IS -- UNTIL HE HAS THE SUPPORT OF THE CONGRESS.

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LET ME STRESS SPECIFICALLY THE NEED FOR GAINS IN THE U. S. SENATE. WITH 43 REPUBLICANS, ONLY 7 ADDITIONAL ARE NEEDED FOR CONTROL. AT THIS CRUCIAL TIME IN HISTORY, WE FIND THE U.S. SENATE SPLIT DOWN THE MIDDLE ON DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. I COULD CITE DOZENS OF EXAMPLES WHERE A HALF-DOZEN VOTES OR LESS MADE THE DIFFERENCES -- THE ABM -- HAYNSWORTH AND CARSWELL -- THE "PROTECTION OF FORCES" AMENDMENT OFFERED BY SENATOR BYRD OF WEST VIRGINIA -- AND SEVERAL VITAL AMENDMENTS TO THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AFFECTING WAR AND PEACE HAVE BEEN DECIDED IN THE U.S. SENATE THIS YEAR, AND LAST, BY A SINGLE, OR MERE HANDFUL, OF VOTES. THIS MUST BE CHANGED IN NOVEMBER, 1970, IF AMERICA IS TO MOVE FORWARD IN THIS DECADE. THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA, BY ELECTING A SENATOR WHO SUPPORTS PRESIDENT NIXON CAN LITERALLY MAKE HISTORY.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS CAN BE RESOLVED BY A SINGLE VOTE. A SINGLE VOTE, NEXT YEAR, COULD DECIDE WHO ORGANIZES THE U.S. SENATE. A SINGLE VOTE COULD DETERMINE WHETHER SENATE COMMITTEES ARE CHAIRED BY

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REPUBLICANS OR DEMOCRATS. A SINGLE VOTE COULD DETERMINE WHETHER THE SENATE WORKS FOR OR AGAINST THE PROGRAMS AND POLICIES OF RICHARD NIXON. YES, A SINGLE VOTE MIGHT MEAN A WHOLE NEW TV SERIES IN THE DECADE OF THE 70'S. THIS SINGLE VOTE CAN COME FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA. YOUR EFFORTS BETWEEN NOW AND THE NOVEMBER ELECTION CAN PLAY A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE FUTURE OF VIRGINIA -- OF AMERICA -- AND THE FREE WORLD.

HAVING SAID THIS, LET ME QUICKLY ADD THAT I RECOGNIZE THE DELICATE SITUATION IN VIRGINIA. THE EMERGING REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IS CONFRONTED WITH AN AGONIZING DECISION -- THE EFFECTS OF WHICH -- WILL BE FARREACHING.

NEXT TO KANSAS, VIRGINIA IS HOME TO ME, AND HAS BEEN FOR NEARLY 10 YEARS, AND I HAVE A DEEP INTEREST IN VIRGINIA POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. THIS HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT FOR ME -- AND MANY OTHERS. WE HAVE WITNESSED SOUND GROWTH IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN VIRGINIA, AND I BELIEVE THE PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED GROWTH ARE LIMITLESS. MY PRIMARY CONCERN, OF COURSE, IS THAT THE PARTY CONTINUE ITS REMARKABLE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

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ITS REMARKABLE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE HOPEFUL THE 1970 ELECTIONS GIVE PRESIDENT NIXON A CONGRESS THAT WILL HELP HIM IMPLEMENT HIS PROGRAMS AND POLICIES.

THIS CAN BE DONE -- IF WE COMMIT OURSELVES TO THE IDEA FOR WHICH OUR NATION STANDS.

MANY OF US SOMETIMES FORGET THAT AMERICAN BEGAN AS AN IDEA -- A FAR-FETCHED DREAM HELD IN COMMON BY AN HANDFUL OF MEN WHOSE COURAGE EQUALLED THEIR CONVICTIONS.

THEIR DEDICATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE BROUGHT ON A NEW ERA OF PROGRESS FOR ALL MEN.

BUT, THAT NEW ERA DID NOT JUST HAPPEN BECAUSE THEY WANTED IT TO. IT HAPPENED BECAUSE THEY WERE WILLING TO FACE OVERWHELMING ODDS AND WORK TO MAKE IT HAPPEN.

THE NEW ERA IN WASHINGTON AND IN OUR NATION WILL NOT JUST HAPPEN, EITHER. IT WILL TAKE WORK, AND DEDICATION, AND DETERMINATION -- FROM EVERYONE IN EVERY STATE.

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REPUBLICAN OPPORTUNITY IN VIRGINIA

HERE IN VIRGINIA THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS GREAT OPPORTUNITIES FOR GAINS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL LEADERSHIP. WORKING HARD AND TOGETHER YOU CAN CAPITALIZE ON THESE OPPORTUNITIES THIS YEAR.

CONCLUSION

THE REPUBLICAN RESPONSE TO THE ELECTION YEAR CHALLENGE IN VIRGINIA AND THROUGHOUT THE NATION IS CLEAR.

WE MUST UNITE AND PROVIDE THIS GREAT COUNTRY WITH THE LEADERSHIP IT NEEDS IN THIS TRYING AND PERILOUS ERA.

THERE IS NOTHING WE CAN DO ABOUT OUR PROBLEMS -- EXCEPT SOLVE THEM. BUT WE CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE PROBLEM-MAKERS AND THE SOLUTION-BLOCKERS.

WHAT WE CAN AND MUST DO IS ELECT SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL JOIN RICHARD NIXON IN SOLVING OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS, MEETING OUR NATIONAL CHALLENGES AND LEADING OUR COUNTRY INTO ITS THIRD CENTURY OF GREATNESS.