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- VIETNAM RESOLUTION -

ON OCTOBER 13, I INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE DEALING WITH THE VIETNAM WAR. OF COURSE, VIETNAM RESOLUTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN UNCOMMON IN WASHINGTON THIS YEAR. MY RESOLUTION WAS JUST A BIT DIFFERENT FROM THE GENERAL RUN OF RESOLUTIONS, HOWEVER, IT DID NOT IMPLORE THE UNITED STATES TO GET OUT OF VIETNAM, OR CASTIGATE THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE FOR ONE DEFICIENCY OR ANOTHER. IT DID NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE TIMETABLES OR SET POLICY. INSTEAD OF EXPRESSING THESE IDEAS, MY RESOLUTION CALLED ON HANOI AND THE VIETCONG TO TAKE CERTAIN REASONABLE, POSITIVE STEPS TOWARD ACHIEVING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS AT PARIS. THIS RESO-LUTION ALSO HAD THE CO-SPONSORSHIP OF 35 OF MY COLLEAGUES --INCLUDING, I AM PROUD TO SAY, PAUL FANNIN AND BARRY GOLDWATER.

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- QUIZ FOR THE AUDIENCE -

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A THE WASHINGTON POST'S COVERAGE OF THIS RESOLUTION'S

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CH DAGE AND DE ANDERSIALE AND THE HEADILIANE FOR THE SAME HAS CANNY

INSERTION OF FURNITION OF STATE ATTREETED FOOT DEMENTED

SURRY. TOU AKE ALL WRONG. THE WASHINGTON POST EVIDENTLY DECIDED THAT A PIECE OF LEGISLATION PUTTING THE BURDEN ON THE ENEMY TO CARRY ITS SHARE OF THE LOAD IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE WAS NEWSWORTHY. NO WOOD OF THE RESOLUTION'S INTRODUCTION APPEARED IN THE POST. NOT THAT ANYONE WAS TOO SURPRISED, BUT THE EPISODE GIVES A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE SORT OF OBJECTIVE REPORTING THIS NOBLE PILLAR OF THE FREE PRESS BESTOWS ON OUR NATION'S CAPITAL.

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TO CONTINUE WITH THE STORY OF THIS RESOLUTION, IT MUST IN FAIRNESS BE POINTED OUT THAT THE <u>NEW YORK TIMES</u> DEVOTED FRONT PAGE SPACE TO ITS INTRODUCTION.

- WHAT IS GOOD ABOUT THE POST -

WITH THAT REMARK, I HAVE SAID SOMETHING NICE ABOUT THE TIMES. MANY OF YOU MIGHT BE WONDERING WHAT I COULD POSSIBLY FIND TO APPLAUD ABOUT THE <u>POST</u>. THAT QUESTION HAD ME STUMPED FOR A LONG TIME TOO. BUT WITH THE HELP OF A MAN WHOSE KEEN EYE AND MANY YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE HAVE DEVELOPED UNEQUALED INSIGHT AND JUDGEMENT IN THESE MATTERS, I FOUND AN ANSWER.

THE MAN TO WHOM I AM INDEBTED FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THIS PERPLEXING QUESTION IS NONE OTHER THAN YOUR OWN BARRY GOLDWATER. JUST THIS WEEK ON THE SENATE FLOOR, SOME PARTICULARLY POINTED REMARKS HAD BEEN DIRECTED AT THE <u>POST'S</u> COVERAGE OF SENATOR HOLLINGS BRILLIANT SPEECH IN BEHALF OF JUDGE HAYNSWORTH. AT THIS POINT - 5 -

IN THE COLLOQUY, THE JUNIOR SENATOR FROM THIS GREAT STATE ROSE ON THE FLOOR TO SPEAK MOST ELOQUENTLY OF HIS DEVOTION TO AND DAILY DEPENDENCE UPON THE WASHINGTON POST.

AFTER HIS WORDS I TOO REALIZED WHAT THE WASHINGTON POST MEANS TO ME.

I AM HIGHLY INDEBTED TO YOUR DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FOR POINTING OUT THE VALUE AND HIGH MERIT OF THE <u>WASHINGTON POST'S</u> COMICS SECTION. WITHOUT IT THE ENTIRE CONGRESS WOULD HAVE TO START THE DAY WITHOUT "PEANUTS", "BLONDIE" AND "DENNIS THE MENACE".

- NEWS COVERAGE -

WHILE WE ARE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE PRESS, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT NEWS COVERAGE IN GENERAL. WE HAVE HEARD A GREAT DEAL IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS ABOUT THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER OF NEWS GATHERERS AND COMMENTATORS. VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

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UNLEASED A WHIRLWIND OF CONTROVERSY LAST WEEK WITH HIS REMARKS ABOUT TV NETWORK COVERAGE OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S NOVEMBER 3 VIETNAM SPEECH.

- GEOGRAPHICAL CONCENTRATION -

HE SPOKE OF THE HANDFUL OF MEN WHO DETERMINE THE CONTENT OF THE NIGHTLY NETWORK NEWS BROADCASTS. AND YOU ALL KNOW THE COMMOTION THAT FOLLOWED. IT WAS INTERESTING THAT THESE SAME IDEAS HAD BEEN EXPRESSED SEVERAL WEEKS EARLIER IN A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THEODORE WHITE, AUTHOR OF THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1968, AND WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. IT WAS POINTED OUT AND AGREED UPON BY BOTH MEN THAT WITHIN A FEW SQUARE BLOCKS ON MANHATTAN ISLAND THERE WAS A CONCENTRATION OF NOT ONLY THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA, BUT ALSO OF THE PRINTED SOURCES SUPPLYING NEWS AND OPINION TO PERHAPS 90% OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. THAT THESE SOURCES COVERED SUCH POLITICAL - 7 -

AND IDEOLOGICAL EXTREMES AS MR. BUCKLEY'S NATIONAL REVIEW TO THE NEW REPUBLIC TO LOOK AND LIFE.

THE PEOPLE WHO WORK FOR THESE PUBLICATIONS AND THE NETWORKS, WHO SIFT AND SORT THE NEWS ARE ENGAGED IN NO GREAT CONSPIRACY TO MOLD THE MINDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT THEY, LIKE OURSELVES ARE SHAPED BY THEIR ENVIRONMENT AND THE PEOPLE AROUND THEM. THEY DO NOT GATHER IN SINISTER CELLS TO PLOT THE NEWS EVENTS TO BE COVERED AND THE COLORING TO BE GIVEN THEM. BUT THEY LIVE IN THE SAME NEW YORK MEGALOPOLIS. THEY RIDE THE SAME COMMUTER TRAINS TO AND FROM WORK. THEY HAVE BASICALLY THE SAME NEWS SOURCES. THEY ARE ONLY HUMAN AND WITH NO INTENTION OF BEING PAROCHIAL MYSELF, I WOULD POINT OUT THAT NEW YORK HAS A REPUTATION, FOR ALL ITS SOPHISTICATION AND MODERNITY, A HIGHLY PROVINCIAL AND INWARD-LOOKING VIEWPOINT IN MANY FIELDS. THE ATMOSPHERE

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SURROUNDING THESE NEWSMEN, TELEVISION PRODUCERS, AND COMMENTATORS IS BOUND TO AFFECT THEM IN SUBTLE AND QUIET WAYS.

- RAISING QUESTIONS -

I DO NOT WISH TO ADD FUEL TO ANY CONTROVERSY, BUT I WOULD, AS THE VICE PRESIDENT, LIKE TO RAISE SOME QUESTIONS. I AM CALLING NO INDIVIDUALS OR ORGANIZATIONS TO TA**SK**. BUT I FEEL THAT SOME PUBLIC QUESTIONING WOULD BE BENEFICIAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST AS WELL AS TO THE MEDIA. ABOVE ALL, I DO NOT WANT TO MAKE EVEN THE SLIGHTEST SUGGESTION THAT ANY FORM OF CENSORSHIP SHOULD BE EMPLOYED. BUT AS VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW SAID THURSDAY EVENING THE MEDIA SHOULD BE CALLED UPON TO ENJOY THE "ROUGH AND TUMBLE" OF OUR FIRST AMENDMENT'S GREAT RIGHT.

POLITICANS HAVE NEVER HAD THEIR PRONOUNCEMENTS AND PONTIFI-CATIONS ACCEPTED OR ACQUIESCED IN WITHOUT SCRUTINY AND COMMENT FROM THEIR FELLOWS IN THE POLITICAL ARENA. AND FORTUNATELY FOR - 9 -

ALL OF US THE COMMENTATORS OF THE PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION HAVE NEVER BEEN RELUCTANT TO ADD THEIR OBSERVATIONS.

I FEEL IT IS APPROPRIATE TO ASK THE MEMBERS OF THE MEDIA, WITH THE SAME VIGOR AND ALACRITY WHICH WE EMPLOY WITH OUR FELLOW POLITICANS, TO ANSWER FOR THEIR OPINIONS AND POSITIONS. I HAVE NO FEARS FOR THE WELFARE OF THESE DEDICATED AND CONSCIENTIOUS REPORTERS, EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS. THEY HAVE DISHED IT OUT FOR A LONG TIME, AND THEY CAN SURELY TAKE IT.

- CONCLUSION -

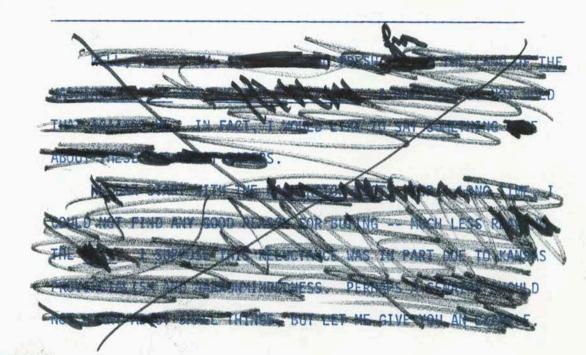
MANY CENTURIES AGO, BEFORE "MEDIA", AND "CREDIBILITY GAPS" AND POLARIZATION WERE WATCHWORDS OF POLITICS PLATO OBSERVED:

"A LIFE WITHOUT CRITICISM IS A LIFE NOT WORTH LIVING."

BY THIS MEASURE WE POLITICIANS HAVE BEEN LEADING EXTREMELY WORTHWHILE LIVES. I HOPE WE WILL BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO WORTH OF THE MEDIA MEN'S LIVES IN EQUAL FULLNESS. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE

TRUNK 'N TUSK OF TUCSON PIONEER HOTEL TUCSON, ARIZONA SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1969



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- THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACHES -

I AM PROUD, AS I KNOW YOU ARE, OF THE JOB NIXON AND HIS ADMINISTRATION DOING FOR THE COUNTRY. FRESH, REALISTIC APPROACHES ARE BEING TAKEN TOWARD THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE DEMOCRATS SPENT EIGHT YEARS CREATING AND WORSENING. NEW IDEAS ARE BEING DEVELOPED IN CONJUNCTION WITH PLANNING FOR THE DECADE OF THE 70'S. AND, MOST IMPORTANT, REAL PROGRESS IS BEING MADE TODAY IN AREAS OF VITAL CONCERN TO ALL CITIZENS.

WE HAVE BEGUN TO BRING RUNAWAY INFLATION UNDER CONTROL, INFLATION RESULTING DIRECTLY FROM EIGHT DEMOCRAT YEARS OF FISCAL AND FINANCIAL IRRESPONSIBILITY. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS SET ITS GOAL AND HAS STUCK TO ITS GUNS. SOME OF THE NECESSARY MEASURES SUCH AS SEEKING OUR EXTENSION OF THE INCOME TAX SURCHARGE, WERE NOT POPULAR. BUT THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN WILLING TO DO WHAT HAD TO BE DONE AND WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE -- NOT WHAT WOULD BOOST THE PRESIDENT'S GALLUP POLL A FEW MORE NOTCHES.

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IT IS REFRESHING AND ENCOURAGING TO HAVE A PRESIDENT AND AN ADMINISTRATION MORE INTERESTED IN NATIONAL PROGRESS THAN IN NATIONAL POPULARITY; MORE CONCERNED WITH THE COST OF LIVING THAN WITH THE CARE OF CRONIES; AND DEDICATED TO RESULTS THROUGH ACTS INSTEAD OF PROMISES BY RHETORIC.

- EFFORTS FOR PEACE -

THERE IS ANOTHER AREA WHERE THE ADMINISTRATION HAD DISTINGUISHED ITSELF BY ITS DETERMINATION TO DO THE RIGHT THING AND THAT IS IN OUR VIETNAM POLICY. THERE HAS BEEN TREMENDOUS PRESSURE ON THE PRESI-DENT TO TAKE EXPEDIENT, EASY OR POPULAR COURSES OF ACTION IN POLICY FORMULATION. THESE PRESSURES HAVE COME FROM ALL AREAS OF THE POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM -- HAWKS AND DOVES, LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES. TO HIS GREAT CREDIT PRESIDENT NIXON HAS RESISTED THE EXTREMES URGED UPON HIM; HE HAS PAINSTAKINGLY EXAMINED THE ALTERNATIVES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES; AND HE HAS DEVISED A SENSIBLE, REASONABLE AND PRACTICABLE PLAN TO ACHIEVE PEACE. NOT ONLY HAS HE

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FORMULATED THIS PLAN, BUT HE HAS PUT IT INTO OPERATION, AND HE HAS TOLD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE SIMPLE TRUTH ABOUT IT. HIS <u>NOVEMBER 3 ADDRESS</u> WAS ONE OF THE MOST FORTHRIGHT AND ILLUMINATING DISCUSSIONS OF NATIONAL POLICY THE AMERICAN PUBLIC HAS EVER BEEN AFFORDED. HE CLEARLY SET FORTH THE EXTRAORDINARY INITIATIVES WE HAVE MADE TO BRING PEACE TO VIETNAM. HE TOLD OF OUR TWO-PRONGED EFFORT -- AT PARIS AND ON THE BATTLEFIELD -- TO REACH REAL AGREE-MENT AND TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF COMBAT. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THE FUNDAMENTAL, UNDERLYING REASON WHY THE PARIS TALKS HAVE BEEN UNPRODUCTIVE AND WHY COMBAT CONTINUES IN THE JUNGLES AND RICE PADDIES. THE REASON, THE <u>SIMPLE</u>, <u>PLAIN</u> TRUTH, IS THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT REFUSE TO NEGOTIATE OR RESPOND TO OUR INITIATIVES. - 5 -

- TELL IT TO HANOI -

THE CRITICS AND THE PROTESTERS IGNORE AND DISCOUNT THIS FACT, BUT IT WAS CLEAR FROM WHAT PRESIDENT NIXON SAID. HE PUT THE CARDS ON THE TABLE AND LEVELED WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND I AM TELLING YOU TONIGHT: THE ENEMY IS TO BLAME FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE WAR. THE UNITED STATES AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM ARE NOT THE VILLAINS AND ARE NOT UNRESPONSIVE TO THE DESIRES OF MEN OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HANOI BEARS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR'S CONTINUATION.

ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE WEEK I CALLED ON THE CRITICS AND PROTESTERS HERE AND ABROAD TO "TELL IT TO HANOI" THAT THE BURDEN IS NOW ON THEM TO RESPOND TO OUR GESTURES AND TO MAKE SERIOUS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

I URGE ALL REPUBLICANS AND ALL AMERICANS TO GET BEHIND OUR PRESIDENT AND LET HIM KNOW WE SHARE HIS DESIRE FOR PEACE AND HIS DETERMINATION TO TAKE THE RIGHT COURSE AND TO STICK TO IT.

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- DEMOCRAT STRATEGY -

I MENTIONED TWO THINGS EARLIER. FIRST, THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO DIRECT OUR POLICY TO ONE EXTREME OR ANOTHER, AND SECOND, CO DEMOCRATS ARE BETTER AT TEARING DOWN

THAN BUILDING THE UP.

I WANT TO DRAW THESE TWO POINTS TOGETHER AND ALERT YOU TO SOMETHING THAT IS TAKING PLACE IN WASHINGTON.

THERE IS A DEFINITE, ORGANIZED EFFORT BY DEMOCRATS TO SANDBAG PRESIDENT NIXON ON VIETNAM. THEY ARE TRYING TO PRESSURE THE PRESIDENT INTO ONE COURSE OF ACTION OR ANOTHER, BUT AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE MANEUVERING FOR POSITIONS SO THAT NO MATTER WHAT COURSE HE TAKES THEY WILL BE ABLE TO SAY THEY HAD SAID HE SHOULD HAVE DONE THE OPPOSITE.

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SOME OF THEM SAY HE SHOULD FORGET ABOUT PARIS AND CONCENTRATE ON TROOP WITHDRAWALS. SOME SAY TROOPS SHOULD BE TAKEN OUT WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE ENEMY'S COMBAT LEVELS -- OTHERS DEMAND A TIE-IN TO COMBAT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, SOME DEMOCRATS EXPRESS GRAVE RESERVATIONS OVER WITHDRAWALS WITHOUT FIRM, NEGOTIATED COMMITMENTS FROM THE ENEMY. THEY WOULD NOT HAVE REMOVED ONE SOLDIER WITHOUT A SIGNED AGREEMENT FROM PARIS.

THEN THERE ARE STILL MORE WHO DO NOT EVEN SUGGEST ALTERNATIVES BUT MERELY WRING THEIR HANDS AND CRY OUT AT THE INHUMANITY, THE DEATH AND THE DIVISION OUR POLICY IS INFLICTING ON THE WORLD.

IF THESEDEMOCRATS HAVE THEIR WAY THE PRESIDENT IS DOOMED IF HE DOES AND DOOMED IF HE DOESN'T IN VIETNAM.

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WELL, I DO NOT INTEND TO LET THEM HAVE THEIR WAY AND SET THE PRESIDENT UP FOR SUCH A CHEAP POLITICAL RAILROADING JOB.

ALTHOUGH FRESHMEN SENATORS DOWN RATE VIEW IN THE SENIORITY PECKING ORDER, WE CAN STAND UP ON THE FLOOR AND CALL ON OUR MORE SENIOR COLLEAGUES TO DEFEND THEIR PRONOUNCEMENTS.

I TELL YOU TELL YOU REPUBLICANS ARE INT STANDING IDLY BY TO LET THESE DEMOCRATS PULL OFF THIS BLATANT BIT OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAVEPUT THE HEAT ON THESE DEMOCRAT GAME PLAYERS AND CALLED ON THEM TO SUPPORT AND DEFEND THEIR IDEAS AND THEIR CRITICISMS OF THE PRESIDENT. WHEN THESE SELF PROCLAIMED EXPERTS HAVE TO STAND UP IN THE SENATE AND ANSWER FOR THEIR

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NOTIONS AND UNREALISTIC SCHEMES, THEY DO NOT SOUND SO ALL-KNOWING AND STATESMANLIKE. WHEN PUT TO THE TEST, MOST OF THEM WILL ADMIT THAT THEY CANNOT REALLY CRITICIZE THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS. THEY CONFESS THAT THEIR PROPOSALS ARE NOT SOLUTIONS.

OF COURSE, THE LIBERAL PRESS DOES NOT REPORT THESE INSIGHTS INTO THE DEMOCRAT'S THINKING, BUT AT LEAST THE DEBATES ARE PRINTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

BUT REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE CANNOT DO THE WHOLE JOB ALONE. WE NEED THE HELP OF EACH OF YOU. WE CAN STAND UP TO THE DEMOCRATS ON THE SENATE FLOOR, BUT YOU MUST STAND UP IN THE SUPERMARKET, AT THE PTA MEETING, AT THE FOOTBALL GAME. WHEREVER YOU HEAR SOMEONE CRITICIZING THE ADMINISTRATION FOR NOT DOING WHAT

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SOMEONE SAY WHY ISN'T PRESIDENT NIXON DOING WHAT SAY WE SHOULD BE DOING WITH THE WAR, ASK THEM IF THEY REALLY WOULD WANT TO ACCEPT THE CONSEQUENCES FOR UNILATERAL, PRECIPITATE NITHDRAWAL FROM THE BATTLEFIELD OR TOTAL CONCESSION TO THE ENEMY'S DEMANDS IN PARIS.

ASK THE HARD QUESTIONS, THE ONES PRESIDENT NIXON HAS ASKED HIMSELF AND HAS HAD TO ANSWER. DO THIS AND YOU CAN HELP COUNTER THESE PLANS TO SANDBAG THE PRESIDENT

DO NOT BE TIMID TO STAND UP FOR PRESIDENT NIXON'S STRATEGY FOR PEACE, BECAUSE IT IS THE BEST WAY AND THE RIGHT WAY. BE PROUD TO SUPPORT OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PARTY. WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK BOTH IN VIETNAM AND HERE AT HOME. WE ARE WINNING THE PEACE, AND WE HAVE A REPUBLICAN TIDE ROLLING ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

THE INSTANT EXPERTS

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ELECTIONS WERE ONLY THE BEGINNING. WE ADDED TWO MORE GOVERNOR'S MANSIONS TO THE 30 WE ALREADY CONTROLLED. AND THIS TIME NEXT YEAR Y WILL BE CELEBRATING OR CONGRESSIONAL VICTORIES WHICH WILL HAVE MADE US THE MAJORITY PARTY AGAIN AFTER 15 YEARS.

WITH A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS THROUGHOUT THE NATION, WE WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE REAL HEADWAY TOWARD IMPLEMENTING PRESIDENT NIXON'S NEW FEDERALISM. WE WILL BE ABLE TO MOVE AHEAD <u>WITH</u> REPUBLICANS, RATHER THAN <u>AROUND</u> DEMOCRATS.

SO LET US GET TOGETHER AND START WORKING TO ELECT REPUBLICANS NEXT NOVEMBER AND TO GIVE PRESIDENT NIXON THE SUPPORT HE NEEDS AND DESERVES IN THE MONTHS TO COME.

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WE HAVE A GREAT COUNTRY, A GREAT PRESIDENT, AND A GREAT PARTY. SPEAK UP FOR THEM. BE PROUD. AND BE A WORKER FOR THE PROGRESS AND IMPROVEMENT WE ALL WANT TO SEE AND WHICH TOGETHER WE CAN ACHIEVE. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

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