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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

ARLINGTON REPUBLICAN WOMEN'S CLUB

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS HALL

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1969

IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE TONIGHT TO SPEAK ON BEHALF
OF LINWOOD HOLTON. HAVING BEEN A RESIDENT OF VIRGINIA FOR 9
YEARS, I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO OBSERVE THE GROWTH OF
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN VIRGINIA. LINWOOD HOLTON HAS BEEN IN
THE FOREFRONT OF THAT GROWTH. UNLIKE THE LAST OF AN
GOVERNOR OF THAT LINWOOD HOLTON IS A MEAN. HE
EXEMPLIFIES WHAT IS BEST IN A MAN SEEKING PUBLIC OFFICE. HE
HAS RISEN FROM A POSITION OF LEADERSHIP IN HIS COMMUNITY TO
BECOME NOMINEE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR GOVERNOR.

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WHAT QUALIFICATIONS CAN LINWOOD HOLTON BRING TO THIS

POSITION? LINWOOD HOLTON WILL TAKE TO RICHMOND A CONCEPT OF

GOVERNMENT THAT WAS FIRST EXPRESSED BY THE FATHER OF VIRGINIA,

THOMAS JEFFERSON. JEFFERSON ONCE SAID, "THE ONLY BARRIER TO

CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT IS THE ERECTION OF WISE AND BENEFICENT

STATE GOVERNMENT". LINWOOD HOLTON BELIEVES THAT STATE GOVERN
MENT MUST BE EFFECTIVE IF IT IS TO ASSIST IN MEETING THE PRESSING

NEEDS OF OUR SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS RECOGNIZED THAT WE MUST STRENGTHEN
OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. THE PRESIDENT'S TAX REVENUE
SHARING PROPOSAL IS EVIDENCE OF THIS INTEREST. AS GOVERNOR,
LINWOOD HOLTON WILL BE ABLE TO USE THIS ADDITIONAL REVENUE
RESPONSIBLY AND EFFICIENTLY.

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AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR THAT WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE OF BENEFIT

TO THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA IS THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
LINWOOD HOLTON AND PRESIDENT NIXON. AS PRESIDENT NIXON'S
REGIONAL COORDINATOR, LINWOOD HOLTON PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART
IN DEVISING AND PARTICIPATING IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.
PRESIDENT NIXON'S SUCCESS IN VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH
CAROLINA, AND THE BORDER STATES OF TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY ARE
TRIBUTES TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF LINWOOD HOLTON'S ORGANIZATIONAL
ABILITY. THE PRESIDENT'S ADMIRATION FOR LINWOOD HOLTON WILL
PROVIDE A BASIS FOR A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE OF
VIRGINIA AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE
OF VIRGINIA WILL NOT GO UNMET IF LINWOOD HOLTON IS ELECTED
GOVERNOR.

LAST NOVEMBER, THE CITIZENS OF VIRGINIA VOTED FOR ANOTHER MAN WHO THOUGHT THE BEST GOVERNMENT WAS THAT GOVERNMENT CLOSEST TO THE PEOPLE. SINCE HIS ELECTION, RICHARD NIXON HAS REPEATEDLY DEMONSTRATED THE COURAGE NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME RICHARD NIXON HAS ACTED COURAGEOUSLY IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY.

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YOU WILL REMEMBER CARACAS IN 1958. DICK NIXON AND HIS WIFE
WERE ATTACKED BY ANGRY COMMUNIST MOBS. IN THE VERY WORST OF THEIR
DRIVE THROUGH THE STREETS OF CARACAS, THE CROWDS WERE SEEKING TO
BREAK THE CAR WINDOWS AND TURN IT OVER. JACK SHERWOOD, THE
SECRET SERVICEMAN IN CHARGE PULLED HIS REVOLVER AND WAS READY TO
FIRE ON THE MOB. VICE PRESIDENT NIXON KNOCKED THE REVOLVER ASIDE.
HIS DECISION, WHICH DEMONSTRATED COURAGE IN THE FACE OF GREAT
PHYSICAL DANGER, WAS CORRECT. SUDDENLY THEIR CAR MOVED OUT OF
THE CROWD AND WAS ABLE TO LEAVE THE ATTACKERS BEHIND.

TODAY, AS PRESIDENT, RICHARD NIXON IS DEMONSTRATING A DIFFERENT KIND OF COURAGE. HE IS MAKING THE HARD DECISIONS NECESSARY TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE 1970'S.

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THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS FOR THE NEW NIXON ADMINISTRATION
WAS TO RESTORE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT. IT HAD TO MAKE GOVERNMENT
WORK AGAIN. IN ORDER TO ACCOMPLISH THIS GOAL, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CLEARLY WOULD HAVE TO GIVE MORE ATTENTION TO DEEDS AND
LESS ATTENTION TO WORDS. IT WOULD HAVE TO WORRY LESS ABOUT
ENGINEERING PUBLIC OPINION AND MORE ABOUT ENGINEERING THE MACHINERY
OF GOVERNMENT. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE THIS.

### VIETNAM CRITICS

AMERICANS ARE BEING ENGULFED THESE DAYS BY A WILD FLURRY OF STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES ACCUSING THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION OF FAILING TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

WOULD YOU BELIEVE THAT ANY RESPONSIBLE SPOKESMAN FOR THE PARTY
THAT TRIED TO END THAT WAR FOR EIGHT YEARS AND FAILED -- WOULD HAVE
THE EFFRONTERY TO COMPLAIN BECAUSE PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NOT ENDED IT
IN 8 MONTHS?

WOULD YOU BELIEVE THAT THOSE CLOSELY ALIGNED WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY, THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO SEND AMERICAN TROOPS INTO COMBAT IN VIETNAM, AND IN WHOSE ADMINISTRATION OUR COMBAT CASUALTIES BEGAN, WOULD COMPLAIN THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NOT ACHIEVED AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD STOP THE SHOOTING?

WOULD YOU BELIEVE THAT OPPOSITION PARTY SPOKESMEN IN HIGH
PLACES WHO ACQUIESCED WITHOUT COMPLAINT IN EVERY STEP THAT LED TO
THE BUILDUP OF 550,000 AMERICAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM UNDER TWO PRESIDENTS OF THEIR PARTY WOULD NOW CHARGE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS NOT ...
YET UNDONE WHAT THEY DID OVER THE COURSE OF 8 YEARS.

LET US LOOK FOR A MOMENT AT WHAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS DONE IN
THE 8 SHORT MONTHS SINCE HE INHERITED THE VIETNAM WAR TO CHANGE THE
POLICY BEQUEATHED HIM.

HE HAS MADE THE FIRST SERIOUS AND EFFECTIVE EFFORT TO ENABLE
SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH PROGRESSIVELY
REDUCED LEVELS OF AMERICAN TROOP SUPPORT. HE WILL HAVE CUT THE
NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM BY AT LEAST 60,000 IN HIS FIRST
11 MONTHS IN OFFICE. AMERICAN CASUALTIES FOR THE FIRST 9 MONTHS
OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION ARE LOWER BY ONE THIRD THAN IN THE
COMPARABLE MONTHS OF THE LAST YEAR OF THE PRECEDING ADMINISTRATION.
AND PRESIDENT NIXON HAS SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED THE ECONOMIC COST OF
AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM.

# PAST AND PRESENT POLICY

SOME ALLEGE THAT "THE VIETNAM POLICY OF TODAY IS THE DISCREDITED POLICY OF THE PAST". THIS IS NOT TRUE. THE PRECEDING ADMINISTRATION CONSTANTLY INCREASED THE SIZE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN VIETNAM. IT DID NOT REDUCE THEM. IT HAD NO INTENTION OF REDUCING THEM. SECRETARY

OF DEFENSE, CLARK CLIFFORD, SAID ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1968, "WE HAVE NOT YET REACHED THE LEVEL OF 549,000 (AMERICAN TROOPS) IN SOUTH VIETNAM. WE INTEND TO CONTINUE TO BUILD TOWARD THAT LEVEL. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF LOWERING THAT LEVEL . . . AT ANY TIME IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE".

SOME COMPLAIN THAT THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT BEEN TRYING HARD ENOUGH TO BRING ABOUT PEACE AT THE PARIS NEGOTIATIONS.

NOW, LET US REMEMBER THAT THOSE NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN IN PARIS
EIGHT MONTHS BEFORE PRESIDENT NIXON ASSUMED OFFICE. THEY WERE CONDUCTED BY AVERILL HARRIMAN AND CYRUS VANCE. WHEN THESE TWO
NEGOTIATORS WERE RELIEVED BY THE NIXON TEAM, THE ONLY AGREEMENT
WHICH THEY HAD SUCCEEDED IN REACHING HAD TO DO WITH THE SHAPE OF
THE TABLE THAT THEY WOULD SIT AROUND.

NO REPUBLICAN ACCUSED HARRIMAN AND VANCE OF NOT TRYING. NO
REPUBLICAN BLAMED THEM FOR FAILING. ON THE CONTRARY, REPUBLICANS
RECOGNIZED THAT THE ONLY REASON WHY AN AGREEMENT TO END THE FIGHTING
WAS NOT ACHIEVED DURING THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION WAS THE COMPLETE

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UNWILLINGNESS OF THE ENEMY TO GIVE ONE INCH ON ANY TOPIC OF NEGOTIATION.

THE OBSTINACY OF HANOI IS STILL THE REASON FOR LACK OF PROGRESS AT PARIS.

CERTAINLY PRESIDENT NIXON HAS GONE AS FAR AS ANY MAN COULD TO BRING AN END TO THE WAR THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. ON MAY 14 HE PROPOSED A SPECIFIC EIGHT-POINT PROGRAM TO END THE FIGHTING. HIS PROPOSAL INCLUDED WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NON-SOUTH VIETNAMESE FORCES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISORY BODY ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES TO VERIFY TROOP WITHDRAWAL, A CEASE FIRE, AND THE CONDUCT OF FREE ELECTIONS WITHIN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE ONLY POINT ON WHICH THE PRESIDENT IS UNWILLING TO YIELD IS THE RIGHT OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO DECIDE WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT THEY WILL HAVE AND WHO WILL GOVERN THEM.

# WHAT DO CRITICS WISH?

WOULD THE CRITICS HAVE THE PRESIDENT THROW OUT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON AND REPLACE IT WITH ONE DOMINATED BY THE VIETCONG AND NORTH VIETNAMESE?

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ONE CRITIC RECENTLY STATED "FOR MORE THAN HALF A DECADE THE VIETCONG AND THE VIETNAMESE OF THE NORTH HAVE BATTLED THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY AND THE UNITED STATES ONLY FOR THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTIONS: WHO SHALL JOIN IN GOVERNING VIETNAM?"

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT ANY GROUP THAT CAN GET ENOUGH VOTES FROM THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE CAN JOIN IN GOVERNING SOUTH VIETNAM, AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED. HE WILL NOT, HOWEVER, IMPOSE ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT.

THIS RECENT FLURRY OF ACTIVITY BY THE INSTANT CRITICS BRINGS
TO MIND THE FIRST PEACE PROPOSAL OFFERED BY THE DEMOCRAT SENATOR
FROM MASSACHUSETTS. ON AUGUST 21. 1968 HE UNVEILED A FOUR-POINT
PEACE PLAN. AT THAT TIME HE SAID, WE SHOULD END THE BOMBING OF
NORTH VIETNAM, NEGOTIATE WITH HANOI AN AGREEMENT FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL, HELP THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE TO BUILD UP THEIR POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, AND DECREASE THE SIZE OF OUR FORCES IN SOUTH
VIETNAM.

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THREE OF THESE THINGS WE HAVE DONE. THE OTHER -- NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL -- WE HAVE EARNESTLY TRIED TO DO, BUT THE OTHER SIDE REFUSES EVEN TO DISCUSS THE MATTER.

THE FACT THAT THIS PEACE PLAN DID NOT PRODUCE PEACE DID NOT,
AND PERHAPS SHOULD NOT, DETER THE SENATOR FROM SUGGESTING A NEW PLAN,
BUT HIS MOST RECENT PLAN AMOUNTS TO GIVING UP IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

# PEACE OR PROPAGANDA

I AM JUST AS CONCERNED WITH QUICKLY AND HONORABLY ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR AS THE SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS, THE JUNIOR SENATOR FROM ARKANSAS, AND THE JUNIOR SENATOR FROM SOUTH DAKOTA. THEY HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO CRITICIZE AND EVERY RIGHT TO SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES, BUT IN FAIRNESS THEY SHOULD CAREFULLY REVIEW THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR AND ITS ESCALATION IN 1965, THE SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS CHARACTERIZED THIS WAR AS "A COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" AND IN 1966 HE PRAISED THE POLICIES OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION TOWARD VIETNAM AS "CLEAR AND FIRM". THESE STATEMENTS WERE MADE AT A TIME WHEN THE WAR IN VIETNAM WAS ESCALATING AND EXPANDING ON EVERY FRONT -- COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO THE NIXON POLICIES OF TODAY.

IF THESE STATEMENTS WERE TRUE IN 1965 AND 1966 DURING A PERIOD OF ESCALATION IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND COMMENTS IN HIS RECENT BOSTON SPEECH THAT THE "WAR IS DIFFICULT TO JUSTIFY", AND IT IS "NOT WORTHY OF OUR LIVES AND EFFORTS". I HAVE STATED MANY TIMES AND REPEAT THIS EVENING THAT IT IS HIGH TIME THE INSTANT CRITICS, FOR ONCE, UNITE AND SUPPORT OUR PRESIDENT. IT IS HIGH TIME THE INSTANT CRITICS, FOR ONCE, LAUNCH THEIR ATTACKS AGAINST THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THE VIETCONG. THEY COULD VERY PROPERLY CONDEMN THE ENEMY FOR NOT RESPONDING TO ANY OF THE PEACE OVERTURES PROFFERED BY PRESIDENT NIXON. THEIR FAILURE TO DO THIS OR BE OBJECTIVE IN THEIR CRITICISM MUST BE ENCOURAGING AND COMFORTING TO HANOI AND MUST LEAD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIETCONG LEADERS TO BELIEVE WHILE THEY CANNOT WIN A MILITARY VICTORY THEY CAN ACHIEVE THEIR GOAL BY WAITING FOR THE AMERICAN DISCIPLES OF RETREAT AND DEFEAT TO FURTHER DIVIDE AMERICA.

#### PARTISAN POLITICS

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRAT NATIONAL COMMITTEE UNFORTUNATELY RECENTLY IS QUOTED AS SAYING: "NOW IS THE TIME TO TAKE THE GLOVES OFF ON VIETNAM". THIS IS INDEED A TRAGIC DEVELOPMENT. IT IS A CLEAR AND BLATANT EFFORT TO EXPLOIT VIETNAM FOR PARTISAN PURPOSES. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT CAN ONLY IMPEDE THE EFFORT THE PRESIDENT IS MAKING TO END THE FIGHTING WITHOUT SACRIFICING THE OBJECTIVE WE HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR. SUCH A DEVELOPMENT, ECHOING THE PROPAGANDA OF HANOI, IS A THREAT TO THE SAFETY AND THE MORALE OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS WHO ARE IN VIETNAM.

### SUMMARY

CONFLICT BEGAN WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO IS CONTRACTING NOT ESCALATING THE WAR. WE HAVE A PRESIDENT WHO IS BRINGING AMERICAN BOYS HOME -- ALIVE. WE HAVE AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT WHO IS WILLING TO GO THE LAST MILE FOR PEACE. WHILE EVERYONE IN THIS ROOM DESPISES THE WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES, I BELIEVE MOST WOULD AGREE THAT PRESIDENT NIXON'S TASK WOULD BE MUCH EASIER IF THE DISCIPLES OF RETREAT AND DEFEAT WOULD EITHER SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS OR DIRECT THEIR FIRE AT THE ENEMY.