

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE

REPUBLICAN BOOSTERS CLUB  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA  
MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1970

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IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE HERE IN MINNEAPOLIS TODAY -- IN THE NEW REPUBLICAN MINNESOTA. I SAY THIS BECAUSE MINNESOTA IS READY TO EMERGE FROM THE ERA OF STATE-WIDE ONE PARTY DOMINATION. YOU NOW HAVE A REPUBLICAN MAJORITY OF YOUR DELEGATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SENATE THIS YEAR WHEN YOU ELECT CLARK MACGREGOR.

HE WILL HELP MAKE THE NEW REPUBLICAN MAJORITY IN THAT BODY, AND **THEN** THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN MOVE AHEAD WITH PRESIDENT NIXON TO GIVE THIS COUNTRY THE LEADERSHIP THE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN PROMISING OR OBSTRUCTING SINCE BEFORE HARRY TRUMAN WENT INTO THE HAT BUSINESS.

YOU KNOW THAT CLARK IS A GREAT CANDIDATE. HE IS DYNAMIC, INTELLIGENT AND MOST OF ALL HE IS A REPUBLICAN WHO SENSES

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THAT THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA ARE TIRED OF THE OLD YEAR-AFTER-YEAR  
DEMOCRAT SLOGANS, PROMISES AND SHORTCOMINGS --- AS EMBODIED BY  
HUBERT HUMPHREY.

WHAT CLARK NEEDS, AND HE NEEDS IT VERY MUCH, IS YOUR SUPPORT  
AND WORK AND DEDICATION TO HIM AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. I  
AM SURE YOU WILL GIVE IT TO HIM. THE HOURS WILL BE LONG AND AT TIMES  
DIFFICULT. BUT THE REWARD WILL BE GREAT: U.S. SENATOR CLARK MACGREGGOR,  
REPUBLICAN OF MINNESOTA.

#### TRYING TIMES

THIS IS A COMPLEX AND SOMETIMES TRYING ERA IN AMERICA.  
OCCASIONALLY THE RUSH OF EVENTS AND CRISES SEEM TO OUTSTRIP OUR  
CAPACITY TO UNDERSTAND THEM OR TO PLACE THEM IN PERSPECTIVE. IN  
THE CONFUSION, SOMETIMES ONE SEGMENT OF SOCIETY OR ANOTHER  
MAY BE BLAMED FOR WHAT WE OFTEN MISUNDERSTAND OR INCOMPLETELY  
APPRECIATE.

RECENT EVENTS HAVE ILLUSTRATED THIS TENDENCY AS GROUPS,  
INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN SINGLED OUT AS SOURCES OF  
THE UNREST AND UPHEAVAL WHICH HAVE SWEEPED OUR COUNTRY.

SOME, MOTIVATED BY PARTISAN POLITICS, WOULD PLACE THE BLAME SQUARELY ON PRESIDENT NIXON, VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO SUPPORT THIS ADMINISTRATION.

OTHERS CITE THE MEDIA, PARTICULARLY THE NETWORKS AND THE EASTERN LIBERAL PRESS.

STILL OTHERS -- BUT FRANKLY NOT A VERY VOCAL GROUP -- POINT TO THE RUBINS, THE KUNSTLERS, THE DELLINGERS, THE DAVISES AND OTHERS OF THIS ILK.

OTHERS BLAME THE COURTS, PARENTS, STUDENTS, SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, THE POLICE, THE NATIONAL GUARD, AND ANY OTHER INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP HAVING SOME RESPONSIBILITY IN OUR SOCIETY TODAY.

TODAY, I SHALL NOT ATTEMPT TO ASSESS BLAME -- THOUGH I HAVE STRONG OPINIONS -- RATHER, I WOULD LIKE TO SET CERTAIN MATTERS STRAIGHT AND CLARIFY A FEW IMPORTANT AREAS OF CONFUSION AND MISUNDERSTANDING.

### WAR AND POLITICS

THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS A TRAGIC CONFLICT. IT HAS NOT BEEN IN THE PAST AND SHOULD NEVER BECOME A PARTISAN MATTER, BUT REGRETTABLY MANY LEADING DEMOCRATS ARE INTENT ON MAKING IT SO. FRANKLY, I WAS SHOCKED TO READ ~~LAST WEEK~~ THAT THE DEMOCRAT NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, LAWRENCE J. O'BRIEN, STATED IN MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, "I CAN ONLY SPECULATE IN SORROW WHETHER THESE YOUNG PEOPLE (AT KENT) WOULD HAVE BEEN KILLED WERE IT NOT FOR THE NIXON-AGNEW-MITCHELL INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC...".

I RECOGNIZE THAT A CHAIRMAN OF A POLITICAL PARTY MUST SPEAK FOR HIS PARTY, BUT IT IS INCREDIBLE THAT A RESPONSIBLE SPOKESMAN FOR ANY PARTY WOULD UTTER SUCH SCANDALOUS NONSENSE. I BELIEVE MR. O'BRIEN SHOULD PUBLICLY APOLOGIZE TO PRESIDENT NIXON, VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW AND ATTORNEY GENERAL MITCHELL AND TO THE PARENTS OF THOSE YOUNG PEOPLE KILLED AT KENT STATE.

FRANKLY, I AM A LITTLE TIRED OF THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS PRONOUNCEMENTS OF O'BRIEN AND OTHER LEADING DEMOCRATS WHO DAILY PURSUE A POLICY WHICH CAN HAVE NO OTHER AIM THAN TO DIVIDE AND FRUSTRATE NOT ONLY AMERICA'S YOUTH, BUT THE ENTIRE AMERICAN PUBLIC. IF HE INSISTS ON EMPLOYING SUCH "SPECULATION", CHAIRMAN O'BRIEN SHOULD, ON BEHALF OF HIS PARTY, ANNOUNCE THAT IF PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS NOT MOVED COMBAT TROOPS INTO SOUTH VIETNAM IN 1963 AND THAT IF PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD NOT ESCALATED THE WAY, SOME 540,000 YOUNG AMERICANS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SENT TO SOUTH VIETNAM AND SOME 42,000 OF THOSE AMERICANS WOULD BE ALIVE TODAY AND NEARLY 300,000 WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN WOUNDED, TAKEN PRISONER, OR LISTED AS MISSING IN ACTION.

SO, MR. O'BRIEN, LET ME ADMONISH YOU TO NOT MAKE TRAGEDY IN AMERICA OR IN VIETNAM A PARTISAN POLITICAL ISSUE. BUT UNDERSTAND, THAT IF YOU INSIST AND PERSIST, YOU SHALL NOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS. I CALL ON YOU TO EITHER ADMIT YOUR INDISCRETION AND APOLOGIZE TO PRESIDENT NIXON,

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VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW AND ATTORNEY GENERAL NITCHELL; OR BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIETNAM AND ALL ITS CONSEQUENCES ON BEHALF OF THE DEMOCRAT PARTY FOR WHICH YOU PRESUME TO SPEAK.

WHILE I BELIEVE WE MUST SEEK TO LOWER OUR VOICES, THIS DOES NOT MEAN WE SHOULD STAND IDLY BY AND LET DEMOCRAT PEDDLERS OF DIVISION AND DEMAGOGUERY TRAMPLE AT WILL ON OUR PRESIDENT OR HIS ADMINISTRATION OR THE RIGHTS, FEELINGS AND HOPES OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS.

LET ME REMIND YOU THAT THIS IS THE SAME LAWRENCE O'BRIEN WHO IN 1968 TRAVELED THE WIDTH AND BREADTH OF THIS COUNTRY AS THE CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN FOR THE HUMPHREY-MUSKIE TICKET. AT EVERY STOP DURING THAT CAMPAIGN HE PRAISED THE DEMOCRATS' HANDLING OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM, WHICH WAS A CONSISTENT MIXTURE OF ESCALATION, CONFUSION AND MISREPRESENTATION.

NOW O'BRIEN AND HIS DEMOCRAT COHORTS ARE ATTACKING PRESIDENT NIXON BECAUSE HE HAS NOT ENDED IN FIFTEEN MONTHS A WAR WHICH TWO DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATIONS TOOK FIVE YEARS TO CREATE. NOTWITHSTANDING THE UNWARRENTED ATTACKS BY DEMOCRATS AND THE LIBERAL MEDIA, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS PURSUED THE POLICY OF VIETNAMIZATION, WHICH HE INITIATED UPON TAKING OFFICE. AS YOU KNOW, ON APRIL 20 IN A RADIO - T.V. REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HE ANNOUNCED PLANS TO WITHDRAW STILL ANOTHER 150,000 AMERICANS BY NEXT SPRING TO MAKE A TOTAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL OF 265,000 SINCE HE TOOK OFFICE. HE HAS STRESSED THE HOPE THAT PROGRESS COULD BE MADE AT A FASTER PACE -- IF THE ENEMY WOULD ONLY NEGOTIATE IN PARIS.

LET ME QUICKLY OUTLINE PRESIDENT NIXON'S VIETNAM INHERITANCE  
FROM THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON<sup>HUMPHREY</sup> ADMINISTRATIONS:

- 545,000 U.S. TROOPS WERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM; 35,000 HAD LOST THEIR LIVES THERE.
- THE OTHER SIDE WAS PREPARING FOR A NEW OFFENSIVE.

-- THERE WAS A WIDE GULF OF DISTRUST BETWEEN WASHINGTON  
AND SAIGON.

-- IN 8 MONTHS IN PARIS THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS IN  
NEGOTIATIONS.

FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION LAUNCHED  
AN INTENSIVE REVIEW OF EVERY ASPECT OF THE VIETNAM POLICY, MAKING A  
SYSTEMATIC, SERIOUS EXAMINATION OF ALL THE ALTERNATIVES OPEN TO THE U.S.  
AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERING RECOMMENDATIONS OFFERED BY CRITICS AND SUP-  
PORTERS OF PAST U.S. POLICIES.

FOLLOWING THIS IN-DEPTH REVIEW, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED UPON A  
POLICY THAT:

- HONORS OUR COMMITMENT TO SOUTH VIETNAMESE SELF-DETERMINATION.
- PROVIDES FOR THE ORDERLY REPLACEMENT OF U.S. COMBAT TROOPS  
BY THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE.
- PROVIDES A PLATFORM UPON WHICH AN HONORABLE SETTLEMENT  
COULD BE NEGOTIATED.

WHAT HAVE BEEN THE RESULTS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S POLICY?

IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, PRESIDENT NIXON HAS KEPT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE INFORMED OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM AND OF HIS EFFORTS TO EXTRICATE US. SECONDLY, IN JANUARY, MARCH AND MAY OF 1969, PRESIDENT NIXON LISTED PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS AND THE ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES FOR SETTLEMENT.

ON MAY 14, IN AN HISTORIC ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HE MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT WE SEEK NO BASES OR MILITARY TIES, NOR WOULD WE SEEK TO IMPOSE ANY PARTICULAR FORM OF GOVERNMENT ON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED AT THAT TIME, AFTER FULL CONSULTATIONS WITH PRESIDENT THIEU, CONCRETE MEASURES TOWARD ACHIEVING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

FIRST TROOP WITHDRAWALS

ON JUNE 8, 1969, A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THE FIRST TROOP WITHDRAWALS IN THE VIETNAM WAR, WHEN RICHARD NIXON ANNOUNCED

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THAT 25,000 U.S. COMBAT TROOPS WOULD BE WITHDRAWN. SOME THIRTY DAYS LATER, SOUTH VIETNAMESE PRESIDENT THIEU ANNOUNCED AN ELECTION PROPOSAL WHICH PROVIDES THAT ALL POLITICAL FORCES, INCLUDING THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, COULD PARTICIPATE. NOTWITHSTANDING PRESIDENT NIXON'S EFFORTS AND THE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT THIEU, THE INTRANSIGENCE ON THE OTHER SIDE CONTINUED AND IN FACT AT THIS VERY TIME, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF HANOI'S TROOPS ARE PREPARING TO WAGE OR ARE WAGING WAR AGAINST LAOS, CAMBODIA AND THAILAND.

IT WAS AN UNDAUNTED REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT WHO ON SEPTEMBER 17 ANNOUNCED A SECOND REDUCTION OF 35,000 U.S. TROOPS. ON NOVEMBER 3, THE PRESIDENT AGAIN REPORTED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE BY NEGOTIATION, AND OF HIS EFFORTS FOR PEACE THROUGH VIETNAMIZATION. YOU MAY RECALL AT THAT TIME THE PRESIDENT ASKED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR SUPPORT, AND SUPPORT POURED IN FROM AMERICANS EVERYWHERE. AGAIN ON DECEMBER 15, A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED A THIRD TROOP WITHDRAWAL

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OF 50,000, TO BE COMPLETED BY APRIL 15, 1970. THIS GOAL WAS REACHED, AND BY APRIL 15, THERE WAS A TOTAL TROOP REDUCTION OF 115,000 FROM THE TROOP CEILING AUTHORIZED WHEN NIXON WAS SWORN IN.

CAMBODIA

ON APRIL 30, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS INTENTION TO DIS-ENGAGE FROM SOUTH VIETNAM AND TO WIN A JUST PEACE. IN ADDITION, HE ANNOUNCED A NUMBER OF NORTH VIETNAMESE ESCALATIONS AND POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. HAD THREE OPTIONS:

- (1) TO DO NOTHING;
- (2) TO PROVIDE MASSIVE MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO CAMBODIA  
ITSELF; OR
- (3) TO GO TO THE HEART OF THE TROUBLE AND CLEAN OUT MAJOR  
COMMUNIST SANCTUARIES ALONG THE CAMBODIA-VIETNAM BORDER.

THE PRESIDENT, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, IN PURSUIT OF HIS ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIVES AND MAINTAIN THE VIETNAMIZATION SCHEDULE, MADE THE DIFFICULT CHOICE -- NUMBER THREE.

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THIS ANNOUNCEMENT BROUGHT A PREDICTABLE RESPONSE FROM MANY IN CONGRESS, IN THE PRESS, AND IN RADIO AND TELEVISION. THE DEMOCRAT SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS REFERRED TO IT AS "MADNESS" AND THAT IT INDICATED A LACK OF JUDGMENT -- SOMETHING HE HAD NOT INDICATED IN 1963 WHEN HIS BROTHER ORDERED SOME 18,000 AMERICANS TO SOUTH VIETNAM. THE SAME LAWRENCE O'BRIEN CALLED THE CAMBODIAN ACTION "A TRAGIC DECISION BASED ON A SERIES OF MISJUDGMENTS". O'BRIEN AT THE SAME TIME COMPLAINED THAT THE VIETNAMIZATION POLICY HAD FAILED.

UNDOUBTEDLY SOME HERE TODAY HAVE RESERVATIONS CONCERNING THE CAMBODIAN OPERATION. I HAVE DOUBTS MYSELF, BECAUSE I HAVE NOT YET BEEN CONVINCED THAT THE USE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN CAMBODIA WAS IN FACT NECESSARY TO PROTECT AMERICANS IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND TO SECURE THE VIETNAMIZATION PROCESS. HOWEVER, I AM WILLING TO GIVE THE PRESIDENT -- ANY PRESIDENT -- AN OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE HIMSELF, PARTICULARLY IN THIS INSTANCE, WHERE

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PRESIDENT NIXON HAS BEEN MAKING VISIBLE, SUSTAINED PROGRESS IN GETTING US OUT OF VIETNAM. I AM ASSURED, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT NIXON MADE THE CAMBODIAN DECISION SOLELY IN AN EFFORT TO SHORTEN THE WAR, NOT TO PROLONG IT OR TO EXPAND IT.

THAT YOU OR I MAY NOT AGREE FULLY WITH THE DETAILS OF THE CAMBODIAN OPERATION IS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE. WE HAVE THE LUXURY OF UNACCOUNTABLE CRITICISM. WE CAN BE MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACKS OR BACK-SEAT DRIVERS AT WILL. WE CAN SECOND-GUESS AND WE CAN SINCERELY DISAGREE, BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE AWESOME FINAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING AMERICAN LIVES FALLS ON THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

AS PRESIDENT NIXON SAID IN HIS RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE, "DON'T JUDGE US TOO QUICKLY". HE IS WILLING TO BE JUDGED -- WHEN THE EVIDENCE IS IN, WHEN THE FACTS ARE KNOWN. HE WILL ACCEPT THE JUDGMENT OF SINCERE AMERICANS OF DIFFERING PHILOSOPHIES AND DIFFERING