

ST. JOHN LUTHERAN PARENT-TEACHER LEAGUE
LINCOLN, KANSAS
NOVEMBER 18, 1965
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

THE HERITAGE OF AMERICA HAS MANY SOURCES, MANY PEOPLES AND MANY NATIONS. BUT OUR MOST BASIC NATIONAL HERITAGE HAS COME FROM THOSE IDEAS AND ACTIONS WHICH WE SEE IN THE HISTORY OF THIS LAND SINCE IT GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE. OUR HERITAGE HAS MANY PARTS, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, MORAL, AND SO FORTH. TONIGHT I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A FEW REMARKS ABOUT ONE PART OF OUR HERITAGE AND ITS RELEVANCE TO PROBLEMS WE NOW FACE. THIS IS OUR NATIONAL BELIEF IN AND COMMITMENT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD.

OUR NATION WAS BORN IN THE FIRE OF BATTLE TO CREATE A NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY. IT IS VITAL THAT OUR YOUNG PEOPLE BE TAUGHT WHAT WERE THE GOALS AND THE TERRIBLE EFFORTS NEEDED TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS IN CREATING A FREE COUNTRY. BUT THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AWARE THAT OTHERS DO NOT HAVE THE BLESSINGS WHICH WE HAVE GOTTEN BY OUR EFFORTS. THUS WHEN OTHER PEOPLES STRUGGLE TO GAIN THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND TO MAKE FREEDOM SOMETHING REAL IN THEIR COUNTRIES, WE HAVE APPLAUDED AND SOMETIMES ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THEIR EFFORTS. THIS HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN DONE BY THE GOVERNMENT. INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS HAVE GONE OVERSEAS OR SENT ASSISTANCE TO MANY OTHER COUNTRIES WHICH WERE, WE HOPE, TRYING TO MAKE A FREE LAND. BUT IN THIS CENTURY WE HAVE WITNESSED AND TAKEN PART IN LARGE EFFORTS BY AMERICANS TO AID OTHERS. WE HAVE TWICE FOUGHT GERMANY TO HELP OTHERS IN EUROPE TO REMAIN FREE AND INDEPENDENT. BUT MORE RECENTLY WE HAVE FOUND THAT THOSE WHO WOULD DEPRIVE OTHERS OF DECIDING THEIR OWN FATES HAVE GOTTEN CONTROL OF POWERFUL NATIONS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE GLOBE. TODAY WE

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FACE A THREAT TO FREEDOM THAT IS MORE TOTAL AND MORE DANGEROUS THAN ANY BEFORE IN OUR HISTORY.

NOW WE CANNOT JUST SIT ASIDE AND WATCH AND OCCASIONALLY HELP OTHERS. THE BATTLE IS BEING FOUGHT EVERYWHERE. AND WHAT HAPPENS ELSEWHERE HAS AN EFFECT ON US HERE, IF NOT TODAY, THEN IN THE FUTURE. THAT IS WHY WE NOW ARE FIGHTING IN A VERY FAR DISTANT PART OF THE GLOBE AGAINST AN UNFAMILIAR ENEMY, IN A STRANGE WORLD OF JUNGLE AND RICE PADDIES. THIS STRUGGLE DOES NOT LOOK LIKE THOSE WE ARE MORE FAMILIAR WITH FROM OUR PAST. THERE ARE NO LARGE MARCHING ARMIES WITH GREAT TANK BATTLES AND EXCITING DOG FIGHTS BETWEEN AIRCRAFT. IT IS NOT EVEN THE BLOODY BUT RECOGNIZABLE WAR OF THE KIND WE FOUGHT IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND MOST OF THE KOREAN WAR.

IT IS MAINLY OUR FIGHT ALONE, WITH THE PEOPLE WE ARE TRYING TO HELP. IT IS SIMILAR IN THIS WAY, AND IN THE ENEMY, COMMUNIST AGGRESSIVENESS, TO THE KOREAN WAR. PRESIDENT JOHNSON RECENTLY STATED WHY WE BEAR THE BRUNT, AND NOT OTHERS: "WE DID NOT CHOOSE TO BE THE GUARDIAN AT THE GATE, BUT THERE IS NO ONE ELSE."

THE UNITED STATES NOW HAS A COMMITMENT IN VIET NAM, WHICH IT MUST FULFILL AND WILL FULFILL IN ORDER TO PRESERVE ITS DIGNITY AS A NATION. WHAT IS THIS COMMITMENT, AND WHY ARE WE INVOLVED IN VIET NAM? OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES WITH REGARD TO SOUTH VIET NAM HAVE BEEN REITERATED MANY TIMES: 1) TO CONTAIN THE EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM WITHIN ITS PRESENT BORDERS; 2) TO STRENGTHEN THE VIABILITY OF SOUTH VIET NAM AND TO GUARANTEE ITS RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY, FREE FROM EXTERNAL AGGRESSION AND INTERFERENCE.

THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT IN VIET NAM AND THE ENSUING RESPONSIBILITIES BECAUSE OF THAT COMMITMENT MEAN THAT MANY YOUNG AMERICANS WILL BE KILLED OR WOUNDED IN A FAR-OFF LAND WHICH MANY AMERICANS KNOW

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LITTLE ABOUT AND, UNDER NORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES, PAY LITTLE ATTENTION TO. THE STRUGGLE IN VIET NAM WILL CERTAINLY MEAN THAT CASUALTY LEVELS WILL GROW AND GROW. IN FACT, IT APPEARS FROM THE NATURE OF THE RECENT FIGHTING THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE SOME MORE BLOODY AND MORE FREQUENT FIGHTS WITH NOT JUST LIGHTLY ARMED GUERRILLAS BUT WELL-TRAINED AND ARMED REGULAR NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS. AS OF NOVEMBER 1ST, WE HAD SUFFERED 1275 DEATHS FROM ALL CAUSES, 902 OF THESE FROM WHAT THE PENTAGON CALLS HOSTILE ACTION, 4825 WOUNDED, AND 114 MISSING AND CAPTURED. WE KNOW THAT THESE 6200-ODD CASUALTIES ARE SMALL BESIDE OUR 157,000 IN KOREA AND OVER ONE MILLION IN WORLD WAR II. BUT THEY WILL GROW. EVEN WORSE, THERE IS THE AWESOME POSSIBILITY THAT THIS WAR COULD ESCALATE INTO SOMETHING THAT MIGHT THREATEN TO OR EVEN ACTUALLY WREAK TERRIBLE LOSSES ON THOSE OF US WHO SEEM SO SAFE AT HOME. AND, THERE ALSO WILL BE HEAVY FINANCIAL COSTS IN EVEN THE PRESENT LIMITED WAR. WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES IN VIET NAM????

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DISCUSSION IN HIGH PLACES ABOUT INCREASING TRADE WITH COMMUNIST RUSSIA -- NOT JUST THE SALE OF WHEAT, BUT INCREASING ALL TRADE. FRANKLY, I TAKE A DIM VIEW OF THIS AND HAVE BEEN ROUNDLY CRITICIZED FOR IT IN SOME QUARTERS. BECAUSE OF THE NATURE OF THIS PROGRAM, I BELIEVE THOSE ATTENDING WILL BE INTERESTED IN A BRIEF REVIEW OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED JUST IN THE PAST FEW DAYS.

JUST LAST WEEK THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCED THAT CASUALTIES FOR THE PREVIOUS WEEK WERE 70 KILLED AND 237 WOUNDED, A RECORD HIGH, AND IN FACT THE CASUALTIES IN THIS WEEK EXCEEDED THOSE OF ANY PREVIOUS ONE-MONTH PERIOD. JUST 10 DAYS AGO YOU MAY HAVE READ OR HEARD THAT 7 AMERICAN PLANES WERE SHOT DOWN, SOME AS A DIRECT RESULT OF CONTACT WITH RUSSIAN MISSILES IN AND AROUND HANOI. THIS WAS THE WAY IT WAS REPORTED BY ASSOCIATED PRESS:

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"U. S. PLANES BLASTED ANOTHER MISSILE SITE IN NORTH VIET NAM TODAY, THE SEVENTH RAID ON THE SOVIET-BUILT AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM IN FOUR DAYS. BUT THE SERIES OF ATTACKS, WHICH DESTROYED TWO SITES AND DAMAGED FIVE OTHERS, TOOK A TOLL OF 5 U. S. PLANES AND 2 HELICOPTERS, WITH 6 AMERICAN AIRMEN LISTED AS MISSING IN ENEMY TERRITORY."

JUST 10 DAYS AGO RUSSIA DENOUNCED THE UNITED STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND JUST 11 DAYS AGO WE WERE DENOUNCED BY RUSSIA AS SHE CELEBRATED THE 48TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. I MENTION THESE THINGS SO THAT WE MAY REALIZE THAT RUSSIA IS OUR MORTAL ENEMY IN VIET NAM, EVEN THOUGH THERE ARE THOSE WHO WOULD CLOSE THEIR EYES TO THIS FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER. IT WILL BE 32 YEARS THIS NOVEMBER 17 SINCE THE UNITED STATES OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED THE COMMUNIST REGIME IN MOSCOW AS THE LEGAL GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. RECOGNITION OF RUSSIA WAS CERTAINLY CONTROVERSIAL THEN, AND THE CONTROVERSY IS STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, THERE WERE MANY REASONS "PRO AND CON" FOR RECOGNIZING RUSSIA AND, AS YOU MIGHT GUESS, ONE OF THE MOST FORCEFUL ARGUMENTS FOR RECOGNITION WAS THE POSSIBILITY OF INCREASED TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. IN FACT ON JUNE 14, 1933, MAXIM LITVINOV, SOVIET COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ADDRESSED HIMSELF CHIEFLY TO THE UNITED STATES AND DANGLED THE FIGURE OF \$1 BILLION WORTH OF RUSSIAN ORDERS AS BAIT. THERE WERE OTHERS IN THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION WHO BELIEVED THAT BEFORE WE RECOGNIZED RUSSIA, ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE SETTLED. THESE INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING:

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- (1) MOSCOW MUST SEVER ALL CONNECTIONS WITH COMMUNISTS IN THE UNITED STATES.
- (2) RUSSIAN DEBTS MUST BE SETTLED.
- (3) THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS IN RUSSIA MUST BE CLEARLY DEFINED AND AGREED UPON.
- (4) ASSURANCES MUST BE GIVEN THAT THE RIGHTS OF AMERICANS IN RUSSIA TO OBSERVE THE RITUALS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE CHURCHES "WITHOUT ANNOYANCE OR MOLESTATIONS" WOULD BE SCRUPULOUSLY OBSERVED.

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

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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 NOW HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS ARE BEING KILLED AND WOUNDED 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 SOME AMERICAN 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. IN MY OPINION, WE MUST FACE UP TO THE REAL ISSUE OF TRADE WITH ANY COUNTRY -- COMMUNIST OR NON-COMMUNIST -- WHICH MIGHT BE ENGAGED IN HELPING THE ENEMY IN VIET NAM. PERHAPS ON A PROGRAM SUCH AS THIS, AT LEAST THIS MATTER CAN BE MENTIONED WITHOUT ANYONE ACCUSING THE SPEAKER OR ANYONE HERE WHO RAISES THE QUESTION OF ENGAGING IN "FLAG WAVING". WITHOUT QUESTION, WE LIVE IN A VAST 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 COMMUNIST RUSSIA OR COMMUNIST CHINA ARE OUR FRIENDS IN THE VIET NAM STRUGGLE? DOES ANYONE CLAIM THAT COMMUNIST RUSSIA OR COMMUNIST CHINA DO NOT HAVE MISSILE SITES IN

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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 RED CHINA 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. WITH THIS BACKGROUND, IT SEEMS THAT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO MAKE CERTAIN THE MORAL ISSUE INVOLVED IS AT LEAST DISCUSSED AND NOT SWEEPED UNDER THE RUG IN OUR HASTE TO RING UP A SALE OF ANYTHING TO ANY COMMUNIST COUNTRY WHICH MAY BE AIDING OUR ENEMY IN VIET NAM.

PEOPLE REACT IN WIDELY DIFFERENT WAYS TO THE REALIZATION OF WHAT IS GOING ON AND MAY HAPPEN. A FEW SEE US AS THE AGGRESSOR, OR SAY THEY DO. THEY SAY OUR YOUNG MEN SHOULD NOT SERVE IN THE ARMED FORCES IN AN EVIL WAR. IT IS NOT WAR ITSELF WHICH IS EVIL, BUT THIS ONE. OTHERS ARE MORE GENUINELY PACIFISTIC: THEY JUST DON'T LIKE WAR. OTHERS TAKE THE OPPOSITE LINE. THEY SAY WE ARE IN THE RIGHT, BUT ARE NOT WAGING THIS WAR THE BEST WAY. THEY ARGUE FOR LARGER ATTACKS ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. IT MAY TURN OUT THAT OUR RESPONSIBLE LEADERS WILL DECIDE THAT THIS IS NECESSARY, NOT JUST TO DEFEAT THE AGGRESSION, BUT EVEN TO SAVE LIVES BY ENDING THE FIGHTING SOONER. BUT IT DOES NOT LOOK LIKE THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO ACCEPT THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE OTHER TWO GROUPS. IN THIS WE CAN SEE THE STRENGTH OF OUR HERITAGE. SINCE WE HAVE BECOME A WORLD POWER, ESPECIALLY IN THE YEARS SINCE 1941, WE HAVE LEARNED THAT ALL WARS ARE JUST AS TERRIBLE AS WE THOUGHT THROUGHOUT THE MORE PEACEFUL YEARS OF OUR HISTORY. BUT

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WE HAVE LEARNED THE LESSON THAT EVEN THOUGH WAR IS UNPLEASANT, IT DOES NOT MEAN WE CAN HIDE FROM ITS REALITY, AND WHEN COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP IS THREATENED, ITS NECESSITY. WE HAVE NEVER SHIRKED OUR DUTY WHEN IT WAS MADE PLAIN TO US. NOW WE ARE TOLD THAT IN A WORLD OF INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES AND HYDROGEN BOMBS WE CANNOT RISK ANY WAR BECAUSE THE RESULT OF ITS ESCALATIO WILL BE QUITE POSSIBLY THE CREATION OF A RADIOACTIVE DESERT WHERE THE UNITED STATES IS NOW.

THIS IS A VIEW BASED ON FEAR, ON BLIND IRRATIONAL FEAR. IF WE HEED IT WE WILL NEVER DARE TO FIGHT FOR OUR PRINCIPLES, AND EVEN OUR WAY OF LIFE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. WE WOULD ACCEPT THE VIEW OF "BETTER RED THAN DEAD". THIS VIEW SEEMS TO ASSUME THAT TWO THINGS ARE TRUE, FIRST THAT MERE PHYSICAL SURVIVAL IS ALL THAT MATTERS. THIS IS A VIEW THAT I KNOW THE PARENTS AND TEACHERS OF CHILDREN BEING GIVEN A CHRISTIAN EDUCATION WILL NOT ACCEPT. WERE THIS REALLY THE VIEW OF ALL MEN IN ALL AGES THERE WOULD BE NO CHRISTIAN RELIGION TODAY. THIS PHILOSOPHY CAN BE DISREGARDED AS APPLYING REALLY TO MANY PEOPLE AND CERTAINLY NOT TO AMERICANS THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY AND TODAY. THE SECOND ASSUMPTION OF THIS LEFT-WING VIEW IS THAT THE MEN IN THE KREMLIN ARE WILLING TO BLOW UP THEIR NATION IN ORDER TO DESTROY US. THEY JUST DO NOT SEEM TO BE THIS CRAZY. OUR DETERRENT HAS WORKED SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IT IS MORE TERRIFYING NOW THAN EVER BEFORE. I DON'T SEE HOW THE RUSSIAN OR CHINESE COMMUNIST LEADERS CAN BE DESIROUS OF BRINGING DOWN ON THEMSELVES OUR MIGHT. NO, THE PROPHETS OF FEAR AND DESPAIR CANNOT SHOW US AND OUR YOUTH WHO WILL HAVE TO LIVE WITH DANGER AND FEAR FOR YEARS, A PHILOSOPHY THAT CAN BE LIVED BY WITH HOPE AND SELF-ESTEEM.

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THE LAST VIEW OF OUR ACTION IN VIET NAM -- THE VIEW THAT WE ARE THE AGGRESSORS -- HARDLY NEEDS MENTIONING. IT SO BLATANTLY DISTORTS OUR GOALS AND IGNORES OUR HISTORY OF OPPOSING TYRANNY THAT IT IS HARDLY TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

WHAT I HAVE TRIED TO POINT OUT HERE IN A FEW REMARKS CAN BE SUMMED UP QUICKLY. WE ARE NOT DOING SOMETHING NOVEL IN FIGHTING FOR SOMEBODY ELSE'S FREEDOM. IT NOW IS PART OF OUR HERITAGE TO RECOGNIZE THE DANGER TO US AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, TO SEND OUR YOUNG MEN TO FOREIGN STRUGGLES. WE ALSO DO RUN SOME RISKS TO OUR NATION OF A GREATER WAR, BUT IN OUR HISTORY IT HAS BEEN WHEN WE REALIZED DANGER THAT WE REACTED THE STRONGEST -- BY FIGHTING IT, NOT BY RUNNING AWAY. BUT, THE WAY THIS WAR IS BEING FOUGHT ALSO SHOWS THAT WE HAVE LEARNED THAT WE MUST BE WILLING TO TEMPORARILY LIMIT OUR GOALS BECAUSE OF THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR.

IF WE ARE TO KEEP FAITH WITH THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN WILLING IN THE PAST TO SUFFER AND DIE FOR THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN FREEDOM AND SACRIFICE ON WHICH OUR NATION IS BASED, THEN WE MUST BE WILLING TO ASSUME THE DANGERS AND LOSSES WHICH THEIR SURVIVAL DEMANDS IN A WORLD THREATENED WITH COMMUNIST TYRANNY.