

REMARKS OF HONORABLE BOB DOLE  
16TH BIENNIAL CONVENTION  
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF REPUBLICAN WOMEN  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1971

*1. Study  
2. What  
N.F.R.W. Fund*

RICHARD NIXON, THE PEACEMAKER

IN THIS CENTURY, MORE THAN A HALF MILLION AMERICANS HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES IN WAR. THIS HAS BEEN THE TERRIBLE PRICE OF FREEDOM, AND WE HAVE PAID IT.

IT WAS NEVER ENOUGH THAT AMERICANS WANTED TO LIVE IN LIBERTY AT HOME AND AT PEACE WITH THE WORLD. ALWAYS THERE WERE THOSE WHO BELIEVED THAT FREE MEN MIGHT BE UNDISCIPLINED MEN, AND THAT A SOCIETY DEDICATED TO PEACE MIGHT FALTER IN WAR.

AND SO EACH TIME THE LESSON WAS TAUGHT ANEW ---- THAT MEN WHO HAVE ONCE HELD UP THEIR HEADS IN FREEDOM WILL NEVER AGAIN BOW TO TYRANNY, AND MEN WHO HAVE DREAMED OF LIBERTY FOR THEIR CHILDREN WILL NOT PASS ON TO THOSE CHILDREN A WORLD IN WHICH SLAVERY IS LONG POSSIBLE.

*Feel like  
this has been  
helpful*

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THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

BUT, DESPITE THE FACT THAT AMERICANS HAVE WILLINGLY PAID THE PRICE OF FREEDOM, WE CANNOT HELP REFLECTING ON WHAT WAS LOST AMONG THOSE MORE THAN ONE-HALF MILLION LIVES. AS PRESIDENT NIXON ONCE SAID OF OUR VIETNAM DEAD ---- "THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN POETS AMONG THEM AND DOCTORS AND TEACHERS AND FARMERS; THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN BUILDERS OF AMERICA. AND WHAT THEY MIGHT HAVE BROUGHT TO AMERICA IN PEACE NO ONE WILL EVER KNOW."

NO ONE IS MORE CONSCIOUS OF THE COST OF WAR THAN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. AND NO ONE HAS DONE MORE IN THIS CENTURY TO RE-CREATE A WORLD IN WHICH WE MAY SEE AN END TO WAR.

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SUMMARIZE -- IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO SUMMARIZE -- HERE IN A HALF HOUR, THE ACTIONS AND THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT EVEN IN THE LAST THREE MONTHS. BUT THROUGH ALL HIS WORK -- WHETHER IT IS MENDING THE ECONOMY, MOLDING A NEW APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT, MAKING TWO OUTSTANDING NOMINATIONS TO THE SUPREME COURT, WHETHER IT IS IN HEALTH, OR WELFARE -- THROUGH EVERYTHING, ONE MATTER HAS PRIORITY -- AND

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THE PRIORITY IS PEACE.

RICHARD NIXON'S FIRST PURPOSE IS PEACE.

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THIS CENTURY, THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTING A LASTING WORLD PEACE SEEMS BRIGHT. THIS IS NOT A CONDITION THAT HAS DEVELOPED OVERNIGHT -- INDEED IT HAS BEEN DEVELOPING FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, BUT FREQUENTLY SHORT-SIGHTED LEADERS ON ONE HAND, AND THE HOPES OF WAR-WEARY PEOPLE ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE PREVENTED THE WORLD FROM PROFITING BY THE LESSONS OF PEACE.

LESSONS OF WAR

THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR I WERE A DISGRACE TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD -- FEW WARS WERE LESS NECESSARY OR MORE PREVENTABLE.

IN THE CAULDRON OF THAT WAR, THE BEGINNINGS OF WORLD WAR II WERE BORN. AND IT CAME BECAUSE MEN WERE WILLING TO TRY TO BUY OFF TYRANNY WITH OTHER MEN'S LIVES -- BECAUSE SOME LEADERS BELIEVED THAT FREEDOM WAS DIVISIBLE, AND THAT PEACE WAS DESIRABLE AT ANY PRICE. OF COURSE, IT WAS DESIRABLE ONLY AS LONG AS THEY THOUGHT THEY WOULD NEVER HAVE TO PAY THE PRICE.

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SINCE WORLD WAR II, THE BALANCE OF TERROR HAS RESTRICTED THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR AGGRESSION TO THE PERIPHERAL NATIONS OF THE WORLD -- AS THOUGH THE LIVES OF THIRD WORLD PEOPLE WERE EXPENDABLE IF THIS WOULD BUY STABILITY ELSEWHERE.

BUT THE OLD LESSON IS STILL THERE -- JUST AS WE LEARNED THAT FREEDOM WAS NOT DIVISIBLE, SO WISE MEN KNOW THAT HUMAN DIGNITY IS NOT DIVISIBLE -- AND LIVES IN THIRD WORLD NATIONS -- WHICH COULD BE THE COCKPIT OF THE NEXT AND LAST WORLD WAR -- THESE LIVES ARE AS PRECIOUS AS THOSE OF THE CITIZENS OF THE WORLD'S GREAT POWERS.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAS RECOGNIZED THAT THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS MUST BE SOMETHING MORE THAN A "SAFE BATTLEFIELD" -- THAT THEIR STABILITY, THEIR PROSPERITY, AND THEIR POLITICAL VIABILITY ARE ESSENTIAL TO PEACE IN THE WORLD TODAY.

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A HOPEFUL TIME

SO NOW WE HAVE AN IDEAL CONFLUENCE OF CIRCUMSTANCES -- WISE LEADERSHIP IN A TIME WHEN THE WORLD WANTS PEACE AND WHEN IT CANNOT RISK ANYTHING LESS.

ONE MAN HAS WISELY, COURAGEOUSLY, AND WITH GREAT PATIENCE THOUGHT THROUGH THE PROBLEM OF PEACE AND HAS BEGUN TO WALK THE LONG, HARD ROAD WHICH WE HOPE AND WE BELIEVE WILL LEAD TO PEACE.

WE READ CRITICS WHO SAY THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE INITIATIVES ARE ALL POLITICALLY MOTIVATED. HE IS LOOKING FOR A CAMPAIGN ISSUE.

LET ME QUOTE RICHARD NIXON ON THE MATTER OF RED CHINA -----

"...WE SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO LEAVE CHINA FOREVER OUTSIDE THE FAMILY OF NATIONS.....THERE IS NO PLACE ON THIS SMALL PLANET FOR A BILLION OF ITS POTENTIALLY MOST ABLE PEOPLE TO LIVE IN ANGRY ISOLATION."

THOSE WORDS WERE NOT WRITTEN LAST MONTH. THEY WERE WRITTEN IN 1967 WHILE THE UNITED STATES WAS STILL ESCALATING THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

*with entire P. 10*

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THEY WERE WRITTEN IN WHAT MAY PROVE TO BE ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL ARTICLES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WRITTEN IN THIS CENTURY. IT WAS CALLED "ASIA AFTER VIETNAM." AND IN IT, THE MAN WHO IS NOW PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OUTLINED A WORKABLE STRATEGY OF PEACE -- DEVISING A BALANCE, NOT ONLY OF POWER IN ASIA, BUT ALSO A BALANCE OF NATIONAL INTEREST WHICH RECOGNIZES THAT THE SO-CALLED BUFFER STATES ARE SOMETHING MORE THAN OBJECTS OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONVENIENCE FOR THE REST OF THE WORLD. THIS STRATEGY MOVES TOWARD THE SORT OF PRAGMATIC PEACE IN ASIA WHICH NOW EXISTS IN EUROPE.

A LASTING PEACE

IT IS ONLY SUCH A BALANCE, BASED ON LONG-RANGE NATIONAL INTERESTS, THAT CAN ACCOMPLISH A LASTING PEACE. AND IT IS A LASTING PEACE THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTS -- NOT JUST A POLITICALLY EXPEDIENT HIATUS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND ANOTHER OUTBREAK SOMEWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD IN SIX MONTHS OR A YEAR OR TWO YEARS.

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THIS IS WHY THE PRESIDENT IS GOING TO CHINA. CHINA IS A WORLD POWER -- A POWER THAT FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE IS GOING TO HELP DETERMINE THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN THE WORLD. TO IGNORE THIS, TO ATTEMPT TO ISOLATE A NATION OF SUCH POTENTIAL DANGER AND OF SUCH POTENTIAL PROMISE, WOULD BE TO KNEEL BEFORE THE IRRESPONSIBLE FANTASIES OF THE FEW WHO WOULD REJECT REALITY AT THE EXPENSE OF ALL. NO PRUDENT MAN WOULD DO THIS. NO AMERICAN PRESIDENT CAN AFFORD TO.

JOURNEYS FOR PEACE

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE FUTURE CANNOT BE SHAPED BY THE RESENTMENTS OF THE PAST, NOR DISTORTED BY HATREDS BORN OF LOST OPPORTUNITY. IT IS TO KEEP THE PEACE WE PRAY FOR -- THE PEACE PRESIDENT NIXON IS WORKING FOR -- THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE HIS HISTORIC JOURNEY TO PEKING IN THE COMING DAYS, *week, or month.*

THERE ARE THOSE, OF COURSE, WHO SAY HE SHOULDN'T GO -- THAT IT IS BENEATH THE DIGNITY OF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO GO TO CHINA. THIS IS NONSENSE. THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID THAT HE WOULD GO ANYWHERE IN SEARCH OF

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PEACE. HISTORY WILL JUDGE HIS DIGNITY, AND GENERATIONS OF GRATEFUL AND LIVING CHILDREN WILL WRITE THAT HISTORY. I BELIEVE IT WILL SAY, AS WAS SAID OF OLD ----"BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS." AND SO HE IS GOING TO PEKING.

IN THE SAME SPIRIT, AND FOR THE SAME PURPOSE, HE WILL GO TO MOSCOW SHORTLY THEREAFTER.

I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS IS INTENDED TO PLACATE ONE FOR DEALING WITH THE OTHER. RATHER, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS THE LOGICAL OTHER ROAD TO PEACE. X I BELIEVE THE ROAD TO PARIS AND HANOI MAY LIE THROUGH MOSCOW AND PEKING. BEYOND THIS, I BELIEVE THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR A FURTHER REDUCTION OF TENSIONS IN THE WEST. THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE MOSCOW JOURNEY IS NECESSITATED BY THE CHINA TRIP SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER THE FACT THAT THIS PRESIDENT DOES NOT UNDERTAKE SUMMIT CONFERENCES LIGHTLY, BUT ONLY FOR THE MOST PROFOUND PURPOSES AND WITH THE REAL POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING THOSE PURPOSES ---- AND NOT FOR MOLLIFYING NATIONS, HOWEVER POWERFUL.

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FURTHER HOPE FOR PEACE

THE EVENTS OF THIS PRESIDENCY HAVE INDICATED THAT THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER STEPS TOWARD PEACE.

WE HAVE SEEN GREAT PROGRESS IN THIS PERIOD. WE HAVE A TREATY WHICH BARS THE USE OF THE WORLD'S SEABEDS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONRY. WE HAVE A TREATY BARRING THE USE OF BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. WE HAVE SEEN VERY ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN THE SALT TALKS. WE HAVE HAD AN AGREEMENT ON THE VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION OF BERLIN.

*Midwest*

NOW THE HEADS OF THIS GOVERNMENT AND THE HEADS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AGREE THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR FURTHER EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF PEACE, AND BOTH AGREE THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR THESE EFFORTS TO BE CARRIED OUT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS.

FOR 25 YEARS, PEACE IN EUROPE RESTED ON A KNIFE-EDGE BALANCE OF TERROR. TODAY, LITTLE BY LITTLE, THAT MECHANISM IS BEING REPLACED BY A BALANCE OF LESS APOCALYPTIC AND MORE POSITIVE NATIONAL INTERESTS.

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THERE IS GROWING PROSPERITY IN EASTERN EUROPE, AND WESTERN EUROPE IS AN ECONOMIC MIRACLE. THERE HAVE BEEN PRODUCTIVE EXCHANGES BETWEEN THIS NATION AND SOME OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES -- THE PRESIDENT HAS VISITED EASTERN EUROPE -- AND, OF COURSE, MARSHALL TITO OF YUGOSLAVIA WILL BE OUR GUEST HERE ON WEDNESDAY.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION HAS HAD USEFUL EXCHANGES WITH VARIOUS NATIONS IN THE WEST, AND THESE HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A LESSENING OF THE TENSIONS WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

HOPE AND PATIENCE

WE HAVE JUST SEEN THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE AWARDED TO GERMAN CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT FOR HIS EFFORTS AT LESSENING EAST-WEST TENSIONS. SO I THINK THE FEELING IS VERY STRONG AND VERY OPTIMISTIC THAT PEACE IS, AT LAST, BREAKING OUT IN THE WORLD.

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IT MAY SEEM TO BE COMING SLOWLY STILL -- BUT WE MUST BE PATIENT.  
THE DISTANT DAWN SEEMS TO COME SLOWLY, TOO, BUT IT IS QUICKLY UPON US  
WITH ITS BLESSINGS -- AND SO WILL PEACE BE, I BELIEVE.

THE ENORMOUS BUDGETS WHICH NATIONS HAVE SO LONG TURNED TO WEAPONS  
OF DESTRUCTION MAY ~~BE~~ <sup>BE</sup> TURNED TO THE ENGINES OF CREATION -- TO INDUSTRY,  
TO MORE CONSUMER GOODS, TO BETTER HOUSING, AND BETTER HEALTH, BETTER EDU-  
CATION. THESE ARE THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE.

OTHER NATIONS, INCLUDING OUR OWN, CAN TURN MORE RESOURCES TO THE  
BENEFIT OF OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND THE WORLD'S, AS WELL. NOT IN MORE GIVE-  
AWAY PROGRAMS, AND NOT IN THE OLD BLACKMAIL AND EXTORTION RACKETS WHICH  
SOME SMALL NATIONS HAVE WORKED AGAINST THE SUPERPOWERS -- BUT IN REAL AS-  
SISTANCE -- IN TRAINING AND EDUCATION, IN NEW TECHNOLOGY AND IN LOANS.

WE SEE BEFORE US A WORLD IN WHICH THE COMPETITION OF ARMS MAY  
BE REPLACED BY COMPETITION IN THE DEEDS OF PROGRESS -- AND WE MAY TAKE

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SATISFACTION IN THOSE WE HAVE HELPED, INSTEAD OF BEING BURDENED WITH  
THE RECORD OF THOSE WE HAVE HURT. WE CAN TAKE PRIDE IN CREATION AND  
PUT ASIDE THE SHAME OF DESTRUCTION.

MAN OF PEACE

THIS IS THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD ON THE HORIZON. THE ROAD IS  
STILL LONG, HARD, AND TREACHEROUS. BUT WE HAVE NOW, FINALLY, THE CON-  
FIDENCE THAT WE ARE AT LEAST, AND AT LAST, ON THE RIGHT ROAD. AND WE  
ARE THERE BECAUSE HISTORY HAS GIVEN US A MAN OF PEACE FOR AN ERA OF  
PEACE. NOT ONLY WILL AMERICA REMEMBER AND BE GRATEFUL, BUT THE WORLD  
WILL REMEMBER AND BE GRATEFUL FOR THE WISDOM AND THE COURAGE AND THE  
LEADERSHIP OF RICHARD NIXON.

*Handwritten signature*

1. I don't know -

2. M. Jones -- 7/17

3. Dwight -- Dwight D. Eisenhower

4. Agnew -- in the country

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