

FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

Mr. President:

From the beginning, the "surrender in Vietnam now" movement, which is the proper name for some of the so-called anti-war groups which seek to undermine the President's efforts to obtain an honorable peace, have ignored the kind of enemy we are fighting.

They have ignored it, and in some cases sought to deny it, because to face up to the truth would mean they would have to confess that getting out of Vietnam is not the easy task they would like the American people to believe it is.

Mr. President, one of the perils of a precipitate withdrawal by American forces from South Vietnam would be to expose the South Vietnamese -- especially those who have actively opposed Communism -- to the very real possibility of torture and death on a mammoth scale.

There have been efforts in recent months from several corners to minimize the possibility of this happening.

We are told in some cases there is no proof that it has happened or that it would happen. We have even been told that the slaughter at Hue in 1968 was merely the revenge of an army in retreat and did not reflect a part of North Vietnamese and Communist policy.

We have been told this even though there are Communist documents that make it clear that the massacre at Hue was deliberate and a part of Communist policy.

In recent months two studies have been done of Communist repression and terror tactics in South Vietnam.

One is called, "The Viet Cong Strategy of Terror" and is written by Douglas Pike, a former newspaperman who is a recognized authority on Vietnam.

Mr. Pike's monograph was prepared for the United States Information Agency and therefore is not available for distribution in the United States.

(more)

Dole
--2--

While Mr. Pike deals primarily with the Communist policies of terror, he also tells us that from captured documents and public pronouncements it is clear that they "are picking up the Vietnamization gauntlet thrown down by the governments of Vietnam and the United States."

He says that the Communists have given themselves four tasks which are: "1. To prove by demonstration that the Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces cannot successfully fight alone." "2. To prove that the government of Vietnam in Saigon is a mere facade propped up by the Americans and will collapse when American disengagement reaches a certain point." "3. To destroy the various political, social, economic and militia-type programs the GVN (Government of Vietnam) has underway in the country's 2,500 villages -- collectively known as the Pacification Program -- thus destroying or minimizing any faith and trust villagers might have in the Saigon government." "4. To increase American casualties so as to turn the disengagement into a rout."

Mr. President: If these are the Communist objectives, their feeling of frustration must have grown since Mr. Pike wrote those words early this year.

South Vietnamese forces are proving they can successfully fight alone; the government of South Vietnam shows no sign of collapse. Pacification is succeeding.

And President Nixon's decision to clean out the North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia has dealt the enemy a major setback, such a setback in fact that there is little likelihood now of turning our disengagement into a rout.

As a matter of fact, Mr. President, this is where the North Vietnamese misjudge us completely.

There will be no American rout in Southeast Asia so long as Richard Nixon is President. I am convinced that all the forces of surrender in the United States will not be able to persuade or pressure this President into the precipitate withdrawal.

(more)

Mr. President, Mr. Pike makes it plain that the murders, massacres and tortures practiced by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong are not practices in passion but are a part of a "population control system resting in part on terror."

Mr. Pike also makes the point that there is a major difference in outrages perpetrated by our side and those perpetrated by the enemy. Again I quote:

"To the Communist, terror has utility and is beneficial to his cause, while to the other side the identical act is self-defeating. This is...because...terror is integral in all the Communist tactics and programs and the Communists could not rid themselves of it if they wanted to."

Mr. President, what Mr. Pike calls terror is referred to as "repression" in a study by the Rand Corporation, prepared for the advanced research projects agency. The study is called "Viet Cong Repression and its Implications for the future."

It was prepared by Stephen T. Hosmer. Here is what he says about Communist repression in Vietnam.

"Organized and directed by the Viet Cong Security Service, repression is a vital part of the over-all Communist effort to achieve the "disintegration" of the government and to control and polarize the people of Vietnam through the systematic elimination, intimidation, and subversion of those supporting the defense against communism."

In other words, repression is indeed terror.

One of the points made by the apologists for the North Vietnamese is that the massacre at Hue was done in a fit of passion. The implication is that on this ground it ought to be excused and that it does not presage further killing of South Vietnamese. But the facts, unfortunately, do not bear this out.

(more)

Here is what Mr. Hosmer says about the 25 day interval when Communist forces controlled a large part of Hue: "in the intervening 25 days, despite fierce allied counterattacks, Communist forces apparently had time and sufficient control to track down and eliminate hundreds of local government officials, administrative personnel, police, spies, political party members and other target groups. There can be little doubt that the repression of such persons was one of their foremost objectives; captured notes, taken during a party committee meeting in preparation for the Hue offensive, listed the puppet Administration as one of the primary targets of the attack...Attacking main force units were assigned a major role in the capture and liquidation of tyrants."

Mr. President, where is the passion here? There is none. This is a deliberate strategy of terror and massacre. Those who write differently have either not bothered to study the facts or are deliberately lying.

It serves no real purpose to go farther, because I believe the point is clear.

I am disturbed, however, that the New York Times, whose columnist Tom Wicker doubted the President's warning of a bloodbath if Americans were to withdraw precipitately from South Vietnam, has not deigned to correct Mr. Wicker's distortion. The senior Senator from Colorado has accurately refuted Mr. Wicker's column.

Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of the press and of my colleagues both "The Viet Cong strategy of terror," and "Viet Cong repression and its implications for the future." They may serve to set the record straight and they may explain, in part, why the President is not willing to allow the massacre of the South Vietnamese people.