


REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

ANNUAL GOP STAG  
BERGEN COUNTY, NEW JERSEY  
MONDAY, MAY 17, 1971



IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE IN BERGEN COUNTY FOR THIS MAJOR FUND RAISING EVENT OF THE YEAR. THE GARDEN STATE OF NEW JERSEY HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN THE REVIVAL OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS, AND WITH THIS KIND OF CONTINUED SUPPORT AND ENTHUSIASM, THE FUTURE LOOKS EVEN BRIGHTER.

WE ARE ALL PROUD OF SENATOR CLIFFORD CASE, BERGEN COUNTY'S CONGRESS-  
MAN BILL WIDNALL, AND THE OTHER FIVE REPUBLICANS WHO SERVE NEW JERSEY IN  
WASHINGTON, D. C. I HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF WORKING TOGETHER WITH GOVERNOR  
CAHILL WHEN WE WERE BOTH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, AND HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR  
IN 1969 WAS ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND MOST DRAMATIC INDICATIONS OF EXPANDING  
GRASS-ROOTS REPUBLICAN STRENGTH AFTER THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1968. THE  
OUTSTANDING JOB HE HAS DONE HERE IN NEW JERSEY EXEMPLIFIES WHAT GOOD LEAD-  
ERSHIP, GOOD IDEAS AND THE DETERMINATION TO SEE THINGS THROUGH CAN ACCOM-  
PLISH.

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REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

NOW, ONCE AGAIN, OUR PARTY IS GEARING UP FOR A GREAT NATIONAL DRIVE -- AN EFFORT THAT WILL END IN VICTORY IN 1972 IF EACH OF US DOES HIS SHARE. WE ARE COUNTING ON THE NEW JERSEY GOP TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT PART IN THAT VICTORY, AND I BELIEVE OUR CONFIDENCE IS WELL PLACED.

FOR JUST AS GOVERNOR CAHILL HAS DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB OF LEADING THIS STATE, DESPITE A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS HE INHERITED FROM HIS PREDECESSORS, SO PRESIDENT NIXON HAS DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB OF LEADING THE NATION. AND HE, TOO, HAS DONE SO AGAINST OVERWHELMING ODDS -- AGAINST TREMENDOUS BURDENS HE INHERITED FROM THE PAST ADMINISTRATION.

CONFIDENT OF VICTORY

I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE CAN AND WILL WIN AGAIN, HERE IN NEW JERSEY AND ACROSS THE NATION. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT WINNING WILL REQUIRE A NATIONWIDE GRASS-ROOTS EFFORT INVOLVING ALL OF US -- ONE THAT MUST BEGIN TODAY AND KEEP ON GROWING WITH EACH PASSING WEEK -- ALL THE WAY TO NOVEMBER OF 1972.

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DOING THIS WILL NOT BE EASY, BUT IT WILL BE WORTH IT. FOR AT STAKE IS THE VERY BASIC ISSUE OF WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN ARE GOING TO INHERIT.

I BELIEVE -- AND I THINK MOST AMERICANS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY, BELIEVE -- THAT THE WAY TO A BETTER FUTURE IS THROUGH THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP AND REFORM THAT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS GIVEN AMERICA.

NIXON GOALS

RESTORING CONFIDENCE AND VITALITY IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY; REFORMING A WASTEFUL AND DISASTROUS WELFARE SYSTEM; GIVING STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS NEW RESOURCES TO MEET THEIR PROBLEMS THROUGH REVENUE SHARING; CLEANING UP THE ENVIRONMENT; REORGANIZING THE POST OFFICE ---- EACH OF THESE MUST BE A PART OF A BETTER AMERICA, AND RICHARD NIXON HAS ALREADY MADE TREMENDOUS STRIDES TOWARD ACHIEVING THESE GOALS.

IT IS UP TO US TO SEE THAT HE HAS THE SECOND TERM AND THE CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT HE WILL NEED TO COMPLETE THE WORK OF THIS NEW "AMERICAN REVOLUTION" OF PEACE, PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS.

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FATE OF POW'S

THERE IS A VERY SPECIAL GROUP OF AMERICANS WE SHOULD THINK ABOUT WHEN WE DISCUSS THE KIND OF FUTURE WE WANT TO BUILD FOR OUR COUNTRY. THEY ARE AMERICANS WHO HAVE SACRIFICED MUCH IN THEIR NATION'S DEFENSE -- OFTEN WITHOUT EVEN THEIR FRIENDS OR FAMILIES KNOWING WHAT THEIR FATE HAS BEEN. I AM TALKING ABOUT THE MEN OF OUR ARMED FORCES WHO ARE PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION IN VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA.

SOME POLITICIANS ARE IN SUCH A HURRY TO ATTACK THE PRESIDENT'S ORDERLY WITHDRAWAL POLICY THAT THEY APPEAR TO FORGET ABOUT THE LIVES AND SAFETY OF THIS GROUP OF BRAVE AMERICANS, OFTEN HELD CAPTIVE UNDER INHUMAN CONDITIONS AND FREQUENTLY MADE THE SUBJECT OF HUMILIATING AND CYNICAL PROPAGANDA.

LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT <sup>THE</sup> FATE OF THESE COURAGEOUS AMERICANS IS NOT A MATTER OF INDIFFERENCE TO RICHARD NIXON, NOR IS IT TO AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

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PUBLIC BACKS NIXON

IN A RECENT POLL, 75 PERCENT SAID THAT THEY WOULD OPPOSE A PRECIPITATE WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS IF IT WOULD ENDANGER OUR POW'S. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT HE SHARES THIS DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO STICK BY THEIR CAPTIVE FIGHTING MEN -- TO SEE TO IT THAT NO AMERICAN IS ABANDONED TO THE MERCY OF A RUTHLESS ENEMY WHEN THE TIME COMES FOR THE LAST OF OUR TROOPS TO LEAVE VIETNAM.

THIS IS RIGHT. THIS IS JUST. AND AS LONG AS THE ENEMY KNOWS THAT OUR PEOPLE AND OUR PRESIDENT ARE UNITED IN THEIR CONCERN FOR OUR POW'S AND MIA'S, THEY WILL BE UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE TO TREAT THEM DECENTLY AND TO RECONSIDER THEIR UNYIELDING POSITION ON AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

ENEMY CHANGES STANCE

THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT NORTH VIETNAM HAS AGREED TO REPATRIATE SOME OF THEIR TROOPS HELD PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM INDICATES THAT THE PRESIDENT'S FIRMNESS MAY BE LEADING TO A BREAKTHROUGH ON THE POW ISSUE. CERTAINLY IT REFLECTS AN IMPORTANT CHANGE IN ENEMY POLICY -- A CHANGE THAT MAY HERALD OTHERS.



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IT IS IRONIC, THEN, THAT SOME POLITICIANS HAVE ATTACKED THE PRESIDENT FOR HIS INSISTENCE ON GUARANTEEING THE SAFETY AND FREEDOM OF OUR POW'S BEFORE WE LEAVE -- WHILE WE STILL HAVE THE LEVERAGE LEFT TO NEGOTIATE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH.

SOME OF THE PRESIDENT'S FOES HAVE EVEN RESORTED TO DISTORTION OF HISTORY TO IMPOSE THEIR VIEWS ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE INDIANA SENATOR HAS LATELY TAKEN TO URGING AN INSTANT WITHDRAWAL BECAUSE HE CLAIMS THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO GET OUR POW'S BACK.

"IN THIS, AS IN EVERY OTHER WAR IN HUMAN HISTORY," HE HAS SAID, "PRISONERS ARE EXCHANGED WHEN THE WAR IS OVER." HE CALLED THE EFFORTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO SEEK AN EARLIER RELEASE OF PRISONERS A "CRUEL HOAX".

#### CRITICS DISTORT

WELL, I HAVE DONE A LITTLE CHECKING, AND THE PLAIN FACT IS THAT THE GOOD SENATOR HAS HIS FACTS WRONG. EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS OF WAR BEFORE A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE -- IT IS COMMONPLACE.

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THERE ARE DOCUMENTED CASES OF IT HAPPENING THROUGHOUT OUR NATION'S HISTORY, ALL THE WAY BACK TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR ITSELF.

PRISONERS WERE EXCHANGED DURING THE WAR OF 1812, THE MEXICAN WAR, THE CIVIL WAR, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS, AND THE KOREAN WAR.

AND OVER THE YEARS, THERE HAVE BEEN UNILATERAL RELEASES OF POW'S BY SOUTH VIETNAM -- IN ADDITION TO THE RECENTLY AGREED ON RELEASE WHICH I MENTIONED EARLIER. AND ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE STILL HOLD FRENCH PRISONERS TAKEN NEARLY 20 YEARS AGO.

#### FACTS IRREFUTABLE

HISTORICAL FACTS ARE IRREFUTABLE -- AND THEY BACK UP THE POSITION CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED BY PRESIDENT NIXON AND SUPPORTED TODAY BY 75 PERCENT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

SO, JUST AS RICHARD NIXON'S PROGRAM TO WIND DOWN THE WAR AND END AMERICAN CASUALTIES IS SOUND AND WORKING, SO ALSO, IN MY OPINION, IS HIS BASIC APPROACH ON PROTECTING OUR PRISONERS OF WAR.

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YET EVEN AS THE LONG, TRAGIC DRAMA OF THE VIETNAM WAR REACHES ITS CONCLUSION, THERE ARE OMINOUS SIGNS THAT SOME POLITICIANS ARE SEEKING TO DEPRIVE AMERICA OF THE STRENGTH AND CREDIBILITY IT WILL NEED, IF WE ARE TO AVOID FUTURE CRISES OF A SIMILAR OR EVEN GRAVER NATURE.

#### THREAT TO DEFENSES

IT IS INCONCEIVABLE TO ME THAT A WEARINESS WITH THE WAR IN VIETNAM COULD CAUSE SOME MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO SEEK TO WEAKEN OUR DEFENSE POSTURE BOTH AT HOME AND IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. YET, THAT IS WHAT IS HAPPENING. OTHERWISE REASONABLE MEN ARE NOW DEMANDING THAT WE WEAKEN OUR DEFENSES, WEAKEN OUR ALLIANCES AND WEAKEN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IN THE NAME OF ECONOMY AND/OR OF REORDERING OUR PRIORITIES.

#### STRENGTH FOR SURVIVAL

OTHERWISE REASONABLE MEN ARE CLOSING THEIR EYES TO THE LESSONS OF HISTORY, LESSONS THAT SAY IN A WORLD OF COMPETING NATIONS ONLY THE STRONG SURVIVE, THAT SAY THAT BEHIND THE OCCASIONAL SMILE OF THE RUSSIAN BEAR LIES AN UNENDING AND UNYIELDING DETERMINATION TO EXPAND AND DOMINATE EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND EVENTUALLY THE WORLD.



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THE FACT IS THAT ONLY AMERICAN STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION HAVE PREVENTED THIS IN THE 26 YEARS SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II.

ONLY AMERICAN STRENGTH AND DETERMINATION HAVE KEPT BERLIN FREE, HAVE KEPT EUROPE FREE, HAVE PREVENTED WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND HAVE PREVENTED THE COMMUNIZATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA ALL THE WAY FROM THE PHILIPPINES TO NEW GUINEA.

AND YET, THESE OTHERWISE REASONABLE MEN, NOT SATISFIED WITH DEMANDING RETREAT IN VIETNAM, ARE NOW SEEKING TO CUT OUR FORCES IN HALF IN EUROPE AND OUR DEFENSES BY A THIRD AT HOME.

ONE-SIDED DEMANDS

AND ALL OF THIS WITHOUT EVEN THE HINT OF A DEMAND FOR A QUID PRO QUO. ALL OF THIS WITHOUT ANY ASSURANCE FROM THE OTHER SIDE THAT THEY WOULD CUT THEIR FORCES, THAT THEY WOULD WITHDRAW, THAT THEY WOULD REDUCE THEIR SPENDING ON ARMS.

WE HAVE SEEN THE WAY THE COMMUNISTS BARGAIN IN PARIS AND ELSEWHERE. AN AGREEMENT ON THEIR PART TO BARGAIN IS NOT NECESSARILY -- AND NEVER HAS BEEN -- ON THEIR PART AN AGREEMENT TO EVENTUALLY REACH AGREEMENT.

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BARGAINING IS MEANT TO BE A PROCESS OF GIVE AND TAKE. IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD, IT TOO OFTEN HAS BEEN A CASE OF "YOU GIVE AND WE TAKE".

NATION WAR WEARY

EVERY SENATOR KNOWS THIS, EVERY MEMBER OF THE HOUSE KNOWS THIS. AND YET SOME TODAY REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE IT.

AS I SAID, THERE IS WAR WEARINESS ABROAD IN OUR LAND, A WEARINESS AND FRUSTRATION THAT EXTENDS TO TOO MANY IN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG THE FORMER LEADERS OF OUR NATION. THIS IS DUE LARGELY, I BELIEVE, TO THE FACT THAT THEY WERE PARTICIPANTS IN THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR; THEY BELIEVED IN THE CAUSE THAT BROUGHT ON THE WAR; AND NOW THEY HAVE SEEN THEIR DREAMS OF VICTORY IN THE WAR SHATTERED.

AND THIS, AS SO OFTEN IS THE CASE, HAS CAUSED IN THEIR THINKING AN EQUAL BUT OPPOSITE REACTION -- FROM HAWK TO DOVE -- FROM INTERNATIONALIST TO ISOLATIONIS -- FROM RECOGNIZING THAT WE MUST DEAL FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH TO HOPING WE WILL GET BY IF WE CAN JUST SHOW THAT WE ARE NICE GUYS.

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FORTUNATELY, THERE ARE THOSE, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WHO HAVE REFUSED TO SUCCUMB TO WEARINESS AND FRUSTRATION. THERE ARE THOSE WHO STILL RECOGNIZE THAT ONLY A STRONG AMERICA CAN REMAIN A FREE AMERICA, WHO KNOW THAT TO DEFEND THE FREE NATIONS OF EUROPE IS ALSO TO DEFEND THE UNITED STATES, WHO KNOW THAT ONLY A STRONG AMERICAN DETERRENT IN EUROPE CAN INSURE THAT EUROPE REMAINS FREE AND REMAINS ORIENTED TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.

#### FOOL'S PARADISE

THOSE WHO SAY WE ARE ALREADY STRONG ENOUGH AND THAT WE CAN SAFELY DO LESS AT HOME AND REDUCE OUR DEFENSES ABROAD COME CLOSE, I BELIEVE, TO LIVING IN A FOOL'S PARADISE.

CONTRARY TO WHAT THEY MAY SAY, CUTTING IN HALF THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN EUROPE WOULD SERIOUSLY ENDANGER OUR SECURITY BY SERIOUSLY ENDANGERING THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE.

FOR THE FACT IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS OBTAINED STRATEGIC NUCLEAR PARITY WITH THE UNITED STATES AND IN DOING SO HAS RENDERED THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF FORCES VASTLY MORE IMPORTANT THAN IT WAS IN THE DAYS WHEN WE HAD A CLEAR NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY.

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COMMUNIST BUILDUP

THE FACT IS THAT IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS THE COMBAT FIRE POWER AND EFFECTIVENESS OF SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED WHILE DURING THE SAME PERIOD OUR MANPOWER HAS DECLINED.

THE FACT IS THAT THOSE PRESSING FOR CUTS IN OUR FORCES TODAY HAVE FAILED TO KEEP UP WITH THE TIMES. FOR WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN VALID IN THE MID-1960'S WHEN IT WAS ASSUMED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE READY TO STOP THE ARMS RACE IS NO LONGER VALID BECAUSE THE SOVIET NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL BUILDUPS GIVE THE LIE TO THAT ASSUMPTION.

FACTS APPARENT

AND YET, THOUGH THESE FACTS, THOUGH THE RIGHTNESS OF OUR CAUSE, AND THE RIGHTNESS OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES SHOULD BE APPARENT TO MOST SENSIBLE AND REASONABLE AMERICANS, THOSE FACTS ARE BEING BLINDLY IGNORED AND THAT CAUSE AND THOSE POLICIES ARE COMING UNDER INCREASINGLY FREQUENT AND HEAVY ATTACKS.

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SURELY, IT IS UP TO THOSE WHO SEE CUTBACKS AND REDUCTIONS AS THE PROPER COURSE TO EXAMINE CLOSELY WHAT THE POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS WOULD BE, AND TO BE READY TO PRESENT VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE CURRENT SITUATION -- NOT JUST REDUCTIONS.

IT WILL DO NONE OF US ANY GOOD IF THEY ARE ALSO WILLING TO SHARE THE BLAME FOR WHAT THEIR PROPOSALS MIGHT LEAD TO, FOR THEN IT WILL BE TOO LATE.

DELAY IMPOSSIBLE

I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN WAIT, HOWEVER, FOR THEM TO STUDY THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR PROPOSALS OR TO PRESENT ALTERNATIVES. INSTEAD, IT IS UP TO US, NOT ONLY AS REPUBLICANS, BUT ALSO AS AMERICANS, CONCERNED WITH THE FATE OF OUR NATION AND THE DIRECTION OF OUR FUTURE, TO STAND WITH THE PRESIDENT AND REPEL THE ATTACKS ON HIS POLICIES, LEST ONE DAY A WEAKENED NATO AND A WEAKENED AMERICA BE FORCED TO REPEL OTHER, MORE DAMAGING ATTACKS IN ANOTHER KIND OF ARENA.

EVERYTHING THAT CAN BE DONE MUST BE DONE TO FORESTALL SUCH A



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DISASTER. THAT IS WHY IT IS SO CRUCIALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE NATION  
KEEP A MAN OF RICHARD NIXON'S STRENGTH AND INTEGRITY IN THE WHITE HOUSE,  
AND THAT IS WHY IT IS EQUALLY IMPORTANT IN THE LONG RUN THAT WE ELECT  
MORE GOVERNORS, SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL SUPPORT HIS RE-  
SPONSIBLE BRAND OF LEADERSHIP IN A TIME OF NATIONAL PERIL.

I BELIEVE THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY KNOW THIS AND THAT THE PEOPLE  
OF AMERICA KNOW THIS. IN THE COMING MONTHS, IT IS UP TO US TO KEEP  
THEIR AWARENESS OF THESE VITAL ISSUES, AND THEIR COMMITMENT, ALIVE AND  
GROWING.

~~White House Dinner~~  
~~Nelson Press~~

~~Action~~  
~~News~~  
~~Wise~~  
~~Crises~~

~~Anderson~~  
~~West~~

~~Water Van Duzer~~  
~~David Foy --~~

~~Die with it~~  
~~at home~~  
~~at home~~

Agnew - Sany -- The credit came --

given by golf -- Andrew  
Bern Sharkey -- Budget --

Bear Story

Fullright -- Family Policy

Russell, Hansen  
→ very clear  
→

Cardinal Cooke -- think let for Nixon --  
but in Lohm