

WYANDOTTE COUNTY REPUBLICAN PICNIC  
WYANDOTTE COUNTY PARK  
KANSAS CITY, KANSAS  
Sunday, September 17, 1967  
Remarks of Congressman Bob Dole

THE FACTS ABOUT PACIFICATION IN VIETNAM

GOVERNOR DOCKING HAS MADE REPEATED STATEMENTS RECENTLY CONCERNING THE SUCCESS OF PACIFICATION PROGRAMS IN VIETNAM. HIS STATEMENTS PERSUMABLY ARE BASED UPON INFORMATION PROVIDED DURING HIS GUIDED TOUR OF THE WAR ZONE. THESE STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN -- IN MANY INSTANCES -- INCONSISTENT WITH THE FINDINGS OF A RESPONSIBLE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

AS STATED BEFORE AND LET ME RE-EMPHASIZE THIS, I DID NOT AND DO NOT NOW TAKE ISSUE WITH THE GOVERNOR'S TRIP PER SE. MY INITIAL REACTION WAS THAT LITTLE COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED -- REGARDLESS OF ADVANCE AND SUBSEQUENT PRESS AGENCY -- BECAUSE THE STATE OF KANSAS HAS NO JURISDICTION OVER THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR OR PACIFICATION PROGRAMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I COMMEND HIM FOR VISITING THE GALLANT KANSANS NOW SERVING OUR COUNTRY THERE.

I HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN STUDIES WHICH HAVE REVEALED INFORMATION INCONSISTENT WITH MUCH OF THE RECENT OPTIMISM EVIDENT IN THE GOVERNOR'S OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE PRESENT MILITARY AND ECONOMIC STATUS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THERE ARE SOME WHO SAY THAT THE GOVERNOR WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC AFTER ONE TRIP THAN SECRETARY MCNAMARA WAS AFTER NINE. NONETHELESS, MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE FOLLOWED THE EVENTS CAREFULLY IN VIETNAM MUST HAVE BEEN MORE THAN A LITTLE SUPRISED UPON READING THE GOVERNOR'S REPORTS.

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FOR THE PAST 18 MONTHS, I HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS AND GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE. IT HAS BEEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR SUBCOMMITTEE TO STUDY IN DEPTH MANY PROGRAMS, INCLUDING THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM IN VIETNAM.

MEMBERS OF OUR SUBCOMMITTEE HAVE CONDUCTED ON-SITE INVESTIGATIONS IN VIETNAM, AS HAVE MEMBERS OF OUR COMMITTEE STAFF. INFORMATION HAS BEEN COLLECTED FROM GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, AND FROM RESPECTED INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS IN THE FIELD. REPORTS OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE HAVE BEEN ISSUED, AND UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED BY THE FULL COMMITTEE, JUST 3 WEEKS AGO, ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS:

- ILLICIT PRACTICES AFFECTING THE US ECONOMIC PROGRAM IN VIETNAM
- THE COMMERCIAL (COMMODITY) IMPORT PROGRAM FOR VIETNAM, AND
- THE PORT SITUATION IN VIETNAM.

FURTHER REPORTS HAVE BEEN RESEARCHED, AND ARE IN PREPARATION, ON PACIFICATION, MANPOWER UTILIZATION, LAND REFORM, AND OTHER RELATED AREAS.

BASED UPON 18 MONTHS OF PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT WITH THESE INVESTIGATIONS, I MUST ASSERT THAT THE STATEMENTS ISSUED BY GOVERNOR DOCKING WITH RESPECT TO THE SUCCESSES OF THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM IN VIETNAM ARE, UNFORTUNATELY, INACCURATE AND MISLEADING.

#### WHO PACIFIED WHOM?

THE GOVERNOR IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE CIVILIAN OPERATIONS REVOLUTIONARY DEVELOPMENT STRUCTURE, KNOWN AS THE CORDS PROGRAM, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PACIFICATION AND SECURING OF 4500 HAMLETS. IN REALITY, THE 32,000 CORDS WORKERS HAVE HAD A VERY SMALL PART TO PLAY IN THE PACIFICATION AND SECURING OF THE 4500 HAMLETS WHERE THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT GOVERNMENT PRESENCE.

WHAT ABOUT THE MILLION PLUS MEN AT ARMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM TODAY?  
HAVE THEY NOT HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE SECURING AND PACIFICATION OF THE VILLAGES? WHAT ABOUT THE 13,000 AMERICANS KILLED IN VIETNAM, AND THE



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80,000 WOUNDED? HAVE THEY NOT HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE SECURING OF WHAT IS NOW GOVERNMENT TERRITORY?

TO SUGGEST THAT THE VIETNAMESE PACIFICATION WORKERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MODEST GAINS THAT HAVE BEEN WON IN VIETNAM OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS WITH SO MUCH ALLIED BLOOD....IS TO COMPLETELY FAIL TO RECOGNIZE THE ELEMENTAL REALITY OF THE VIETNAMESE SITUATION.

JUST TO KEEP THE CORDS PROGRAM IN PERSPECTIVE, I THINK WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT, AS OF JULY 1, 1967, THERE WERE ONLY 570 TEAMS IN THE FIELD.. WITH OVER 12,500 HAMLETS IN THE NATION TO PACIFY.

WHILE THE GOVERNOR WOULD LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARE FAST APPROACHING DOCILITY, THE LATEST FACTS THAT THE CONGRESS HAS WOULD SUGGEST OTHERWISE.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICS, ISSUED JUST LAST MONTH, REFLECT THE AGONY THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM STILL MUST FACE:

HAMLETS UNDER TOTAL GOVERNMENT CONTROL (--NUMBERS)	168
PARTIAL GOVERNMENT CONTROL	1776
CONTESTED (GOVERNMENT LEANING)	3245
CONTESTED (VIET CONG LEANING)	2156
PARTIAL VC CONTROL	528
TOTAL VC CONTROL	3978
UNCLASSIFIED	686
TOTAL	12,537

#### MEDICAL CARE FOR CIVILIANS

THE GOVERNOR SUGGESTED THAT THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR INCREASING THE NUMBER OF DOCTORS FROM 300 JUST 18 MONTHS AGO TO 1200 TODAY. IT WOULD BE REMARKABLE INDEED, IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO EDUCATE DOCTORS IN SUCH A SHORT TIME...PERHAPS THE MEDICAL NEEDS OF THE ENTIRE WORLD COULD BE CARED FOR IN FIVE YEARS. IN REALITY, THE PROVIDING OF MEDICAL CARE FOR THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAS BEEN PAINFULLY INADEQUATE. THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ITSELF ADMITS, AS OF JULY 1, 1967, THAT THERE WERE ONLY 190 DOCTORS IN SOUTH VIETNAM TO SERVE OVER TEN MILLION

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POVERTY STRICKEN CIVILIANS. THESE 190 DOCTORS SERVED TEN MILLION, WHILE 760 DOCTORS SERVED THE 600,000 MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMED FORCES AND THEIR DEPENDENTS. I SUGGEST THAT PACIFICATION HAS BEEN HINDERED BY SUCH OBVIOUS INEQUITIES AS THIS.

AS FAR AS PROGRESS IN MEDICAL CARE IS CONCERNED...IN FISCAL YEAR 1966 THERE WERE 41 FOREIGN MEDICAL TEAMS IN VIETNAM TO HELP THE NATIVE DOCTORS WITH THE PEOPLE. IN FISCAL 1967, THERE WERE ONLY 43 LISTED, AND THIS IS AN INCREASE OF ONLY TWO TEAMS IN AN ENTIRE YEAR.

#### LAND REFORM PROGRAM

THE GOVERNOR LAUDED THE PROGRESS OF THE LAND REFORM PROGRAM THAT HAS BEEN INITIATED IN SOUTH VIETNAM. I WAS AMAZED THAT HE SHOULD EVEN MENTION THIS TOPIC...AMAZED, THAT IS, IF HIS PURPOSE IS TO PRAISE THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM, FOR LAND REFORM IS THE SORRIEST CHAPTER IN THE ENTIRE VIETNAM STORY.

LAND REFORM WAS INITIALLY PROMISED BY PRESIDENT DIEM AS LONG AGO AS THE LATE FIFTIES. LITTLE WAS ACCOMPLISHED OF VALUE UNDER THAT REGIME.

SUCCESSIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE PROMISED LAND REFORM, YET MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. EIGHTY TO NINETY PERCENT OF THE POPULATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM WORK THE LAND, YET THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT OWN NO LAND. ONLY 127,000 PERSONS HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO BUY EXPROPRIATED LAND UNDER THE VARIOUS LAND REFORM PROGRAMS, OUT OF A POPULATION OF OVER 16 MILLION PEOPLE. DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS OF THE KY REGIME, ONLY FIFTY THOUSAND ACRES IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN DISTRIBUTED. THERE HAVE BEEN NO NEW EXPROPRIATIONS OF LAND FROM WEALTHY LANDOWNERS....THE LAST EXPROPRIATION OCCURRED DURING THE DIEM ADMINISTRATION.

THE STATEMENT BY PREMIER KY AT THE GUAM CONFERENCE THAT HE HAD DISTRIBUTED OVER A MILLION HECTARES TO THE PEASANTS WAS NOTHING BUT A



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GROSS LIE.

#### OTHER PACIFICATION FAILURES

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST TELLING SIGNS OF THE TRAGIC FAILURE OF THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM TO DATE IS THE SHARP INCREASE IN THE ABDUCTION AND MURDER OF CIVIL OFFICIALS IN SO-CALLED PACIFIED AREAS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

DURING THE ENTIRE YEAR OF 1966, THERE WERE 370 CIVIL OFFICIALS ASSASSINATED IN VIETNAM. BUT FROM DECEMBER 25, 1966 TO JUNE 25, 1967, THERE WERE 347 OF THESE MURDERS. THESE ALARMING FIGURES, OFFICIAL FROM THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, REPRESENT ALMOST A HUNDRED PERCENT INCREASE IN ASSASSINATION FROM LAST YEAR TO THE PRESENT. CAN THIS BE ANYTHING BUT A DEFINITE INDICATION THAT THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM HAS MET MOST SERIOUS REVERSALS?

GOVERNOR DOCKING LISTS THE TRAINING OF 2900 ELEMENTARY TEACHERS AS A REAL ACCOMPLISHMENT LAST YEAR....WHAT HE FAILED TO POINT OUT WAS THE FACT THAT THIS FIGURE REPRESENTS A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS TRAINED. IN FISCAL 1966, THERE WERE OVER 3300 ELEMENTARY TEACHERS TRAINED. THIS IS JUST ANOTHER ATTEMPT BY AN ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMAN, THE GOVERNOR IN THIS CASE, TO MAKE SOME UNPLEASANT STATISTICS APPEAR INDICATIVE OF PROGRESS THAT JUST HASN'T OCCURRED.

#### A HISTORY OF OPTIMISM

REALLY, THOUGH, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO OPTIMISTIC REPORTS ON THE VIETNAMESE WAR LONG BEFORE GOVERNOR DOCKING'S VISIT. AS LONG AGO AS FEBRUARY 1963, DEAN RUSK SAID:

"THE MOMENTUM OF THE COMMUNIST DRIVE HAS BEEN STOPPED."

IN APRIL OF THAT YEAR, HE SAID:

"THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES ARE FIGHTING THEIR OWN BATTLE, FIGHTING WELL."

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A WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT IN OCTOBER OF 1963 SAID:

"SECRETARY MCNAMARA AND GENERAL TAYLOR REPORTED THEIR JUDGEMENT THAT THE MAJOR PART OF THE US MILITARY TASK CAN BE COMPLETED BY THE END OF 1965, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE A CONTINUING REQUIREMENT FOR A LIMITED NUMBER OF US TRAINING PERSONNEL."

SO THE GOVERNOR'S OPTIMISTIC STATEMENTS, HIS POLLYANA ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WAR IN VIETNAM HAVE HAD COMPANY IN THE PAST...AND STILL HAVE COMPANY AS THE ADMINISTRATION GOES DOWN THE LINE WITH THE SAIGON LEADERSHIP.

INCIDENTALLY, I NOTE THAT MR. DZU, THE RUNNER-UP TO GENERAL THIEU IN THE RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, HAS BEEN CALLED TO COURT FOR ALLEGED CURRENCY VIOLATIONS. AS PRESIDENT-ELECT THIEU BEGINS PROCEEDINGS TO JAIL HIS LEADING OPPONENT, IT APPEARS THAT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ARE STILL QUITE FAR AWAY, (IN SPITE OF OUR PACIFICATION PROGRAMS), IN THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

#### CONCLUSION

IN CONCLUSION, LET ME SAY:

-----I REGRET THE GOVERNOR'S ATTEMPT TO CREDIT THE PACIFICATION

WORKERS WITH THE SUCCESSES WON BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN BATTLE IN VIETNAM.

-----I REGRET THE GOVERNOR'S MISLEADING STATISTICS ON THE NUMBER OF DOCTORS PROVIDED BY RECENT TRAINING PROGRAMS. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL FROM HIS STATEMENT WHAT HE IS REFERRING TO WHEN HE INDICATES PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE...THE FACTS SHOW THIS PROGRESS HAS BEEN TOTALLY INADEQUATE.

-----I REGRET THE GOVERNOR'S MISLEADING STATISTICS ON THE PRODUCTION OF NEW TEACHERS FOR THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. THE FACTS SHOW THAT THERE HAS ACTUALLY BEEN A DECLINE IN THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS TRAINED.



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-----I CERTAINLY REGRET THE GOVERNOR'S ASSERTIONS THAT THE OVERALL  
PACIFICATION PROGRAM IS GOING WELL. THE FACTS INDICATE THAT THE  
COUNTRY IS FAR FROM PACIFIED....AS ONLY 168 OF 12,500 HAMLETS  
ARE CLASSIFIED BY ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN AS UNDER TOTAL  
GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

THE REASONS FOR THE DISMAL PROGRESS OF THE VARIOUS PACIFICATION  
PROGRAMS IN VIETNAM MUST INCLUDE THE RELUCTANCE OF THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT  
TO INSTITUTE AN EFFECTIVE LAND REFORM PROGRAM. THERE ARE MANY OTHER REASONS.  
LET ME ONLY SAY TODAY THAT WE CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE MANY  
PROBLEMS RELATING TO PACIFICATION BY CREATING FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A  
MISLEADING AND INACCURATE PICTURE OF THE REAL SITUATION IN VIETNAM.