VETERANS DAY NOVEMBER 11, 1965 GARDEN CITY, KANSAS REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

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THE UNITED STATES HAS ONCE AGAIN BEEN DRAWN INTO A MILITARY CONFLICT

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NONE OF OUR ALLIES COULD ALONE WITHSTAND A MAJOR COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT. THE BORDERS OF THE FREE WORLD MIGHT SHRINK CLOSER AND EVER CLOSER TO THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. WE WOULD INDEED THEN BE+ "FORTRESS AMERICA," BUT PERHAPS WITH INADEQUATE STRENGTH TO FORTIFY THAT FORTRESS. WITH THE INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES AND THE RAPIDLY ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY OF OUR PRESENT WORLD, NO NATION IS IN REALITY FURTHER FROM OUR BORDERS THAN IS CUBA. COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AGAINST AND INFILTRATION INTO ANY SMALL NATION OF THE WORLD SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED ANY LESS A THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY THAN AGAINST THOSE IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO OUR NATION.

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THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY OTHER NEGOTIATIONS, BUT TOP LEADERS OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND INCLUDED PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS ABETWEEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND LITVINOV, AND IT SEEMED THAT THEY WERE RESOLVING ALL DIFFERENCES EXCEPT THE ONE WITH REFERENCE TO UNPAID DEBTS. ON THIS SCORE, THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF PREPARED A "GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT" FIXING THE AMOUNT TO BE PAID BY RUSSIA AT "NOT LESS" THAN \$75 BILLION IN PAYMENT OF A DEBT OF \$188 MILLION.

WE HAD GIVEN THE SOVIET UNION \$10.8 BILLION IN LEND-LEASE IN WORLD WAR II AND NEVER SOUGHT REPAYMENT FOR LEND-LEASE GOODS USED UP IN THE WAR. BUT THE VALUE OF LEND-LEASE MATERIEL KEPT IN RUSSIA FOR PEACETIME USE IS ESTIMATED AT MORE THAN \$1 BILLION. WE OFFERED TO SETTLE FOR \$800 MILLION, BUT NEGOTIATIONS FELL THROUGH IN THE 50's,

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AND IF THERE HAVE BEEN FURTHER EFFORTS TO SETTLE THIS DEBT SINCE THEN,
THEY HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC. MEANWHILE, MOSCOW HELD ONTO 84

MERCHANT SHIPS AND 49 WATERCRAFT WHICH WERE RETURNABLE UNDER LEND-LEASE.

AS WAS STATED BY LOUIS P. LOCHNER IN THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF THE AMERICAN

LEGION MAGAZINE, "ONE OF THE SADDEST FOOTNOTES TO THIS HISTORY IS THAT

IT WAS ESSENTIALLY BUSINESS PRESSURES IN THE UNITED STATES, LURED BY
THE PROMISE OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN EXPORTS TO RUSSIA, WHICH CARRIED
THE DAY IN 1933 OVER ALL THE OBJECTIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION AS AN

INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW. YET UMR EXPORTS TO HER NEVER CAME CLOSE TO THE
AMERICAN PREDICTIONS OR SOVIET HINTS OF 1933. IN ALL 32 YEARS OF OUR
RECOGNITION OF THE USSR, OUR TRADE EXPORTS HAVE COME ONLY TO \$1.3 BILLION."

THE SAME PRESSURES ARE BEING EXERTED TODAY, BUT TODAY AMERICANS ARE BEING KILLED IN A CONFLICT NOT OF THEIR OWN MAKING AND BY AN ENEMY DIRECTLY AIDED BY COMMUNIST RUSSIA. THE ISSUE OF TRADE IS A SENSITIVE ONE, PARTICULARLY SINCE BUSINESSMEN HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON TRADE -- TO SCHE LIMITED EXTENT -- WHILE FARM PRODUCTS HAVE NOT BEEN SOLD BECAUSE OF CERTAIN SHIPPING RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE MARITIME UNION. WITHOUT QUESTION, THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF TRADE WITH ANY COUNTRY WHO WILL PURCHASE OUR GOODS AND COMMODITIES FOR DOLLARS SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED. THE UNREALISTIC SHIPPING RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED UPON FARM PRODUCTS SHOULD BE REMOVED, BUT THEN, IN MY OPINION, WE SHOULD FACE UP TO WHAT I CONSIDER TO BE A REAL ISSUE OF TRADE WITH ANY COUNTRY -- COMMUNIST OR NON-COMMUNIST -- WHICH MIGHT BE ENGAGED IN HELPING THE ENEMY IN VIET NAM. PERHAPS ON VETERANS DAY, AT LEAST THIS MATTER CAN BE MENTIONED WITHOUT ANYONE ACCUSING THE SPEAKER OR ANY OTHER VETERAN WHO RAISES THE QUESTION OF ENGAGING IN "FLAG WAVING". WITHOUT QUESTION, WE LIVE IN A FAST AND COMPLICATED WORLD, AND THE ISSUE OF TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE AT A

TIME SUCH AS THIS, BUT WHY IS IT THE WHOLE ISSUE CANNOT BE DISCUSSED IN A CALM AND DISPASSIONATE MANNER.

DOES ANYONE BELIEVE THAT RUSSIA IS OUR FRIEND IN THE VIET NAM STRUGGLE? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THAT RUSSIA IS NOT AIDING THE ENEMY IN NORTH VIET NAM? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THAT RUSSIA DOES NOT HAVE MISSILE SITES IN VIET NAM OR THAT THEY DO NOT SUPPORT COMMUNIST CUBA? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THE ULTIMATE RUSSIAN OBJECTIVE "TO BURY US" HAS BEEN CHANGED? WHAT WILL IT TAKE BEFORE WE RECOGNIZE THE WAR IN VIET NAM IS A DEADLY SERIOUS CONFLICT, AND HOW MANY KANSANS MUST BE KILLED OR WOUNDED BEFORE TRADE WITH RUSSIA OR ANY COUNTRY AIDING OUR ENEMY IS QUESTIONED? A STATEMENT HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO LENIN THAT WHEN COMMUNISM HANGS CAPITALISM, THERE WILL BE TWO AMERICANS COMPETING WITH EACH OTHER TO SELL THE ROPE.

LAST WEEK I SPENT 4 DAYS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES IN KANSAS VISITING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE IN AN EFFORT TO LEARN JUST WHAT THEY WERE THINKING ABOUT AND HOW THEY VIEWED THE STRUGGLE IN VIET NAM. THE YOUNG MEN ARE CONCERNED -- NOT AFRAID, BUT CONCERNED -- BECAUSE IF DRAFTED, IT WILL MEAN AN INTERRUPTION OF THEIR EDUCATION; AND, OF COURSE, WHEN THE YOUNG MEN ARE CONCERNED, THE YOUNG WOMEN ARE CONCERNED. ALL IN ALL, I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ATTITUDE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, AND WHILE IN CALIFORNIA AND NEW YORK WE READ WITH DISGUST ABOUT ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-VIET NAM DEMONSTRATIONS, I WOULD GUESS THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND A HANDFUL OF YOUNG KANSAS STUDENTS WHO WOULD ENGAGE IN ANY SUCH ACTIVITY. THE DRAFT CALLS ARE INCREASING, THE CASUALTY LIST IS GROWING, AND IF THE WAR CONTINUES EVEN FOR ANOTHER YEAR, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY WILL HAVE BEEN DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTED. SO GERTAINLY, TODAY WE CANNOT JUST MEET FOR AN HOUR -- PAY OUR RESPECTS TO AMERICAN VETERANS AND THEN GO MERRILY

ON OUR WAY UNTIL NEXT YER AT THIS TIME.

SO LONG AS THERE ARE NATIONS WHICH ARE READY TO EMPLOY COERCION
TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS, WORLD STABILITY AND, THEREFORE, PEACE CANNOT
BE ACHIEVED EXCLUSIVELY BY MORAL CRUSADING, NO MATTER HOW SINCERE
THE CRUSADERS. THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA ARE BOTH GREAT
POWERS AND HAVE SET OUT TOGETHER WITH THEIR VARIOUS SATELLITES AND
ALLIES, TO CHANGE THE WORLD BY COERCION AND REVOLUTION. INCREASINGLY,
THEIR STRATEGIES DIVERGE. IN PART, THIS IS DUE TO THEIR DIFFERENT
MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SITUATIONS; IN PART, THEIR NATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL
INTERESTS CONFLICT. HOWEVER, EACH CONTINUES TO EMPLOY FORCE OR THE
THREAT OF FORCE IN SOME DEGREE. IT IS THIS THREAT WHICH MUST BE MET
AND OVERCOME ON A REALISTIC BASIS IF A PEACEFUL WORLD BASED UPON
LAW IS EVER TO MATERIALIZE.*

J. EDGAR HOOVER, IN HIS RECENT BOOK, "A STUDY OF COMMUNISM",
STATED, "IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IT IS THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO
KEEP THE PEOPLE INFORMED. IT IS EQUALLY THE DUTY OF EACH CITIZEN TO
INSURE THAT HE IS INFORMED. IT IS OBVIOUS, OF COURSE, THAT NO REAL
DEFENSE CAN BE MAINTAINED AGAINST COMMUNISM UNLESS OUR GOVERNMENT
CONTINUES TO MOVE POSITIVELY AND FIRMLY TO PROTECT OUR FREEDOMS."

IN OTHER WORDS, WE MUST BE REALISTIC, NOT OVERCOME BY THE INTENSE PROPAGANDA BARRAGE CONCERNING PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE. WE OWE IT TO GURSELVES AND FUTURE GENERATIONS, IN ADDITION TO TODAY'S VETERANS, TO MAKE CERTAIN THE DOLLAR SIGN DOES NOT CLOUD OUR THINKING IN DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. AMERICANS WANT, MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, LASTING PEACE. I SUGGEST THIS WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED AS LONG AS GONCESSIONS ARE MADE ON A UNILATERAL BASIS, BUT ONLY WHEN RUSSIAN LEADERS ARE WILLING TO DEAL WITH FREE WORLD COUNTRIES AT ARM'S

m9m

LENGTH. LET US NEVER FORGET AS WE PAUSE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN VETERANS, LIVING AND DEAD, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN RUSSIA'S GENERAL POLICY OF "BURYING US".

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THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY OTHER NEGOTIATIONS, BY TOP LEADERS OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND INCLUDED PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND LITVINOV, AND IT SEEMED THAT THEY WERE RESOLVING ALL DIFFERENCES EXCEPT THE ONE WITH REFERENCE TO UNPAID DEBTS. ON THIS SCORE, THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF PREPARED A "GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT" FIXING THE AMOUNT TO BE PAID BY RUSSIA AT "NOT LESS" THAN \$75 MILLION IN PAYMENT OF A DEBT OF \$188 MILLION.

WE HAD GIVEN THE SOVIET UNION \$10.8 BILLION IN LEND-LEASE IN WORLD WAR II AND NEVER SOUGHT REPAYMENT FOR LEND-LEASE GOODS USED UP IN THE WAR. BUT THE VALUE OF LEND-LEASE MATERIEL KEPT IN RUSSIA FOR PEACETIME USE IS ESTIMATED AT MORE THAN \$1 BILLION. WE OFFERED TO SETTLE FOR \$800 MILLION, BUT NEGOTIATIONS FELL THROUGH IN THE 50's,

AND IF THERE HAVE BEEN FURTHER EFFORTS TO SETTLE THIS DEBT SINCE THEN,
THEY HAVE NOT BEEN MADE PUBLIC. MEANWHILE, MOSCOW HELD ONTO 84

MERCHANT SHIPS AND 49 WATERCRAFT WHICH WERE RETURNABLE UNDER LEND-LEASE.

AS WAS STATED BY LOUIS P. LOCHNER IN THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF THE AMERICAN

LEGION MAGAZINE, "ONE OF THE SADDEST FOOTNOTES TO THIS HISTORY IS THAT

IT WAS ESSENTIALLY BUSINESS PRESSURES IN THE UNITED STATES, LURED BY
THE PROMISE OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN EXPORTS TO RUSSIA, WHICH CARRIED
THE DAY IN 1933 OVER ALL THE OBJECTIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION AS AN

INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW. YET OUR EXPORTS TO HER NEVER CAME CLOSE TO THE
AMERICAN PREDICTIONS OR SOVIET HINTS OF 1933. IN ALL 32 YEARS OF OUR
RECOGNITION OF THE USSR, OUR TRADE EXPORTS HAVE COME ONLY TO \$1.3 BILLION.

THE SAME PRESSURES ARE BEING EXERTED TODAY, BUT TODAY AMERICANS ARE BEING KILLED IN A CONFDICT NOT OF THEIR OWN MAKING AND BY AN ENEMY DIRECTLY AIDED BY COMMUNIST RUSSIA. THE ISSUE OF TRADE IS A rowlling and SENSITIVE ONE, PARTICULARLY SINCE BUSINESSMEN HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON TRADE -- TO SOME LIMITED EXTENT -- WHILE FARM PRODUCTS HAVE NOT BEEN SOLD BECAUSE OF CERTAIN SHIPPING RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED BY THE MARITIME UNION. WITHOUT QUESTION. THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF TRADE WITH ANY COUNTRY WHO WILL PURCHASE OUR GOODS AND COMMODITIES FOR DOLLARS SHOULD BE SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED. THE UNREALISTIC SHIPPING RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED UPON FARM PRODUCTS SHOULD BE REMOVED. BUT THEN, IN MY OPINION, WE SHOULD FACE UP TO WHAT I CONSIDER TO BE A REAL ISSUE OF TRADE WITH ANY COUNTRY -- COMMUNIST OR NON-COMMUNIST -- WHICH MIGHT BE ENGAGED IN HELPING THE ENEMY IN VIET NAM. PERHAPS ON VETERANS DAY, AT LEAST THIS MATTER CAN BE MENTIONED WITHOUT ANYONE ACCUSING THE SPEAKER OR ANY OTHER VETERAN WHO RAISES THE QUESTION OF ENGAGING IN "FLAG WAVING". WITHOUT QUESTION, WE LIVE IN A WAST AND COMPLICATED WORLD, AND THE ISSUE OF TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES IS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE AT A

TIME SUCH AS THIS, BUT WHY IS IT THE WHOLE ISSUE CANNOT BE DISCUSSED IN A CALM AND DISPASSIONATE MANNER.

DOES ANYONE BELIEVE THAT RUSSIA IS OUR FRIEND IN THE VIET NAM
STRUGGLE? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THAT RUSSIA IS NOT AIDING THE ENEMY IN
NORTH VIET NAM? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THAT RUSSIA DOES NOT HAVE MISSILE
SITES IN VIET NAM OR THAT THEY DO NOT SUPPORT COMMUNIST CUBA? DOES
ANYONE CLAIM THE ULTIMATE RUSSIAN, OBJECTIVE "TO BURY US" HAS BEEN
CHANGED? WHAT WILL IT TAKE BEFORE WE RECOGNIZE THE WAR IN VIET NAM
IS A DEADLY SERIOUS CONFLICT, AND HOW MANY KANSANS MUST BE KILLED OR
WOUNDED BEFORE TRADE WITH RUSSIA OR ANY COUNTRY AIDING OUR ENEMY IS
QUESTIONED? A STATEMENT HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO LENIN THAT WHEN
COMMUNISM HANGS CAPITALISM, THERE WILL BE TWO AMERICANS COMPETING
WITH EACH OTHER TO SELL THE ROPE.

LAST WEEK I SPENT 4 DAYS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES IN KANSAS VISITING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE IN AN EFFORT TO LEARN JUST WHAT THEY WERE THINKING ABOUT AND HOW THEY VIEWED THE STRUGGLE IN VIET NAM. THE YOUNG MEN ARE CONCERNED -- NOT AFRAID, BUT CONCERNED -- BECAUSE IF DRAFTED, IT WILL MEAN AN INTERRUPTION OF THEIR EDUCATION; AND, OF COURSE, WHEN THE YOUNG MEN ARE CONCERNED, THE YOUNG WOMEN ARE CONCERNED. ALL IN ALL, I WAS DEEPLY IMPRESSED WITH THE ATTITUDE OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE, AND WHILE IN CALIFORNIA AND NEW YORK WE READ WITH DISGUST ABOUT ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-VIET NAM DEMONSTRATIONS, I WOULD GUESS THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO FIND A HANDFUL OF YOUNG KANSAS STUDENTS WHO WOULD ENGAGE IN ANY SUCH ACTIVITY. THE DRAFT CALLS ARE INCREASING, THE CASUALTY LIST IS GROWING, AND IF THE WAR CONTINUES EVEN FOR ANOTHER YEAR, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY WILL HAVE BEEN DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECTED. SO CERTAINLY, TODAY WE CANNOT JUST MEET FOR AN HOUR -- PAY OUR RESPECTS TO AMERICAN VETERANS AND THEN GO MERRILY

ON OUR WAY UNTIL NEXT YEAR AT THIS TIME.

SO LONG AS THERE ARE NATIONS WHICH ARE READY TO EMPLOY COERCION
TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS, WORLD STABILITY AND, THEREFORE, PEACE CANNOT
BE ACHIEVED EXCLUSIVELY BY MORAL CRUSADING, NO MATTER HOW SINCERE
THE CRUSADERS. THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA ARE BOTH GREAT
POWERS AND HAVE SET OUT TOGETHER WITH THEIR VARIOUS SATELLITES AND
ALLIES, TO CHANGE THE WORLD BY COERCION AND REVOLUTION. INCREASINGLY,
THEIR STRATEGIES DIVERGE. IN PART, THIS IS DUE TO THEIR DIFFERENT
MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SITUATIONS; IN PART, THEIR NATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL
INTERESTS CONFLICT. HOWEVER, EACH CONTINUES TO EMPLOY FORCE OR THE
THREAT OF FORCE IN SOME DEGREE. IT IS THIS THREAT WHICH MUST BE MET
AND OVERCOME ON A REALISTIC BASIS IF A PEACEFUL WORLD BASED UPON
LAW IS EVER TO MATERIALIZE.

J. EDGAR HOOVER, IN HIS RECENT BOOK, "A STUDY OF COMMUNISM",

STATED, "IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IT IS THE DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO

KEEP THE PEOPLE INFORMED. IT IS EQUALLY THE DUTY OF EACH CITIZEN TO

INSURE THAT HE IS INFORMED. IT IS OBVIOUS, OF COURSE, THAT NO REAL

DEFENSE CAN BE MAINTAINED AGAINST COMMUNISM UNLESS OUR GOVERNMENT

CONTINUES TO MOVE POSITIVELY AND FIRMLY TO PROTECT OUR FREEDOMS."

IN OTHER WORDS, WE MUST BE REALISTIC, NOT OVERCOME BY THE
INTENSE PROPAGANDA BARRAGE CONCERNING PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE. WE OWE
IT TO OURSELVES AND FUTURE GENERATIONS, IN ADDITION TO TODAY'S VETERANS, TO MAKE CERTAIN THE DOLLAR SIGN DOES NOT CLOUD OUR THINKING
IN DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. AMERICANS WANT, MORE THAN
ANYTHING ELSE, LASTING PEACE. I SUGGEST THIS WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED
AS LONG AS CONCESSIONS ARE MADE ON A UNILATERAL BASIS, BUT ONLY WHEN
RUSSIAN LEADERS ARE WILLING TO DEAL WITH FREE WORLD COUNTRIES AT ARM'S

LENGTH. LET US NEVER FORGET AS WE PAUSE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN VETERANS, LIVING AND DEAD, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN RUSSIA'S GENERAL POLICY OF "BURYING US".