

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

VICKERS LECTURE SERIES
UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
LAWRENCE, KANSAS
THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1972

I AM HERE TONIGHT AT THE INVITATION OF THE VICKERS LECTURE COMMITTEE. I MUST SAY THAT I STAND HERE WITH MIXED FEELINGS.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, AS LARRY CHALMERS NEVER TIRES OF SAYING, IS A GREAT INSTITUTION. ITS TRADITIONS OF EXCELLENCE REACH INTO ALL OF ITS AREAS OF ENDEAVOR. SCHOLARSHIP, RESEARCH, ATHLETICS, COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT -- IN EACH OF THESE FIELDS KU CAN JUSTLY CLAIM DISTINCTION AND HIGH AVHIEVEMENT. BUT THE INSTITUTION IS ONLY A REFLECTION OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO COMPRISE IT, AND HERE KU DRAWS ITS STRENGTH FROM THE QUALITY OF ITS FACULTY, ADMINISTRATORS -- AND ESPECIALLY ITS STUDENT BODY.

STUDENTS ARE THE REASON FOR A UNIVERSITY'S EXISTENCE. YOU GIVE IT LIFE, ENERGY AND A FEW GROWINGS PAINS. FOR LIKE YOU, THE UNIVERSITY IS CONSTANTLY GROWING AND CHANGING, AND THIS PROCESS IS NOT ALWAYS WITHOUT STRESS. THERE UNDOUBTEDLY ARE SOME HERE TONIGHT WITH DIFFERENT VIEWS -- SOME WHO CAME TO HEAR, PERHAPS OTHERS WHO CAME TO JEER. SO I STNAD HERE AS A REALIST -- ONE PROUD OF MY UNIVERSITY -- ONE WHO UNDERSTANDS THE NEED FOR DIVERSITY. I STAND BEFORE YOU AS

-2-

LARRY O'BRIEN DID ON NOVEMBER 2, PROUD TO BE THE CHAIRMAN OF MY PARTY. I DO NOT EXPECT COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH MY VIEWS, BUT I SHALL STATE THEM, FOR TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD BE AN AFFRONT TO THE OBJECTIVES OF THE VICKERS LECTURE SERIES.

MANY ISSUES

THERE ARE MANY ISSUES FACING OUR NATION TODAY. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, THE ECONOMY PRESENTS THE DUAL CHALLENGE OF CONTROLLING INFLATION WHILE KEEPING EMPLOYMENT LEVELS HIGH. THE ENVIRONMENT CALLS FOR VIGOROUS ACTION TO PRESERVE AND RESTORE IT. OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS GEARING UP FOR ITS BIENNIAL EXPLORATION OF THE PEOPLE'S DESIRES, ANXIETIES AND EXPECTATIONS OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS FROM THE COUNTY COURTHOUSE TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

THIS YEAR THOSE IN THIS AUDIENCE AND AT THE UNIVERSITY WILL HAVE THEIR FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO VOTE. THIS IS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND A LARGE RESPONSIBILITY, FOR THE FUTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND THEREBY THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION WILL BE DEPENDING ON YOU AND THE MILLIONS OF OTHERS WHO VOTE.

-3-

AS I SAID, THERE ARE MANY ISSUES TODAY. SOME WILL BE ISSUES
IN NOVEMBER. SOME WILL MERELY BE HISTORY.

BUT ON THIS DAY AND IN THIS PLACE, PERHAPS ONE ISSUE HOLDS
PARAMOUNT INTEREST AND STIRS THE DEEPEST FEELINGS. THAT ISSUE IS THE
VIETNAM WAR.

HIGH MOTIVES

THE MOTIVES WHICH LEAD TO UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE
SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONFLICT WERE PROCLAIMED IN ELOQUENT AND RINGING
FASHION BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY, WHO SAID:

"WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET
ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FORCE, IN ORDER TO ASSURE THE
SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY. THIS MUCH WE
PLEDGE -- AND MORE."

OUR FIRST TROOPS --THEY WERE CALLED ADVISORS THEN -- WERE SENT TO
VIETNAM IN HONOR OF THAT PLEDGE.

-4-

PERHAPS THIS STANCE WAS WRONG. PERHAPS IN THE CLEAR LIGHT OF HINDSIGHT WE CAN SAY IT WAS NOT IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO STAND UP AND SPEAK OUT -- TO ISSUE SUCH A CHALLENGE TO EVERY NATION WHETHER IT WISHED US WELL OR ILL.

BUT, BE THAT AS IT MAY, WE ACTED NOT OUT OF GREED OR LUST FOR TERRITORY OR DESIRE TO CONQUER. WE STOOD AND WE ACTED TO "ASSSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY."

PERSPECTIVES ON THE WAR

I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ESPECIALLY TO THOSE OF YOU IN THE AUDIENCE WHO ARE SENIORS. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT YEAR FOR YOU. YOU WILL BE FACING MANY DIFFICULT DECISIONS, AND YOU WILL SOME DAY LOOK BACK ON THIS YEAR AS A SORT OF BENCHMARK. BUT LET US TAKE A FEW MOMENTS AND LOOK AT SOME OTHER BENCHMARKS AND WATERSHEDS IN RECENT HISTORY AND OUR LIVES.

-- WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS INAUGURATED, MOST OF YOU WERE IN THE FIFTH GRADE. (THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE FRESHMEN WERE JUST OUT OF KINDERGARTEN.)

-5-

-- WHEN PRESIDENT DIEM WAS OVERTHROWN AND ASSASINATED YOU SENIORS WERE STARTING JUNIOR HIGH.

-- WHEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON ASKED FOR -- AND THE CONGRESS APPROVED -- THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION, YOU WERE NOT YET TEENAGERS.

-- WHEN THE SENATE HAD A SECOND CHANCE ON THE TONKIN GULF RESOLUTION -- WHEN SENATOR MC GOVERN, AND SENATOR MUSKIE AND BOTH SENATORS KENNEDY VOTED AGAINST REPEALING IT -- YOU WERE SOPHOMORES IN HIGH SCHOOL.

-- WHEN THE TET OFFENSIVE WAS LAUNCHED, WHEN TROOP LEVELS WENT UP PAST THE HALF MILLION MARK AND WHEN CASUALTIES WERE RUNNING TOO HI 300 PER WEEK, YOU WERE SENIORS IN HIGH SCHOOL.

-- WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON TOOK OFFICE AND INHERITED THIS ESCALATING AND ACCELERATING WAR, YOU WERE IN THE MIDST OF YOUR FIRST FINAL WEEK.

AND DURING ALL OF THOSE YEARS, FROM YOUR FIFTH GRADE TO THE BEGINNING OF YOUR COLLEGE, RICHARD NIXON WAS A PRIVATE CITIZEN. HE DID NOT SIT IN CONGRESS; HE MADE NO POLICY; HE DID NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY HIGH GOVERNMENT COUNCILS.

-6-

NOW, YOU ARE SENIORS AT KU. YOU COLLEGE YEARS HAVE COINCIDED WITH THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT NIXON. THOSE YEARS HAVE MEANT MUCH TO YOUR GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT AS SCHOLARS, AS CITIZENS AND AS INDIVIDUAL MEN AND WOMEN.

BUT THOSE YEARS HAVE ALSO MEANT A GREAT DEAL TO OUR NATION AND TO THE WORLD -- INCLUDING VIETNAM.

LET'S LOOK AT SOME OF THE COMPARISONS.

CHANGES OVER FOUR YEARS

IN 1968, YOUR SENIOR YEAR IN HIGH SCHOOL, MORE THAN 500,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS WERE IN VIETNAM. THEY WERE SUFFERING CASUALTIES AT THE RATE OF 300 PER WEEK. THERE WAS NO PLAN TO END THE WAR.

SO FAR IN 1972, CASUALTIES HAVE AVERAGED FAR BELOW 10 PER WEEK -- STILL TOO MANY -- BUT THEY HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY LOW.

BY MONDAY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRESIDENT'S PROMISE IN JANUARY, OUR TROOP STRENGTH WILL BE BELOW 69,000. AND I HAVE COMPLETE CONFIDENCE THAT THE TIME-TABLE HE ANNOUNCED LAST EVENING WILL BE MET AND ANOTHER 20,000 WILL BE BROUGHT HOME BY JULY. SO WHILE YOU SENIORS HAVE

-7-

BEEN HERE ON THE HILL, OUR TROOP STRENGTH WILL HAVE BEEN CUT BY NEARLY HALF A MILLION. THAT PUTS OUR TROOP SITUATION BACK TO 1965 LEVELS -- BACK TO HOW IT WAS WHEN YOU WERE IN THE 9th GRADE.

AND DRAFT CALLS -- WHICH WERE UP TO 299,000 IN 1968 HAVE CONTINUED TO DECLINE. NO CALLS WERE ISSUED FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF THIS YEAR. AND FOR ALL OF 1972, NO MORE THAN 50,000 ARE EXPECTED TO BE MADE. HOPEFULLY, DRAFT CALLS WILL REACH ZERO NEXT YEAR.

IN 1968, LESS THAN 35% OF OUR NATIONAL BUDGET WAS DEVOTED TO HUMAN RESOURCES, WHILE NEARLY 45% WAS GOING TO DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. FOR 1972, NOT ONLY HAS THIS PATTERN BEEN REVERSED, BUT HUMAN RESOURCE SPENDING HAS SURPASSED DEFENSE SPENDING BY NEARLY 10%.

WHAT WOULD THE CRITICS DO?

OF COURSE, ONE POINT SHOULD BE MADE HERE. THERE IS NO MONOPOLY ON A DESIRE FOR PEACE AND AN END TO THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IN VIETNAM. THE PRESIDENT WANTS PEACE AND AN END TO WAR. YOU DO. AND SO DO I, AND EVERY OTHER MEMBER OF THE SENATE.

-8-

BUT THIS IS NOT A MATTER OF WANTING PEACE OR WANTING WAR.
AND IT IS CERTAINLY NOT A MATTER OF TAKING ANY SATISFACTION IN HAVING
THE WAR PROLONGED BY ANOTHER DAY OR WEEK.

BUT WHAT WOULD THE CRITICS HAVE THE PRESIDENT DO -- ANY
PRESIDENT, DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN?

IT IS EASY TO CRITICIZE THE BOMBING. BUT WHAT IF THE
BOMBING HAD NOT BEEN ORDERED AND THE 12 NORTH VIETNAMESE DIVISIONS
HAD OVERRUN AND SLAUGHTERED OUR REMAINING 69,000 TROOPS?

WOULD THE CRITICS THEN APPLAUD HIM?

IT IS EASY TO SAY "GET OUT." BUT WHAT OF OUR PRISONERS OF
WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION -- IF THE PRESIDENT ABANDONED THEM AND LEFT
THEM TO HANOI'S MERCIES?

WOULD THE CRITICS THEN APPLAUD HIM?

IT IS EASY TO SAY "LET THE VIETNAMESE WORRY ABOUT THEIR
COUNTRY." BUT WHAT IF THE BOMBING WERE NOT PERMITTED AND OUR AID
WERE WITHDRAWN -- WHAT WOULD HAPPEN WHEN THE LIVES OF MILLIONS OF
SOUTH VIETNAMESE WERE LOST TO THE SOVIET-SUPPORTED NORTH VIETNAMESE
ARMY DIVISIONS THAT HAVE Poured INTO THE SOUTH?

-9-

WOULD THE CRITICS THEN APPLAUD THE PRESIDENT?

SO, YOU SEE IT IS NOT A MATTER OF JUST WANTING PEACE.

IT IS A MATTER OF HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES AND HARD DECISIONS.

ONE MAN BEARS THOSE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND MUST MAKE THESE DECISIONS -- THE PRESIDENT. HIS CRITICS HAVE THE LUXURY OF CRITICISM BUT THEY DO NOT HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY, AND CANNOT MAKE THE DECISIONS.

CHANGED SUPERPOWER RELATIONS

PERHAPS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT COMPARISON BETWEEN 1968 AND 1972, HOWEVER, CONCERNS THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE WORLD'S SUPERPOWERS, THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA AND MAINLAND CHINA. THE CHANGES IN THIS AREA OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS ARE PROFOUND, AND THEY REPRESENT THE MOST MEANINGFUL AND IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST TERM IN OFFICE.

-10-

COLD WAR IN 1968

IN 1968, THE UNITED STATES WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE COLD WAR AGAINST COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD. RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW WERE FRAGILE. THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD PLUNGED THE DIPLOMATIC CLIMATE BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS INTO ITS MOST FRIGID AND UNSTABLE PHASE SINCE THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

EARLIER IN THE YEAR, THE CAPTURE OF THE PUEBLO HAD RAISED THE ALARM OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES IN KOREA. AND CHINA WAS A DARK AND MENACING UNKNOWN ON THE ASIAN HORIZON WHICH, OUT OF A FEAR GROWN FROM ISOLATION AND SEVERED LINES OF COMMUNICATION, HAD SHAPED OUR ASIAN POLICY FOR TWO DECADES.

1972 PICTURE

WHAT IS THE PICTURE IN 1972 -- FOUR YEARS LATER?

THE COLD WAR HAS BEEN DISPLACED. WHILE WE DO NOT AGREE WITH ALL NATIONS, PARTICULARLY THOSE WITH COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS, OUR NATIONAL POLICY NOW SEEKS TO BUILD UPON AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND MAXIMIZE SHARED INTERESTS WHENEVER POSSIBLE.

-11-

OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES AND UNDERTAKINGS HAVE BORNE FRUIT.
THERE IS A TREATY BARRING USE OF THE SEABEDS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
THERE IS A TREATY ON BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. WE HAVE AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT
ON BERLIN.

THE PRESIDENT HAS TAKEN THE MOST FARSIGHTED AND FUNDAMENTAL
DIPLOMATIC STEP IN 30 YEARS AND OPENED THE CHANNELS TO COMMUNICATION
WITH CHINA.

HE HAS VISITED THAT COUNTRY AND CONSULTED WITH ITS LEADERS.
HE HAS BEEN TO ROMANIA AND WILL GO TO POLAND AFTER HE HOLDS MAJOR
DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIET LEADERS IN RUSSIA NEXT MONTH.

THIS DIPLOMATIC CLIMATE IS UNPRECEDENTED IN POST-WAR TIMES?
BUT WHAT MAKES IT ALL THE MORE REMARKABLE IS THE FACT THAT IT HAS BEEN
ACHIEVED WITH A HARD AND REALISTIC ATTITUDE COMPLETELY FREE FROM ANY
FALSE OPTIMISM OR PIE-IN-THE-SKY RHETORIC WHICH COULD LEAD OTHER
COUNTRIES OR OUR OWN PEOPLE TO MISINTERPRET OUR INTENTIONS OR MISJUDGE
OUR MOTIVES.

-12-

THE MEANING OF DIFFERENCE

BUT THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR NEW FOREIGN POLICY LIES NOT IN ITS DIFFERENCE FROM THAT OF THE '60's. IT LIES IN WHAT THAT DIFFERENCE MEANS TO OUR PEOPLE AND THE REST OF THE WORLD.

BY DEALING WITH BOTH CHINA AND RUSSIA WE HAVE FORCED THE GIANTS OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD TO STOP TAKING US FOR GRANTED. WE HAVE FORCED THEM TO PLACE US AS A NEW ELEMENT IN THE EQUATION OF THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. AND THIS BRINGS ABOUT A BASIC CHANGE IN THE WAY THEY MUST DEAL WITH US. WE, IN TURN, HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LOOK AT THE WORLD IN THE DIFFERENT LIGHT CAST BY THE REALISTIC HOPE THAT AGREEMENT AND ACCOMMODATION WITH CHINA AND WITH RUSSIA ARE POSSIBLE AND CAN SERVE TO STRENGTHEN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OUR PEOPLE.

SHARED INTERESTS FOR PEACE

BY DEALING WITH BOTH, WE HAVE SHOWN EACH THAT THEY HAVE SOUND AND COMPELLING REASONS FOR BUILDING GOOD RELATIONS WITH US AND MINIMIZING THE POSSIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES BECOMING TOO STRONGLY ASSOCIATED WITH ITS GREAT COMMUNIST RIVAL. SOME MIGHT THINK THIS TO BE PLAYING ONE PARTY OFF AGAINST ANOTHER, BUT WE ARE NOT PLAYING THAT SORT OF GAME. THE STAKES ARE TOO HIGH, AND OUR PARTNERS ARE TOO SOPHISTICATED.

-13-

BUT WE HAVE HELPED TO ILLUMINATE AND TO DEFINE A COINCIDENCE OF NATIONAL INTERESTS -- AMERICAN, CHINESE AND RUSSIAN -- WE HAVE SET ABOUT FORMING A NEW ORDER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND A NEW CLIMATE OF HOPE AND OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE OF MANKIND?

TWO AREAS, PARTICULARLY, SHOW THE IMPORTANCE AND THE POTENTIALS OF THIS NEW WORLD SITUATION.

SALT TALKS

THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE OF UNPRECEDENTED IMPORTANCE. ON THEIR SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION, DEPENDS THE FUTURE OF THE ARMS RACE, WHICH DRAINS THE ECONOMIES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. AND TIED IN WITH THE ARMS RACE IS THE EVER-PRESENT DANGER OF WAR BREAKING OUT BECAUSE ONE COUNTRY OR ANOTHER FELT THREATENED OR IN DANGER OF BEING BLACKMAILED BY STRATEGIC INFERIORITY OR INADEQUACY.

-14-

IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF OUR NEW POLICY FOR THE 70's, THE RUSSIANS CAN SEE THAT ARMS LIMITATIONS ARE BOTH DESIRABLE AND NECESSARY. THEY ARE DESIRABLE BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION, JUST AS THE UNITED STATES, FEELS THE INTERNAL PRESSURES FOR NEW PRIORITIES IN ALLOCATING ITS RESOURCES. MORE CONSUMER GOODS, GREATER INDUSTRIALIZATION, MORE EFFICIENT AND PRODUCTIVE AGRICULTURE ARE ALL PRESSING NEEDS IN THE SOVIET UNION. THESE AGREEMENTS ON STRATEGIC ARMS ARE ALSO SEEN AS NECESSITIES BY THE RUSSIANS, BECAUSE THEY TOO KNOW THE CONSEQUENCES, THE IMPERMISSIBLE RESULTS OF A RUNAWAY ARMS RACE.

NEW CONTEXT OF VIETNAM

VIETNAM IS ANOTHER AREA OF IMPORTANCE IN THIS NEW INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE. FOR WHETHER THE NEW YORK TIMES AND WASHINGTON POST REALIZE IT -- OR WILL ADMIT IT -- THE LEADERS IN PEKING AND MOSCOW KNOW THIS WAR IS ENDING. AND THE INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE REFLECTS THIS KNOWLEDGE. THE PRESIDENT'S TRIPS TO CHINA AND RUSSIA WOULD SIMPLY NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE IF EITHER MOSCOW OR PEKING HAD BELIEVED THAT THE WAR WAS NOT ENDING AND THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS FIRM IN ITS COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAW.

-15-

AND WITH THE MUTUAL THREAT OF U.S. AND CHINESE EXPANSION IN VIETNAM REMOVED, BOTH COUNTRIES CAN RELAX THEIR MUTUAL ANXIETIES AND, HOPEFULLY, ALLOW THE NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO COME TO TERMS WITH EACH OTHER. IN OTHER WORDS, WITH THE MILITARY ASPECT OF VIETNAMIZATION SUCCESSFUL, POLITICAL VIETNAMIZATION CAN NOW BE PUT TO THE TEST. AND THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE SOUGHT ALL ALONG -- SELF-DETERMINATION FREE FROM OUTSIDE INFLUENCE, WHETHER RUSSIAN, CHINESE OR AMERICAN.

SO THESE FOUR YEARS HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE -- FOR THE WORLD, FOR YOU, AND FOR AMERICA.

HISTORY WILL JUDGE

WE CANNOT ADEQUATELY JUDGE THE MEANING OR THE FULL IMPORTANCE OF THE PAST 3-1/2 YEARS' DEVELOPMENTS.

THOSE JUDGMENTS WILL BE MADE BY FUTURE GENERATIONS. BUT I BELIEVE THAT THOSE GENERATIONS -- OUR CHILDREN AND OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN WILL SEE AND APPRECIATE WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THESE YEARS.

-16-

FOR THE LEGACY OF STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS, THE
LEGACY OF A LASTING PEACE, THE LEGACY OF A PEACEFUL AND PROGRESSIVE
GENERATION -- THESE ARE THE GREATEST AND BEST THINGS WE CAN DO FOR
THE WORLD'S YET-TO-BE-BORN CHILDREN.

AND I BELIEVE AND PRAY THIS WILL BE THE LEGACY OF THESE
YEARS IN WHICH WE NOW LIVE.