

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE LUNCHEON  
SHERATON-RITZ HOTEL  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA  
FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 1972

RARELY HAS THE GENERAL TOPIC OF THE ECNOMY -- AND THE SPECIFIC TOPIC OF AMERICAN BUSINESS -- BEEN MORE IN THE NEWS THAN IN THE PERIOD OF THE LAST 18 MONTHS OR SO.

FIRST, THERE HAS BEEN THE CONSIDERABLE -- AND CONSISTENTLY SUCCESSFUL -- EFFORT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND HIS ADMINISTRATION TO BRING ABOUT THE TRANSITION FROM A WAR-TIME ECONOMY TO PEACE-TIME PROSPERITY.

AND, SECONDLY, IN THE NEWS AND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, THERE HAS BEEN INCREASING EVIDENCE OF A DEVELOPING PUBLIC ATTITUDE OF NEGATIVISM AND DISTRUST ABOUT BUSINESS IN AMERICA.

TRANSITION TO PEACE-TIME PROSPERITY

AS TO THE FIRST, WITH THE PRESIDENT'S LEADERSHIP AND YOUR HELP AND THE HELP AND COOPERATION OF ALL SEGMENTS OF THE ECONOMY, THE TRANSITION FROM AN ECONOMY BASED ON WAR TO A PROSPERITY ROOTED IN PEACE CAN TAKE PLACE. AND THERE ARE, OF COURSE, MANY STRONG INDICATIONS THAT IT IS HAPPENING.

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AND TO THE SECOND -- THIS DEVELOPING ATTITUDE ABOUT BUSINESS IN AMERICA -- I BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE RESULT OF A POPULAR MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT AMERICAN BUSINESS AND THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM -- ITS STRENGTHS AND ITS WEAKNESSES, WHAT IT CAN DO AND WHAT IT CAN'T DO. AND THAT ATTITUDE, THAT MISUNDERSTANDING, CAN BEST BE CORRECTED BY YOUR LEADERSHIP AND YOUR EFFORTS.

EXPERTS SEE BOOM AHEAD

THE PRESIDENT IS DOING WHAT HE CAN TO RESTORE OUR ECONOMY TO A CONDITION IN WHICH YOU CAN OPERATE -- AND IN WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN FUNCTION WITHOUT THE DRAG OF INFLATION AND WITHOUT THE ECONOMIC STIMULUS OF WAR. EVEN BEFORE THE WAGE AND PRICE FREEZE, HIS POLICIES HAD BROUGHT THE RATE OF INFLATION DOWN FROM 6.1 PERCENT

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IN 1969, TO 3.8 PERCENT. DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FREEZE, THAT LOWER FIGURE WAS CUT ALMOST IN HALF AGAIN. THE LATEST FIGURES SHOW A FIRST QUARTER SPURT IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, BUT AS COMMERCE SECRETARY PETERSON INDICATED, THIS IS DUE PRIMARILY TO THE "DISPARATE NUMBER" OF BACKED UP WAGE INCREASES THAT TOOK EFFECT AT THE END OF THE FREEZE. I AM CONFIDENT WE CAN LOOK FORWARD TO A PROGRESSIVELY LOWER RATE OF PRICE INCREASES AS THE YEAR WEARS ON, AND TO A CONTINUED ECONOMIC EXPANSION.

AS THE APRIL 1 ISSUE OF BUSINESS WEEK MAGAZINE INDICATED, "IT REALLY LOOKS LIKE THE BOOM IS HERE." THE MAGAZINE POINTED TO ENCOURAGING RISES IN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, IN TOTAL EMPLOYMENT, IN PERSONAL INCOME -- WHICH HAS GAINED AN AVERAGE OF \$7 BILLION A MONTH SINCE NOVEMBER. THE MAGAZINE SEES AN ECONOMIC "SURGE ACROSS THE BOARD." AND THE LATEST FIGURES OFFERED BY THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT ON WEDNESDAY BEAR THAT OUT. THE GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT FOR THE FIRST QUARTER OF THIS YEAR ROSE AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF 11.8 PERCENT.

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THIS TRANSITION FROM THE ARTIFICIAL PROSPERITY THAT WAS PRODUCED TO A GENUINE PROSPERITY IN PEACE-TIME IS NO SMALL CHALLENGE. JUST AS THE PRESIDENT'S STATED GOAL OF ACHIEVING A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE IS NO SMALL CHALLENGE. BOTH ARE WITHOUT PRECEDENT IN THE GREATER PART OF THIS CENTURY.

THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE 20th CENTURY, THE AMERICAN ECONOMY HAS BEEN EITHER GEARED TO THE SUPPORT OF A WAR EFFORT OR GEARING UP FOR -- OR DOWN FROM -- THAT SUPPORT. THE NOTION THAT IT MIGHT BE FREE OF THOSE LIMITING FACTORS FOR AWHILE -- JUST AS THE WORLD MIGHT BE FREE FROM THE LIMITATIONS IMPOSED BY AN ERA OF CONFRONTATION -- PRESENTS A COMPELLING CHALLENGE TO ALL OF US.

#### DEMOS OFFER NO ALTERNATIVE

YOU MAY SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES. YOU MAY NOT. I DO NOT KNOW.

YOU MAY WISH TO GO TO HIS OPPONENTS IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY TO SEE WHAT THEY HAVE TO OFFER. AND IF YOU HAVE ANY DOUBTS ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM, I ENCOURAGE YOU TO DO SO. I ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENCOURAGE YOU TO STUDY WHAT THEY HAVE TO SAY ABOUT THE ECONOMY -- THE ISSUE THEY WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE IS GOING TO BE A MAJOR ONE IN THE CAMPAIGN. LISTEN TO WHAT THEY HAVE TO SAY, AND LISTEN CAREFULLY.

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I KNOW WHAT YOU ARE GOING TO HEAR. YOU WILL HEAR A LOT OF CONCERNED RHETORIC ABOUT EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT. YOU WILL HEAR A LOT OF TALK ABOUT BIG BUSINESS AND ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE ENORMOUS PROFITS THEY HAVE BEEN TAKING IN DURING THE CONTROLS PERIOD, WHILE THE WORKER HAS TO SUFFER. NONE OF IT, OF COURSE, WILL AMOUNT TO ANYTHING MORE THAN THE CONCERTED EFFORT OF THE DEMOCRATS TO FIND SOME ISSUE THEY CAN GRAB ONTO AND TO FIND A HANDLE IN.

THE DEMOCRATS ARE GOING TO EXHIBIT A LOT OF CONCERN. THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THAT. BUT ALL OF THEIR CONCERN IS NOT GOING TO CHANGE THE FACT THAT THE POLICIES OF THIS PRESIDENT HAVE LOWERED INFLATION AND ARE WINNING THE FIGHT AGAINST IT. THE INITIATIVES OF THIS PRESIDENT HAVE ACHIEVED THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AGREEMENT IN 25 YEARS. THE PROGRAMS OF THIS PRESIDENT HAVE DRIVEN TOTAL EMPLOYMENT UP IN THIS COUNTRY TO RECORD LEVELS -- AND I BELIEVE THAT PRESAGES A SIGNIFICANT DROP IN UNEMPLOYMENT DURING THE CURRENT YEAR.

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NO FUTURE FOR DEMOS IN ECONOMY ISSUE

THE DEMOCRATS' CONCERN -- ALL THAT THEY CAN MUSTER -- ISN'T GOING TO MAKE AN ISSUE OUT OF THE ECONOMY. ONLY ONE THING COULD DO THAT. IN SPITE OF ALL THE CANDIDATES CAN SAY -- IN SPITE OF ALL GEORGE MEANY MIGHT SAY OR DO -- ONLY ONE THING CAN MAKE THE ECONOMY A REAL ISSUE IN THIS CAMPAIGN YEAR.

AND THAT ONE THING WOULD BE FOR THE DEMOCRATS TO PROPOSE POLICIES THAT ARE BETTER THAN THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES. LET ONE OF THEM OFFER A MORE EFFECTIVE POLICY AND HE MIGHT HAVE SOME JUSTIFICATION FOR TRYING TO MAKE AN ISSUE OUT OF IT.

BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT NONE OF THEM -- AND IT IS PART OF MY JOB TO WATCH WHAT THEY ALL HAVE TO SAY -- NONE OF THEM HAS OFFERED A PROGRAM BETTER THAN THE PRESENT POLICIES WHICH HAVE SEEN EMPLOYMENT RISE TO RECORD LEVELS; POLICIES WHICH HAVE BEEN HOUSING STARTS, TRADITIONALLY AN INDICATOR OF A GENERALLY IMPROVING ECONOMY, RISE TO RECORD LEVELS; POLICIES WHICH HAVE BEEN MANUFACTURERS' NEW ORDERS RISE IN THE FIRST MONTH OF THIS YEAR BY THE LARGEST INCREMENT SINCE AUGUST OF 1956; POLICIES WHICH HAVE SEEN ESTIMATES OF BUSINESS INVESTMENT PLANS CONTINUE TO BE REVISED UPWARD -- NOW TO A 10.5 PERCENT INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS LEVELS.

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AS I SAID, I WOULD ENCOURAGE YOU TO LISTEN TO ALL THE  
DEMOCRAT PROTESTATIONS OF CONCERN.

AND I DON'T MEAN TO IMPLY THAT THEIR CONCERN IS NOT GENUINE.  
NOT FOR A MINUTE. IT IS SIMPLY A LITTLE MISTATED, AND I WOULD SUGGEST  
THAT ALL THEIR PROTESTATIONS REALLY STEM FROM CONCERN ABOUT THEIR  
POLITICAL FUTURE AND THEIR CHANCES FOR ELECTION.

BUT, OF COURSE, THERE IS LITTLE SUBSTANCE BEYOND THAT TO  
THEIR PROTESTS AND SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS. AND THEY AREN'T CONVINCING  
ANYONE-- NOT ECONOMIC EXPERTS, BOTH IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT, AT  
LEAST. ONE OF THEM RECENTLY STATED -- AND HE SEEMS TO SPEAK FOR  
MOST -- THAT HE EXPECTS "ONE OF THE LONGEST BUSINESS EXPANSIONS IN  
OUR HISTORY."

AND LEAST OF ALL ARE THEY FOOLING THE CONSUMER, WHOSE  
CONFIDENCE HAS DRIVEN RETAIL SALES TO A SEASONALLY ADJUSTED 36 BILLION  
DOLLARS IN FEBRUARY -- UP EIGHT PERCENT FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

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THEY ARE ONLY FOOLING THEMSELVES, IN FACT, IF THEY THINK THAT THE PUBLIC IS GOING TO RESPOND TO THEIR KNEE-JERK NEGATIVISM ABOUT THE ECONOMIC POLICIES THAT ARE DOING SO DEMONSTRABLY WELL.

THE PRESIDENT HAS GIVEN US THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP WE WANT IN THIS COUNTRY -- AND DESERVE -- RESPONDING TO THE REAL NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE HAS DONE THE JOB WE HAD EVERY RIGHT TO EXPECT HIM TO DO.

BUT THERE IS LITTLE HE OR ANYONE ELSE CAN DO TO TACKLE THAT OTHER ITEM OF NEWS I MENTIONED UNLESS YOU, YOURSELVES, FIRST TAKE ACTION. THIS NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ABOUT BUSINESS IN THIS COUNTRY -- THAT IT DOESN'T RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF THE CONSUMER AND, IN FACT, IS, IN SOME WAY OR ANOTHER, OUT TO GET HIM -- IS, IN MANY WAYS MORE DANGEROUS TO THE FUTURE OF YOUR BUSINESS -- AND INDEED ALL OF BUSINESS -- THAN INFLATION COULD EVER BE.

NO MATTER HOW SUCCESSFUL ECONOMIC CONVERSION FROM WAR-TIME TO PEACE-TIME MAY BE -- NO MATTER HOW LOW THE RATE OF INFLATION GOES OR HOW HIGH THE RATE OF EXPANSION -- THE QUESTION STILL OCCURS -- WHAT DOES IT PROFIT BUSINESS TO RESTORE THE ECONOMY, IF AT THE SAME TIME, IT LOSES THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CONSUMER?

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AND CONSUMER CONFIDENCE IS THE NAME OF THE GAME. NOT THE KIND I REFERRED TO EARLIER WHICH IS INDICATED BY THE LEVEL OF RETAIL SALES. RATHER, I SPEAK NOW OF THE KIND OF CONSUMER CONFIDENCE WHICH CREATES A CLIMATE IN WHICH BUSINESS CAN OPERATE WITHOUT HAVING TO TAKE PUBLIC ANTIPATHY, OR EVEN OUTRIGHT HOSTILITY INTO ACCOUNT -- A CLIMATE IN WHICH BUSINESS CAN FUNCTION WITHOUT THE KIND OF PUBLIC MISUNDERSTANDING THAT MIGHT LEAD A CONFUSED PUBLIC TO CALL FOR GREATER REGULATION.

BUSINESS HAS CHALLENGE TO FACE

IF YOUR LEADERSHIP IS FORTHCOMING ON THIS PROBLEM -- IF YOU TAKE THE NECESSARY PAINS TO INFORM THE PUBLIC ABOUT YOURSELVES, YOUR LIMITATIONS AND YOUR POTENTIALS -- IF YOU CAN BRING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO A MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE ABOUT BUSINESS -- THEN YOU WILL HAVE MADE GOVERNMENT'S JOB -- AND THE PEOPLE'S JOB IN MAKING THE ECONOMIC CONVERSION -- A GREAT DEAL EASIER.

YOU MUST REGAIN THE TRUST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THAT IS A TASK WHICH, IN LARGE MEASURE, YOU MUST SET FOR YOURSELVES. YOU MUST MAKE YOUR APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR THEIR SUPPORT. WITHOUT IT, YOU CAN DO LITTLE, WITH IT, AS THE PRESIDENT BELIEVES, YOU CAN ACHIEVE GREAT THINGS.

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I BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE APPEAL OF THIS PRESIDENT FOR THE SUPPORT AND ACTIVE COOPERATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, FOR THEIR PRAYERS IN WHAT THEY CANNOT BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED, AND FOR THEIR WORK IN WHAT THEY CAN, IS THE ONLY PROPER POSTURE FOR AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TAKE. IT IS, INDEED THE ONLY POSTURE CONSISTENT WITH OUR AMERICAN TRADITION.

AND IT IS THE ONLY WAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE THE GOALS THEY HAVE SET FOR THEMSELVES -- A BETTER AMERICA AND A MORE PEACEFUL WORLD. THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS OF A FULL GENERATION OF PEACE AND OF REAL PROSPERITY WITHOUT INFLATION. THESE ARE THE GOALS HE HAS SET FOR HIMSELF AND FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION. BUT THEY ARE NOT GOALS HE HAS IMPOSED ON AMERICA. THEY ARE THE VERY GOALS WHICH HAVE EMERGED FROM THE CONSENSUS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY ARE WHAT THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY WANT AND HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT THEIR ELECTED LEADERS TO WORK FOR.

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BEFORE I CLOSE, I WOULD LIKE TO ADDRESS MYSELF TO A MATTER WHICH, AS I LEFT WASHINGTON, WAS BEING HOTLY DEBATED ON THE SENATE FLOOR -- THIS ISSUE OF RENEWED BOMBING OF THE NORTH BY AMERICAN PLANES IN RESPONSE TO THE NAKED AGGRESSION OF THE NORTH. TO PUT THIS ALL IN PERSPECTIVE, LET ME REMIND YOU THAT, IN THE VERY EARLY YEARS OF THE 1960's, NORTH VIETNAM BEGAN WHAT WAS TO BE A SUSTAINED EFFORT TO CONQUER ITS NEIGHBOR TO THE SOUTH. THIS EFFORT WAS WAGED COVERTLY, THROUGH THE USE OF INTIMIDATION, TERROR AND MURDER; IT WAS DIRECTED AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM, AND ONLY INCIDENTALLY AGAINST HER ARMED FORCES. AT THAT TIME, THE UNITED STATES HAD A VERY SMALL GROUP OF MEN IN SOUTH VIETNAM, ADVISING THE MILITARY FORCES OF THAT NATION IN ITS EFFORT TO CREATE AN ARMY ABLE TO DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

#### INVESTIGATION OF WAR

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE WERE DEVELOPING THAT CAPACITY UNDER THE LEGITIMATE LEADERSHIP OF A STRONG NATIONALIST NAMED NGO DINH DIEM. I HAVE DISCUSSED MR. DIEM PREVIOUSLY, IN CALLING FOR AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ORIGINS OF THE VIETNAM WAR -- AN INVESTIGATION, LET ME SAY, THAT THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HAS FINALLY AGREED TO CONDUCT --

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AND I WILL NOT GO INTO DETAIL ABOUT HIM HERE EXCEPT TO MAKE THE ESSENTIAL POINT THAT DIEM WAS A VERY STRONG LEADER, A MAN OF INTERNATIONAL STATURE, AND MOST OF ALL, AN INDEPENDENT MAN. AMONG OTHER THINGS, HE REFUSED DIRECTION FROM WASHINGTON, AND HE DID NOT WANT AMERICAN FORCES IN VIETNAM. THIS UNWILLINGNESS TO TAKE ORDERS FROM THE ENCUMBANT U.S. ADMINISTRATION -- UNDER PRESIDENT KENNEDY -- EVENTUALLY LED TO DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS, AND BECAUSE THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION FELT IT UNDERSTOOD WHAT VIETNAM NEEDED BETTER THAN DIEM UNDERSTOOD, THE ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTED THE OVERTHROW AND SUBSEQUENT MURDER OF NGO DINHDEIM.

#### TIME LOST DURING SIXTIES

THOSE WHO REPLACED DIEM WERE LESS INDEPENDENT -- SOME WERE ABSOLUTELY ACQUIESCENT, AND THE NATION LOST FOR MANY YEARS THE CAPACITY TO DEVELOP A STRONG DEFENSE -- THE ABILITY TO PROTECT ITS OWN FREEDOM. SO PRESIDENT JOHNSON CAME INTO OFFICE WITH THE POLICY SET, THE DIE CAST, AND ALL THE MISTAKES -- AS WELL AS MOST OF THE COMMITMENTS -- MADE FOR HIM. IN THE END, HE GAVE UP THE PRESIDENCY TO TRY TO RECTIFY THE MISTAKES THAT WERE MADE BEFORE HE EVER BECAME PRESIDENT. IN ADDITION,

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HE BORE THE BRUNT OF THE CRITICISM, HE WAS CONDEMNED, AND MADE THE TARGET FOR THE MOST VICIOUS ATTACKS WHILE HE TRIED TO RECTIFY AN ERROR ANOTHER MAN MADE. HISTORY WILL SHOW THAT JOHN KENNEDY'S CHIEF EFFECT, AND SOLE LASTING EFFECT, ON THIS NATION WAS TO DIVIDE IT IN A WAR WHICH HAS COST WELL OVER 50,000 AMERICAN LIVES, AND UNTOLD NUMBERS OF VIETNAMESE LIVES.

NIXON PLAN TO RESTORE '60's DAMAGE

WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON WAS ELECTED, HE PROCEEDED AT ONCE TO PUT INTO ACTION A PLAN TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM IN A WAY THAT WOULD PROTECT THE FREEDOM OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE, AND AT THE SAME TIME PRODUCE A WORLD IN WHICH PEACE MIGHT, AT LONG LAST, BE POSSIBLE. A PART OF THAT PLAN WAS SIMPLY TO RESTORE TO SOUTH VIETNAM WHAT WAS TAKEN FROM IT WHEN ITS OWN BEST LEADER WAS MURDERED -- AND THAT WAS THE INCENTIVE AND THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND ITSELF -- TO DEFEND ITS FREEDOM. AND THIS THE PRESIDENT HAS DONE. THE PROCESS HAS BEEN LONG -- IT IS TRUE; BUT THE DAMAGE DONE BEFORE WAS VERY GREAT, AND TOOK LONG TO RECTIFY. THE PROCESS, OF COURSE, WAS CALLED VIETNAMIZATION. AND THE PURPOSE, WHICH BEARS REPEATING, WAS NOT TO CHANGE THE COLOR OF THE BODIES AS SOME OF THE SLICK CRITICS HAVE CHARGED; RATHER IT WAS TO RESTORE TO THE VIETNAMESE THE ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES, AND TO GET OUT OF A COUNTRY WHERE OUR ARMIES WERE NEVER WANTED TO BEGIN WITH.

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DEMOS DISMAYED BY POLICY SUCCESS

THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS OF VIETNAMIZATION, MANY OF THOSE WHO SUPPORTED THOSE EARLY POLICIES OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY WHICH HAVE TODAY BECOME HIS BITTER LEGACY TO AMERICA -- THOSE MEN SUDDENLY BECAME CRITICS OF THE PRESIDENT, AND CRITICS OF THE WAR -- THOSE WHO FOR SO LONG HAD SUPPORTED THE WAR OUT OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY, AS OTHERS OF US DEFENDED IT OUT OF NATIONAL NECESSITY TO RECTIFY A NATIONAL BLUNDER, NOW THESE ARE THE MOST SEVERE CRITICS OF THE WAR AND, MORE TO THE POINT, OF THE PRESIDENT. THE MAN WHO WROTE THE WAR PLANK IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY PLATFORM HAS NOW BECOME SUPERDOVE, SEEKING TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM THE MORAL BURDEN, AND SEEKING TO FORCE THE PRESIDENT'S HAND AND TO DESTROY AN EFFECTIVE POLICY. OTHERS ARE EQUALLY CULPABLE; ONLY ONE OF THOSE WHO IS CRITICAL NOW WAS CRITICAL IN 1963, ONLY ONE COMES TO THE TABLE WITH CLEAN HANDS.

JUST AS SO MANY OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATES HAVE SEEN, WITH DEEP DISMAY, THE SUCCESS OF VIETNAMIZATION -- SO HAVE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

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SOUTH VIETS SHOW ABILITY-DETERMINATION

AND THIS BRINGS US TO THE PRESENT TIME. ON MARCH 31, THE GOVERNMENT IN HANOI SENT TWELVE OF ITS THIRTEEN DIVISIONS, SUPPORTED BY TANKS, AND BY LONG-RANGE ARTILLERY, IN AN OPEN, MASSIVE, CONVENTIONAL INVASION OF SOUTH VIETNAM. IT IS SAID TODAY THAT THIS DEMONSTRATES THE FAILURE OF VIETNAMIZATION. I THINK THAT CONTENTION NEEDS TO BE LAID TO REST ONCE AND FOR ALL. PART OF THE PROCESS OF VIETNAMIZATION INVOLVES THE STEADY REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES IN THAT AREA. AND THAT REDUCTION, THAT WITHDRAWAL, IS PROCEEDING RIGHT ON SCHEDULE.

NOW, IF VIETNAMIZATION WERE FAILING, WOULD THE WITHDRAWAL BE PROCEEDING ON A STEADY TIMETABLE?

WHY NOW -- FOR NORTH'S INVASION?

BUT, MORE IMPORTANT, IN THE LIGHT OF OUR WITHDRAWAL, IF VIETNAMIZATION WERE FAILING, WOULD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE NOT WAIT UNTIL U.S. FORCE LEVELS HAD DWINDLED CONSIDERABLY MORE? WOULD THEY NOT HAVE WAITED THE FEW EXTRA MONTHS, AND THEN SIMPLY WALKED IN AND TOPPLED WHAT CRITICS HAVE AT HOME CALLED A "CORRUPT REGIME?" THEY WOULD HAVE WAITED AND SQUASHED WHAT THE SELL-OUT ARTISTS CALL "A WEAK, DISSPIRITED ARMY."

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THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE MADE SOME MISTAKES AND THEY HAVE BEEN MISLED BY SOME IN AMERICA, BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET BECOME GULLIBLE ENOUGH TO BELIEVE LIBERAL U.S. PROPAGANDA. THEY KNOW THAT EVERY DAY THE ARMY OF FREE VIETNAM IS PROVING MORE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AND TO REPEL AGGRESSION --THEY KNEW THAT VIETNAMIZATION WAS SUCCEEDING BRILLIANTLY. AND GENERAL GIAP KNEW THAT IF HE WAS GOING TO STAND ANY CHANCE OF WINNING WHAT HE HAS COMMITTED SO MUCH AGGRESSION FOR, THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO TAKE THE RISK IMMEDIATELY OF DOING WHAT HE HAS NOT YET DONE IN THE WAR, AND THAT IS TO GAMBLE VIRTUALLY HIS ENTIRE ARMY, AND ALL THE EQUIPMENT SO GENEROUSLY SUPPLIED BY MOSCOW, IN ONE LAST DESPERATE GAMBLE TO GAIN THE FRUITS OF AGGRESSION. HE HAD TO MOVE IN THIS TRANSITION PERIOD, WHILE OUR FORCES ARE DWINDLING AND ARVN FORCES ARE NOT YET AS STRONG AS THEY WILL BE IN A FEW MONTHS.

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NORTH'S GAMBLE LOST

THE GENERAL HAS LOST HIS GAMBLE. WITH SUPERIOR NUMBERS, WITH BATTLESEASONED TROOPS, WITH SUPERIOR EQUIPMENT -- SOVIET-SUPPLIED EQUIPMENT -- HEAVIER, NEWER AND MORE SOPHISTICATED THAN ANYTHING WE HAVE GIVEN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE -- WITH ALL THIS AGAINST THEM, THE ARVN FORCES HAVE HELD. THE GREAT HANOI OFFENSIVE HAS BEEN STOPPED IN ITS TRACKS. AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES CONTINUES. VIETNAMIZATION IS A SUCCESS.

THOSE WHO FOR SO LONG SUPPORTED THE WAR, AND HAVE NOW JOINED THE RANKS OF THOSE WHO SAY THEY WANT PEACE -- AND DO, I BELIEVE, JUST SO IT ISN'T RICHARD NIXON WHO WINS THE PEACE -- THESE PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO CONDEMN, CONTINUE TO TRY TO CONFUSE THE ISSUE, CONTINUE TO HOPE THEY CAN SALVAGE AN ISSUE, WHILE RICHARD NIXON TRIES TO SALVAGE A COUNTRY AND A PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO BE FREE.

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NIXON POLICY PROVES RIGHT POLICY

THE TRACK RECORD OF THE CRITICS IS THERE FOR ALL TO SEE. AND SO IS PRESIDENT NIXON'S. HE HAS BEEN RIGHT IN CLEANING UP THE MESS. AND THEY HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY WRONG -- FROM THE BEGINNING WHEN THEY STARTED THE WAR TO NOW WHEN THEY ACT IN A FASHION WHICH WOULD ONLY KEEP THE WAR GOING IF THE PRESIDENT WERE FOOLISH ENOUGH TO BE SWAYED BY THEIR SELF-SERVING DEMANDS THAT HE SELL OUT A PEOPLE'S FREEDOM, A NATION'S PRIDE, AND A NATION'S CREDIBILITY AS A WORLD POWER. THE LONGER THIS DEBATE CONTINUES IN THE SENATE, THE MORE CONCLUSIVELY MY MORE AMBITIOUS COLLEAGUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE DEMONSTRATE THEIR TOTAL INCAPACITY FOR THE HIGH OFFICE THEY PRESUME TO SEEK.

SUPPORT FOR GOLDWATER RESOLUTION

I CALL UPON THEM TO JOIN WITH ME IN SUPPORTING THE GOLDWATER RESOLUTION. I CALL UPON THEM TO SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RECOGNIZE THE MISTAKES THEY MADE IN THE EARLY '60's. I CALL UPON THEM TO CONDEMN HANOI, AS THEY HAVE FOR THE LAST THREE YEARS CONDEMNED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. WE ARE NOT ASKING FOR A JUDGMENT ON PRESIDENT NIXON. HISTORY WILL MAKE THAT, AND I AM CONFIDENT THE JUDGMENT WILL BE THAT HE DID RIGHT.