

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

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Don

THE FULL IMPLICATIONS OF THE BRUTAL ASSAULT, MONDAY, ON ALABAMA GOVERNOR GEORGE WALLACE CANNOT YET BE KNOWN EVEN THE LONG-TERM PHYSICAL CONSEQUENCES TO THE GOVERNOR ARE YET TO BE FINALLY DETERMINED BY THE DOCTORS, ALTHOUGH WE CAN BE THANKFUL, WITH HIS WIFE AND FAMILY, THAT HE HAS SURVIVED THIS SENSELESS ATTACK UPON HIS LIFE AND WE CAN BE CONFIDENT THAT HIS CONSIDERABLE ENERGIES WILL SUSTAIN HIM IN HIS PRESENT CRISIS.

I CANNOT JOIN WITH THOSE WHO VENTURE SPECULATION ON THE POLITICAL IMPACT OF THIS TRAGEDY -- HOW MANY VOTES IT MAY AFFECT OR MAY ALREADY HAVE AFFECTED IN THE TWO PRIMARIES YESTERDAY.

THAT IT MAY HAVE SUCH AN EFFECT, THERE IS NO DOUBT. THAT THE INCIDENT HAS CAST A CERTAIN PALL OVER THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF 1972 -- JUST AS SIMILAR INCIDENTS HAVE AFFECTED THE LAST TWO NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS -- I DO NOT DENY.

THAT IT IS HAUNTINGLY REMINISCENT OF THOSE PREVIOUS INCIDENTS -- IN 1963 AND IN 1968 -- I CANNOT DENY.

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NOR CAN IT BE DENIED THAT SUCH DEPLORABLE ACTS ARE A THREAT TO OUR FREE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND THAT ACTS OF VIOLENCE SUCH AS LAST MONDAY'S SHOOTING AFFECT MANY MORE THAN THE UNFORTUNATE INDIVIDUALS IMMEDIATELY INVOLVED -- AND IN FACT THAT THEY DO VIOLENCE TO THE VERY ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.

RUSH OF EXPLANATION MISS MARK

I WISH THAT IT WERE NOT SO -- BUT THE RECENT PAST IN AMERICA IS ALL TOO CLEAR -- SO I MUST ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE OUTRAGE LAST MONDAY IN LAUREL IS NOT WITHOUT ITS TERRIBLE PRECEDENTS. PUBLIC LIFE IN AMERICA HAS BEEN TOO OFTEN TAINTED BY THE STAIN OF VIOLENCE DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS, FOR ANY AMONG US TO IGNORE IT.

BUT IN THE RUSH OF SOME TO EXPLAIN IT -- AND IN THE HASTY CONCLUSIONS THAT ARE SO OFTEN DRAWN -- THERE IS MUCH TO STAUNCHLY DENY, MUCH WITH WHICH I MUST TAKE STRONG ISSUE.

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IT HAS BEEN SAID THIS WEEK, TOO OFTEN TO IGNORE, THAT THERE IS A SICKNESS IN OUR MIDST. A SICKNESS EVIDENCED BY THE GOVERNOR'S EXPERIENCE -- A SICKNESS BY WHICH WE SOMEHOW ARE ALL INFECTED.

TOO OFTEN TO IGNORE, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, WE HAVE HEARD THE IMPLICATION THAT BECAUSE ONE DISTURBED AND DERANGED MAN HAS LIVED AND BEEN BROUGHT UP IN THIS SOCIETY, THAT THAT ISOLATED FACT SAYS MORE SOMEHOW ABOUT THE STATE OF THIS SOCIETY THAN THE STATE OF THAT ONE MAN'S MIND.

SOMEHOW HIS ACT IS OUR ACT, WE ARE TOLD. HIS GUILT IS OUR GUILT. HIS DISTURBANCE IS SOMEHOW THE SHAME OF US ALL.

BUT I SUBMIT TO THOSE WHO WOULD MAKE THAT CHARGE THAT THEY CAN'T MAKE IT STICK. IT MAY BE EASIER -- IT SEEMS THE COMMON WISDOM AMONG SOME -- TO BLAME A GROUP FOR THE SINS OF ITS MEMBERS, TO BLAME A NATION FOR THE SINS OF A FEW.

TO DO SO SOMEHOW RELIEVES US OF THE AWFUL BURDEN OF KNOWING THAT LARGE ACTS -- BE THEY GOOD OR BAD -- ARE WITHIN THE CAPACITY OF US ALL, OF EACH ONE OF US TO PERFORM.

HOW MUCH EASIER TO PEG IT ALL ON A SYSTEM, ON A PROCESS, ON A SOCIETY.

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VIOLENCE , BE IT THE ACT OF A SINGLE MAN, LAST MONDAY AFTERNOON, OR THE STREET VIOLENCE OF AN UGLY MOB LAST FRIDAY IN SAN FRANCISCO -- IT IS EASIER TO LIVE WITH, EASIER TO EXPLAIN AWAY IF IT IS EVERYONE'S FAULT, IF IT IS THE FAULT OF THE SYSTEM -- THAT IS TO SAY, IF IT'S NOBODY'S FAULT.

THAT IS WHAT SOME AMONG US HAVE TRIED TO DO. THAT IS HOW THEY HAVE VIEWED VIOLENCE IN AMERICA -- NOT AS THE ACT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO MUST CARRY A BURDEN OF GUILT -- BUT AS THE RESULT OF A SYSTEM ON WHICH WE HAVE HEAPED ALL THE BLAME FOR THE FAILURES AND THE WEAKNESSES OF OURSELVES.

THE SYSTEM COULD TAKE THE BLAME PERHAPS, OR A SHARE OF IT, IF IT WERE NOT A GREAT SYSTEM. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD SHARE IN THE BLAME -- I WOULD BE THE FIRST TO SAY -- IF THEY WERE NOT A GREAT PEOPLE.

IF THEY TOLERATED VIOLENCE -- IF THEY CONDONED IT AND EXCUSED IT -- AS SOME OF THOSE AMONG US DO, AS SOME OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE GEORGE WALLACE FOR THE DEMOCRAT NOMINATION DO -- IF MOST AMERICAN PEOPLE SHARED THE VIEWS OF SOME OF THESE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES AND OTHERS, THEN MOST AMERICAN PEOPLE COULD AND SHOULD SHARE THE BLAME FOR VIOLENCE WHEN IT OCCURS.

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I DON'T HAVE TO RE-ASSERT HERE THAT I MAY NOT ALWAYS AGREE WITH GOVERNOR WALLACE ON KEY ISSUES OF THE DAY. BUT WHATEVER DISAGREEMENT THERE MAY BE, IT DOES NOT PREVENT ME FROM FINDING A CERTAIN IRONY -- IN THIS AWFUL TRAGEDY -- THAT IT SHOULD FALL TO GEORGE WALLACE TO REAP THE FRIGHTFUL WHIRLWIND OF THE TOLERANCE OF A FEW IN HIS OWN PARTY FOR THE VIOLENT TENDENCIES OF A FEW IN THIS COUNTRY.

MEANING OF WALLACE VOTE

I SAID AT THE OUTSET, THAT I WOULD MAKE NO ATTEMPT TO JUDGE THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION FOR THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN. EVEN APART FROM OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, IT IS CLEARLY TOO EARLY FOR SUCH SPECULATION.

AND SUCH SPECULATION IS MADE ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT WHEN WE ARE SEEING AN UPHEAVAL IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY UNPARALLELED IN MODERN HISTORY AND AS A RESULT WE ARE SEEING CONFUSION AMONG DEMOCRATS -- BOTH PARTY PROS AND RANK-AND-FILE VOTERS -- UNPRECEDENTED IN RECENT MEMORY. TAKE A LOOK AT THE PRIMARIES THAT HAVE BEEN HELD TO DATE. THE RESULTS ARE SOMETHING LESS THAN COHERENT, THE ANALYSTS ARE BAFFLED, THE EXPERTS CONFUSED AND THE DEMOCRATS SOMEWHAT BEWILDERED. AMONG THE DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES, ALMOST EVERYONE IT SEEMS, IS FINISHING THIRD.

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BUT CONCERNED DEMOCRATS ARE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THEIR PARTY AND ALL CONCERNED AMERICANS ARE APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. SHOULD THE LIBERAL FRINGE SUCCEED IN SEIZING -- AND HOLDING ONTO -- THE DEMOCRAT PARTY'S CONTROLS.

WE CANNOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN WHAT FUTURE COURSE THE GOVERNOR WILL PURSUE, BUT WHATEVER THE GOVERNOR MAY DECIDE TO DO, AND WHATEVER EFFECT HIS DECISION MAY MEAN FOR THE FUTURE IN THE DEMOCRAT CAMPAIGN, IT IS CLEAR TO ME WHAT THE MEANING OF HIS PARTICIPATION TO DATE HAS BEEN.

IN THE EARLY PRIMARIES, THE EVIDENCE BEGAN TO SHOW. AND THE RESULTS FROM YESTERDAY'S RACES IN MARYLAND AND IN MICHIGAN MADE THE CASE CONVINCINGLY.

THE GENERAL MEANING OF THE WALLACE SUCCESSES IN THE EARLY PRIMARIES WAS EVIDENT EVEN BY THE SECOND ONE, THE RACE IN FLORIDA. AND GEORGE MC GOVERN WAS HALF RIGHT WHEN HE SAID, AFTER HIS FLORIDA LOSS, THAT THE WALLACE VOTE WAS A PROTEST VOTE.

MC GOVERN SAID IT WAS A PROTEST VOTE AGAINST THINGS AS THEY ARE. AND IN THAT -- IN A SENSE PERHAPS THEY DIDN'T INTEND -- HE WAS RIGHT ON THE MARK. BUT HE WENT ON, AND HE SAID THE WALLACE VOTE WAS "AN ANGRY CRY FROM THE GUTS OF ORDINARY AMERICANS AGAINST A SYSTEM THAT DOESN'T SEEM TO GIVE A DAMN ABOUT WHAT'S REALLY BOTHERING THE PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY TODAY." A CRY APPARENTLY AGAINST THIS SICK SYSTEM WE ARE SAID TO LIVE UNDER AND THAT INFESTS US ALL.

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WELL, THAT IS WHERE MC GOVERN WAS WRONG. THE WALLACE VOTE IS A PROTEST VOTE. IT WAS IN FLORDIA. IN SPITE OF EVERYTHING MC GOVERN AND HUMPHREY TRIED TO DO ABOUT IT SINCE, IT REMAINED SO IN MICHIGAN AND MARYLAND. IT WAS A PROTEST VOTE BUT LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT WHERE THAT PROTEST WAS DIRECTED.

THE DEMOCRATS TERM THIS A CRUCIAL ELECTION. AND IT IS. BUT THE DEMOCRAT VOTERS SEEM LESS THAN CONVINCED.

IN BOTH STATES WHERE PRIMARIES WERE HELD YESTERDAY, GEORGE WALLACE'S MARGIN OF VICTORY WAS OVERWHELMING.

IN BOTH STATES THE TWO MEN WHO HAD BEEN CONSIDERED THE LEADING DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES HAD TO SETTLE FOR AN EMPTY FIGHT FOR SECOND PLACE AND WOUND UP SPLITTING THAT DUBIOUS PRIZE.

IN BOTH STATES, THE DEMOCRAT DELEGATES WENT HEAVILY INTO THE WALLACE COLUMN.

AND IN BOTH STATES, THE PROTEST VOTERS FOUND THEMSELVES IN THE MAJORITY AGAIN.

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YOU CAN PROTEST THINGS AS THEY ARE, LET ME ASSURE YOU, BY A VOTE FOR GEORGE MC GOVERN. IF YOU DON'T LIKE THE WAY RICHARD NIXON IS CONDUCTING THE AFFAIRS OF THIS GOVERNMENT, A VOTE FOR HUBERT HUMPHREY IS CLEARLY A VOTE FOR CHANGING THAT -- FOR TURNING IT AROUND ALTOGETHER.

YOU DON'T HAVE TO VOTE FOR GEORGE WALLACE TO PROTEST THE POLICIES OF RICHARD NIXON.

BUT THAT IS NOT WHAT THIS PROTEST VOTE IS ALL ABOUT. MC GOVERN WAS HALF RIGHT, AS I SAID. THIS IS A PROTEST VOTE. BUT IT IS NOT DIRECTED AT THIS GOVERNMENT OR AT THIS SUPPOSEDLY SICK SOCIETY.

THE WALLACE VOTE OF YESTERDAY, AND HIS OTHERWISE UNEXPLAINABLY STRONG SHOWINGS ELSEWHERE, ARE DEMONSTRATIONS OF PROTEST AGAINST THE REMAINING DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES WHO SEEK SUCH A RADICAL AND UNPRECEDENTED SHIFT FROM THINGS AS THEY ARE -- AWAY FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN TRADITION AND POLITICAL LIFE.

THE WALLACE VOTE IS A PROTEST VOTE -- A DEMOCRAT PROTEST VOTE BY DEMOCRATS AGAINST DEMOCRATS.

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AND IT IS A PROTEST VOTE AGAINST THE KIND OF RADICAL SOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY THOSE DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE ASSUMED CONTROL OF THEIR PARTY -- AND WHO, LIKE GOERGE MC GOVERN, TELL US OUR SOCIETY IS SICK AND WHO, LIKE GEORGE MC GOVERN, SEEM TO CONFUSE POLITICS WITH PATHOLOGY.

IT IS NO ACCIDENT, I SUBMIT, THAT WHILE RICHARD NIXON HAS WON OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR HIS RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN THESE PRIMARIES -- AND HAS DONE SO WITHOUT CAMPAIGNING AND WITHOUT SPENDING MILLIONS OF DOLLARS, AS HAVE THE DEMOCRATS -- THAT THE DEMOCRATS NOW HALF-WAY THROUGH THE PRIMARY BATTLES ARE STILL WITHOUT AN IDENTIFIABLE FRONT-RUNNER. SEVEN WEEKS FROM THEIR CONVENTION, WITH HALF OF THE PRIMARIES NOW DECIDED, AND WITH A CONSIDERABLY NARROWED FIELD OF CANDIDATES, THEY ARE STILL WITHOUT EVEN THE HINT OF A CONSENSUS FAVORITE FOR THE NOMINATION.

THE DEMOCRAT VOTERS CERTAINLY CAN'T SETTLE ON THEIR FAVORITE. IN MICHIGAN AND MARYLAND, THEY EVEN DIFFERED ON WHOM THEY WANTED TO PROTEST AGAINST THE MOST AND FINALLY SETTLED -- AS IF BY DESIGN IN THE INTEREST OF EQUITY PERHAPS -- ON THE SPLIT I MENTIONED.

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IT IS A PROTEST, ALL RIGHT. AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS' STAND ON THE ISSUES AND EVEN, I WOULD VENTURE, AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS FOR THE VERY ISSUES THEY CHOOSE TO STAND ON.

LIKE VIETNAM.

AT PRECISELY THE TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE RALLIED IN SUPPORT OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THEIR PRESIDENT -- AND THE STRONG ACTION TAKEN IN RESPONSE TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE INVASION OF SOUTH VIETNAM -- AT EXACTLY THE TIME WHEN AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE DECISIVE ACTION THERE IS STRONGER THAN EVER BEFORE AND JUST WHEN THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE AS GENEROUS A PROPOSAL FOR PEACE AS THE LIMITS OF A RESPONSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY WILL ALLOW -- JUST WHEN ALL OF THESE FACTORS COME TOGETHER, THE DEMOCRATS DECIDE TO RESURRECT THE WAR AS A POLITICAL ISSUE.

SENATE ACTION

TO SAY THAT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT IS A DELICATE MATTER IS AN UNDERSTATEMENT. HIGHEST LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALWAYS FRAGILE. BUT WHEN THIS ONE IS VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL WORLD SITUATION, IT DOES NOT SEEM DIFFICULT TO APPRECIATE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL BE NEGOTIATING AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF HIGHLY VOLATILE AND FLUID SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT CONCEIVABLY AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF HIS DISCUSSIONS.

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IT APPEARS TO ME THAT EVERY AMERICAN -- REGARDLESS OF HIS POLITICS, REGARDLESS WHETHER HE SUPPORTS OR EVEN LIKES RICHARD NIXON, PERSONALLY -- WOULD WISH TO AVOID ANY ACTION WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY AFFECT THE PRESIDENT ADVERSELY OR UNDERMINE THE STRENGTH OF THE AMERICAN BARGAINING POSITION. IT WOULD SEEM TO ME THAT NO AMERICAN WOULD WANT TO DO ANYTHING THAT COULD IN ANY WAY JEOPARDIZE THE SUCCESS OF AMERICA'S-- NOT RICHARD NIXON'S -- BUT AMERICA'S AND MANKIND'S SUCCESS AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT.

BUT THERE ARE A FEW IN THE DEMOCRAT PARTY WHO SEEM BENT ON RAISING THE VIETNAM ISSUE TO A NEW PEAK JUST NOW WHEN THE PRESIDENT IS PREPARING TO DEPART FOR MOSCOW. AND THEY APPARENTLY INTEND TO MAINTAIN THAT LEVEL OF VOLUME FOR THEIR CRITICISM FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF THE PRESIDENT'S NEGOTIATIONS.

YESTERDAY IN THE SENATE A STEP WAS TAKEN TOWARD AMENDING THE PENDING CHURCH-CASE AMENDMENT TO CONFORM WITH THE PRESIDENT'S LATEST OFFER TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

THAT WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. BUT IN MY OPINION, THE PROPER COURSE FOR THE SENATE WOULD BE TO SUSPEND CONSIDERATION OF THIS MEASURE UNTIL THE PRESIDENT HAS COMPLETED HIS SUMMIT NEGOTIATIONS AND RETURNED TO AMERICA.

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IN FACT, I ASKED UNANIMOUS CONSENT OF MY COLLEAGUES TO DO JUST THAT. HOWEVER, MY REQUEST WAS DENIED BY THOSE WHO WISH TO CONTINUE "DISCUSSION" OF THE VIETNAM ISSUE WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS IN MOSCOW.

AS SENATOR BYRD OF WEST VIRGINIA PUT IT, "WE SHOULD... LEAVE THE PRESIDENT'S OPTIONS OPEN TO HIM FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS, SO THAT IN THE LONG RUN WE ALL MAY NOT ONLY SEE OUR OWN HEARTFELT DESIRES ACHIEVED, BUT WE MIGHT ALSO HAVE BENEFITTED OURSELVES, THE SENATE, THE COUNTRY, AND THE WHOLE, IN A WAY THAT FUTURE GENERATIONS CAN REMEMBER WITH GRATITUDE."

WELL, I FOR ONE AGREE FULLY WITH SENATOR BYRD, EVEN IF SOME IN HIS OWN PARTY DO NOT. AND I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE SENATE WILL NOT TAKE ANY ACTION WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS AWAY THAT COULD BE CONSTRUED AS CLOSING HIS OPTIONS OR UNDERMINING HIS NEGOTIATING POSITION.

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THOSE WHO WISH TO TAKE UPON THEMSELVES THE RESPONSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING AND CRITICIZING THE PRESIDENT'S VIETNAM POLICY WHILE HE IS ENGAGED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS MAY DO SO. BUT I CAN ASSURE THEM THE SENATE WILL NOT VOTE ANY SO-CALLED RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESIDENT WHILE HE IS AWAY.

I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT WANT THE SENATE OR ANY SENATOR OR ANY INDIVIDUAL TO ROCK THE BOAT OR DISTURB THE DELICATE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WHILE THE PRESIDENT IS SEEKING PEACE.