

# Speeches and messages: 1969-1970

Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers

Speeches, Box SP2, Folder 6

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STATEMENT BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUYE  
November 25, 1978

THANKSGIVING

As we observe Thanksgiving Day this month, we find our country torn by dissension and saddened by war. We find legions of men--Senators, students and others--bitterly criticizing our government for the poverty, discrimination and violence they find in our land.

Never has the voice of dissent been so loud, so urgent or so widespread. I, too, have added my voice to this dissent. I have discussed the brutal and tragic war in Vietnam. I have talked of the use of drugs by our young people, I have commented on the unrest of our youth and pleaded for a new understanding to bridge the gap between generations. I have urged that we search our minds and consciences for new goals to engage the young--goals beyond just making a living and accumulating material goods. I have added my voice against the pockets of hunger, poverty, prejudice, and bigotry which still flourish in our land.

As I have said many times, the dialogue which we find in our land, the confrontation of the young and the "establishment" and the dissent sweeping across our country are all healthy. Because without this dialogue, confrontation, and dissent we would have continuity without change and stability without progress.

However, let there be no misunderstanding. While it is true that we have much to be critical of, I do not wish to join those who predict only doom. On this Thanksgiving Day, let me try to balance the books a little because even with all its ills and shortcomings, this is my country. And my country is a good and great one.

I am thankful to live in a land which freely gives us the opportunity to speak out and criticize the government.

I am thankful to live in a land which allows us to advocate change--change which at times may be radical or even revolutionary.

I am thankful to live in a land which does not burn books but instead permits us to read all books, even if the prose be ugly and vile.

I am thankful to live in a land which provides free public education to all those with the capacity and ability to learn.

I am thankful to live in a land which has not forsaken its elder citizens but which provides them with medical and hospital care in their autumn years.

I am thankful to live in a land which is trying to eradicate from its midst poverty and hunger and the age old curse of bigotry and discrimination.

I am thankful to live in a land where the people are free to elect representatives to serve them in their councils of government.

I am thankful to live in a land where every person, including the criminal, has his rights protected in the courts--where the phrase "due process of law" is a meaningful and living phrase.

I am thankful to live in a land where one may pray as he chooses to his god or gods or not worship at all.

I am thankful to live in a land which produced men like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King.

Our is not a sick nation. It is an aggressive nation confronting its problems--striving to eradicate the pockets of poverty which dot our countryside, striving to destroy the remnants of racism which pollute our society, striving to rectify the inequities in the system.

Yes, on this day, there are many things for which we can be thankful. But we must always remember that many of the good things which we take for granted today have taken many, many years and decades of evolution and revolution with their attendant frustrations before reaching their present state. America is a good land. It should not be destroyed, it should rather be assisted.

## VIETNAM AND ISRAEL--SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

According to the Congressional ornithological classification system, I am considered a Vietnam Dove and an Israel Hawk. There are many of this plumage. I am in good company.

Recently, political commentators and editorial writers have criticized those who, like myself, support an early disengagement from Vietnam for supporting the sale of Phantom and Skyhawk jets to Israel. They have accused us of hypocrisy and of being inconsistent. They accuse us of being peacemongers in Indo-China but being warmongers in the Middle East.

I am here today to refute that charge. There is no hypocrisy. There is no inconsistency. Only the most superficial of examinations of the issues can lead to such a conclusion. The similarities between this nation's involvement in Indo-China and the situation in the Middle East are few indeed. The differences are many and profound.

I do not speak of the differences between the jungles of Southeast Asia on the one hand and fertile plains and desert of the Middle East on the other. Nor do I speak of the differences between an Eastern and what is basically a Western nation. I speak primarily of the differences in the relationship between a people and their government: the people in Vietnam and Cambodia and their government on the one hand, and the relationship which exists between the government of Israel and her people on the other. These differences are not only striking--they are important--they are profound.

In Vietnam, and now in Cambodia, we are in trouble in large part because we have come to the aid of nations which seek our help largely in a search for assistance in resolving their own domestic conflicts--in perpetuating themselves in power. We see a government without the support of its people. We see corruption, rigged elections, the political opposition jailed and other attributes of dictatorship and oppression. We see weak governments which seek control through the denial of political freedom, and who seek survival in power on the premise they are helping us halt aggressive communist imperialism.

By way of contrast, no one can accuse the State of Israel of dictatorship. No one can accuse Israel of corruption, nor of inability to manage its own internal affairs. Neither can she stand condemned for her system of government or the policies of that government. This is a most vital difference. There are others.



In Vietnam, we have been embroiled in war for nearly a decade now. It has cost us some 50,000 American lives. It is now costing more than a hundred such lives each week in addition to the many hundreds of wounded. Of our treasure it is currently costing us some \$2 billion dollars each month. Over the past five years it has cost us \$81.4 billion dollars and there is, as yet, no end in sight.

Under our Military Assistance Program, the United States gave the countries of the Indo-China region almost \$3 billion dollars in arms during the years 1950 through 1968. We are providing almost \$2 billion dollars in military aid in Fiscal 1970.

During the 1950-1968 period we also gave \$1.4 billion dollars in military assistance to Greece, almost \$2.6 billion dollars in such aid to Turkey, over \$750 million dollars in aid to Iran, \$50 million dollars in aid to Jordan, \$46 million dollars in military aid to Iraq, \$34 million dollars to Saudi Arabia, and nearly \$9 million dollars in military aid to Lebanon.

But we gave not one cent in such aid to Israel. Indeed we even placed an embargo on military equipment sales to Israel in 1947, again in 1955 and in 1967, following the June war. And more recently the President extended the ban on the sale of jets to that nation.

Unlike Indo-China, where we have well over 400,000 of our troops serving at present, as well as many para-military personnel we don't have even a single military advisor serving in Israel--and they obviously need none.

And unlike the situation in Southeast Asia, in Israel we not only provide no military aid nor American personnel, we provide no economic aid either. Nor is Israel asking for any gift. All they ask is for the right to purchase--to purchase for good hard cash--the necessary arms to counter the threat posed to their security.

When the President announced on March 23rd, after some six months of study, that he would not sell Israel Skyhawk or Phantom jets at that time, I believe he was, most sincerely, trying to put an end to the Mid-East arms race. He was trying to retain the balance which existed at that time.

But what was the Soviet response? Did they seize on this opportunity to cool their Mid-East involvement? Quite the contrary.

Their response was to escalate their support. The Soviet Union moved to increase both her arms and her troops in Egypt. In the face of this reaction, failure on our part to counter this build-up now will only encourage additional and dangerous Soviet steps. For let there be no question about it--a refusal to sell fighter planes to Israel is not to refuse to take sides. In the face of these actions by the opposition, it is to take sides against Israel.

In Southeast Asia, we seek to get out of Vietnam. In the Middle East, we seek to prevent a Vietnam from coming into being.

The big question for the United States, however is not the survival of Israel as a viable nation unless this involves our national security. If our security is not involved, we can justify an unwillingness to sell jets regardless of the emotional attachment which so many Americans have for that heroic State.

But I believe our security is involved. We cannot afford to let Israel go undefended. We cannot afford to permit the Soviet Union to use the Arab-Israeli dispute to gain control of the strategic Middle-East.

Israel is a small nation. About the size of New Jersey, it has even fewer people. When ten Israeli children are killed in a rocket attack it is as though 750 of our children were ambushed and killed here in the United States. When Israel loses 20 of her soldiers in action it is as though the United States were losing 1,500. We have grown accustomed to thinking of such figures in American terms and therefore underestimate both the tragedy and suffering which has afflicted these people. This habit may lead us to underestimate the significance of 10,000 Russian military personnel in Egypt.

Let there be no mistake about it. Israel has a strong and effective fighting force. She possesses a superior though outnumbered air force. For its size, it is probably the best in the world. Its esprit de corps is wonderful to behold. The ground crews are excellent, well trained and adaptable. For its size--some 320 fighter planes--it is likely the best in the world.

But the Arab states can also gain sophistication with increased help from the outside. In numbers, they already enjoy a tremendous superiority. This is a long term threat which Israel can ignore only at her peril.

I very much want to see a cease fire in the Middle East. I hope the President's latest call for a three months halt in hostile action will be accepted by all parties, and that this halt will permit a binding agreement leading to permanent peace. I am confident that you all share that hope.

I fear, however, that a cease fire is not going to come about as long as Egypt feels that if they just continue to build up their armed strength with Russian help they will be in a relatively better position in deliberations at some future time. And I fear the government in Cairo will operate on that premise until we clearly indicate a total unwillingness to permit an escalation of Soviet arms in Egypt without proper response in Tel Aviv. Bombastic rhetoric and an uncertain policy will be to no avail in this contest. Nor will secret sales reduce other Arab States' hostility toward the United States. It must rather be made perfectly clear that our commitment to the territorial integrity of Israel will be kept and that keeping it threatens neither the Arab States' security nor their welfare.

We may well ask, just how important is the survival of Israel to the United States. It may best be answered by asking a corollary question. How important is control of the Suez and the Eastern Mediterranean to the Soviet Union? This has long been their goal and their target in that area. Such control is the sole reason for their aid to Egypt.

With an unstable military dictatorship in Greece, with uncertainty in Turkey, and with a demonstrated reluctance on the part of the NATO countries to meet their commitments we need friends displaying constancy and strength. Israel alone has demonstrated those capacities--those attributes.

Our military withdrawal from Cambodia and Vietnam must not be made a pretext for withdrawal from our nation's responsibilities in Asia, let alone in other parts of the world. Vietnam is not Asia and it is certainly not Israel.

We have big power influence. Our withdrawal into a neo isolationism will not relieve smaller free nations from such influence. It will merely provide no counter in the case of the Middle East to Soviet dominance over these smaller nations. For them it will mean a loss of freedom.

America's mistake which is Vietnam is not an indictment of America's purpose, but of our judgment. We went to war to bolster a government which neither had nor merited the support of its own people. We did so to help prevent the success of a so-called "war of liberation." We have discovered after great cost that to enter a conflict under such conditions is to make meaningful victory impossible. As some have said, Vietnam is the wrong war, in the wrong place, at the wrong time. But the lessons of Vietnam are no reason to shrink from our clear interest in Israel's survival as a free and independent nation.

The Israeli government is a bona fide one with strong and popular support. The cause in which she is engaged--her survival as a model free and independent state--has the full support of her own people and is deserving of ours. At a time when we must endure criticism for our support of military dictatorships in Greece, and in Latin America, as well as in Southeast Asia, it is refreshing to stand up and say, "I support Israel".

You have long been engaged in her support through your participation in the Jewish National Fund. You have made the deserts bloom. Where there was only sand you now have forests. For more than sixty years you have been involved in building a land and a nation. What started as an effort to reclaim and recreate the soil of Israel--to build farms and forests where there was only desert--has now become increasingly important to the defense of that nation. I understand there are now more than two hundred strategic border settlements on land owned and developed by JNF.

But you know the story of your own work far better than I. I come rather tonight to share with you my commitment to help wage the fight which is essential to the survival of Israel today. I am proud to share the honor.



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## NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

This year is no exception from many years past. Our Nation is still suffering from domestic ills of inflation, pollution, crime, racial strife and the frustrations of youth. But we have come to recognize these problems and are seeking solutions with encouraging public support. We will succeed in some and fail in others. But we are trying and we are progressing.

We are still involved in Viet Nam. However, efforts are now less geared to a military victory. We are striving for peace without all-out force. This is progress in itself.

We must look to the New Year with confidence that patient and steadfast effort will eventually minimize our problems. We must recognize that there are no overnight solutions or perfect panaceas. I am hopeful that you will join me in dedicating ourselves to striving again for domestic tranquility and international peace. Let us move forward again in 1971.

Through your media, I wish to extend my best wishes for a New Year of accomplishment and happiness to all of my friends and constituents in our Aloha State.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator



# Hawaii Hochi, Ltd.

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UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL  
UPI PRESS PHOTO SERVICE  
KYODO NEWS SERVICE  
KYODO PHOTO SERVICE

Cable Address: *HawaHochi*

November 24, 1970

U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye  
Suite 602  
Capital Investment Bldg.  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Dear Senator Inouye:

Every year, the Hawaii Hochi Limited provides its readers with a special New Year's Edition of the Hawaii Hochi.

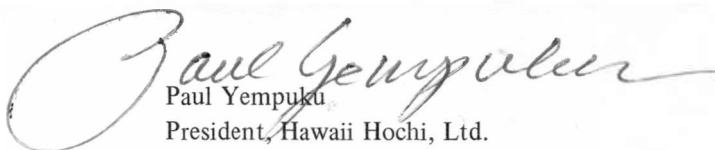
As in the past years, we have included in our New Year's Edition, a New Year's message from you.

We hope that you can continue this tradition by forwarding to us a greeting or message to be published in this year's special edition. A recent photograph of yourself would be most helpful.

Our printing deadline for this edition is December 10, 1970. May we expect to receive your message and photo by that date?

Your continued cooperation in this important matter will be greatly appreciated by Hawaii Hochi and its reading public.

Sincerely yours,

  
Paul Yempuku  
President, Hawaii Hochi, Ltd.

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1 September 1970

Mr. Roy Soga, Vice President and  
General Manager  
The Hawaii Times  
916 Nuuanu Avenue  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Soga:

I join your many readers and friends in extending my congratulations to you on the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the Hawaii Times.

Your service to the community initially bridged the communication barrier between the East and the West. It has continued to foster truth and understanding of a bilingual population. It has preserved the proud traditions of Eastern culture and has also recognized the achievements of Western civilization. Your newspaper is meeting the needs of our State for unbiased information and editorial leadership. All generations have profited from its steady and strong voice in this community.

Please accept my best wishes for continued success in the exercise of the constitutional right of freedom of expression in the interest of all of the people of our Aloha State.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

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Speech By Senator Daniel K. Inouye To The American Banking Association  
September 29, 1969

### INFLATION AND PUBLIC POLICY

One of the cardinal rules for political leaders is not to address an audience about a subject concerning which the audience knows more than the speaker. This is a rule which I am going to violate today.

First, I should establish my credentials. I am not a banker--and I am not an economist. Neither do I serve as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee nor the Finance Committee in the Senate. But as a United States Senator and a member of the Consumer Subcommittee of the Commerce Committee. I do wish to talk to you about money--- particularly the declining value of money or inflation.

For whether you approve or not, the management of our economy is not only a matter of public concern but of public policy. The essential decisions on monetary and fiscal policy will not be made by experts alone but by the national administration and by the Congress-- most of whom, like myself, are almost economic illiterates.

If a political leader is to be successful he must have a keen ear, detect early, and be able to respond effectively to the often ill formed and vaguely defined fears and frustrations of the mass of our people.



He must be able to offer hope that he can pursue those objectives and develop those policies and programs which will effectively reduce their fears, anxieties, and frustrations.

I speak to you today then about inflation, not as an expert on the subject, but as one who senses a deep seated concern by so many of our people with a matter which I know is also your deep concern.

The banker may not be the most popular man in the community but I am old enough to recall a time when the image of the banker was a good deal less popular than it is today. This was during the period of our great depression.

I sense today a threatened renewal of the division between the banker and much of his community. By the very nature of your business you must frequently deny help to a man just when he needs that help most. With the tightening of money, the occasions when you must refuse to be of help occurs more frequently. And with the rapid increase in the interest rates, the cost of your service has become a major factor in the increasing cost of living, and in increasing the level of frustration of a good many Americans.

As you know inflation is not a new phenomena. Over the long haul it has in fact existed since the founding days of our Nation. Many

economists argue that a moderate degree of inflation--a gradual decline in the value of money--is not only common but desirable if we are to have an expanding economy, full employment, and a broad and equitable distribution of our Nation's wealth.

However, I know of no responsible expert who would argue that the current rate of inflation is desirable. Today it takes a dollar to buy what 38¢ would have purchased in 1939. Paul McCracken, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, pointed out recently that the cost of living which rose slightly more than 1 percent per year during the Eisenhower years, and slightly under 1 percent per year from 1961 to 1965, and rose less than 3 percent in 1967, and slightly over 4 percent in 1968, now was rising at a 6.4 percent annual rate during the 1st half of 1969. During the month of July it continued to rise at that rate. McCracken warned that there is "a deeply eroded confidence in the value of the dollar--a confidence that must be restored if we are to have a firm foundation for orderly vigorous, and sustainable growth."

Our concern over inflation is neither a new nor a partisan one. The Republican Party platform of 1968 decried this inflation which, and I quote, "robs our pay checks at a present rate of 4 1/2 percent per year." They went on to lament the "crippling interest rates, some the highest

in a century, (which) prevent millions of Americans from buying homes and small businesses, (and) farmers and other citizens from obtaining the loans they need."

Without belaboring the point, the situation today is much worse. Interest rates in particular have escalated sharply. While this increase may have been designed to reduce demand and cool the economy, there is good reason to believe that for many it is merely a sharp increase in one more cost factor and a further justification for raising the price of their product or service--one further factor feeding the fires of inflation.

Current forecasts indicate continuing increases in capital spending. In 1968 such expenditures accounted for \$64 billion--up slightly over \$2 billion from 1967. This year capital spending will increase to an estimated \$71.4 billion and while a reduction in the rate of increase appears likely, the forecasts for 1970 indicate such spending will rise still further to the \$75 billion level.

By late 1970 our gross national product will be running at the rate of \$1 trillion per year. Unfortunately this will not be an accurate measure of our economic health. In terms of real growth we are in a static condition while those who must share the fruits of our economy

are constantly increasing in numbers.

This is but another way of saying that a lot of our people are becoming worse off and constantly getting poorer- not richer.

While inflation is lamentable it is not equally lamented by all. The effects are not equally shared, the burden not equally born. And the real tragedy is that as usual those who are most hurt are the most helpless. Those on low and fixed incomes are most powerless to help themselves.

The retired older American finds his income fixed while the cost of many of his particular needs--medical care, food, and housing, are among those increasing most rapidly.

The widow living on a pension and insurance payments is likewise hurt and powerless.

The lowest paid of our workers, the least organized and least powerful, find their wages lagging behind the general price and wage increases and experience a constantly worsening economic condition.

Measured in terms of real income rather than by an arbitrary money income figure we are pushing many more below the poverty line rather than lifting them out of poverty.

Inflation is the enemy in the war on poverty.



Inflation is the enemy in our struggle to provide a life of dignity and reasonable comfort for the older American.

Inflation is the enemy in our search to encourage individual saving and self-reliance for one's non-productive or retired years.

And the measures we have chosen to date to fight this evil inflation makes it the enemy of still additional groups in our society.

As we have tightened the monetary screws--as we have increased interest rates--we have particularly increased the cost for long term borrowers such as the home buyer. Not only has the cost increased sharply but with a reduction in funds available the supply has been sharply reduced. This has been particularly true of single family units. Total housing starts are down almost 14% from last year's rate. The August adjusted seasonal rate of 1,336,000 units is only slightly over half the 2 1/2 million which was established as our annual requirement in the 1966 Housing Act.

Inadequate housing is one of our nation's most serious problems and yet we are producing far less new housing, available at a far higher price, than was the case not only in 1968 but in any year since 1960. And this is coming at a time when we have a rapid increase in the number of new families as the post World War II baby boom marry and start their

families. The problems of the inner city--where poor housing is certainly a major factor in the many problems we associate with that term--cannot be relieved as we fail to keep pace with the demands of newly formed families while making no provision for replacement housing.

By the economic decisions we have made we are forcing the American family to rent and to live in an apartment house just as is done in the Soviet Union. The Soviets consider single family dwellings wasteful of resources. We obviously fail to give home ownership and decent housing the priority it deserves in establishing our concerns.

During the years when the farmers had sufficient political influence in Congress, we established an array of special lending institutions to help him meet his special needs for loanable funds. The Farmers Home Administration helps the farmer to purchase his farm, to improve an existing one, and in consort with his neighbors, it lends him money to develop recreational facilities, water and sewage systems, soil conservation and watershed preservation, and a number of other projects. These are all low interest loans--well below the current prime rate. The same is true of R.E.A. loans.

While some effort has been made, primarily through the insurance

of privately financed home mortgages and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to encourage home ownership, this is most inadequate.

If we cannot do better than we have and are now doing, then we have no recourse but for the Federal Government to more directly enter the home mortgage field, subsidizing interest rates and bringing decent housing and home ownership within the means of our people.

If our system can provide for every man an automobile and a TV set, and for many families of lesser means more than one, then we must so adjust our system that more durable goods such as a decent house is made available and our more enduring values enhanced.

The present veto power of the Federal Reserve Board over the activities of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board prevents the allocation of the necessary funds to the family housing industry. Selective credit restraints and some system of rationing the available credit so that housing is not priced out of the market must therefore be devised.

Those who need new housing are not alone. There are others who need our special consideration because of this tight money situation. As you know our student population is most troubled over the shortage of funds. Both the Senate and House have acted on separate versions of the Student Loan Act. Final passage is at hand. Some of you have already

responded and I hope the banking community will give renewed attention and priority to their needs. Next to the mortgage payment, the largest item in the family budget for those with even one child away at school is that college students expense.

As you know so well, there are many others who are unable to meet their minimal needs under present monetary policies and thus find the level of their frustrations increased. There would be some solace if the measures which have been taken would clearly lead to an early end to this inflationary spiral. Such is apparently not the case. It is therefore time we take a look at other measures.

I deeply regret President Nixon's declaration of policy in his first press conference last January. He stated then

"I do not go along with the suggestion that inflation can be effectively controlled by exhorting labor and management and industry to follow certain guide lines. I think it is a very laudable objective for labor and management to follow. But I think I am aware of the fact that the leaders of labor and the leaders of management, much as they might personally want to do what is in the best interests of the Nation, have to be guided by the interest of the organizations they represent."

By this statement the President gave the green light to our most powerful and avaricious leaders to pursue their private goals with little or no concern for the general welfare. By relying almost solely on

restrictive monetary policy President Nixon has shifted the burden of the fight against inflation to the shoulders of the least strong and least able among us.

Guidelines alone will not do the job. But the powers of government are such that a word of advice to the leaders of an industry that failure to hold the line on price increases in their particular industry, whether it be oil, steel, autos, or what have you, will effect administration posture on tax policy can make a difference. Moral suasion, purchasing policies, defense stockpiling, import and subsidy policies, can all be brought to bear and should be. The burden of achieving economic stability must not rest totally or in such large part on our banking community and monetary policy.

Some of you may contend that the way to stop inflation is for government to reduce its spending. Government spending is a favorite whipping boy and government spending, particularly in military procurement and construction, as well as other construction, should be deferred where possible. I remind you, however, that the most rapidly increasing Federal expenditure is interest on government debt.

It is time indeed that the call went out loud and clear to big business, big labor, and to big banking, that the threat of inflation can

only be met by their voluntary or compelled restraint.

And it should be clear to each that their short term interests must be restrained in the public interest, and indeed, to their own long term benefit.

If guidelines and prudent governmental fiscal and monetary policies won't do the job then we have no choice but to seriously consider initiating once again wage and price controls.

No one likes wage and price controls but we may have no choice but to institute them temporarily if we are to halt--as halt we must-- the present galloping inflation. All the classical arguments against such controls may be sound, but there is no painless choice and even the present ineffective approach is dislocative of our resources and painful indeed for those least able to protect their self-interest.

This then is how the situation looks to one fixed with some responsibility for guiding broad public policy--and to a layman. It is a view shared by a large and increasing number of my colleagues. It is one I believe you dismiss lightly at your peril. It is a view which I have been privileged to present to you today.

SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

AMENDMENT TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

A few days ago, the Vice-President of the United States, in a speech delivered at the Miami Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, condemned and criticized those members of the United States Senate who had sponsored the "Amendment To End The War In Vietnam". In a masterful demonstration of eloquent invective, he charged those Senators as being reckless, irresponsible, and suggested that they were a bit cowardly.

I am one of the sponsors of this "Amendment To End The War In Vietnam".

I believe I owe you, who honor me this evening, a response to Mr. Agnew's attack.

War is a very unhappy subject, and although it may seem inappropriate to discuss an unhappy subject at the end of a happy evening, I believe that the future of this country demands a thorough discussion of this war.

On August 10, 1964, the members of the United States Senate cast their votes on the important Tonkin Gulf Resolution. As you may recall, it was a Resolution which supported American military involvement in

the Indochinese war. There was much debate, but at the end of the debate, only two Senators voted against the Resolution. Those Senators are no longer with us. Eighty-eight Senators voted in favor of it. Among the 88 were the most vocal doves of today. I, too, supported the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.

Looking back, I was convinced that there was legal and technical justification for our military involvement in Vietnam. There were our treaty obligations under SEATO and other bilateral agreements with the government of Vietnam. There were constant reports of murder and slaughter of South Vietnamese officials by the Vietcong. It was reported that by the end of 1964, some 8,000 officials of the South Vietnamese government had been assassinated.

At the time of the debate of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, I sincerely believed in America's cause in Vietnam. I felt that our mission was a just one, responding to the pleas of a people tortured and murdered by invaders from the North. I believe that most Americans supported our deepening involvement at that time.

And so, when we entered the Vietnam conflict we did so as friends. We embraced the people of South Vietnam as brothers and sisters. Thousands of Americans made the welfare and freedom of these Vietnamese



people their personal cause. Many travelled to this strange land to heal the bodies of the sick and injured. Many others went to educate the children and to help the farmers increase their crops. In so many ways, our cause was certainly humanitarian and moral.

But then, as we increased our presence and as the conflict became increasingly an American war, we found a change taking place. The Vietnamese, friendly, neutral, or unfriendly, became "gooks". Our soldiers began to view them increasingly with contempt and suspicion. Some came to consider them all as enemies because of their inability to distinguish friend from foe in this strange guerilla war. And so, some of our men began saying "the only good gook is a dead one".

One day, the world learned of My Lai. It is a name of a little Vietnamese village, which I am certain will be long remembered by many Americans. When the full significance of My Lai became apparent to me, I decided that I could not, as an American, as a Senator, and as a human being support this war. I felt that this war had to end as soon as humanly possible.

We have now sacrificed at the altar of this Vietnam War the precious lives of 51,664 men. In addition, more than 285,000 Americans have

been wounded in battle, and more than half of this number were wounded seriously enough to require hospital care. Of these numbers, many are horribly scarred and mangled.

In order to appreciate the full cost of this tragic war, we must add to this bloody mathematics the more than 118,000 South Vietnamese who have died to date. Add also, the nearly 4,000 dead among our other allies fighting in Vietnam. The enemy dead should also be considered. Although one may despise the enemy, they are still members of the human race, and in this bookkeeping of blood, they, too, should be included. It is estimated that more than 650,000 of the enemy have died. We have no idea as to how many were wounded. We must add still further the awesome cost of the damage inflicted upon the Vietnamese countryside by the saturating use of modern weapons of warfare. Experts have indicated that the destruction of animal and plant life has caused a change in the ecology of that land, which may remain unbalanced for decades to come.

In addition to the loss of precious lives, all of us, taxpayers of the United States, have contributed over 107 billion dollars to carry on this war; **billions**, I need not remind you, which were desperately needed in the festering and decaying cities, in the empty cupboards and shelves of our poor, in the non-ending fight against disease, and on and on.

Even the \$107 billion figure does not accurately convey the full cost of this conflict for it covers only the last six years. The war, of course, began much earlier--in 1961 according to official calculations.

The \$107 billion figure also omits all those other indirect costs not directly appropriated for the war and hence forgotten by those who directed operations in Vietnam. Such indirect costs include veterans benefits, increased construction and interests costs on projects delayed because of Vietnam, in addition to the enormous cost to all of us resulting from this inflation. Add to this the lost earnings and taxes of those who have been called to serve and the hidden costs for defense related transportation, construction and communications and one can appreciate why one economist estimated the total cost of this war at \$350 billion, even if it were to end at the close of this calendar year.

The cost of war is almost insane. World wide annual military expenditure now totals \$200 billion, and these costs are increasing at a rate of 7% with no limit in sight. Today, the nations of this earth spend an average of \$7,800 per year for each man in uniform, while spending an average of \$100 per year for each child of school age. These mathematics should demonstrate the insanity of war.

In addition to these numbers, we should not ignore another set of human mathematics. Because of this war, the sons of many families, men of concern and dedication, have left this country to reside in other places. Some live furtively like criminals in dark places; others in foreign lands. The number of men requesting conscientious objector status is almost epidemic, and our level of absences without leave and desertions are exceedingly high.

I suppose a demagogue could brush these numbers aside by labeling these men as traitors, communists, and cowards. I am certain there are some who are communists, some who are traitors, and some who are cowards, but I am also convinced that there are many, many more who are decent, honest, intelligent, sensitive human beings. Many of these men who have within themselves great potential for good have lost faith in our government and in our institutions.

Not too long ago, we minimized the significance of campus demonstrations by consoling ourselves with the view that the demonstrators represented a small, small minority. This minority of dissenters is now growing by dangerous proportions, not only on the Eastern campuses or those in California, but throughout this nation. Something dangerous is happening to the political and social fiber of this country.

And, finally, the brutality of war. As one who has had the opportunity to witness war, I am well aware of the brutal nature of war. I am well aware that wives become widows, and that parents lose their sons. I am well aware that crippled men will have to carry their scars for the rest of their lives. I am well aware, also, that war can affect the very soul of men. I left Hawaii to join the Army at the innocent age of 18. I soon became a very serious student of warfare, and although my Church taught me to love, I found that after the training period, I thoroughly hated our nation's enemies. I hated these human beings enough to kill. And so, in time, I received those decorations that men receive for killing other men. In the eyes of my fellow soldiers, I was considered a good killer. However, notwithstanding this early initiation into the horrors of warfare, I was not quite prepared for what was happening in Vietnam.

My Lai should never be forgotten. It demonstrates what war can do to men. Something must be tragically wrong when an American soldier and his companions can, without apparent remorse or regret, shoot down women and children. Yes, I have heard some argue that women carry rifles in Vietnam, and that children throw grenades, but when we reach the stage of warfare when Americans look upon a baby as an enemy, then I say we have lost the war.

And then, I asked myself, "Could My Lai have happened in Europe?" You should ask yourself that question. Could we have shot down French women and children or German babies in cold blood? It is a question worthy of consideration.

After countless official denials, reports of an unbelievable activity began leaking out of Vietnam. The activity was called "Operation Phoenix". Ostensibly, this program called for the capture of members of the Vietcong infrastructure and the re-education and rehabilitation of these enemy officials before their release. Its announced intentions were commendable and reasonable--to convince Vietcong officials of the error of their ways. But, further reports indicated that "Operation Phoenix" was a bit different from what we were earlier led to believe. In these operations, mercenary groups, led by American officers, did capture Vietcong officials, but many of these mercenaries, apparently with the approval of their American officers, simply tortured and murdered these Vietcong men and women.

We had now completed the full cycle. We entered Vietnam because the Vietcong were kidnapping and murdering Vietnamese officials, and now we have adopted the much hated and criticized communist pronouncement "the ends justify the means". Since the beginning of

"Operation Phoenix", thousands of Vietcong officials have been killed. In order to fully appreciate "Operation Phoenix", one should know what is meant by this new word of warfare--"infrastructure".

The Vietcong infrastructure consists of those men and women who hold non-combatant positions in villages controlled by the Vietcong. They are the doctors, nurses, taxcollectors, judges, and school teachers. I was pleased to learn that "Operation Phoenix" has been terminated, but then I asked myself another question--"Would we have considered using 'Operation Phoenix' in Europe?"

In the business of warfare, we now maintain a strange set of accounts. We established in Vietnam a price list for the accidental killing of Vietnamese in non-combat situations. For instance, if a military truck, speeding through a narrow village street, struck down a 10-year-old Vietnamese child, we would pay his parents the sum of \$201.95. If the child were a year old, we would pay his parents \$318.00, and if the son or daughter were at the threshold of majority, the family would receive a little over \$30.00. If we accidentally killed a wage earner, we would pay his spouse 400 times his daily wages. Incidentally, the daily wages for the average Vietnamese is not a huge amount. About a dollar a day. Interestingly, we may pay as much as \$100 for a water buffalo. In 1969, we paid out a total of \$1,231,920.16 in claims to the South Vietnamese.

There were no human price lists in France, England, Belgium, Italy, Germany, or Holland. In these European countries, claims for accidental deaths were adjudicated and determined by a judicial body, military or civilian. I need not tell you that we paid more than \$201.95 for a 10-year-old European child. And so, I asked myself the question again-- "Why the difference?"

After reviewing this bloody picture of warfare, I could not help but conclude that this war, unlike any other war in which we have participated, was eroding the very soul of our people. It was tearing apart our nation. It permitted the most base human attitudes to emerge. The evil pollution of racism can now be detected in Vietnam.

I now very sincerely contend that, notwithstanding whatever justification we may have had, this war must end. But our Vice-President now wants a military victory. Many military experts, and even our President, have declared that a military victory is not desirable, but our Vice-President wants further sacrifices of American sons, prefers the further erosion of our national soul, and further additions to the costly mathematics of war. It must be exhilarating to appear before a cheering crowd and speak of patriotism, but I refuse to cloak my remarks in the rhetoric of patriotism at the expense of my country, which I love very much, and at the expense of the many sons of many families.



Military victory in Vietnam may well require the total destruction of that country and the further escalation and expansion of that war on the Asian mainland. This may not be an appropriate question, but one might inquire--"Is Saigon more important than New York?"; "Is Saigon more important than Los Angeles?"; "Is Saigon more important than Chicago?"

"The Amendment To End The War In Vietnam" provides for the acceptance of Vietnamese refugees by the United States at the conclusion of the war, if these Vietnamese should desire to leave their homeland because of fear of retribution or death. The Vice-President now suggests, after eloquently extolling the freedom loving courage and the virtues of our South Vietnamese friends, that if this amendment should pass, Americans would not want these refugees in their communities. Isn't this strange? After having sacrificed more than 51,000 precious American lives, and willing to sacrifice more for the Vietnamese, the Vice-President however, suggests that we would not want them to live in our communities. Our sons may die for them, but they are not welcome in the United States.

We have now assisted in the training and the issuance of military equipment to nearly 1,000,000 Vietnamese soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen. In addition to this, we have trained and equipped about 250,000 police officials. Add to this the countless number of militia men.

Recent events indicate that there might be a surplus of Vietnamese soldiers. Otherwise, how can one justify the use of thousands of elite Vietnamese troops in the Cambodian incursion. I would think that these Vietnamese troops should have been in their own back yard. If the Saigon leaders have men to spare to invade other countries, then I am convinced that they have enough men to protect themselves.

The Vice-President, in his remarkable speech, spoke of the terror of a communist takeover. He painted a picture of a red Peking tidal wave engulfing all of Asia and Southeast Asia. If this danger of communist takeover is so imminent and real, why is it that this fear and concern are not equally shared by Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Malasia, Singapore, Burma, India, and the Philippines? If the danger is so great, why are they not contributing more to this cause? Why do we find it necessary to hire mercenaries? Why must the Thais be paid to fight the Communists in Vietnam if their homeland is so clearly in the path of the Red tide from Peking?

The one essential step which we must take to bring this war to an end is to admit to ourselves--and to the world--that we made a tragic mistake. We must acknowledge that the Vietnam war has been a failure--a misapplication of our will and power--a misdirection of America's ideals.

This is a difficult admission to make--especially when we remind ourselves of the enormity of this war's cost. Few want to admit error in judgment--and even fewer, when it involves a cost of over 51,000 American lives.

It is difficult to face up to the charge that these men's lives may have been wasted. And so we continually struggle to come up with a justification for continuing this war.

Almost all our leaders have admitted that there is no military solution to this conflict. It must be resolved politically.

Such a political solution will require that we swallow some pride--that we even lose some face--difficult as that may be for the United States. I believe it will be essential and we must face up to the unpleasant task.

By so doing we can close an unfortunate chapter in our history. We can ring down the curtain on the Vietnam War, and do so a little stronger for the lessons we have learned.

If we truly learn our lesson from this tragic experience and apply it as a guide for future action, then we can say our nation's sons have not died in vain. Their sons and younger brothers, and your sons and mine, may be saved because of their suffering and sacrifice.

Throughout most of my years in public life, I have wrestled in my own mind and conscience with this problem. I have joined Presidents and Bishops, as well as military men, in support of some of our actions. I hope that I have learned--that we have all learned--from this tragic experience. I hope that we as individuals have learned more humility--and also that we have learned some humility as a nation.

This amendment is not a blue print for a precipitous withdrawal of all American support as the Vice-President contends. It is rather a reassertion of the constitutional rights of the United States Congress to full consultation and participation in any decision to extend the involvement of America's sons in this conflict.

I feel fully justified in supporting this "Amendment To End The War In Vietnam". Our country has suffered long enough. We have demonstrated, with the sacrifice of our very precious sons, our adherence to the word "commitment". How many **more** sons must we sacrifice to prove to the world that we fulfill our commitments? I say that we have done enough. We should bring them home and once again bring the American family together.

# COPY

4 September 1970

Dr. K.C. Kondo, President  
Hawaii Hojukai  
227 North King Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

Dear Dr. Kondo:

I join you and your membership in commemorating the 10th Anniversary of the Hawaii Hojukai.

The Hawaii Hojukai has been a guiding light in the promotion of better health and a better life for the senior citizens of our community. I have admired the active role that the Hawaii Hojukai has taken in fostering its ideals of personal and public health.

The 1800 members throughout the State of Hawaii can be justly proud of the achievements of the Hojukai. Its accomplishments have more than justified the time and efforts expended by its members in pursuit of the organization's health goals. The Kenko has played an important role in spreading this message of Hawaii Hojukai.

Please express to your members and supporters my congratulations on this happy occasion.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

HAWAII HOJUKAI  
227 N. King St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

August 29, 1970

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
Senator  
United States Congress  
Suite 602  
Capital Investment Building  
239 Merchant Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Senator Inouye:

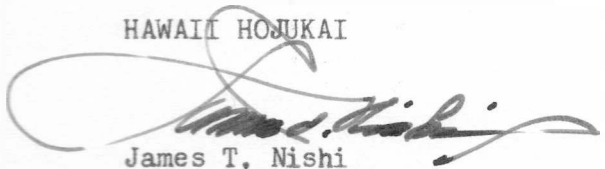
The Hawaii Hojukai, in boasting a decade of fellowship since its foundation in 1960, is soon to celebrate the occasion with the publication of the Kenko in conjunction with its' 10th Anniversary ceremony to be held at the Honolulu International Center on October 11, 1970. The ceremony will be attended by approximately 2,000 persons.

To elaborate briefly on the significance of our non-profit organization, our primary purpose is to foster the promotion of better health for elderly persons. Monthly the organization issues a publication edited by our President, Dr. K. C. Kondo. Catering to the older generation, the publication is written in the Japanese language. In addition a monthly meeting, occasionally aided by a special guest speaker, is held at our headquarters to discuss general health problems of the individual as well as the health problems of the community. Our membership is now 1,800 strong, members gained from throughout the islands.

As Senator of our proud State we would like to request your assistance in commemorating this happy event by perhaps sending our association a congratulatory message for publication in the 10th Anniversary publication of the Kenko.

Your consideration in this matter will be gratefully appreciated.

HAWAII HOJUKAI



James T. Nishi  
First Secretary

JTN:ccn

# United States Senate

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## MEMORANDUM

24 June 1970

Dear Eiler:

Will you please send a congratulatory letter to Bryan Izumoto, 2612 Halelena Place, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 for achieving the Eagle Scout. He is only 14 years old.

Presentation of the award will be held on Thursday, July 2, 1970, at the Manoa Valley Church at 7:30 p.m.

be  
Dan's message will/read at the ceremony.

Chaplain Higuchi suggested this.

Mahalo,

congrats

COPY

July 10, 1970

Mr. Bryan Izumoto  
2612 Halelena Place  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

Dear Bryan:

May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on being named an Eagle Scout. This honor at your age is indeed a tribute to your dedication, perseverance, and ability. I know your family is proud of you and with good cause.

May I take this opportunity to extend my offer of assistance should I ever be able to do anything for such a bright and promising young man.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:bhm  
cc: Edna Horiuchi



3 August 1970

Dear Members:

I wish to extend to the National Association of Letter Carriers on the Occasion of your 47th Biennial Convention and to the National Ladies Auxiliary on your 32nd Biennial, my hearty congratulations and warm best wishes.

This is a historic day for labor in Hawaii -- particularly, for the members and friends of the carriers and the ladies' auxiliary.

May your national convention be but the first of many labor conventions to meet in Hawaii. While we are known for our aloha spirit, that spirit is particularly warm for members and friends of organized labor. Your presence makes this a landmark occasion for labor in Hawaii just as this has been a landmark year for members of your organization here in Congress. While the future is as yet untested and in some areas uncharted, I do want you to know that as one who has a high and friendly regard for your leadership and for your interest, I wish you well and stand ready to be of assistance at all times.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

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DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

29 July 1970

Mr. James Gary, President  
Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd.  
1050 Bishop Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Gary:

These groundbreaking ceremonies for the Hawaiian Independent Refinery mark an important event in the economic history and development of our State. The dedication and perseverance of those who possessed the vision to commence this project should be duly recognized. They are deserving of our tribute and our thanks.

I am pleased to have played a role in seeking the approval by the governmental agencies involved of the necessary applications to make these plans a reality. I, therefore, share some of your pride in the events of this day and join with you in looking forward to a promising future for Hawaiian Independent Refinery and for the people of Hawaii.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

**Memo**

Don asked that you proceed  
and check this letter for  
hand delivery to Mrs.  
Gary for this morning's  
groundbreaking ceremony.

Mr. James Gary, President  
Honolulu Gas Co., Ltd.  
1050 Bishop Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii

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Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

## SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

### FREE TRADE

During the prenatal period of our country--that period when our land was composed of 13 separate colonies--each colony was considered sovereign. Each maintained its own militia. Each established and collected taxes, and prescribed criminal laws. Some even established codes of morality. In addition, each colony controlled the flow of commerce across its borders, often by establishing tariff walls and trade restrictions. Unfortunately, these barriers not only restricted commerce but also had the detrimental effect of dividing the colonials--the same unfortunate effect we have seen it have time and time again in country after country.

It was only with the formation of the Confederation that tariff walls were smashed and the free flow of trade permitted. This system of free trade has continued to this day and is now the operating practice in our 50 states and territories. The only exceptions are such trade restrictions with criminal sanctions as the sale and import of gambling devices and harmful drugs across state lines.

The economic history of Hawaii in itself testifies to the wisdom of this decision permitting the free flow of trade among the members of the Union. Our thriving economy--an economy whose very lifeline is commerce--is a living testament to free trade. Hawaii's success story is, indeed, largely the success story of free trade.

The rapid development and economic affluence experienced by the members of the European Common Market is yet another example of how free trade makes good economic sense. Since the establishment of free trade practices in 1958, member nations have, on the average, experienced a more than 5 percent rate of economic growth per year.

Trade is truly an international practice understood and deemed necessary by all. Trade is a language we all understand; it has, indeed, become an international language in its own right. I have, therefore, long felt that it might well serve as the singular means of bringing nations together.

It is, thus, with an eye to both economic prosperity and international cooperation that I have long considered myself a free trader. This has, however, been a difficult position to maintain because free trade as I conceive it cannot by definition be a unilateral affair. It must rather be a "give and take" activity. Only with an open and free exchange of goods can the system work and all prosper.

It is against this background that I wish to briefly discuss my dismay over the unsuccessful trade negotiations recently carried on between our country and Japan--more specifically, my distress over Japan's uncompromising stance in these negotiations.

Ever since the end of World War II, we have accorded favorable, at times extraordinarily favorable, treatment to the Japanese. For years this was a very practical position to take because our global strategy and perception of geopolitics required a strong, stable, and independent Japan. We needed Japan to serve as a wall against the Red Chinese. We needed a prosperous Japan to provide the necessary economic leadership for the developing countries of Asia and Southeast Asia. We needed Japan as a market for our products. Consequently, strengthening the Japanese economy was considered in our best interest as well as theirs.

But that day has long passed. We are now in 1970. The war has been over for exactly 25 years.

Today, Japan is, without doubt, one of the most, if not the most, industrialized and economically successful country in the world.

Who leads the world in shipbuilding? Japan. In the production of motorcycles, cotton yarn, cameras, sewing machines, watches, and radios? Japan.

Japan of the 70's prospers. Unemployment is negligible. Today, we on the other hand, suffer from an unemployment rate of 4.7 percent--the highest rate of unemployment in the last five years. Only last month, 6.4 million Americans were unemployed.

Today, our stock market crisis is one of the worst since the great crash in the 1920's. Only recently it dipped to a seven year low [REDACTED]. On the other hand, Japanese stocks are riding high.

Today, Americans are buying Toyotas, Datsuns, Hondas, and Yamahas. Electrical products with Panasonic, Sony, and Toshiba labels are heavily featured in our major department stores. But because of Japanese trade restrictions, it is virtually impossible for the average Japanese to buy a Chevy, Ford, or Plymouth. General Electric or Westinghouse products are unheard of even in their large department stores.

Today, not a single radio is actually manufactured in the United States. The radio parts we assemble and sell here are by and large manufactured in Japan.



This trade imbalance shows itself in the \$1.4 billion trade surplus Japan held last year. And this imbalance does not include the rushing outflow of American gold caused by either our military spending there or by the number of Japanese nationals we employ. The Japanese have, additionally, profited from the Vietnam War and, of course, from the money we have pumped into their economy over the last 25 years.

The Japanese economy can hardly be considered a weak, tottering structure. The growth and development of their economy has, indeed, exceeded our most optimistic expectations. This shift from weakness to strength leads me to suggest that the time has come for a similar shift in their trade posture. The time has come when Japan should be made to deal with us as equal economic partners and not as one seeking further trade advantages.

To straighten our lopsided relationship, I had hoped the Japanese would have been a bit more flexible in the recent trade negotiations they held with us. Contrary to the impression we received from the trade talks, the textile issue is not the most critical problem facing Japan's economy. It is not the major cause of unemployment or profit loss. It, thus, appears rather short sighted for the Japanese to have made this the stumbling block to a successful trade agreement with our country. Their obstinacy on this point may prove, so to speak, to be the straw that broke the camel's back. I say this because I note a movement in the Congress and within our Administration toward legislatively establishing new tariff and quota walls. This movement was, without question, generated by Japan's stiff, uncompromising position on the textile issue.

I view this movement toward protectionism with serious concern. History shows that tariff walls beget other tariff walls; and tariff walls are difficult to destroy. History also indicates that once established, they can effectively divide us from our friends throughout the world.

The sad lesson of protectionism stares us in the face if only we will take a minute to remember. It was not long ago, in fact only 40 years ago in the 1930's, that we attempted to counter the dual problem of recession and unemployment by erecting higher tariff barriers. It is a historical fact that this policy succeeded in neither halting the recession nor increasing employment opportunities but rather worked to export our recession to other countries and to further deepen it in our own.

It has always been and still is difficult to be a free trader. It is particularly difficult today because some are once again suggesting that the time has come for America to adopt a "get tough" policy. Some have suggested that we should, for example, demand that the French permit the sale of California and New York wine in their country if they expect us to consume their cognac and wine.

Personally, I do not believe a tough position will achieve the results we desire. I, therefore, fervently hope that the Japanese will seriously reconsider their position on trade. The alternative of establishing textile quotas which is presently being considered in the Congress will not be in their self interest...neither will it be in ours.

Mine may well be a sole voice in the wilderness pleading a dying cause. Yet, as a free trader, I cannot in good conscience allow our nation or the world to fall into the grips of protectionism without a fight.

SPEECH BY DANIEL K. INOUE

VIETNAM REVISITED

Ever since the President's November 3rd speech on our Nation's Vietnam policy, at least until his April 30th speech announcing the extension of our war into Cambodia, those writers who interpret the American scene had been telling us that Vietnam was no longer an issue. Polls seemed to have confirmed this analysis.

They told us the issues of the day were rather the high cost of living, the housing shortage, increasing unemployment, high interest rates, and increasing concern over the pollution of our environment.

It appeared that we had emerged from a period of intense concern with Vietnam--a period when that was the only issue on which political candidates were to be judged--to a period when we, as a Nation seemingly buried our heads in the sand and became reluctant to admit its existence. We entered a period when we hesitated to look at the continuing problem which is Vietnam, let alone the larger problem of our involvement in the whole Indochina area--and to look at that involvement critically.

We avoided making such an examination despite the fact that this problem was and is, in reality still the principal affliction infecting our society. It is the problem which so limited our capability to solve the many other problems with which we wrestle--whether it be inflation, pollution, housing, the draft, more adequate funding of education and health, or the whole list of bread and butter issues which we now place so high on the agenda. For if it were not for this tragic war I am certain our Nation would not be so racked by inflation, or torn by the postal strike, or by campus unrest, and violence.

Therefore, I believe the time was overdue that we refocus our attention--that we re-examine the problem, which is Vietnam. It will not go away through wishful thinking. It will not disappear because we refuse to admit its continuing presence and its destructive influence on our efforts to deal with the other problems, national and international, which beset us.

I can understand the desire of most Americans to push this unhappy subject from their minds. I can appreciate their reluctance to let it intrude on their thoughts. It is unpleasant to hear of massacres such as has occurred at My Lai. It is unpleasant to talk of American war crimes. It is a most unpleasant task to bring criminal charges against American soldiers, who under the stresses of combat, commit acts which no civilized people can tolerate or ignore.

Nor is it a joy to watch the latest shenanigans of Thieu or Ky, or to look at the continuing corruption and black marketing, which are the facts of life in Saigon and elsewhere in South Vietnam.

Distasteful as it may be, Vietnam remains a problem that must be discussed and dealt with if it is ever to end.

It would seem that the conflict raging in Southeast Asia is now entering a new and perhaps critical phase. With the change of government in Cambodia, the recent Pathet Lao successes in Laos, and Thai involvement beyond its borders, the broader nature of this conflict once more becomes evident.

The whole question of our increased involvement in these areas which these recent events raise, directs our attention to what should be the lessons of Vietnam. I believe it would serve us well to take a good look at them.

This war has, to date, cost our Nation the lives of some 49,000 of our finest young men. Since November 3rd, when our President assured us of our diminishing involvement, we have lost some 2,800 young Americans. And the grim toll continues to mount by more than 100 each week. This climbing death toll is a tragedy fully appreciated only by those loved ones who bear the primary burden.

We must add to this total the more than 270,000 Americans who have been wounded in battle--more than half of whom were wounded seriously enough to require hospital care. And of these numbers, I know many are horribly scarred and mangled.

A new dimension has been added to this problem of the wounded. Because of the helicopter and the advances of medical science many of the more seriously wounded survive than was the case in previous wars. Men who would formerly have died on the field of battle are now living--though some exist as virtual vegetables.

Such has not always been the case. In my own situation, I remember well that day in WW II when I was wounded about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. It was 9 o'clock in the evening, six hours later, that I reached a forward aid station, and 1 a.m. by the time I got to a field hospital. Today, that time lag has been cut to less than an hour in most cases. The result has not only been a reduction in loss of life, but also a rapid increase in the number of permanently disabled who now flood our veterans hospitals, invalids whom we are not caring for with adequate funds, facilities, and programs.

This war has also brought forth a new breed of Americans--Americans bitter with their government--Americans without faith in our institutions or our leaders.

And our cost in this conflict is, of course, not a measure of the war's total cost. We must add the more than 100,000 South Vietnamese who have died to date. We must also add the nearly 4,000 dead among our other allies which have been fighting there.

This war's cost must also be measured in the number of enemy dead, which are estimated at more than 600,000, in addition to the uncounted wounded.

We must add further the awesome cost of the damage wrought on the Vietnamese countryside by the use of modern weapons of conflict. This includes the destruction of plant and animal life causing a change in the ecology of the land, which may endure for many years.

The cost of warfare is fantastic. World wide military expenditures now total \$200 billion a year. These are increasing at a 7 percent rate with no limit in sight. This is more than three times the rate of increase in the value of our gross world product. Meanwhile education and health expenditures remain not only far less but are showing no per capita increases. Today, the nations of this earth spend an average of \$7,800 per year for each man in military uniform while spending an average of \$100 per year for each child of school age.

As we bear these awesome burdens of war, and witness our many other pressing, but as yet unmet needs, we must ask ourselves--why don't we stop? Why don't we bring this Vietnam war to an end?

It is to this question that I wish to address myself today.

We had taken an important step towards ending this war. We had publicly and officially concluded that this war could not be won militarily.

While this was a significant move, I regret that the steps we have taken subsequent to this declaration have not been consistent with that conclusion. Our actions have not demonstrated acceptance of that fact. We still speak blithely of Vietnamization of the war--of a military victory for the Saigon government.

As long as we pace our withdrawal to the take-over of our share of the fighting by the forces of Thieu and Ky and to the level of military activity of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces, we will be unable to end our involvement in Vietnam. We can be forced to retain our military presence. We will not be the master of our own forces nor of our destiny in Southeast Asia.

The one essential step which we must take to bring this war to an end is to admit to ourselves--and to the world--that we made a tragic mistake. We must acknowledge that the Vietnam war has been a failure.

This is a difficult admission to make--especially when we remind ourselves of the enormity of this war's cost. Few want to admit error in judgment--and even fewer, when it involves a cost of nearly 50,000 American lives.

It is difficult to face up to the charge that these men's lives may have been wasted. And so we continually struggle to come up with a justification for continuing this war. We walk a tight rope of uncertainty.

We say we will withdraw our American troops--but there is no time table. The grand justification for our continuing presence--the Vietnamization of the war--means merely we will substitute to the maximum extent possible, Americans killing and being killed by Asians, with Asians killing Asians.

The success of Vietnamization demands the military success of the government in Saigon and the defeat of the Communist forces. To achieve this success will require the continued presence and involvement of American troops in unknown numbers.

There was a time when nearly all Americans supported the Vietnam war. On the important Tonkin Gulf Resolution only two Senators voted in opposition. Our most vocal doves of more recent years were not in that number. And neither, I must say, was Senator Daniel K. Inouye.

Looking back, I was convinced that there was legal and technical justification for our involvement in Vietnam. There were our treaty obligations under SEATO and other agreements. There were the reports of inhumane killing and slaughter of South Vietnamese civilians by the Vietcong. There were the reports of some 8,000 political assassinations by the end of 1964.

As a lawyer, I believed I could make a strong case. Agreements had been broken. People seeking freedom from Communist tyranny were requesting our help. Women and children were being killed.

Yes, one can agree that there was justification--but events have clearly demonstrated there was at the same time an error of judgment--an error of judgment which has involved four American Presidents as well as the lives of almost 50,000 Americans.

The justification for our involvement in Vietnam assumed our ability to win the war and, thereby, gain the peace, and rebuild a nation--a nation at peace with itself, and the world.

Not only have we been unable to "win the war", but we now find our actions almost indistinguishable from those of the enemy. We develop Operation Phoenix--employing mercenaries to torture, assassinate, and murder members of the Vietcong infrastructure. The ends now justify our means. We have adopted those tactics which we self-righteously condemned a few years ago.

We employed instruments of war we deemed too horrible for use in European battlefields. We have used chemical agents, defoliants and tear gas. We have employed tear gas not as a non-lethal weapon to avoid the killing of non-combatants, but as an agent to drive the enemy from his lair so we can gun him down.

Yes, we entered Vietnam as friends. We embraced the people of South Vietnam as brothers and sisters. An untold number of Americans made the welfare and the freedom of these Vietnamese people their personal cause. We tried to heal the bodies of the sick and the injured. We tried to educate the children and help the farmers increase the food supply. In so many ways our cause was certainly humanitarian and moral.

But as we increased our presence, and as the conflict became increasingly an American war, we found a change taking place. The Vietnamese, whether friendly, neutral, or unfriendly, became "gooks". Our soldiers viewed them increasingly with contempt and suspicion. Some came to consider them all as enemies in their inability to distinguish friend from foe in the kind of guerilla war we were fighting. "The only good 'gook' is a dead one," became their philosophy.

And so now we have My Lai. We have American soldiers and officers charged with the murder of women and children. And we have American generals charged with trying to keep these tragic incidents from becoming more widely known, and the perpetrators from being punished.

We established a price list for the accidental killing of Vietnamese in non-combat accidents. For instance our military trucks careening through narrow village streets, have killed many Vietnamese natives. The relatives of accidental victims of our unconcern can collect from Uncle Sam, \$318 for a year old child. \$201.95 for a ten year old. And if the son or daughter is at the threshold of their majority the family gets just over \$30 whereas we may pay as much as \$100 for a water buffalo, and 400 times his daily wage to the surviving wife of a wage earner who loses his life through an American's misadventure. In 1969 we paid out a total of \$1,231,920.16 in claims to the South Vietnamese. Is this our **war reparation**?

I was deeply saddened by what happened at My Lai--but I was not surprised. When men are trained to hate and to kill with proficiency, and when they reach the frame of mind where those whom they have come to help are called "gooks", and when we place impersonal price tags on human beings, we should expect My Lais to occur. When war reaches such a stage it is time we called a halt. There can no longer be any justification for the war's continuation. Nor can any legal argument be considered a sufficient reason for continuing the fighting and killing.

Almost all our leaders have admitted that there is no military solution to this conflict---that it must be resolved politically.

I know it is the prayer of every American that the new course, upon which the President has now embarked our Nation in Indochina is a correct one. This is a prayer which I share deeply and fully. As a member of the United States Senate and as an American citizen, I want very much to support my President, particularly on an issue of such magnitude, in these trying times.

But if the experience of this past decade has within it any lessons--particularly for the Congress-- for those of us who are fixed with some direct responsibility for the conduct

of our nation's foreign policy--then we must recognize and act on that higher responsibility to our Nation's welfare. This is too important a matter to leave to those who demonstrate in the streets. We cannot abdicate our responsibility.

I, therefore, cannot support the President's decision to widen the war. I deplore the President's decision to launch an American attack into Cambodia, I regret and disagree with his decision to send materiel to the troops of Lon Nol. This decision makes a sham of our policy of Vietnamization--of our policy to disengage and withdraw troops from Vietnam. It destroys our hopes for reduced draft calls. And worst of all it adds as yet untold numbers to the more than 49,000 young Americans who have died to date in this longest war in our history.

The President's words and actions must make us doubt our ability to learn from the past. These are the same arguments which were summoned forth in sending advisors to South Vietnam a decade ago. These are but a repetition of what we heard when advisors became combat divisions. It is but a reiteration of the voices which were raised in justification of the bombing of North Vietnam. Must each American President learn anew from the experience of his own Administration?

Our President's message of April 30th indicates that this may be so. With this message he opened another and even more dangerous chapter in the tragedy of our involvement in Indochina. History shows that this involvement came in a three step phase. First, American advisors were sent to assist the South Vietnamese. Second, with the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, our President requested of the Senate the authority to deploy American combat troops into Vietnam. Third, was the bombing of North Vietnam. The war escalated and still there was no victory in sight, and President Johnson then moved to de-escalate the war.

And now, President Nixon has opened a new phase of this tragedy by announcing this expansion of the conflict, and our involvement in it to Cambodian soil.

With this announcement, our President presented us with a fait accompli. It was made without prior consultation with the Senate, much less its approval. In fact, only a few days ago while plans were being made to send our troops into Cambodia and men were dispatched on this mission, our Secretary of State sat before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and assured them the Administration had no plans to become embroiled in the Cambodian conflagration.

By his act President Nixon has now renounced his own statement of policy and purpose of last November. This is no longer a war to be curtailed, contained or settled politically. This is now once again a war for military victory.

The President justifies his action as necessary to prevent the defeat and humiliation of our great nation. Frankly, what is so wrong with a great people swallowing some pride and admitting mistake? What is the test to true greatness? Is it to continue and expand a bankrupt policy? I think not. I pray not.



Can we possibly achieve peace by insisting that Hanoi, and China, and the Soviet Union, must acknowledge defeat and admit humiliation? I think not.

If we are to be true to ourselves--to our highest ideals--we must be big enough to place the peace of the world and the saving of human life above saving face. We must be willing to admit error and so adjust our policy. For neither our conscience nor the conscience of mankind will permit us to use our awesome weapons of war which will be essential if we insist on military victory and expand this conflict to that end.

Yes, a political solution will require that we swallow some pride--that we even lose some face. Difficult as that may be for the United States, I believe it will be essential and we must face up to the unpleasant task.

By so doing we can close an unfortunate chapter in our history. We can ring down the curtain on the Vietnam War, and do so a little stronger for the lessons we have learned.

It is not our will or our courage which is being tested. It is our judgement.

If we truly learn our lesson from this tragic experience and apply it as a guide for future action, then we can say our nation's sons have not died in vain. Their sons and younger brothers, and your sons and mine, may be saved because of their suffering and sacrifice.

To learn our lesson we must look to the origins of our Vietnam involvement. How did this come about?

It grew out of a period in our history when out of our fear of Communism and fear of being called "soft on communism", we went to the aid of every self-proclaimed anti-communist on the face of the globe. It grew out of the McCarthy era. It was part of the fall-out from charges of a China sell-out, and the public condemnation of a great American patriot, General George Marshall.

Vietnam grew out of an oppressive atmosphere which produced a Title II as part of our Internal Security Act authorizing the establishment of American concentration camps. It grew out of times which approved the destruction of an Oppenheimer for his views and friendship.

Vietnam grew out of a post World War II period in which we held unchallenged military supremacy in the air, at sea, and in nuclear power. It grew out of the mistaken belief that such power provided an adequate response to "wars of liberation".

Vietnam grew out of an almost religious fervor to fight monolithic communism wherever and whenever we sensed its presence.

Vietnam grew out of an American public opinion which encouraged our intervention at any time and place whenever a leader of a foreign government found himself insecure in his seat of power and could "con" us into the belief that the only alternative to coming to his rescue was a communist takeover and, therefore, a threat to our national security.

Having described the conditions which led to Vietnam, what then are the lessons? I believe there are several.

Vietnam should teach us to be very cautious in making commitments less we be "conned" into offering our men and our treasure to scoundrels who proudly proclaim "send me help and I will fight the communists for you." Some of these now live in fancy European villas and have fat Swiss bank accounts. We must be very selective when and where

we involve our nation. Every currently non-communist part of the world is not necessarily vital to our security.

Vietnam should teach us that we must, whenever we have the opportunity, decide in favor of people and not tyrants.

Vietnam should teach us that though we may have superior weapons and military hardware, conscience will not permit, or circumstances may prevent, their use. Our possession of this vast arsenal may encourage our engagement in circumstances where it is of no value. Therefore, weak countries may be able to nip with relative immunity at the heels of the mighty.

Vietnam should teach us that it is very easy to get embroiled on a very limited scale in conflicts where the pay-off may look good, but which have a capacity to spread, dragging us in ever deeper in a futile effort to salvage our investment.

Vietnam should teach us a greater realism of our limited ability to effect change in the social, economic, and political order of a nation or a people, as well as the possibly disastrous effects of such misdirected efforts on ourselves as a people, and as a nation.

These then are some of the lessons which must be clearly kept in mind as we look to the future in Cambodia, in Laos, and in Thailand. Our involvement now may be quite limited. The pay-off may look good. But the dangers are also great. It is much easier to get in than to get out.

Despite the Nixon Doctrine--or doctrines--which have now been enunciated, our future course in Southeast Asia is far from clear. It is certainly not clear to Hanoi and Peiping. How could it be when it is unclear to us?

It can only be clarified if we go beyond Vietnamization. We must, therefore, take additional steps.

The first of these is, as I have said, to acknowledge failure for our Vietnam policy. We must admit error in judgement. Neither we, nor the governments we support, can militarily win the war in Indochina. We must make clear that we seek a political settlement.

Second, we should propose an immediate and complete cease fire without terminal date. To secure such a cease fire, we should, if necessary, be prepared to unilaterally halt all offensive operations and limit our forces and those under our control to purely defensive roles. Negotiations with an enemy is always a difficult process; but, it is more difficult while the fighting rages, than after it has been halted.

The talks in Paris are getting no place. There is no sign of progress. But Vietnam is not isolated from the larger problem of Southeast Asia--from the problems of Cambodia and Laos.

We should therefore call for a conference on the over-all problems of this area known as Indochina. This should be an Asian conference, and not a European conference trying to impose European solutions on Asian problems.

It is time that we and other western powers realize that these Asians are no longer wards of western colonial powers. We should recognize not only their weaknesses, but also their apparent strengths--the desire, capacity and ability to govern themselves.

We should make it crystal clear that we will abide with the outcome of these political negotiations. Accordingly, we must forthrightly face the possibility of an Indochina in the sphere of influence of Hanoi.

It is true that such a policy is not without risks. But neither is the current policy--a policy with no end in sight after nearly a decade of fighting.

Throughout most of my years in public life, I have wrestled in my own mind and conscience with this problem. I have joined Presidents and Bishops, as well as military men, in support of some of our actions. I hope that **I have learned--that** we have all learned--from this tragic experience. I hope that we as individuals have learned more humility--and also that we have learned some humility as a nation.

This knowledge will serve us and mankind well in the years ahead.

FOR RELEASE

SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

JUL 3 1970

A.M. P.M.  
7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3 4 5 6

FOURTH OF JULY

As we observe our 194th birthday this month, we find our country torn by dissension and saddened by war. We find legions of men--Senators, Congressmen, professors, students and others--bitterly criticizing their government for the poverty, discrimination and violence they find in our land. We find a promising young lady, the valedictorian of one of our foremost colleges, crying, "I won't be a mother because I refuse to raise a child in this world."

Never has the voice of dissent been so loud, so urgent or so widespread. I, too, have added my voice to this dissent. Over the past few weeks, I have advocated an end to the brutal and tragic war in Vietnam. I have talked of the dangerous use of drugs by our young people. I have commented on the unrest of our youth and pleaded for a new understanding to bridge the gap between generations. I have urged that we search our minds and consciences for new goals to engage the young--goals beyond just making a living and accumulating material goods. I have added my voice against the pockets of hunger, poverty, prejudice, and bigotry which still flourish in our land.

As I have said many times, the dialogue which we find in our country, the confrontation of the young and the "establishment," the dissent sweeping across our country are all healthy. Because without this dialogue, confrontation, and dissent we would have continuity without change and stability without progress.

However, let there be no misunderstanding. While it is true that we have much to be critical of, I do not wish to join those who predict only doom. On our 194th birthday, let me try to balance the books a little because even with all its ills and shortcomings, this is my country. And my country is a good and great one.

I am proud to live in a land which freely gives us the opportunity to speak out and criticize the government. The author of our Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jeferson once said: "The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it to be always kept alive. It will often be exercised when wrong, but better so than not to be exercised at all."

I am proud to live in a land which allows us to advocate change--change which at times may be radical or even revolutionary.

I am proud to live in a land which does not burn books, but, instead permits us to read all books, even if the prose by ugly, vile, and profane.

I am proud to live in a land which provides free public education to all those with the capacity and ability to learn.

I am proud to live in a land in which, for the first time in history, one-half of our young people are going on to higher education.

I am proud to live in a land which has not foresaken its elder citizens, but which provides them with medical and hospital care in their autumn years.

I am proud to live in a land which is trying to eradicate from its midst poverty and hunger and the age old curse of bigotry and discrimination.

I am proud to live in a land where the people are free to elect representatives to serve them in their councils of government.

I am proud to live in a land where every person, including the criminal, has his rights protected in the courts--where the phrase "due process of law" is a meaningful and living phrase.

I am proud to live in a land where one may pray as he chooses to his god or gods or not worship at all.

I am proud to live in a land where the promise of success and advancement is real.

I am proud to live in a land which produced men like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John F. Kennedy, and Martin Luther King.

Ours is not a sick nation. It is an aggressive nation confronting its problems--striving to eradicate the pockets of poverty which dot our countryside, striving to destroy the remnants of racism which pollute our society, striving to rectify the inequities in the system.

Yes, on this birthday, there are many things for which we can be thankful. But we must always remember that many of the good things which we take for granted today have taken many, many years and decades of evolution and revolution with their attendant frustrations before reaching their present state. America is a good land. It should not be destroyed, it should rather be assisted.

FOR RELEASE JULY 3rd, 1970

SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

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25 June 1970

Mr. Tetsuo Toyama, Advisor  
Citizens Study Club of Oahu  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Toyama:

I sincerely regret that I am unable to join with you and the outstanding members of your organization in commemorating the 18th Anniversary of the Walter-McCarran Act.

The Citizens Study Club of Oahu has been instrumental in the idealization and perpetuation of the highest principles of citizenship. I am aware of the meaningful service being performed by individual members of the club, without fanfare and public recognition. I would therefore like, on this occasion, to express to you and your members my admiration and appreciation of your contributions in this area. Your continued participation will also aid us in our quest for better legislation by the Congress of the United States.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



1 June 1970

Mr. Francis Gota  
c/o Hawaii Dept. of Regulatory Agencies  
Hilo, Hawaii 96720

Dear Mr. Gota:

I regret sincerely my participation in the graduation exercises of various island high schools precludes my attendance at the testimonial for Dr. Francis Wong.

However, I would like to join all of the friends and admirers of Dr. Wong in expressing to him my personal appreciation for his invaluable and selfless contribution to the Hawaii community, particularly in nurturing the aspirations and hopes of the young people of our community.

Please extend my best wishes and warmest aloha to Dr. Wong.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

2 June 1970

Mr. Ah Kee Leong, Commander  
Disabled American Veterans  
Department of Hawaii, Inc.  
P. O. Box 1794  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96806

Dear Mr. Leong:

Your kind invitation to attend the 19th Annual State Convention Banquet of the Disabled American Veterans was most appreciated. It is, indeed, with deep regret that I must advise you that business in Washington will deny me the pleasure of joining you on that night.

In my absence, please honor me by reading the message I am enclosing to my many friends. Thank you.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh  
Enclosure

2 June 1970

Mr. Joseph A. Beirne  
President, Communications Workers  
of America  
c/o Sheraton-Gibson Hotel  
421 Walnut Street  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201

Dear Mr. Beirne:

Thank you very much for your recent letter advising  
me of the forthcoming CWA's Annual Convention.

I am delighted to enclose a message for the con-  
vention. The Communications Workers of America has always  
been a special organization.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh  
Enclosure

2 June 1970

Dear Friends:

It is a pleasure to extend greetings to you on the occasion of your 34th Annual Convention.

The Communications Workers of America has always been a very special organization. In today's age of the media, the work you do for the American people is invaluable, your service impeccable.

At this time, please accept my warmest regards.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

# COPY

13 March 1970

Mrs. Katsuki Miyajima and Family  
150 Rosebank Place  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

Dear Mrs. Miyajima:

I wish to express in words which are never adequate my heartfelt condolences on the passing of your beloved husband. I hope the remembrances of things past will sustain you and your family in some small measure during this period of sorrow.

Please feel free to call on me if I can be of any service to you and yours.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# International Facsimile Telegram Via Sending Blank

FOR ITT USE ONLY

PLEASE INSERT YOUR ITT IDENT.

UI

XDS

Date Mar. 4, 1970

Sender

To be billed

Senator Daniel K. Inouye

Via ETAT

Insert "ITT"

To Honorable James K. Clark  
c/o Ted Akana  
Ilikai Pacific Ballroom  
Ilikai Hotel  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Official Message

I want to wish you the very best on the occasion of this  
dinner in your honor. You have done much for HGEA, for our  
Democratic party, and for the people of Hawaii in your capacity  
as a state legislator. Congratulations are indeed in order.

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

Type or write within the border

All messages are accepted subject to rates, rules and regulations in the applicable tariffs on file with the Federal Communications Commission  
Full rate unless LT specified

ITT World Communications Inc. subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation

# International Facsimile Telegram Via ITT Sending Blank

FOR ITT USE ONLY			PLEASE INSERT YOUR ITT IDENT.		Date Feb. 26, 1970
	UI		XDS		

Sender

To be billed Senator Daniel K. Inouye

▶ **Via** ETAT

To Police Chief Francis Keala  
c/o Lt. Ronald Ing  
Honolulu Police Dept.  
1455 S. Beretania St.  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Insert "ITT"

**OFFICIAL MESSAGE**

Dear Francis:

I wish to take this opportunity to extend to you my warm congratulations on your appointment as Chief of Police for Honolulu. While this appointment is a recognition of your outstanding character and demonstrated capacity to handle the

Type or write within the border

continued

All messages are accepted subject to rates, rules and regulations in the applicable tariffs on file with the Federal Communications Commission  
Full rate unless LT specified

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	UI		XDS		

Sender

To be billed Senator Daniel K. Inouye

▶ **Via** ETAT

To Police Chief Francis Keala  
c/o Lt. Ronald Ing  
Page 2

Insert "ITT"

**OFFICIAL MESSAGE**

job, it is also a source of satisfaction to all of us who have a deep interest in the effective functioning of the Police Department of our City and County. I have the utmost confidence in you and take this opportunity to wish you well.

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

Type or write within the border

All messages are accepted subject to rates, rules and regulations in the applicable tariffs on file with the Federal Communications Commission  
Full rate unless LT specified

ITT World Communications Inc. subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation

# COPY

16 February 1970

Mr. Akira Fujimoto  
Manager-Engineer  
Department of Water Supply  
County of Hawaii  
Hilo, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Fujimoto:

The ground breaking ceremony for the Waimea Treatment Plant marks another step of progress for the County of Hawaii. The project is a testament to the leadership and energy of your Mayor and the executive and legislative officials of the County of Hawaii, with particular credit to you as the manager-engineer of the Department of Water Supply.

Please extend to my good friends, Mayor Kimura and the legislative and executive department officials, my personal best wishes for continued success and progress in the best interests of the people of the County of Hawaii.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



# COPY

23 JANUARY 1970

MR. HAROLD YAMANAKA, CHAIRMAN  
25TH MOILIILI COMMUNITY CENTER ANNIVERSARY  
2535 SOUTH KING STREET  
HONOLULU, HAWAII

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN, PRESIDENT JOE OUCHI AND OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE MOILIILI COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION: I REGRET SINCERELY THAT MY DUTIES IN WASHINGTON PREVENT ME FROM ATTENDING THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MOILIILI COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION.

I AM PARTICULARLY CHAGRINED BECAUSE I LOOK TO MOILIILI WITH FOND REMEMBRANCES OF MY DAYS OF YOUTH.

I ALWAYS POINT WITH PRIDE TO THE SELFLESS COMMUNITY LEADERS WHO HAVE MOLDED AND CONTINUE TO MOLD YOUNG MINDS AND HEARTS TO PRODUCTIVE ADULTHOOD. I HARBOUR A SENSE OF GRATITUDE WHICH I FEEL THIS WRITTEN MESSAGE CANNOT ADEQUATELY CONVEY TO ALL OF YOU CELEBRATING YEARS OF SERVICE TO OUR COMMUNITY.

AS A PRODUCT OF THE HARD WORK AND DEDICATION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION, I EXTEND TO YOU MY HEARTFELT THANKS AND APPRECIATION. I KNOW I EXPRESS THE COLLECTIVE THOUGHTS OF ALL OF THE BENEFICIARIES OF YOUR GUIDANCE AND HELP. I ONLY REGRET THAT I CANNOT BE THERE TO THANK EACH OF YOU PERSONALLY.

WARMEST ALOHA.

SINCERELY,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
UNITED STATES SENATOR

# COPY

14 February 1970

Dr. Satoru Izutsu, Chairman  
Dinner in Honor of Masatoshi Katagiri  
Kahala Hilton Hotel  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Dr. Izutsu:

Due to my duties in Washington, I sincerely regret that I am unable to join with you in paying tribute to my good friend, Masa Katagiri. I am proud to note that a long relationship has existed between Masa and our family starting from my parents and continuing with my youngest brother Bob, a member of Continental Insurance.

The community of Hawaii has had the good fortune of enjoying the guidance, influence and energy of Masa during his active business life. I know retirement from Continental Insurance will not diminish in any measure his interest in the welfare and activities of our local and national community.

Please express to Masa my appreciation of his selfless contribution to our society and my personal best wishes for continued success and happiness in his future endeavors.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

MEMO FROM

BOB INOUE

*Q Surprise Party*

Table No.

0

DINNER IN HONOR OF  
MASATOSHI KATAGIRI

on his retirement from

Continental Insurance Agency of Hawaii, Ltd.

Sponsored by Friends of Masa

Dr. Satoru Izutsu, chairman

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1970

KAHALA HILTON HOTEL - WAIALAE ROOM

6:30 p.m.—No host cocktail

7:30 p.m.—Dinner

Cost: \$15 per person

Dress: Business Suit

EDNA, CAN YOU HAVE DAN SIGN SOMETHING LIKE THIS. PLEASE GIVE TO ME/ WHEN PAU.

DR. SATORU IZUTSU *1301 Kamehameha St.*

Please extend my best regards to Masa Katagiri at his surprise dinner being given by his friends upon his retirement from Continental Insurance Agency.

*Masa Katagiri*  
Due to my duties in the Senate, ~~I am~~ *unfortunately, I sincerely regret that I* unable to join with you in tribute to a good friend. ~~May I note that a long relationship has existed between Masa and the Inouye family starting from my Parents and now ending with my youngest brother, a member of Continental Insurance.~~ *paying*

*Continental*  
~~Again my Aloha to Masa.~~ *don't forget to*

*The community of Hawaii has had the good fortune of enjoying the guidance, influence & energy of Masa during his active business life. I know retirement from the insurance field will not diminish his interest in the welfare & activities of the local & national community.*

*Please express to Masa my personal appreciation of his selfless contribution to our society, & my personal best wishes for continued success & happiness in his future endeavors.*

*Warm aloha*

*Satoru*

*1970  
4/1*

# COPY

19 January 1970

Mr. Robert Sasaki  
c/o Mr. Stan Himeno  
3149 Nimitz Highway  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96819

Dear Bob:

I wish to extend my personal best wishes to you as you embark on your new endeavor as vice chairman of the board of Crown Corporation.

I remember with pleasure your valuable contribution to the growth of Bank of Hawaii. I remember with greater pleasure your unequivocal stance as a senior officer of the bank in support of my 1962 United States Senatorial campaign openly and with conviction. Your demonstration of forthright courage in not "playing it safe" will always be appreciated and savoured.

Maggie and I wish you continued success in aiding the growth and fortunes of a Hawaii corporation with your demonstrated vision and vitality.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# COPY

21 January 1970

Mrs. Nyladean Kawaihani Szabad  
301 Dogwood Road  
Oceanside, California 92054

Dear Mrs. Szabad:

I wish to extend my sincerest personal contratulations to you as President of the Staff NCO Wives Club at Camp Pendleton, California.

I know that you will extend the spirit of Aloha of the State of Hawaii to your organization. I note with great pleasure that you are taking an active part with the other wives of our fighting men in working for a more fruitful life while in the service of our Nation.

Please extend to the officers and members of the Staff NCO Wives Club, and of course, to their proud husbands, my sincerest best wishes for success in their every undertaking.

Warmest Aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

13 January 1970

The Honorable Elmer F. Cravalho  
Mayor, County of Maui  
Wailuku, Maui, Hawaii 96793

Dear Elmer:

I wish to extend to you my personal and warmest aloha at your testimonial sponsored by the Young Democrats.

I believe that any emulation of your accomplishments by the Young Democrats of Maui in all fields of your endeavor will be a step in the right direction.

Please accept my best wishes for continued success in the years to come.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

DANIEL K. INOUE  
HAWAII

STATE OFFICE:  
CAPITAL INVESTMENT BLDG.  
HONOLULU, HAWAII  
MORIO OMORI  
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Morio,

The Young Democrats on Maui are honoring Mayor Elmer Cravalho at a testimonial dinner on Friday, January 23. This even is a profit-making project for the YD's. I don't know if it's worth the time to send a message from Dan but just in case you think it should be done, send one to me ~~in~~ before Friday.

*Jimmy*

17 December 1969

Mr. Akira Fujimoto  
Manager-Engineer  
Department of Water Supply  
County of Hawaii  
Hilo, Hawaii

Dear Mr. Fujimoto:

Please extend my best wishes and congratulations to the officers and staff of the County of Hawaii, and particularly the Department of Water Supply, County of Hawaii, at the groundbreaking ceremonies for the Kalapana Water System.

This is another advance in the development of the resources of the County of Hawaii. I wish to join the citizens of Hawaii in expressing my hopes for a successful completion of this worthwhile project.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



M E S S A G E

As the holiday season approaches, we must reflect upon the year past. Viet Nam is still an unsolved dilemma. Europe and Asia are still in the throes of social and economic development. The domestic problems in the United States are manifold. The cry of the minorities, student unrest and the plight of the poor and emerging population still plague our conscience. The woes of inflation, tight money and tax reform must still be overcome.

Yet, upon sober reflection, we must recognize that there will never be a world without problems. Life itself and its interaction among people create problems. The success of life is measured by success in recognizing and overcoming these problems. During this holiday season we should take time to reflect upon the joys of living in these times, recount where we have been in our journey through life and resolve to move forward and meet the many more challenges before us. I join you again in counting the blessings of life we enjoy in Hawaii and extend to you my best wishes for a happy holiday season.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

## MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX?

VIETNAM, SAFEGUARD SYSTEM, SEATO, NATO,  
NORTH KOREA, THAILAND...THESE WORDS APPEAR  
IN OUR NEWSPAPERS; THEY ARE HEARD OVER RADIO  
AND TELEVISION; THEY CONSTANTLY POP UP IN OUR  
DAILY CONVERSATION. THEY ECHO HAUNTINGLY IN  
THE CHAMBERS OF OUR MINDS UNTIL WE WANT TO  
YELL "STOP".

YES, I AM AFRAID THE PATIENCE OF THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE HAS BEEN TRIED. I, TOO,  
SHARE THEIR IMPATIENCE WITH THE SEEMINGLY  
ENDLESS NUMBER OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENTS IN  
WHICH WE FIND

WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES, THE GIGANTIC  
MILITARY PROJECTS IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED, AND  
THE HUGE DEFENSE SPENDINGS WHICH DEVOUR OUR  
NATIONAL BUDGET. I, TOO, WOULD LIKE TO SEE  
AN END TO OUR HIGH DEFENSE EXPENDITURES.  
HOWEVER, REASON COMPELS ME TO SUGGEST THAT  
WE SPEND A FEW MOMENTS TO CALMLY AND RATIONALLY  
ANALYZE THE REASONS FOR OUR ENORMOUS OUTLAYS  
FOR OUR MILITARY DEFENSE.

I WAS ENCOURAGED TO SEE THAT PRESIDENT  
NIXON'S DECISION TO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY AN \$8  
BILLION ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM HAS  
PRODUCED A MOST IMPORTANT SPINOFF EFFECT OF  
INCREASING OUR SCRUTINY

INCREASING OUR SCRUTINY OF OUR \$80 BILLION  
MILITARY BUDGET AND STIMULATING CONGRESSIONAL  
DEBATE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STRENGTH  
OF THE "MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX" AND HIGH  
MILITARY DEFENSE SPENDINGS. THIS DEBATE IS  
HEALTHY. IT IS GOOD AND NECESSARY.

THIS DEBATE HAS SUCCESSFULLY TRIGGERED  
PUBLIC ATTENTION ON THE PROBLEM AND STIMULATED  
GENUINE AND WIDESPREAD DISCUSSION ON THE  
SUBJECT. EVERYDAY LETTERS POUR INTO MY OFFICE  
IMPLORING CONGRESS TO TRIM THE DEFENSE BUDGET  
DOWN TO THE NICE ROUND FIGURE OF \$50 BILLION  
OR TO REDUCE IT BY 20 PERCENT.

I HAVE NOW

I HAVE NOW BEEN A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FOR TEN YEARS. AND LIKE EVERY MEMBER, I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED WITH THE HEAVY EXPENDITURES WE MAKE EACH YEAR TO SUPPORT OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

IT IS, HOWEVER, FROM MY ASSOCIATION WITH THE PROBLEM AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE THAT I HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT PEOPLE HAVE BEEN THROWING STONES AT THE WRONG TARGET. TO REDIRECT THE ATTACK TO WHAT I CONSIDER THE SALIENT POINT AT ISSUE HERE, LET ME SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE FOUR IMPORTANT STEPS INVOLVED IN THE DETERMINATION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. THE NATION, AS A WHOLE, AND CONGRESS, IN PARTICULAR, HAVE DEBATED RATHER EXTENSIVELY THE LAST STEP BUT VERY SELDOM THE FIRST THREE.

LET ME SHARE WITH YOU THE FOUR STEPS INVOLVED IN ARRIVING AT OUR LEVEL OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. DISCUSSION OF THE STEPS WILL ASSIST US IN ANALYSING THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS INVOLVED HERE.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE FIRST STEP IN THE PROCESS IS THE INITIAL DETERMINATION OF OUR COMMITMENTS ABROAD. OUR MILITARY EXPENDITURES ARE, AFTER ALL, DESIGNED TO SATISFY THE OBLIGATIONS WE

THE OBLIGATIONS WE HAVE INCURRED AS A  
RESULT OF OUR FOREIGN COMMITMENTS.

OVER THE YEARS WE HAVE ENTERED INTO  
EIGHT BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DEFENSE  
AGREEMENTS WITH 42 FOREIGN COUNTRIES. WE  
ARE AT THIS MOMENT COMMITTED BY TREATY TO  
COME TO THE DEFENSE OF EACH OF THE FOLLOWING  
COUNTRIES IN THE EVENT OF AN ARMED ATTACK.

ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1947, WE ENTERED THE  
RIO TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO THE AID OF  
MEXICO, HAITI, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, HONDURAS,  
GUATEMALA, EL SALVADOR, NICARAGUA, COSTA  
RICA, PANAMA, COLOMBIA, VENEZUELA, ECUADOR,  
PERU, BRAZIL,

PERU, BRAZIL, BOLIVIA, PARAGUAY, CHILE,  
ARGENTINA, URUGUAY, TRINIDAD, AND TOBAGO.

ON APRIL 4, 1949, WE ENTERED THE  
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO  
THE AID OF CANADA, ICELAND, NORWAY, UNITED  
KINGDOM, NETHERLANDS, DENMARK, BELGIUM,  
LUXEMBOURG, PORTUGAL, FRANCE, ITALY, GREECE,  
TURKEY, AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

ON AUGUST 30, 1951, WE ENTERED THE  
PHILIPPINE TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO THE  
AID OF THE PHILIPPINES.

ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1951, WE ENTERED THE  
ANZUS TREATY AND



ANZUS TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO THE AID  
OF NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA.

ON OCTOBER 1, 1953, WE ENTERED THE  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA TREATY AND AGREED TO  
COME TO THE AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1954, WE ENTERED THE  
SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO  
THE AID OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE, NEW  
ZEALAND, AUSTRALIA, PHILIPPINES, THAILAND,  
AND PAKISTAN.

ON DECEMBER 2, 1954, WE ENTERED THE  
REPUBLIC OF CHINA TREATY AND AGREED TO COME  
TO THE AID OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

ON JANUARY 19, 1960,

ON JANUARY 19, 1960, WE ENTERED THE  
JAPANESE TREATY AND AGREED TO COME TO THE  
AID OF JAPAN.

THESE COMMITMENTS RESULTED FROM  
NEGOTIATIONS CARRIED OUT BY OUR STATE  
DEPARTMENT, RATIFIED BY THE SENATE, AND  
APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT. THE DEPARTMENT  
OF DEFENSE HAS PLAYED A SECONDARY ROLE IN  
DETERMINING OUR COMMITMENTS ABROAD.

IN YOUR DAILY ACTIVITIES, I AM SURE  
YOU HAVE FOUND THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT STEP  
TAKEN IN ANY VENTURE IS GENERALLY THE FIRST.  
SO IT IS IN THE CASE OF FOREIGN POLICY AND  
NATIONAL COMMITMENTS. THE

NATIONAL COMMITMENTS. THE CRITICAL STEP LIES IN THE INITIATION OF THE COMMITMENT. IT IS, AFTER ALL, OUR COMMITMENTS WHICH, TO A LARGE EXTENT, DETERMINE THE CHARACTER OF OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT--OUR REQUIREMENTS FOR TROOPS, EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES.

IN PROPORTION TO THE MAGNITUDE OF THE STEP, THERE HAS BEEN VERY LITTLE PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL DEBATE ON THIS STEP. THIS IS SURPRISING INASMUCH AS IT IS CERTAINLY CLEAR THAT WE HAVE CROSSED THE RUBICON AS SOON AS THE INK DRIES ON THE TREATY.

HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT THE COST OF

MAKING MILITARY COMMITMENTS

MAKING MILITARY COMMITMENTS IS LOW WHILE  
THE PRICE OF LIVING UP TO THEM CAN BE VERY  
HIGH. WE SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD TO WRITE  
BLANK CHECKS FOR MILITARY COMMITMENTS WITH-  
OUT SERIOUSLY CONSIDERING THE CONSEQUENCES  
OF THE COMMITMENTS--THE SCOPE OF OUR  
INVOLVEMENT.

THE VIETNAM WAR SHOULD HAVE TAUGHT US  
HOW FRIGHTFULLY EASY IT IS TO FIND OURSELVES  
DANGEROUSLY OVERCOMMITTED BY A TREATY UNLESS  
WE HAVE A VERY CLEAR IDEA OF THE NATURE AND  
SCOPE OF OUR COMMITMENT AT THE OUTSET. OUR  
INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM IS A CLASSIC EXAMPLE  
OF OUR DANGEROUS

OF OUR DANGEROUS PRACTICE OF WRITING BLANK  
CHECKS, HOPING THAT THE DAY WILL NEVER COME  
WHEN THE CHECKS WILL BE CASHED FOR AMERICAN  
LIVES AND RESOURCES.

I AM SURE THAT FEW AMERICANS ENVISIONED  
THE DAY WE WOULD SEND TWO MILLION OF OUR  
YOUNG MEN OVERSEAS TO DEFEND SOUTH VIETNAM  
WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SIGNED THE SOUTHEAST  
ASIA TREATY ON SEPTEMBER 8, 1954. FIFTEEN  
YEARS AGO, WHEN OUR FORMER PRESIDENT SIGNED  
THIS DOCUMENT PROMISING THAT THE UNITED STATES  
WOULD RESPOND TO ANY AGRESSION BY ARMED ATTACK  
IN THE TREATY AREA, FEW OF US WOULD HAVE

ANTICIPATED THAT IN

ANTICIPATED THAT IN THE SHORT SPAN OF THE  
LAST FOUR YEARS--FROM 1965 TO 1969--WE WOULD  
HAVE LOST 33,800 MEN IN UNIFORM, OR CARRIED  
216,644 WOUNDED SOLDIERS OFF THE BATTLEFIELDS  
OR SPENT NEARLY \$100 BILLION LIVING UP TO  
THIS COMMITMENT.

THIS LEADS ME TO THE SECOND STEP  
INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS--ARRIVING AT A  
DETERMINATION OF THE KINDS OF CONTINGENCIES  
FOR WHICH WE MUST BE PREPARED IN ORDER TO  
FULFILL OUR TREATY OBLIGATIONS. WE MUST  
KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT KINDS OF CONTINGENCIES  
WE HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR IN THE PACIFIC  
BASIN, IN EUROPE,

BASIN, IN EUROPE, IN SOUTH AMERICA AND IN ASIA. THIS IS A DIFFICULT AND UNPLEASANT MATTER. HOWEVER, THE DIFFICULTY WE EXPERIENCE IN MAKING THIS DETERMINATION IS MATCHED ONLY BY THE DIRE CONSEQUENCES WE FACE AS A NATION IF THE DETERMINATION IS NOT MADE.

THIS VERY IMPORTANT DETERMINATION OF THE CONTINGENCIES FOR WHICH WE MUST HAVE FORCES READY IS MADE BY MILITARY EXPERTS IN THE PENTAGON. I HASTEN TO POINT OUT THAT THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S CONCLUSIONS ON THIS MATTER ARE NO SECRET. THE MOST RECENT

DEFENSE POSTURE STATEMENT

DEFENSE POSTURE STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE  
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE COVERED THIS VERY POINT.  
THIS POSTURE STATEMENT MAINTAINED THAT THE  
UNITED STATES MUST BE PREPARED TO SIMULTANEOUSLY  
FIGHT A LAND WAR IN ASIA, A LAND WAR IN EUROPE  
AND A SMALL WAR IN LATIN AMERICA. THE TRAGEDY  
IS THAT DESPITE THEIR IMPORTANCE, THE DECISIONS  
MADE HERE ARE ACCEPTED WITHOUT MEANINGFUL  
DEBATE. I CERTAINLY DID NOT HEAR ANY LOUD  
DEBATE WHEN THE POSTURE STATEMENT WAS RELEASED.

THE THIRD STEP INVOLVES DETERMINING OUR  
GENERAL DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS TO MEET SPECIFIED  
CONTINGENCIES. AT THIS STAGE, DECISIONS ARE  
MADE RELATIVE TO



MADE RELATIVE TO THE TYPE OF MILITARY  
ESTABLISHMENT REQUIRED TO MEET THESE  
CONTINGENCIES, ESPECIALLY OUR MANPOWER  
REQUIREMENTS.

WE MUST, FOR EXAMPLE, DECIDE HOW  
MANY DIVISIONS ARE REQUIRED TO SATISFY  
EACH OF OUR COMMITMENTS. WILL 20 DIVISIONS  
SATISFY OUR COMMITMENTS IN ASIA? OR 24?  
OR ARE 10 DIVISIONS SUFFICIENT? THESE ARE  
SPECIFIC QUESTIONS WHICH REQUIRE SPECIFIC  
ANSWERS. YET, WE HAVE HAD VERY LITTLE PUBLIC  
OR CONGRESSIONAL DISCUSSION ON THE LEVEL OF  
INPUTS REQUIRED TO SATISFY OUR COMMITMENTS  
TO OUR 42

TO OUR 42 TREATY PARTNERS.

IT IS THE FOURTH STEP WHICH AROUSES HEATED DISCUSSIONS. THIS STEP INVOLVES THE DETERMINATION OF HOW BEST TO EQUIP OUR MEN TO MEET OUR COMMITMENTS. IT IS THIS DISCUSSION OF DETAILS WHICH INCITES THE GREAT DEBATES. THE DEBATES CONCERN SUCH QUESTIONS AS WHETHER WE SHOULD PURCHASE THE TFX OR FIXED WINGED PLANES, OR WHETHER TO USE THE M-14 OR M-16 RIFLE. WHILE THESE ARE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN OUR NATIONAL BUDGET, THEY ARE NOT THE CRITICAL ISSUES. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT GOING THROUGH THE VOLUMINOUS

THROUGH THE VOLUMINOUS \$80 BILLION DOLLAR  
DEFENSE BUDGET AT THIS STAGE IS A STAGGER-  
ING TASK. AT THIS POINT WE ARE NIT-PICKING  
OVER DETAILS AFTER THE MAJOR DECISIONS HAVE  
BEEN MADE.

LET ME SUGGEST THAT WE ALL TOO OFTEN  
CONCERN OURSELVES WITH THE TECHNICAL MILITARY  
QUESTION OF HOW TO MEET OUR COMMITMENT ABROAD  
AND IGNORE THE MUCH LARGER QUESTION OF DECIDING  
WHETHER THE COMMITMENT ITSELF IS VITAL TO OUR  
NATIONAL INTEREST. WE FORGET THAT THE QUESTION  
OF THE KIND OF EQUIPMENT OUR MILITARY NEEDS  
ONLY ARISES BECAUSE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL  
DEFENSE TREATIES HAVE

DEFENSE TREATIES HAVE BEEN SIGNED, BECAUSE  
COMMITMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE, BECAUSE CONTIN-  
GENCIES MUST BE PREPARED FOR.

HOWEVER, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THOSE  
DECISIONS WHICH NECESSITATE HIGH DEFENSE  
COSTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE AT THIS STAGE,  
DEBATE CONTINUES TO FOCUS PRIMARILY ON THIS  
FOURTH STEP.

I AM COMPELLED TO ADD AT THIS POINT  
THAT MOST OF OUR DEFENSE DOLLARS ARE SPENT  
ON "GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES"<sup>and</sup> -THE PLANES, SHIPS,  
AND AIRCRAFT CARRIERS USED IN LIMITED WARS. IT  
IS THIS SECTION OF THE BUDGET WHICH IS MOST  
CLOSELY RELATED TO OUR MILITARY COMMITMENTS  
ABROAD. THE GREATER

ABROAD. THE GREATER THE NUMBER OF OUR COMMITMENTS, THE LARGER OUR BUDGET FOR GENERAL PURPOSE FORCES MUST BE. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE FEWER OUR COMMITMENTS, THE SMALLER OUR BUDGET.

WE MUST REALIZE THAT IT IS TOO LATE AT STEP FOUR TO ATTEMPT TO SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCE THE MILITARY BUDGET. SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES REQUIRE REDUCTIONS AT EACH PRIOR STEP--STEPS ONE TO THREE.

WE APPEAR TO BE SEEING THE TREES BUT MISSING THE FOREST IN OUR ATTACKS ON THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX.

MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. IT SEEMS TO ME  
THAT IF ONE WANTS TO SERIOUSLY DISCUSS THE  
MILITARY BUDGET AND MILITARY SPENDINGS, ONE  
SHOULD BEGIN DISCUSSING THE ISSUE AT THE FIRST  
POINT WHERE THE DECISION LEADING TO THE  
ULTIMATE PURCHASE OF EQUIPMENT IS MADE--AT THE  
STAGE WHEN THE INITIAL DECISION IS MADE TO  
ENTER INTO "X" NUMBER OF DEFENSE COMMITMENTS  
ABROAD, WHEN THE DECISION IS MADE TO PREPARE FOR  
"Y" NUMBER OF CONTINGENCIES, WHEN THE DECISION IS  
MADE TO DEPLOY "Z" NUMBER OF DIVISIONS. WE MUST  
BE REALISTIC AND REALIZE THAT ONCE THESE COMMIT-  
MENTS ARE MADE, OUR MILITARY IS COMPELLED AND  
RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARING

RESPONSIBLE FOR PREPARING FOR THESE  
CONTINGENCIES AND FOR ARMING OUR MEN AS  
ADEQUATELY AS IT CAN.

THE BASIC QUESTION INVOLVED HERE  
IS REALLY RELATED TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY.  
THUS, IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE DEPARTMENT  
OF STATE PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN INFORMING  
CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON OUR  
FOREIGN POLICY--ON THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING  
UP TO THE FORMULATION OF TREATIES, ON THE  
COMMITMENTS WE HAVE MADE, AND ON THE POSSIBLE  
SCOPE AND NATURE OF THE MILITARY INVOLVEMENTS  
WHICH MAY BE REQUIRED TO FULFILL SUCH  
COMMITMENTS. THE DEPARTMENT

COMMITMENTS.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IS REQUIRED TO SUBMIT A POSTURE STATEMENT EACH YEAR TO CONGRESS. LIKEWISE, I BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BE REQUIRED TO SUBMIT A SIMILAR STATEMENT. CONGRESS SHOULD KNOW THE EXACT STATUS OF EACH OF OUR FOREIGN COMMITMENTS. IT IS, FOR EXAMPLE, IMPORTANT THAT WE KNOW THE EXTENT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THAILAND AND LAOS NOW AND AFTER VIETNAM. ARE WE COMMITTED TO FIGHT ANOTHER "VIETNAM" TYPE WAR IN INDO-CHINA?

THE STATUS OF OUR COMMITMENTS ABROAD  
HAS NEVER BEEN



HAS NEVER BEEN CLEARLY EXPLAINED TO EITHER CONGRESS OR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THERE EXISTS TODAY A DANGEROUS VOID OF INFORMATION ON THIS VERY CRITICAL ISSUE. I FIND IT MOST ALARMING THAT WE LACK DETAILED INFORMATION ON SO IMPORTANT A SUBJECT--A SUBJECT WHICH CONSUMES THE LARGEST SINGLE SLICE OF OUR NATIONAL BUDGET AND WHICH CONTINUES TO DENY US THE RESOURCES WE SO DESPERATELY REQUIRE TO MEET OUR PRESSING DOMESTIC NEEDS.

IT IS TIME TO PLACE THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN POLICY AND THE MILITARY BUDGET IN TRUE PERSPECTIVE AND BRING DEBATE INTO THAT ARENA, AT THAT

ARENA, AT THAT POINT, WHERE IT WILL HAVE  
ITS GREATEST IMPACT. THE EXISTENCE OF OUR  
NATION, NO LESS THE WORLD, DEPENDS ON IT.

SPEECH BY U.S. SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

"WHO IS THE PUPPET"

I WISH TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT A SUBJECT WHICH HAS BEEN A MAJOR--I THINK WE COULD SAY THE MAJOR--CONCERN OF THOSE OF US WHO HAVE SHARED THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR GUIDING THE AFFAIRS OF OUR NATION, ALMOST EVER SINCE I WAS ELECTED TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE. IT HAS BEEN MUCH ON OUR MIND AND HAS AFFECTED EVERY MAJOR DECISION WE HAVE MADE IN RECENT YEARS. THAT MATTER IS OF COURSE VIETNAM.

VIETNAM IS A MATTER WHICH MOST OF US WOULD LIKE TO FORGET--WE JUST WISH IT WOULD GO AWAY. A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION SEEMS SO UNCERTAIN, SO AGONIZINGLY SLOW TO ACHIEVE, AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE PROBLEM OF SUCH MAGNITUDE THAT WE ARE TEMPTED TO CLOSE OUR EYES, OUR EARS, AND OUR MINDS, AND JUST HOPE WE WILL AWAKEN ONE DAY AND FIND VIETNAM A THING OF THE PAST. BUT WE CANNOT WISH IT AWAY--WE CANNOT IGNORE OUR VIETNAM PROBLEM AS LONG AS WE CALL ON AMERICAN SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AND MARINES TO GIVE THEIR LIVES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

AS OF AUGUST 30TH OF THIS

AS OF AUGUST 30TH OF THIS YEAR 38,318 AMERICAN YOUNG MEN HAVE MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE. 7,699 OF THESE WERE KILLED DURING THE FIRST EIGHT MONTHS OF THIS YEAR, AND THEY CONTINUE TO DIE AT THE RATE OF ALMOST ONE THOUSAND EACH MONTH. SOME 126,000 ADDITIONAL YOUNG AMERICANS HAVE BEEN WOUNDED SUFFICIENTLY TO REQUIRE HOSPITALIZATION. AS OF JULY 31ST, ONE HUNDRED EIGHTY-THREE OF THE FALLEN WERE FELLOW HAWAIIANS.

AND WE ARE SPENDING AT THE PRESENT TIME APPROXIMATELY \$70 MILLION PER DAY FROM OUR TREASURY IN SUPPORT OF THIS EFFORT. \$70 MILLION WOULD BUILD SOME 3,000 HOMES. THE SUMS SPENT IN VIETNAM IN A SINGLE YEAR WOULD BUILD MORE THAN 1 MILLION HOUSES.

IN RESPONSE TO THESE GRIM STATISTICS, TO THE FEARS, AND THE PRESSURES THEY GENERATE, AND TO THE PROBLEMS LEFT UNRESOLVED BECAUSE OF VIETNAM, WE WITNESS ALMOST DAILY RIOTS ON OUR CAMPUSES AND IN OUR CITIES, AND WE SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF A REAL REVOLUTION DEVELOPING IN OUR LAND.

THIS WAS HAS BEEN EXPENSIVE,

THIS WAR HAS BEEN EXPENSIVE, AND IT IS UNPOPULAR. WARS ALWAYS ARE. EVEN WORLD WAR II BECAME UNPOPULAR AS IT CONTINUED AND AS VICTORY PROVED NEITHER QUICK NOR EASY. CERTAINLY THE CIVIL WAR AND THE WAR OF 1812 HAD VERY LIMITED SUPPORT. UNPOPULARITY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN MAY HAVE HAD MORE TO DO WITH OUR VICTORY THAN THE LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR REVOLUTION IN OUR COLONIES.

AS WE DRAW HISTORICAL COMPARISONS, HOWEVER, I DO BELIEVE THIS VIETNAM WAR IS THE MOST UNPOPULAR IN OUR HISTORY.

A PRESIDENT WHO WAGED IT WAS FORCED TO RESIGN.

A MAJOR POLITICAL CONVENTION WAS MADE A SHAMBLES, THE PARTY TORN TO SHREDS, AND CONSIGNED TO DEFEAT, BECAUSE OF THE UNPOPULARITY OF THIS WAR.

DRAFT CARD BURNINGS; DRAFT BOARD OFFICES INVADED AND RECORDS DESTROYED; NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS TO END ROTC; PRIESTS, MINISTERS, AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN JAIL--AND LAST WEEK A YOUNG LAD COMMITTING SUICIDE ON THE STEPS OF OUR CAPITOL--ALL THESE ATTEST TO THE LACK

OF SUPPORT FOR THIS CONFLICT.

OF SUPPORT FOR THIS CONFLICT.

WE HAVE NOW BEEN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THIS CONFLICT FOR MORE THAN A DECADE. FIRST AS ADVISORS AND LATER CARRYING THE MAJOR COMBAT BURDEN.

IT IS THE LONGEST WAR IN OUR HISTORY--AND WE AMERICANS ARE AN IMPATIENT PEOPLE. FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN PEACE TALKS IN PARIS SEEKING A RESOLUTION TO THIS WAR. WE SPENT WEEKS DEBATING THE SHAPE OF THE TABLE, AND MANY MORE DISCUSSING WHO SHALL SPEAK--AND WITH WHAT AUTHORITY. WE HAVE SUFFERED SOME FIFTEEN THOUSAND DEAD WHILE THESE "TALKS" CONTINUE.

YES, WE ARE TIRED OF WAR--AND WE ARE TIRED OF TALKING PEACE WHICH BRINGS NO END TO WAR.

BUT OUR PEOPLE LOOK TO THEIR ELECTED LEADERS FOR AN ANSWER--AS PROPERLY THEY SHOULD. WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO TO SOLVE THIS MOST VEXING PROBLEM.

I HAVE ADDRESSED MYSELF TO THIS SUBJECT BEFORE. I LAST SPOKE

TO THE PEOPLE OF MY STATE

TO THE PEOPLE OF MY STATE IN JUNE OF THIS YEAR AS PRESIDENT NIXON WAS ON HIS WAY TO MEET PRESIDENT THIEU IN GUAM.

WE MUST FIRST PAINFULLY RECOGNIZE THAT WE ARE IN VIETNAM AND THAT WE CANNOT START OVER AS IF WE HAD THAT DECISION TO MAKE ANEW.

BUT OUR POLICY FOR SETTLING THIS DISPUTE MUST ALSO BE CLEAR. IT MUST BE AN AMERICAN POLICY AND IT IS FOR THIS REASON I SPEAK TO YOU TODAY OF VIETNAM.

THE DECISIONS WHICH WILL END THIS CONFLICT WILL BE MADE IN WASHINGTON AND HANOI NOT IN SAIGON. I WAS THEREFORE MUCH CONCERNED WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION ANNOUNCED LAST WEEKEND THAT THE DECISION ON ACCEPTING HANOI'S REQUEST FOR A CEASE FIRE TO HONOR THE PASSING OF HO CHI MINH WAS GOING TO BE LEFT UP TO THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT. INITIAL REJECTION OF THE CEASE FIRE BY PRESIDENT THIEU FURTHER COMPOUNDED THE PROBLEM AND IT WAS ONLY BY A QUICK REVERSAL OF POSITION THAT WE AVOIDED MAKING A MOST SERIOUS BLUNDER.

AS AMBASSADOR HARRIMAN SAID, "WE ARE LETTING SAIGON CALL THE

SIGNALS." WE SHOULD

SIGNALS." WE SHOULD CONTINUOUSLY SEEK TO PROMOTE AN EXTENDED TRUCE AND DEMONSTRATE OUR SINCERE DESIRE TO BRING THIS SHOOTING WAR TO AN END AS WE PURSUE UNRELENTLESSLY OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THIS CONFLICT. I APPLAUD THE FACT THAT WE WILL NOT ONLY HONOR THE CEASE FIRE REQUEST BUT THAT WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE TO MAKE CERTAIN THE FORCES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON DO LIKEWISE. HOWEVER, I WISH TO ENCOURAGE THIS ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE ANOTHER IMPORTANT STEP BY INFORMING HANOI THAT WE WILL NOT BE THE FIRST TO INITIATE A RESUMPTION IN HOSTILITIES. WE SHOULD ASSURE HANOI THAT WE WILL EXTEND THE TRUCE FOR AS LONG AS IT IS REASONABLY OBSERVED BY THEM. TO DATE WE HAVE ALWAYS PURSUED THE BATTLE AGGRESSIVELY THE MINUTE THE CEASE FIRE WAS SCHEDULED TO END.

WE NOW HAVE A CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT IN HANOI. DESPITE THE ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THAT GOVERNMENT TO CONTINUE THE POLICIES OF HO CHI MINH WE SHOULD PURSUE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TOWARD A REDUCTION IN THAT CONFLICT AND TOWARD



IN THAT CONFLICT AND TOWARD A CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT. THIS IS AN OPPORTUNITY WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LET PASS AND OUR MESSAGE MUST BE CLEARLY TRANSMITTED NOT ONLY TO HANOI BUT ALSO TO SAIGON.

BOTH PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND PRESIDENT NIXON HAVE STATED THAT THERE IS NO POSSIBLE MILITARY SOLUTION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND YET THE WAR CONTINUES AND THE KILLING OF OUR SONS AND THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM GOES ON.

WHILE WE SEEK A SOLUTION, WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK TO REDUCE THE COST IN LIFE AND SUFFERING TO THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM. EACH DEATH OF AN AMERICAN BOY IS A LOSS WHICH TUGS AT OUR CONSCIENCE. THAT LOSS IS PARTICULARLY POIGNANT WHEN IT SERVES TO BRING PEACE NO NEARER OR THE END OF HIS TOUR OF DUTY IS CLOSE AT HAND. SEVERAL WEEKS AGO A SMALL TOWN IN NEW HAMPSHIRE LOST FIVE OF HER SONS IN A SINGLE ACTION WITHIN WEEKS OF THE TIME THEY WERE DUE TO RETURN HOME.

WHILE EACH LIFE IS PRECIOUS,

WHILE EACH LIFE IS PRECIOUS, THOSE WHICH ARE EXPENDED IN A CONFLICT WHICH WE SAY CANNOT BE WON ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE ARE PARTICULARLY HARD TO BEAR.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON I CALLED FOR A CEASE FIRE IN JUNE, OR IF THAT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE AT THE VERY LEAST THE MAXIMUM REDUCTION IN MILITARY ACTION, WHILE WE SEEK A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO FEEL THAT NO CLEAR TREATY OF PEACE WILL EVER BE CONCLUDED IN PARIS; THAT THE WAR WILL MERELY "PETER OUT." THIS MAY BE SO.

BUT THE WAR WILL NEVER SO END IF WE INSIST ON CONSTANTLY MAINTAINING THE PRESSURE ON THE ENEMY, ALTHOUGH THIS MAY BE SOUND TACTICS WHERE WE SEEK A MILITARY SOLUTION. NOR WILL IT END IF WE GIVE TO PRESIDENT THIEU THE DECISION-MAKING POWER. I WAS MUCH ALARMED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON ORIGINALLY CHOSE TO LET THIEU CALL THE SHOTS ON THIS AND I WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED THAT THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A CEASE FIRE WAS EARLIER REJECTED BY OUR SIDE. SUCH REJECTION WOULD NOT ONLY HAVE CONTINUED

NOT ONLY HAVE CONTINUED THE SLAUGHTER BUT CONFUSED OUR PURPOSE. WHILE WE MUST STRENGTHEN THE GOVERNMENT OF SAIGON AND TRANSFER TO THEM A GREATER SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF PROVIDING FOR THE SECURITY OF THEIR PEOPLE THIS IS NOT ACHIEVED BY LETTING THIEU DETERMINE WHETHER AMERICAN SOLDIERS SHALL FIGHT AND DIE OR PARTICIPATE IN A TRUCE. WE CANNOT PERMIT HIS POWER TO GOVERN TO BE SECURED SOLELY BY AMERICAN MILITARY POWER. IT IS TIME INDEED LONG OVERDUE THAT WE FORCED THE GOVERNMENT OF THIEU AND KY TO ACT TO INCREASE THEIR SUPPORT FROM THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM FOR IT IS TO THE PEOPLE WE HAVE MADE OUR COMMITMENT. IT IS THEREFORE TIME THAT WE FORCED THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON TO TAKE MEANINGFUL ACTION TO INCREASE THEIR CAPACITY TO GOVERN.

IT IS TIME THEY TOOK MEANINGFUL ACTION ON LAND REFORM, FOR TO THE VIETNAMESE COMMON MAN, NO SINGLE FACTOR IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN OWNERSHIP OF HIS LAND. WE ENCOURAGED AND ASSISTED THE TWO MOST SUCCESSFUL LAND REFORM PROGRAMS IN ASIA--IN JAPAN AND IN TAIWAN.

WE MUST DO NO LESS IN

WE MUST DO NO LESS IN SAIGON IF WE ARE TO DEVELOP STABLE AND FREE INSTITUTIONS.

IT IS ALSO TIME THAT WE FORCED AN END TO OFFICIAL CORRUPTION AND GOVERNMENTALLY CONDONED CORRUPTION. WHILE THIS CONTINUES, THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE NO FAITH IN THEIR GOVERNMENT--NOR SHOULD THEY.

IT IS ALSO TIME WE INSISTED ON FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS BEING HELD BY THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON. FREE GOVERNMENTS CANNOT DEVELOP UNDER EITHER THE THREAT OR ACTUALLY OF IMPRISONMENT FOR THOSE WHO CONTEST FOR PUBLIC SUPPORT THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS.

OUR COMMITMENT IS TO THEIR PEOPLE--AND TO OURS. THE TIME IS OVERDUE WHEN THAT FACT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO ALL. WE HAVE TOO LONG CONFUSED THE TRAPPINGS, THE COURTESIES, AND THE CEREMONIES OF AUTHORITY WITH THE REALITIES OF LEADERSHIP. THIS CAN NO LONGER CONTINUE.

WE DO NOT BUILD A STABLE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON NOR FIND PEACE IN PARIS BY LETTING THIEU BEAT THE DRUM TO WHICH AMERICAN BOYS

MUST MARCH. WE DO NOT

MUST MARCH. WE DO NOT ANSWER THE CHARGE IN HANOI, OR IN PEIPING, THAT THIEU IS OUR PUPPET BY OUR BECOMING HIS.

WHILE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL MAY NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION, THE LIMITED WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS MUST CONTINUE. THIS CAN OCCUR ONLY AS WE PURSUE EVERY OPPORTUNITY FOR A REDUCTION IN THE SCALE OF THE FIGHTING AND EVERY CHANCE AT A CEASE FIRE OR TRUCE.

OUR POLICY MUST BE CLEAR AND IT MUST BE CONSISTENT. UNFORTUNATELY THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS SOUNDED AN UNCERTAIN TRUMPET. IN HIS LATE JULY GLOBE CIRCLING TOUR PRESIDENT NIXON APPEARED MORE CONCERNED WITH PLEASING THE LOCAL AUDIENCE THAN IN PROMOTING A CLEAR POLICY. HIS CONCERN WAS MORE THAT OF A POLITICAL PROPAGANDIST THAN A RATIONAL DECISION MAKER.

WE SAW HIM AT GUAM IN A NEWS BACKGROUNDER TO THE TRAVELING PRESS PLEDGING NO MORE VIETNAMS. ASIA MUST SOLVE HER OWN PROBLEMS. A FEW DAYS LATER HE PLEDGED AMERICAN SUPPORT IN CASE OF EXTERNAL OR INTERNAL THREAT TO THEIR GOVERNMENT IN THAILAND.

HE TRIES TO BALANCE THE

HE TRIES TO BALANCE THE YEARNINGS OF OUR COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD FOR VICTORY WITH THE DESIRES OF OUR PEOPLE FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL.

HE STATES HE HOPES TO BEAT CLARK CLIFFORD'S RECOMMENDATIONS ON AN EARLY WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BUT SUPPORT TROOPS AND THEN DEFERS A DECISION TO PROCEED WITH EVEN THE EARLIER PLANNED WITHDRAWALS.

FANCY FOOTWORK IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR POLICY. WHILE THE FORCES AT WORK ARE COMPLEX AND THE PRESSURES AT PLAY CONTRADICTORY OUR RESPONSE MUST BE CLEAR AND UNQUIVOCAL. EACH TIME POLICY IS CONTRADICTED BY RHETORIC THE STRENGTH OF OUR POSITION IS DIMINISHED. WE MUST BE CONSISTENT.

WE WANT OUT OF VIETNAM. WE SHOULD CONTINUE A PLANNED AND PHASED COMBAT TROOP WITHDRAWAL.

WE SHOULD AND MUST NOT SEEK TO IMPOSE A MILITARY SOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF VIETNAM.

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT MUST PROVE ITS CAPACITY TO

GOVERN. THEY CANNOT RELY

GOVERN. THEY CANNOT RELY ON OUR MILITARY MIGHT AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THEIR NEED FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT FROM THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

WE WANT THE FIGHTING TO END--THE SHOOTING TO STOP--AND WE SHALL PURSUE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT FACT.

THE PROBLEMS OF VIETNAM WILL BE SOLVED NEITHER BY PUBLIC RELATIONS GIMMICKS NOR RHETORIC. NEITHER WILL IT RESPOND TO WISHFUL THINKING. IT WON'T JUST GO AWAY.

VIETNAM HAS BEEN A TRAGIC EXPERIENCE. THAT TRAGEDY MUST NOT BE FURTHER COMPOUNDED.

SPEECH BY U.S. SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

"WHO IS THE PUPPET"

I wish to speak to you today about a subject which has been a major--I think we could say the major--concern of those of us who have shared the responsibility for guiding the affairs of our nation, almost ever since I was elected to the United States Senate. It has been much on our mind and has affected every major decision we have made in recent years. That matter is of course Vietnam.

Vietnam is a matter which most of us would like to forget--we just wish it would go away. A satisfactory solution seems so uncertain, so agonizingly slow to achieve, and the complexities of the problem of such magnitude that we are tempted to close our eyes, our ears, and our minds, and just hope we will awaken one day and find Vietnam a thing of the past. But we cannot wish it away--we cannot ignore our Vietnam problem as long as we call on American soldiers, sailors, and marines to give their lives in Southeast Asia.

As of August 30th of this year 38,318 American young men have made the supreme sacrifice. 7,699 of these were killed during the first eight months of this year, and they continue to die at the rate of almost one thousand each month. Some 126,000 additional young Americans have been wounded sufficiently to require hospitalization. As of July 31st, one hundred eighty-three of the fallen were fellow Hawaiians.

And we are spending at the present time approximately \$70 million per day from our treasury in support of this effort. \$70 million would build some 3,000 homes. The sums spent in Vietnam in a single year would build more than 1 million houses.

In response to these grim statistics, to the fears, and the pressures they generate, and to the problems left unresolved because of Vietnam, we witness almost daily riots on our campuses and in our cities, and we see the possibility of a real revolution developing in our land.

This war has been expensive, and it is unpopular. Wars always are. Even World War II became unpopular as it continued and as victory proved neither quick nor easy. Certainly the Civil War and the



War of 1812 had very limited support. Unpopularity of the American revolution in Britain may have had more to do with our victory than the level of support for revolution in our colonies.

As we draw historical comparisons, however, I do believe this Vietnam War is the most unpopular in our history.

A President who waged it was forced to resign.

A major political convention was made a shambles, the party torn to shreds, and consigned to defeat, because of the unpopularity of this war.

Draft card burnings; draft board offices invaded and records destroyed; non-negotiable demands to end ROTC, priests, ministers, and young people in jail--and last week a young lad committing suicide on the steps of our Capitol--all these attest to the lack of support for this conflict.

We have now been actively engaged in this conflict for more than a decade. First as advisors and later carrying the major combat burden.

It is the longest war in our history--and we Americans are an impatient people. For more than a year, we have been engaged in peace talks in Paris seeking a resolution to this war. We spent weeks debating the shape of the table, and many more discussing who shall speak--and with what authority. We have suffered some fifteen thousand dead while these "talks" continue.

Yes, we are tired of war--and we are tired of talking peace which brings no end to war.

But our people look to their elected leaders for an answer--as properly they should. What are we going to do to solve this most vexing problem.

I have addressed myself to this subject before. I last spoke to the people of my state in June of this year as President Nixon was on his way to meet President Thieu in Guam.

We must first painfully recognize that we are in Vietnam and that we cannot start over as if we had that decision to make anew.

But our policy for settling this dispute must also be clear. It must be an American policy and it is for this reason I speak to you today of Vietnam.

The decisions which will end this conflict will be made in Washington and Hanoi not in Saigon. I was therefore much concerned when the administration announced last weekend that the decision on accepting Hanoi's request for a cease fire to honor the passing of Ho Chi Minh was going to be left up to the Saigon government. Initial rejection of the cease fire by President Thieu further compounded the problem and it was only by a quick reversal of position that we avoided making a most serious blunder.

As Ambassador Harriman said, "We are letting Saigon call the signals." We should continuously seek to promote an extended truce and demonstrate our sincere desire to bring this shooting war to an end as we pursue unrelentlessly our efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement to this conflict. I applaud the fact that we will not only honor the cease fire request but that we will use our influence to make certain the forces of the government of Saigon do likewise. However, I wish to encourage this administration to take another important step by informing Hanoi that we will not be the first to initiate a resumption in hostilities. We should assure Hanoi that we will extend the truce for as long as it is reasonably observed by them. To date we have always pursued the battle aggressively the minute the cease fire was scheduled to end.

We now have a change in the government in Hanoi. Despite the announced intention of that government to continue the policies of Ho Chi Minh we should pursue every opportunity toward a reduction in that conflict and toward a change in the policy of their government. This is an opportunity we cannot afford to let pass and our message must be clearly transmitted not only to Hanoi but also to Saigon.

Both President Johnson and President Nixon have stated that there is no possible military solution to the war in Vietnam and yet the war continues and the killing of our sons and the sons and daughters in South Vietnam goes on.

While we seek a solution, we should also seek to reduce the cost in life and suffering to the absolute minimum. Each death of an American boy is a loss which tugs at our conscience. That loss is particularly poignant when it serves to bring peace no nearer or the end of his tour of duty is close at hand. Several weeks ago a small town in New Hampshire lost five of her sons in a single action within weeks of the time they were due to return home.

While each life is precious, those which are expended in a conflict which we say cannot be won on the field of battle are particularly hard to bear.

It is for this reason I called for a cease fire in June, or if that proved impossible at the very least the maximum reduction in military action, while we seek a political settlement.

There are those who feel that no clear treaty of peace will ever be concluded in Paris; that the war will merely " peter out." This may be so.

But the war will never so end if we insist on constantly maintaining the pressure on the enemy, although this may be sound tactics where we seek a military solution. Nor will it end if we give to President Thieu the decision-making power. I was much alarmed that President Nixon originally chose to let Thieu call the shots on this and I was deeply disappointed that the opportunity for a cease fire was earlier rejected by our side. Such rejection would not only have continued the slaughter but confused our purpose. While we must strengthen the government of Saigon and transfer to them a greater share of the burden of providing for the security of their people this is not achieved by letting Thieu determine whether American soldiers shall fight and die or participate in a truce. We cannot permit his power to govern to be secured solely by American military power. It is time indeed long overdue that we forced the government of Thieu and Ky to act to increase their support from the people of South Vietnam for it is to the people we have made our commitment. It is therefore time that we forced the government in Saigon to take meaningful action to increase their capacity to govern.

It is time they took meaningful action on land reform, for to the Vietnamese common man, no single factor is more important than ownership of his land. We encouraged and assisted the two most successful land reform programs in Asia--in Japan and in Taiwan. We must do no less in Saigon if we are to develop stable and free institutions.

It is also time that we forced an end to official corruption and governmentally condoned corruption. While this continues, the people will have no faith in their government--nor should they.

It is also time we insisted on freedom for the political prisoners being held by the government in Saigon. Free governments cannot develop under either the threat or actually of imprisonment for those who contest for public support through peaceful means.

Our commitment is to their people--and to ours. The time is overdue when that fact should be made clear to all. We have too long confused the trappings, the courtesies, and the ceremonies of authority with the realities of leadership. This can no longer continue.

We do not build a stable government in Saigon nor find peace in Paris by letting Thieu beat the drum to which American boys must march. We do not answer the charge in Hanoi, or in Peiping, that Thieu is our puppet by our becoming his.

While unilateral withdrawal may not be an acceptable solution, the limited withdrawal of American troops must continue. This can occur only as we pursue every opportunity for a reduction in the scale of the fighting and every chance at a cease fire or truce.

Our policy must be clear and it must be consistent. Unfortunately this administration has sounded an uncertain trumpet. In his late July globe circling tour President Nixon appeared more concerned with pleasing the local audience than in promoting a clear policy. His concern was more that of a political propagandist than a rational decision maker.

We saw him at Guam in a news backgrounder to the traveling press pledging no more Vietnams. Asia must solve her own problems. A few days later he pledged American support in case of external or internal threat to their government in Thailand.

He tries to balance the yearnings of our commanders in the field for victory with the desires of our people for troop withdrawal.

He states he hopes to beat Clark Clifford's recommendations on an early withdrawal of all but support troops and then defers a decision to proceed with even the earlier planned withdrawals.

Fancy footwork is no substitute for policy. While the forces at work are complex and the pressures at play contradictory our response must be clear and unequivocal. Each time policy is contradicted by rhetoric the strength of our position is diminished. We must be consistent.

We want out of Vietnam. We should continue a planned and phased combat troop withdrawal.

We should and must not seek to impose a military solution on the political problems of Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese government must prove its capacity to govern. They cannot rely on our military might as a substitute for their need for political support from their own people.

We want the fighting to end--the shooting to stop--and we shall pursue every opportunity to clearly demonstrate that fact.

The problems of Vietnam will be solved neither by public relations gimmicks nor rhetoric. Neither will it respond to wishful thinking. It won't just go away.

Vietnam has been a tragic experience. That tragedy must not be further compounded.

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EDT

ETAT MRS EDNA HORIUCHI

RUSH DELIVERY 602 CAPITAL INVESTMENT BLDG 850 RICHARDS ST  
HONOLULU (HAWAII)

~~PLEASE BRING THE FOLLOWING DRAFT OF LETTER TO THE WASHINGTON~~  
~~POST EDITOR TO THE SENATORS ATTENTION~~ I READ YOUR EDITORIAL  
OF SEPTEMBER 7TH OPPOSING THE NEWSPAPER PRESERVATION ACT WITH  
BOTH INTEREST AND CONCERN, <sup>with interest</sup> ~~WITH INTEREST~~ BECAUSE I INTRODUCED  
THIS BILL WITH 32 SENATE COSPONSORS. I BELIEVE ITS ENACTMENT  
IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PRESERVATION OF COMPETING NEWS AND EDITORIAL  
VOICES IN HONOLULU AND THE 21 OTHER CITIES WHICH CANNOT NOW  
SUPPORT COMMERCIALY COMPETING PAPERS BUT WHICH HAVE SUCH JOINT  
OPERATING AGREEMENTS AND TO WHOM THIS LEGISLATION WOULD APPLY  
I AM CONCERNED BECAUSE OF THE VARIANCE BETWEEN YOUR STATEMENT

OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION AND MY UNDERSTANDING OF THE  
PRESENT STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH TUCSON, AS I INTERPRET  
THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE DEPARTMENT HAS MADE NO COMMITMENT TO  
PERMIT JOINT SUNDAY OPERATIONS (AND ADVERTISING AND SALES DEPARTMENTS  
DESPITE THEIR STATEMENT ~~THAT~~ AT THIS TIME THEY HAVE NO OBJECTION  
TO SOME ASPECTS OF SUCH OPERATIONS, THESE MATTERS ARE STILL  
OPEN TO REVISION BY <sup>the Dept.</sup> JUSTICE AT THE TIME OF THE EVIDENTIARY  
HEARING AND FINALLY OF COURSE BY THE COURT THE DEPARTMENT OF  
JUSTICE HAS MADE CLEAR ITS CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO THE ECONOMIES  
NECESSARY TO THE SURVIVAL OF SEPARATE NEWS VOICES I AM FAMILIAR  
WITH ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL MCLARENS TESTIMONY BEFORE THE  
SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE EXPRESSING CONFIDENCE THAT AN AGREEMENT  
COULD BE REACHED WITH THE TUCSON PAPERS ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE  
IT IS NOW APPARENT SUCH IS NOT THE CASE AND LEGISLATION THE

PROPER RECOURSE. JUSTICE HAD PREVIOUSLY SUCESED IN ARGUMENT  
BEFORE THE SUPREME COURT I WISH TO NOTE THAT WE DO NOT SEEK  
A BROAD EXEMPTION FOR THE ANTITRUS LAWS FOR THESE PUBLISHERS  
WE SEEK RATHER TO PLACE THEM ON A LEGAL PAR WITH THE 150 SITUATIONS  
WHERE SINGLE OWNER OPERATIONS PUBLISH BOTH THE MORNING EVENING  
AND SUNDAY EDITIONS THE JOINT OPERATING ARRANGEMENT IS A COMMERCIAL  
MERGER LET IT BE TREATED AS SUCH WHERE THE ALTERNATIVE IS CLEARLY  
BETWEEN JOINT OPERATING ARRANGEMENTS WITH COMPETITION AT THE  
NEWS AND EDITORIAL LEVEL AND SINGLE OWNERSHIP WITH NEITHER  
COMMERCIAL NOR EDITORIAL COMPETITION THE FORMER IS CERTAINLY  
PREFERABLE TO STILL A VOICE IN 22 OF THE 59 CITIES WHICH STILL  
HAVE MORE THAN ONE BECAUSE THESE COMMUNITIES CANNOT AFFORD  
THE HIGH COST OF COMPETITIVE ADVERTISING AND CIRCULATION DEPARTMENTS  
WOULD SEEM TRAGIC TO DO SO UNDER THE FALSE PREMISE THAT IF

BUT FORCED TO THE WALL THEY WILL MAKE TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGHS  
OR A MORE ROBUST VOICE TAKE THEIR PLACE DESPITE THE TOTALLY  
CONTRARY HISTORY THESE PAST 40 YEARS WOULD SEEM ILL ADVISED  
INDEED IT IS FOR THE ABOVE REASONS THIS LEGISLATION HAS THE  
SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION LOCAL  
LABOR ORGANIZATIONS WHO WORK UNDER THESE AGREEMENTS AND MEMBERS  
OF THE BUSINESS AND ACADEMIC COMMUNITIES AS WELL AS THE READING  
PUBLIC IN THE AFFECTED CITIES ALL AGREE THAT IT IS FAR BETTER  
TO SAVE DIVERSE AND COMPETING NEWS AND EDITORIAL VOICES THAN  
TO RELY ON FAINT THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS CONTRARY TO HISTORICAL  
PRACTICE AND CURRENT TREND THEREFORE I HOPE CONGRESS WILL MOVE  
QUICKLY TO ENACT THE NEWSPAPER PRESERVATION ACT

EILER RAVNHOLT ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

# COPY

27 August 1969

Mr. Lee Maice  
c/o Wo Fat Restaurant  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Lee:

I wish to extend to you my sincerest best wishes on your retirement after your many years of public service.

Your thirteen years of service with the Hawaii Housing Authority and ten years with the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency have a history of progress that you can point to with pride of accomplishment.

Please accept my heartfelt gratitude and best wishes for well-deserved relaxation and continued success in your future endeavors.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# COPY

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Mr. Lee Maice  
c/o Wo Fat Restaurant  
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Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



14 August 1969

Mr. George H. Akau, Chief  
Food & Drug Branch, Dept. of Health  
P. O. Box 3378  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96801

Dear George:

Thank you for notifying me about Abel Fraga's Aloha retirement dinner.

I enclose herewith a letter to Abel which I would like to have read on my behalf.

I sincerely appreciate your most considerate effort of contacting me about this event.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh  
Enclosure

14 August 1969

Mr. Abel S. Fraga  
State Department of Health  
Food and Drug Branch  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Abel:

I regret my inability to join your many friends and admirers at your Aloha Retirement dinner.

I wish to extend to you my sincerest gratitude for your outstanding service with the Department of Health, more particularly with the vital Drug Control program, and for your voluntary service as a reserve officer and leader of the Keys and Whistles.

I know my admiration is but an echo of the past recognition you have received from the Hawaii State Legislature by way of Senate Resolution No. 192 and by the Meritorious State Service Award which you so richly deserved and received.

Please accept my sincerest best wishes for continued personal accomplishment and success in all of your future endeavors.

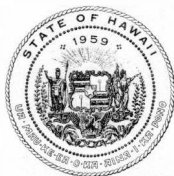
Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

JOHN A. BURNS  
GOVERNOR OF HAWAII



WALTER B. QUISENBERRY, M.P.H., M.D.  
DIRECTOR OF HEALTH

WILBUR S. LUMMIS, JR., M.S., M.D.  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF HEALTH

STATE OF HAWAII  
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH  
P. O. BOX 3378  
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96801  
FOOD AND DRUG BRANCH  
August 13, 1969

In reply, please refer to:

File: \_\_\_\_\_

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senator  
Suite 602  
Capital Insurance Bldg.  
195 S. King St.  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Dear Senator Inouye:

In my recent letter to you about Mr. Abel Fraga's retirement from his position on August 30, 1969, I stated that a copy of the resolution adopted by the Fifth State Legislature was enclosed. Inadvertently, an earlier resolution passed in 1964 was enclosed. The 1969 resolution is now attached.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

George H. Akau  
Chief, Food and Drug Branch

Enc.



JOHN A. BURNS  
GOVERNOR OF HAWAII



WALTER B. QUISENBERRY, M.P.H., M.D.  
DIRECTOR OF HEALTH

WILBUR S. LUMMIS, JR., M.S., M.D.  
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF HEALTH

In reply, please refer to:

File: \_\_\_\_\_

STATE OF HAWAII  
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH  
P. O. BOX 3378  
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96801  
FOOD AND DRUG BRANCH  
August 7, 1969

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
United States Senator  
Suite 602  
Capitol Insurance Bldg.  
195 S. King Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Dear Senator Inouye:

As you probably know, Abel S. Fraga our Drug Control Program Specialist and a long-time employee of the Department of Health will retire from his position on August 30, 1969.

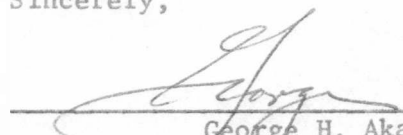
"Abel" as he is know to his many friends in and out of government was commended by the Fifth State Legislature for his outstanding service. He also received the Meritorious State Award from Dr. Walter B. Quisenberry the Director of Health on July 11, 1969.

On September 5, 1969, beginning at 7:00 p.m., Abel will be honored at an Aloha retirement dinner at the Hilton Hawaiian Village. If you feel that he is deserving, I know that he would greatly appreciate your wire or letter of congratulations which could be read on this auspicious occasion.

For your information copies of the Resolution and Commendation are enclosed.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
George H. Akau  
Chief, Food and Drug Branch

Enc.

## HOUSE RESOLUTION

### CONGRATULATING ABEL S. FRAGA.

1 WHEREAS, the Keys and Whistles is an organization of re-  
2 serve officers in the Honolulu Police Department devoted to  
3 the purposes of volunteer public service; and  
4

5 WHEREAS, the members of the Keys and Whistles unselfishly  
6 dedicate themselves to specialized training and duties in the  
7 interests of preserving peace and serving society; and  
8  
9

10 WHEREAS, the reserve officers on March 7, 1964, recognized  
11 Abel S. Fraga as the ablest and finest reserve of "Honolulu's  
12 Finest" by electing him President of Keys and Whistles; and  
13  
14

15 WHEREAS, Abel S. Fraga has served in the Department of  
16 Health since 1944 and has worked for the health and welfare  
17 of the community as a narcotics agent within that Department  
18 as well as for the police reserves on a volunteer, stand-by  
19 basis; now, therefore,  
20

21 BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the  
22 Second Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of  
23 1964, that Abel S. Fraga be congratulated on his most recent  
24 honor of election to the Presidency of Keys and Whistles and  
25 commended for his unselfish work on behalf of his community; and  
26  
27

28 BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that duly certified copies of this  
29 Resolution be sent to Abel S. Fraga and to the Honolulu  
30 Police Department.  
31

MAR 16 1964

OFFERED BY:

*Robert S. Pao*

*James H. Kikaki*

*Manoel J. Gaudin*

*Jack K. Suwa*  
*Charles S. Benigno*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*James H. Kikaki*

*Peter S. Pao*

*Rudolph Tacarro*

*William M. Andrade*

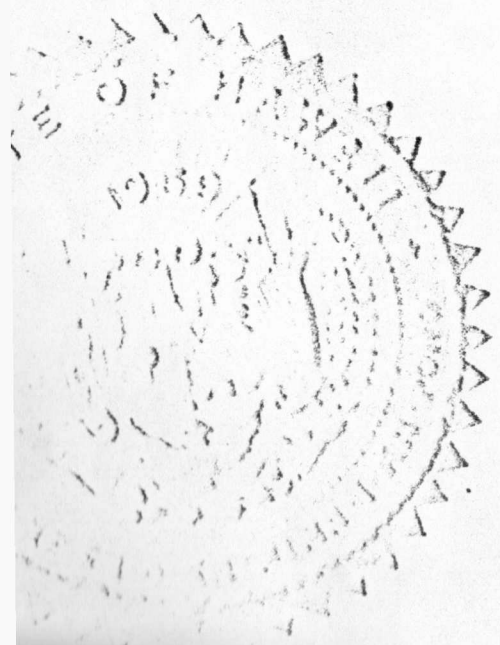
*Abria Sakuma*  
*John Kamaoka*

State of Hawaii  
Meritorious State Service Award  
Abel S. Fraga

has received official commendation for  
meritorious performance of duty

Citation: This award is presented in recognition for his outstanding service and contribution to the people of Hawaii in the field of drug addiction and narcotics control. He has devoted untold hours of his own time and effort speaking before all kinds of groups and in arousing in them a great awareness of their community responsibility to work for the suppression of drug abuse and illicit narcotic traffic. By his talks and appearances before the public, he has helped in bringing about a better understanding of the Health Department's mission and programs to the people it serves, and thereby contributing immensely to the good will of the Department.

Given this 11<sup>th</sup> day July, 1969



Jan. 16, 1970  
Osido Calif 92054

Dear Sir,

I realize with your busy appointments it will be impossible for you to attend the "S/N.C.O. Wives Installation Dinner, on Jan 23, 1970 at the 15 S/N.C.O Club, 7 PM of Camp Pendleton, Calif.". But I would appreciate a letter of acknowledgment for our Historian's scrapbook. I am a resident of Hawaii + my husband's Military <sup>U.S.M.C.</sup> transfer has brought us <sup>with children</sup> to Camp Pendleton for the 2nd time. I will be the 1st Hawaiian or Island "President" of the staff N.C.O. Wives Club in 16 years. I am very honored, + will not fail to pass on to the members the




To The Donator  
of Stomach,  
Mr. Daniel Kroge.

True spirit of Hawaiian  
Hospitality. "Mahalo Nui"  
for taking time out to read  
this note. I appreciate your  
time + consideration.

God Bless you + yours.

Mrs. Nyladean Kawailani  
(Baker) Szabad.

 301 Dogwood Rd.  
RUST CRAFT OCEANSIDE, CAL. 92054.

# COPY

11 August 1969

Mr. Nobutaka Shikanai  
President, Sankei Shimbun  
Tokyo, Japan

Dear Mr. Shikanai:

It is a personal pleasure to me to extend my felicitations to Sankei Shimbun on its publication of a supplement featuring the State of Hawaii.

Our Aloha State and our Pacific neighbor have a cultural and economic relationship that spans a period of over 100 years. The people of Japan and Hawaii have maintained this relationship with mutual respect and understanding.

With the advent of the airplane age, this interchange between our people has been accelerated over the years. The salubrious climate and multi-racial color of Hawaii and the cultural grandeur and artistry of Japan are but six short hours away.

With greater travel anticipated with the jumbo jets, it is very auspicious for Hawaii that Sankei Shimbun has undertaken this Hawaii supplement.

On behalf of the people of the State of Hawaii, I wish to express my sincere congratulations and appreciation of your invaluable service to our Aloha State.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# Queen Kapiolani HOTEL

150 Kapiolani Avenue - Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

サンケイ新聞

鹿内 信隆 社長殿

敬  
今般貴社・サンケイ新聞が、ハワイ特集を去され  
にあたりお礼を申し上げ、又ここにはメッセージを送るが  
お来ましたるも、ハワイを代表してお礼を申し上げます。  
~~私達は祖父・父など時代からハワイに参り現在~~  
現在ハワイでは、政治、経済、その他々々で  
多量の日系人が活躍して居ります。私達の祖父  
父がハワイに参りまして(100)  
75)年になり、田米親善の  
~~「カキ橋」として努力して居ります。~~

# COPY

4 August 1969

## M E S S A G E

A decade has passed since the initial exhilaration of statehood for the people of Hawaii. The celebration of our Aloha State's entry as a full-fledged member of our Union commemorates a record that we can point to with pride.

Hawaii's contribution in material and human resources has been the result of harmonious cooperation of all segments of our diverse population and cultures.

In view of the proposed posture of the economy of our State, its leadership in the field of human relations and its unstinting participation in all endeavors, military or otherwise, of our Nation, Hawaii's seats in the Congress of the United States are honored and respected. The exhilaration of statehood has not palled one iota in my eyes after a decade of service in Congress. I join you in re-dedicating ourselves on this Statehood Day to greater accomplishments by the people of the State of Hawaii in the many more decades to come.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

*cf*  
*ful*

# COPY

17 July 1969

Mr. and Mrs. Ernest H. Hara  
c/o The Ilikai  
1777 Ala Moana Blvd.  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Claire and Ernie:

When Ann got married, I was away in Washington. When John got married, only my wife was able to attend. Now that Michael's marriage is being celebrated, I am again unable to attend. This looks like a family conspiracy, because now about the only one remaining is Toki, your female whippet dog, and I understand, she has been spayed.

Regardless, through this means again, please extend to Michael and Toni, my sincerest best wishes for a marriage full of happiness and love.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

(20 - 7:30 pm cocktails)

MICHAEL & TONI HARA - Married June 21, 1969 - Seattle, Washington.

- 1) MAIDEN NAME: TONI BREMER  
PARENTS: Mr & Mrs Eugene Bremer, Mt. Vernon, Washington  
Mrs. Eleanor Bremer
- 2) Graduated from Univ. of Puget Sound - June '68  
Education major
- 3) Presently employed with Highline School District  
Seattle, Wn.
- 4) Activities: Semester Abroad in Rome  
Member Alpha Phi Sorority

Michael Hara - Mr. & Mrs. Ernest Hara - (parents)

- (1) Graduated from Univ. of Puget Sound - June '68  
Bus. Adm. Major
- (2) Presently employed w/ Harold Bird, Inc. (Construction  
Office Manager co.)
- (3) Activities: Theta Chi Fraternity President  
"Who's Who in Am. Colleges & Univ."  
Member of Alpha Kappa Psi Business Honorary

Thanks for gifts & dinner

IN ANY EVENT IN LIFE, THERE IS ALWAYS A BEGINNING. THERE IS ALSO A BEGINNING TO THIS EVENT.

I WISH, THEREFORE, FIRST TO MENTION THE PARENTS OF THE BRIDE, MR. AND MRS. EUGENE BREMER, OF MT. VERNON, WASHINGTON. THE MOTHER OF THE BRIDE, MRS. ELEANOR BREMER, IS HERE TO JOIN US.

THE OTHER BEGINNING ARE OLD FRIENDS OF OURS, MR. AND MRS. ERNEST H. HARA, OF ERNEST H. HARA, INC., AIA.

THE STARS OF THIS PARTY ARE AN OLD MARRIED COUPLE WHO HAVE BEEN MARRIED ALMOST ONE WHOLE MONTH SINCE JULY 21, 1969 IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON.

MICHAEL HARA HAS BROUGHT HIS BRIDE HOME AND WANTS HIS FRIENDS TO MEET HER.

THE YOUNG BRIDE, TONI, IS THE DAUGHTER OF MR. AND MRS. EUGENE BREMER OF MT. VERNON, WASHINGTON. SHE GRADUATED FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PUGET SOUND IN JUNE, 1968 WITH A MAJOR IN EDUCATION. TONI IS PRESENTLY EMPLOYED AS A TEACHER BY THE HIGHLINE SCHOOL DISTRICT, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON. SHE IS A MEMBER OF ALPHA PHI SORORITY. TONI ALSO HAS ANOTHER THING GOING FOR SHE SPENT A SEMESTER ABROAD IN ROME, ITALY, WHILE ATTENDING COLLEGE. BESIDES STEEPING HERSELF IN THE GRANDUER OF ROME AND THE GLORIOUS DAYS OF POMPEII, I AM SURE SHE LEARNED TO COOK CHICKEN CACCIATORI AND GOOD OLD ITALIAN SPAGHETTI THE WAY THE ITALIANS DO. I HOPE YOU DID, BECAUSE YOUR MOTHER-IN-LAW IS A HOTSHOT IN THE KITCHEN.

THE YOUNG HUSBAND, MICHAEL, IS ALSO A JUNE, 1968 GRUADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PUGET SOUND WITH A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION MAJOR. AS A COLLEGE STUDENT, I UNDERSTAND MICHAEL USED TO WRITE LETTERS TO HIS PARENTS ABOUT HOW HARD HE WAS STUDYING. BUT FROM THE BRIDE HE CAPTURED, WE CAN ONLY DEDUCE THAT HE WAS ALSO ENGAGED IN SOME OTHER BUSINESS BESIDES EARNING A BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION DEGREE. I THINK WE ALL AGREE THAT HE DID WELL ON BOTH COUNTS.

NOW THAT HIS SEARCH FOR A DEGREE AND A BRIDE IS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED, MICHAEL IS EMPLOYED AS AN OFFICE MANAGER OF HAROLD BIRD, INC., A CONSTRUCTION COMPANY. WITH THIS EXPERIENCE, I'M SURE HE WILL BE ABLE TO BUILD A NICE FAMILY UNIT.

MICHAEL WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THETA CHI FRATERNITY AND A MEMBER OF ALPHA KAPPI PSI BUSINESS HONORARY FRATERNITY. FOR HIS OUTSTANDING COLLEGIATE ACCOMPLISHMENTS, HE WAS CITED IN "WHO'S WHO IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES."

YOU CAN SEE THAT THIS YOUNG COUPLE ALREADY HAS MANY ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO LOOK BACK UPON WITH A FEELING OF PRIDE

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO INTRODUCE TO YOU, MR. AND MRS. MICHAEL HARA.

2.

TOAST TO THE YOUNG BRIDE AND GROOM.

AFTER THE TOAST, THE MUSICAL GROUP WILL PLAY \_\_\_\_\_  
AS A DEDICATION TO THE HAPPY FUTURE OF TONI AND MICHAEL HARA.

THE END OF THE PROGRAM IS NEAR. BUT BEFORE WE GO BACK TO SOCIALIZING AND ENJOYING OURSELVES, TONI AND MICHAEL AND THEIR PARENTS HAVE REQUESTED ME TO EXTEND THEIR HEARTFELT THANKS TO ALL OF YOU. YOUR PRESENCE HERE TONIGHT HAS MADE TONI'S AND MICHAEL'S WEDDING CEREMONIES WHICH STARTED IN SEATTLE COME TO A HAPPY CONCLUSION. YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS PERIOD OF HAPPINESS, YOUR MATERIAL GIFTS AND YOUR ENCOURAGING PRESENCE ARE DEEPLY APPRECIATED. YOUR CONTINUED INTEREST IN THE PROGRSSS OF THIS YOUNG COUPLE WILL ALSO BE APPRECIATED.

ERNIE AND CLAIRE HAVE ASKED ME TO TELL YOU TO RELAX AND ENJOY YOURSELVES. THE EVENING IS STILL YOUNG.



# COPY

28 July 1969

Veterans of Foreign Wars of  
the United States  
Department of Hawaii  
1812 Kalakaua Avenue  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

Dear Officers and Members:

Thank you for your kind invitation to help you celebrate the Testimonial luau honoring the Department Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Department President of its auxiliary on August 2, 1969.

I regret sincerely my inability to attend due to my duties in Washington. However, I would appreciate it very much if you would extend to Department Commander George Maile and Department President Florence Chase my personal congratulations for great leadership and performance of duty. Please extend also to all of the officers and members of both units, my best wishes for continued service to veterans and to the community at large.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



# *Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States*

FOUNDED 1899

## DEPARTMENT OF HAWAII

1812 KALAKAUA AVENUE • HONOLULU, HAWAII 96815



OFFICE OF THE

PHONE: 941-1011

The Veterans of Foreign Wars and it's Auxiliary, cordially invites you to be our guests at a Testimonial Luau honoring our Department Commander, George Maile, and our Department President, Florence Chase on August 2, 1969, at 6:30 p. m. on our clubhouse grounds at 1812 Kalakaua Ave. There will be music, hula dancing and singing. Come and help us celebrate.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF HAWAII



1812 KALAKAUA AVENUE  
HONOLULU, HAWAII 96815



SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
SUITE 602  
CAPITAL INVESTMENT BLDG.  
HONOLULU, HI

FOR RELEASE

Tuesday, July 22, 1969

5:00 p.m. HST

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE STATEMENT

By Senator Daniel K. Inouye

Mr. President,

The most crucial decision facing this first session of the 91st Congress, and perhaps this and a number of subsequent Congresses, is the decision now before us on deployment of the anti-ballistic system known as Safeguard.

This decision has been much debated. It has been the subject of much controversy in our nation's press and our nation's colleges. It has been the subject of extensive hearings and debate in our Armed Services Committee and here on the floor of the Senate. It has been debated throughout the life of this Congress and this Administration and was debated in preceding Congresses. Despite this lengthy and full examination of the Safeguard system it continues to divide men of good intention, of deep concern and commitment to the welfare and security of this nation.

The debate divides our experts as it divides our citizens and the Members of this body. This division is no less real among those of us on the Armed Services Committee who have heard all the secret testimony than among the Members of the Senate as a whole, who have now also heard a summary of ~~that testimony~~. And ~~as a~~ ~~as a~~ measure of the profoundness of this issue we see a public equally polarized.

The division is not a partisan one albeit a larger percentage of the President's Party supports his proposal than is true of the opposition. But the division is real, and the decision we are about to make is of critical importance to the future of this nation and the peace of the world.

A number of issues have been raised about this system's deployment which casts doubt as to its cost, its workability, its justification, and which question its potential effect upon our security, upon our adversaries' decisions, and upon the very future of civilization.

While the decision we are about to make is a most crucial one I would suggest its true significance is not based on the question of technical feasibility, although serious doubts are justified. The inability to test this system operationally will always limit our knowledge of its realibility. We are being asked to approve a system indescribably complex. We are being asked to authorize deployment of a system for which some components are still undeveloped and untried.

I do not question our ability to develop a system which will destroy some incoming nuclear warheads in flight. But whether the ratio destroyed is

one in four or three in four will not alter my opposition. Even if we accept the estimates that our ABM could destroy more than 70 percent of incoming nuclear warheads those which will not be stopped will make the halting of others a matter of small moment.

The degree of its perfectibility is not the crucial issue, however. How many strikes, fifty or more times as powerful as the bomb at Hiroshima or Nagasaki, are we willing to consider acceptable? I refuse to support a national policy which envisions such destruction as acceptable.

Neither is the decision we are about to make of such significance because of its cost. This is true whether we calculate that cost to be merely the \$759,100,000 in this authorization bill, or \$7.9 billion, \$12 billion, \$40 billion or even an eventual several hundred billion dollars, as has been estimated by some. Demands on our resources have never been greater, nor our unmet needs more obvious or more pressing, but savings alone do not justify my opposition.

Yes, we have good reason to question the allocation of our resources when this Government requests \$44 for the education of each American boy and girl while requesting \$20,400 for ammunition for each North Vietnamese, and Viet Cong regular or guerrilla estimated to be in South Vietnam.

We have good cause to be concerned when we find an administration so short for funds at home that it will slash \$25,000 from our tuberculosis program in Hawaii while going forward with the development of an F-14 fighter plane which will have a price in excess of 100 times that for each plane.

We have good cause to question our system of national priorities when we cannot find funds to feed poor children or save our cities while the billions spent in the name of national security go largely unquestioned and unchecked. But cost is not the primary reason for my concern.

Nor is my concern primarily a response to the changing rationale being put forth in defense of the deployment of an ABM system although we have good reason to question its shifting rationale. A system is suspect which is sold first as the answer to a possible attack by the Chinese on our cities only to be re-packaged, (after objection by those to be saved from such an attack), with but slight modification. It is now sold as the ideal weapon to protect our missile silos from a Russian first strike and our cities from accidental attack. We have good reason to question a defense system

designed against an assumed threat which the Secretary of Defense and the Director of our CIA cannot agree as being a goal of the Soviet High Command. But my deepest concern is not primarily because this is indeed a "missile in search of a mission".

Nor is my concern so great because of the inconsistencies of those who advocate deployment, although this too causes me some uneasiness. We find the President defending a two site system while his Secretary of Defense refuses to endorse a proposed compromise because it fails to provide authorization for the acquisition of twelve sites.

While I am concerned with the testimony which demonstrates that our Safeguard system can be overwhelmed by the enemy through only a relatively small increase in his offensive capacity neither is this the reason for my ultimate objection. Rather that objection is based on my firm belief that we are now at one of those watersheds in our nation's history when we must decide our course for administrations and generations yet to come.

I believe we must make a decision now as to whether our security and our future lies in the direction of ever increasing levels of armed might and another great step in the arms race, or whether we will finally also take some risks in the name of peace. For let there be no question about it---an additional giant step in this arms race---even with a so-called defensive weapon--- will only heighten the level of terror. To deploy Safeguard is not to embark on a course without risk. It is not a harmless American "security blanket".

We Americans have spent a thousand billion dollars in defense against a possible Russian attack since World War II. Many billions of these have been wasted as we now know. This is not to say that the threat was not real but rather that our mutual response has provided no real security but only an increase in the level of terror.

In his June 4th Air Force Academy address, President Nixon stated "The adversaries in the world today are not in conflict because they are armed. They are armed because they are in conflict and have not yet learned peaceful ways to resolve their conflicting national interest."

I believe that such a view of the world is unreal and unrealistic. The level of arms is not alone the result of conflict but also increases the level of conflict. Our response in the Cuban missile crisis was not a response to a new level of conflict but a response to the introduction of a new level of

armed threat. We developed MIRV in response to GALOSH, not because GALOSH represented a new level of conflict; but, rather because it might make inoperative some of our retaliatory power.

Today we are at long last moving toward negotiations with the Soviet Union over our mutual level of armaments. For us to at this time upset the delicate parity which presently describes our relationship is to destine those negotiations to failure.

I say this not because I believe the Soviets will automatically respond favorably to a unilateral reduction in our military capability, for I do not believe they will. Nor do I take this position because I believe the Russians will respond to a sign of weakness on our part with restraint on theirs. They will not.

I oppose present deployment of the ABM Safeguard system because it will in fact frustrate our efforts at achieving a higher level of security. Security can only be achieved through a mutually agreed upon limit on the level of our armaments. The Russians will never agree to negotiate meaningful reductions from a position of announced inferiority. If we seek to negotiate with a new weapon system as one more high card in our deck then they will refuse until they likewise have acquired an added increment of power--- and so the cycle continues while our cities smoulder, our poor remain under-fed, our air grows ever more polluted and our dreams for a better future are daily tarnished and frustrated by the demands of today's escalating arms race.

We must therefore move forward to the pending negotiations while in a period of delicate balance---as equal participants---seeking a mutual victory over the forces of conflict which have so dominated our thoughts and our lives. If we have learned a single lesson from these past 25 years of negotiation and competition with the Soviet Union it is that every stimulus we provide engenders their response. The atomic age and the age of intercontinental ballistic missilery has brought us to that stage where there can be no hope for peace nor for victory over a like armed adversary through increased power. The only possible victory is a mutual victory over the continuing upward spiral in the level of armaments. This then must be our search.

Our deterrent capacity remains. Such deterrence is based not alone on our land-based ICBMs but includes our Polaris fleet, our strategic bombers, and the additional nuclear striking power we have in our arsenal at sea and abroad.

I urge therefore my colleagues in the Senate to join with me in opposition to this so-called Safeguard system. We are at an important juncture in our nation's history, and indeed in the history of man. The choice is clear. The time is now.



STATEMENT BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE

Senate Floor

July 15, 1969

Mr. President:

Twice I have spoken in this body about the Trans-Pacific Route Case. Shortly after the President's decision to intervene in the case and overturn the Civil Aeronautics Board's decision, I pointed out the need for new competitive air service to Hawaii and urged the President to arrive at a decision quickly. After his review the President on April 24 instructed the Board to restrict competitive service on many of the routes originally authorized by the CAB and to reopen the case for further proceedings to select a carrier to serve the South Pacific route decreed by the President. The President's April decision had the unfortunate side effect of postponing further new domestic air service to Hawaii. The international and domestic phases of the case are so intertwined that a final result cannot be reached in the domestic case until all issues have been resolved in the international phase.

On July 1, I told the Senate that the delay was creating havoc with the Hawaiian economy, geared as it is to tourism. I said that the vacation plans of thousands of Americans had been frustrated because of the failure to implement new air service. I urged the President to make his final decision quickly in order to "minimize the inconvenience and economic damage that is occurring daily."

On July 2, the President's latest decision was announced. Once again it spelled confusion and increased economic catastrophe for the State of Hawaii. For the second time, the President rejected the CAB's recommendation that Continental Air Lines be selected to serve the South Pacific air route. He sent the case back to the CAB for additional consideration within even tighter Presidential guidelines that have been interpreted to compel the CAB to select a large trunk airline to serve the route.

In the meantime, new domestic air service has been postponed--this time indefinitely until the President approves a carrier for the South Pacific routes. Although the President said he did not mean for domestic service to be delayed further, he remanded the case to the CAB with full knowledge that any change would require reconsideration of the domestic authority authorized by the CAB in January. The CAB must now engage in careful deliberations to arrive at a domestic service pattern that will fit the international route structured by the President.

Mr. President, whatever the final outcome of the Trans-Pacific Case and as a citizen of Hawaii, I would be pleased and delighted to welcome to my Island State any of the major competitive airlines, be it Continental, Braniff, Alaskan,

Western, Eastern, American, Trans-World, or another, I am convinced that the present statutory procedure for the granting of international air routes must be changed. In the first place, there is serious question that the President acted properly and within the statutory authority delegated to him by the Congress in the Federal Aviation Act. His actions appear to have invaded areas of responsibility which the Congress delegated solely to the CAB--areas completely outside the limited responsibility of the President in these cases, confined as it is to considerations of foreign policy and national defense and security. His actions have also jeopardized the integrity and continued independence of the CAB as a regulatory agency.

The allegations of impropriety on the part of the President standing alone are grave enough to justify Congressional investigation of the Trans-Pacific case. But I suggest, Mr. President, such an investigation is required, whether or not the President acted within his power. The simple fact is that a procedure which permits route cases to degenerate into a debacle like the Trans-Pacific Case does not serve the public interest. Such a procedure must be reviewed, and changed if necessary, to prevent the reoccurrence of a fiasco like the Trans-Pacific Case.

My State has suffered economic damage, the traveling public has been hurt, the CAB has been mauled, and the only airlines to benefit thus far are the large incumbent carriers who make more money with each day of delay. I believe the Senate Aviation Subcommittee must look into this matter. It is the Congress' constitutional power to regulate commerce with foreign nations that is at stake, as well as the provision of adequate airline service and the maintenance of competition in the airline industry.

Mr. President, I urge the Chairman of the Aviation Subcommittee, the distinguished Senior Senator from Washington, and the Vice Chairman, the distinguished Junior Senator from Nevada, to schedule hearings at the earliest possible date to investigate the manner in which the Trans-Pacific Case has been handled and to consider legislative changes in the Federal Aviation Act which may be required to protect the public and the CAB in the exercise of its delegated powers.

YOUTH AND DISSENT

WITHOUT DOUBT, WE HAVE TODAY THE GREATEST EXPONENTS, PRACTITIONERS, AND BENEFICIARIES, OF STUDENT POWER AND YOUTH POWER IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

YES, THIS IS A STORMY PERIOD IN OUR NATION'S AND OUR WORLD'S HISTORY--BUT IT IS NOT THE FIRST.

WHILE YOUTH POWER IS NOT NEW, TO BE SURE, THEY HAVE NEVER BEFORE BEEN SO NUMEROUS NOR THEIR PRESENCE SO AUDIBLE NOR SO VISIBLE. WHILE THE WORLD'S STUDENT POPULATION HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED IN THE PAST 10 YEARS, ITS IMPACT EXCEEDS THE INCREASE IN MERE NUMBERS.

THE REVOLT OF THE YOUNG IS NOT JUST AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON. IT SHAKES THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PARIS, PRAGUE, ROME, BERLIN, TOKYO, AND PEIPING, JUST AS IT DOES IN CHICAGO, AT BERKELEY, COLUMBIA, WISCONSIN, SAN FRANCISCO STATE, AND HARVARD. ALL OUR SOCIETIES ARE "UPTIGHT" WITH CRISIS IN WHICH THE YOUNG HAVE SPEARHEADED THE CHALLENGE TO EXISTING AUTHORITY.

EXISTING AUTHORITY.

WHILE THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FOCUS OF STUDENT REBELLION IN PRAGUE, IN PEIPING, IN LONDON, OR IN HONOLULU, THEY APPEAR TO SHARE A COMMON LOSS OF FAITH IN THE CAPACITY OF THEIR EXISTING INSTITUTIONS TO REFORM. THE YOUNG ALSO SHARE A COMMON IMPATIENCE WITH THINGS AS THEY ARE.

TO THE COLLEGE ADMINISTRATOR, OR THE POLITICAL CONVENTION MANAGER, THEY POSE A PROBLEM OF PROPER RESPONSE. SHOULD WE CONFRONT OR ABDICATE? DO WE ACCEDE TO THEIR EVER MORE EXTREME DEMANDS IN THE HOPE OF SATISFYING THEIR HUNGER FOR CHANGE--OR POWER? DO WE ATTEMPT TO AVOID, EVADE, POSTPONE, IGNORE, AND HOPEFULLY, EVENTUALLY DISCOURAGE, THOSE WHO ARE CONFRONTATION BOUND? OR DO WE MEET FORCE WITH SUPERIOR FORCE AND MAKE OUR HALLS OF LEARNING BATTLEFIELDS?

AND FOR THE LAW MAKER AND THE POLITICIAN, A PROBLEM IS ALSO POSED. DO WE CONDEMN DISSENT AND BACK CONSTITUTED AUTHORITY TO THE HILT? OR, DO WE UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF EACH GENERATION TO QUESTION THE

EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT,

EXISTING ESTABLISHMENT, TO CHALLENGE OUR INSTITUTIONS, TO THE END THAT THESE MODIFY THEIR RULES AND THEIR ROLES TO MORE NEARLY MEET THE NEEDS OF THE TIMES AND INCREASE THEIR RELEVANCE FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW AND FOR THOSE THEY PROFESS TO SERVE?

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR ANSWER TO THOSE WHO ACCUSE US OF HYPOCRISY AS WE SUPPORT VIOLENCE IN VIETNAM WHILE WE CONDEMN VIOLENCE IN OUR OWN CITIES? HOW DO WE SATISFY THE DOUBTS OF OUR CHILDREN UNLESS OUR ACTS MORE NEARLY REFLECT THE IDEALS WE ESPOUSE?

TODAY'S YOUTH WAS PRECEDED BY A GENERATION WHOSE EMERGING YEARS WERE MARKED INSTEAD WITH CHARGES OF PUBLIC INDIFFERENCE AND APATHY. SCHOOL WAS BUT A PASSPORT TO ECONOMIC SECURITY. SPARE TIME WAS SPENT ACQUIRING AUTOMOBILES, MOTOR BIKES, AND FANCY CLOTHES. THESE, TOO, WERE THE OBJECT OF PARENTAL AND SOCIETAL CONCERN AND YET, TODAY WE ARE TEMPTED, PARENT AND FACULTY ALIKE, TO LOOK UPON THEM AS THE "GOOD OLD DAYS."

WHILE THIS GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE MAY FOLLOW ONE MORE PLACID THAN THEY, THEY ARE NOT THE FIRST. THE YOUNG HAVE NEARLY ALWAYS HAD SPIRIT, IDEALISM, IMPATIENCE

WITH THE OLD, AND A DESIRE FOR CHANGE. AND THOSE NATIONS WHICH HAVE HAD THE FORESIGHT AND THE COURAGE TO WELCOME THIS SPIRIT AND NOURISH IT, HAVE PROFITED THEREBY. THOSE WHICH HAVE SOUGHT TO STILL IT--TO SUPPRESS IT, HAVE INHIBITED PROGRESS, IMPOVERISHED THE SPIRIT, AND LIMITED THE FUTURE OF THEIR NATION.

WE CANNOT DEMAND CONFORMITY WITHOUT LIMITING INITIATIVE. WE CANNOT REIN TIGHT THE SPIRIT OF THE YOUNG WITHOUT LIMITING THEIR STRIDE. WE CANNOT URGE THEM FORWARD TO A HOPEFUL FUTURE WITH A HEAVY HAND ON THE PAST.

"BUT," I CAN HEAR MY GENERATION SAY, "WHY CAN'T THEY FOLLOW IN OUR FOOTSTEPS." "WHY CAN'T THEY SEEK CHANGE AS WE DID? WE DIDN'T WALK THE STREETS WITH PLACARDS. WE DIDN'T INTRUDE OUR PROTEST DAILY ONTO THE MORNING HEADLINES OR THE EVENING TV NEWS. WE WORKED WITHIN THE ESTABLISHED ORDER AND IN DUE TIME TOOK CONTROL."

IS PERMISSIVENESS THE REASON? IS OUR FAILURE TO DISCIPLINE THE CAUSE? I THINK NOT.

COMMUNICATIONS IS THE SPUR.

COMMUNICATIONS IS THE SPUR. THE MEDIUM IS THE MESSAGE. AND THE MEDIA BOTH INTENSIFY AND ACCELERATE THE DEMAND FOR CHANGE AS WELL AS SHAPING ITS FORM.

WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD POVERTY AND VIOLENCE--WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD PESTILENCE AND WAR--BUT NOT IN IMMEDIATE LIVING COLOR! MODERN COMMUNICATIONS HAS SPANNED BOTH DISTANCE AND TIME. THE ASSASSINATION OF A MARTIN LUTHER KING IS DISSEMINATED IMMEDIATELY TO ALL CORNERS OF OUR LAND AND GENERATES AN INSTANT--IF UNFORTUNATE--RESPONSE.

IT IS NATURAL FOR OUR YOUNG TO RESPOND. IT IS NATURAL FOR THEM TO GET INVOLVED. OUR CONCERN SHOULD BE MORE WITH THOSE WHO "COP OUT" THAN WITH THOSE WHO CONFRONT US.

IF THEY DIDN'T REACT THEN WE SHOULD REALLY BE CONCERNED. IF THEY WEREN'T MOVED BY THE IMAGE ON THE SCREEN OF A MARTIN LUTHER KING WITH "I HAVE A DREAM", AND A BULL CONNOR CHASING BLACK PEOPLE WITH VICIOUS POLICE DOGS AND CATTLE PRODS, THEN SOMETHING IS DREADFULLY WRONG.

IF THE VIEW OF ONE HUMAN

IF THE VIEW OF ONE HUMAN BEATING ANOTHER SENSELESS WITH BLOOD STREAMING FROM HIS HEAD--WHETHER POLICE OR THUG--DOESN'T MOVE OUR CHILDREN, THEN THERE IS LITTLE HOPE THAT WE CAN ROUSE THEIR CONCERN FOR OUR FELLOW MAN--OR FOR CIVILIZATION'S FUTURE.

THEY SHOULD REACT TO INJUSTICE. THEY SHOULD RESPOND TO THE PLEA FOR HUMAN DECENCY. THEY SHOULD BE REPELLED BY BLOODSHED AND VIOLENCE.

NOW THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE THOUGHTFUL AMONG US SHOULD HAVE NO CONCERN WITH THE DIRECTION AND FORM OF MUCH OF THE DISSENT WHICH PERMEATES OUR YOUTHFUL SOCIETY. THOSE WHO SHOUT OBSCENITIES FROM THE ROOFTOPS--WHO SEEK BUT TO SHOCK AND NOT TO REFORM--WHO SEEK BUT TO HARASS AND NEVER TO HARNESS THEIR ENERGY TO ANY IDEAL--ILLUSTRATE AN IMPOVERISHMENT, BOTH OF THE VOCABULARY AND THE SPIRIT.

THOSE WHO CALL TO ACTION AND NEVER TO REASON, WHO SUBMIT NON-NEGOTIABLE DEMANDS WHILE SEEKING UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FROM THE ACTS THEY HAVE COMMITTED AND THE DESTRUCTION THEY HAVE WROUGHT, DESERVE OUR STRONG REBUKE AND DEMAND



STRONG REBUKE AND DEMAND OUR DISCIPLINE.

THOSE WHO SEEK BUT TO DESTROY THE WORKS OF THE PAST, AND THE PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT, BECAUSE OF ITS IMPERFECTION, MUST BE RESISTED WITH ALL THE PROPER TOOLS AT OUR COMMAND. WE CANNOT PERMIT THE DESTRUCTION OF OUR GREAT INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING--NOR CAN WE PERMIT A FORCED NATIONAL IMPOTENCY IN WORLD AFFAIRS--BY A HANDFUL OF MILITANT AND YOUTHFUL ANARCHISTS AMONG US. WE MUST CALL TO QUESTION THOSE FEW YOUTHFUL MILITANTS WHO START BY REJECTING ALL HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP AND THEN CLOSE THE GENERATION GAP IN THEIR OWN WAY BY ADOPTING AS THEIR PATRONS MAO TSE-TUNG AND HO-CHI-MINH, THE OLDEST AND STEADIEST PRACTITIONERS OF VIOLENCE ALIVE TODAY.

WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE ILLUSIONS OF RIGHTEOUS COERCION BY HITLER YOUTH AND THE KOMSONOL ALSO PAVED THE WAY FOR "REFORMS" WHICH MADE NON-NEGOTIABLE ALL THE DEMANDS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ESTABLISHMENT.

AND THOSE WHO SHOULD BE MOST CONCERNED WITH THESE ASPECTS OF

THE PRESENT ARE THOSE

THE PRESENT ARE THOSE WHO LOOK TO THE FUTURE--THE YOUNG AMONG US, AND THE YOUNG AT HEART.

IN OUR SEARCH FOR ORDER, WE MUST HOWEVER, GUARD AGAINST THE NARROW STRUCTURES OF CONFORMITY. IF WE SEEK SECURITY FROM CRITICISM BY OUR SENIOR POSITIONS, THEN WE WILL NEITHER DESERVE, NOR RECEIVE, RESPECT, NOR WILL THE INSTITUTIONS WE FASHION.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT IT WAS AN ADOLPH HITLER WHO SAID, "THE MOST DANGEROUS MAN IS THE MAN WHO THINKS AND QUESTIONS." WE CAN'T HAVE THE EXCITEMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE STRAIT JACKET OF DICTATORSHIP.

THE PROBLEMS OF THE GENERATION GAP, WHILE NOT UNIQUE TO, ARE CERTAINLY PRESENT, IN HAWAII. SUCH ALIENATION FINDS FERTILE GROUND IN A SOCIETY WHERE, MORE THAN ELSEWHERE, BOTH PARENTS WORK AWAY FROM HOME AND ARE FREQUENTLY EMPLOYED DURING THE HOURS WHEN THEIR CHILDREN ARE NOT IN SCHOOL. A GAP WILL GROW--A FEELING OF PARENTAL UNCONCERN DEVELOPS.

THE CHILD WHO HAS NO MEMORY

THE CHILD WHO HAS NO MEMORY OF DEPRESSION-TIME UNEMPLOYMENT  
*may* WILL ~~LITTLE~~ UNDERSTAND <sup>*ably*</sup> OR APPRECIATE THAT WHAT DRIVES MOTHER AND  
*have* FATHER ~~HAS~~ DEEPER ROOTS THAN THE DESIRE FOR A NEW CAR, A NEW DRESS,  
OR A COLOR TELEVISION SET. BUT WHERE HE CAN GET 10 DOLLARS MORE  
READILY THAN HE CAN GET TEN MINUTES OF LOVE AND ATTENTION, HE HAS  
SOME REASON FOR FEELING ALIENATION, AND TO QUESTION OUR VALUE SYSTEM.

WHAT THEN CAN WE RECOMMEND TO THOSE WHO EARNESTLY SEEK TO RESOLVE  
THE CONFLICT WHILE PROTECTING GAINS AND OUR INVESTMENT? AS WITH OTHER  
VEXING PROBLEMS, THERE IS NO ONE OR EASY SOLUTION. BUT THERE IS, I  
BELIEVE, A DEEP DESIRE ON THE PART OF THE VAST MAJORITY ON BOTH SIDES  
OF THIS GAP TO BRIDGE IT WITHOUT ABDICATING EITHER GOALS OR RESPONSIBILITY.

THE YOUNG CANNOT RESPONSIBLY DEMAND THAT THE STUDENTS BECOME  
THE TEACHERS, THAT WHAT IS TO BE TAUGHT IS TO BE DETERMINED SOLELY BY  
THOSE TO BE TAUGHT. BUT THEY MUST INSIST THAT WHAT IS TAUGHT HAVE  
RELEVANCE FOR THEIR LIVES

RELEVANCE FOR THEIR LIVES TODAY AND TOMORROW. COURSES OF STUDY WORTHY OF THE NAME, HOWEVER, ARE DEVELOPED BY NEITHER ADMINISTRATIVE NOR STUDENT FIAT. AND THE YOUNG ARE RIGHT TO INSIST THAT THE MAIN PURPOSE OF AN INSTITUTION OF LEARNING IS TO TEACH RATHER THAN PERFORM GOVERNMENTAL SPONSORED RESEARCH, AND INSIST THAT THE ABILITY TO PERFORM THAT MAIN PURPOSE TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER THE NUMBER OF PUBLISHED, BUT LARGELY UNREAD, ARTICLES TO A FACULTY MEMBER'S CREDIT.

AND THOSE OF US IN THE POLITICAL FIELD MUST ALSO PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR MEANINGFUL PARTICIPATION IN THE COUNCILS OF OUR PARTY. HOW LONG HAVE BOTH OUR PARTIES ESPOUSED GIVING OUR YOUNG THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND STILL NOT ACTED? HOW LONG HAVE WE WELCOMED THEM AS ENVELOPE STUFFERS AND DOOR BELL RINGERS WHILE EXCLUDING THEM TOTALLY FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE FRAMING OF ISSUES AND IN THE SELECTION OF CANDIDATES?

WE MUST OPEN UP OUR SOCIETIES TO THEIR FULLER PARTICIPATION. WE MUST HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR CAPACITY TO RESPOND WITH RESPONSIBILITY.

FOR AS WE DOUBT OUR CHILDREN

FOR AS WE DOUBT OUR CHILDREN WE DENY THEIR FUTURE.

BUT THE FORCES WHICH DRIVE US APART MUST ALSO RESPOND TO TIME AND REASON. JUST AS THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THE YOUNG HAVE BEEN ON THE MARCH, NEITHER IS IT THE FIRST GENERATION WHICH HAS BEEN CHALLENGED. MINE, TOO, ENTERED ADULTHOOD IN A WORLD AT WAR, A WORLD WITH HUNGER, A WORLD WITH HATE. SO WHILE I PLEAD FOR UNDERSTANDING OF THE YOUNG BY THOSE OF US NOT SO YOUNG, I ALSO PLEAD FOR AN UNDERSTANDING, A TOLERANCE, AND AN APPRECIATION OF "THE ESTABLISHMENT" BY THOSE WHO 'CHAFE AT THE BIT' AND ARE EAGER TO SHOW THEIR METTLE.

THOREAU, TOO, CALLED FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE. AND WHEN EMERSON VISITING HIM IN JAIL ASKED "WHY ARE YOU INSIDE?" THOREAU'S RESPONSE HAS A CURRENT RING, "WHY ARE YOU OUTSIDE?"

WHAT WE SEE HAPPENING TODAY VIEWED FROM THE LONG STREAM OF HISTORY, HAS A CYCLICAL PATTERN WHEN AS THE YOUNG SEEK TO BREAK THE CIRCUIT OF CONTINUITY. BUT I HAVE HOPES THAT THEY TOO WILL FIND THAT THE GREATEST GAPS ARE NOT GENERATIONAL BUT RATHER THOSE INSIDE EACH GENERATION. AND TRULY CLOSE

GENERATION. AND TRULY CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WILL BE FORGED BY LINKS  
ACROSS GENERATIONS BY THOSE OF WISDOM AND GENEROUS SPIRIT.

AND THUS VIEWED, THERE IS SOME REASON FOR HOPE--FOR BOTH  
GENERATIONS--AND FOR THE FUTURE OF MAN.

SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INOUE  
Bethune-Cookman College  
Daytona Beach, Florida  
March 19, 1969

Like many Americans, I was deeply disappointed with President Nixon's recent decision to develop and deploy an anti-ballistic missile system reportedly to protect this nation from an onslaught of Communist Chinese ICBMs. And, he has named this ABM system "SAFEGUARD". If this problem were less serious and less deadly, I would be tempted to suggest that the President's Madison Avenue oriented special commission for the naming of military projects somehow got its files a bit mixed up with deodorant and anti perspirant commercials.

President Nixon had a rare opportunity -- an opportunity that seldom presents itself to the head of state of a major nation -- to take this earth one step away -- a very important step away -- from the threat of nuclear war and one very important step closer to peace. Because there now seems to exist a balance in the instruments of death and terror between the United States and the Soviet Union, now would seem to be the time to enter into meaningful discussions with Soviet officials to reduce the bulging stockpiles of offensive and defensive nuclear missiles. Instead, our President's decision could well spur the escalation and intensification of the nuclear arms race. I can assure you that every effort will be exerted in the United States Senate to veto the President's "SAFEGUARD" decision and place ourselves in the pathway of nuclear sanity.

It was twenty-four years ago -- August 6, 1945 to be exact -- while I was recuperating in an Army hospital that I heard President Harry S. Truman announce the detonation of a new and powerful bomb over the City of Hiroshima. Later I was stunned to learn that this new weapon -- called the atomic bomb -- had the explosive power of 20,000 tons of TNT. Since that fateful and fearful day, the picture of the mushroom cloud has become rather commonplace, the explosive power of the bomb has multiplied, and sophisticated delivery systems have been developed to carry these nuclear warheads to distant targets.

Today, twenty-four years later, the United States is armed with a strategic nuclear force of one thousand seven hundred and ten intercontinental ballistic missiles. Of this number, a thousand are of the Minuteman I and II vintage, each carrying a nuclear warhead with the explosive power of over one megaton of TNT. This force includes fifty-four Titan ICBM's, each carrying a warhead with the explosive power of approximately five megatons of TNT. And, finally our strategic nuclear force has in constant readiness 656 Polaris ICBM's carried by forty one swift, silent and long range Polaris submarines. Each Polaris missile carries a one megaton warhead.

Our current explosive and destructive capacity has been estimated at 200,000 megatons or twenty billion tons or forty trillion pounds of TNT. The magnitude of our destructive capability can be clearly shown when we recall that less than two megatons of explosives were expended

during all of World War II. Two of our Polaris missiles alone carry explosives more destructive than all the bombs, mortar shells, artillery shells, grenades, mines, and booby traps detonated during the Second World War.

At this very moment, our strategic nuclear force is capable of destroying two-fifths of the Soviet population and about three-quarters of its industrial capacity even after sustaining the heaviest nuclear attack the Soviet Union can inflict on us. In all practical terms, this is total destruction.

As powerful as our current strategic force is today, our destructive capacity will increase many times over with the operational deployment of two new strategic missiles, the Poseidon and Minuteman III. Both strategic missiles are programmed to carry MIRV's, multiple individually guided re-entry vehicles, which are capable of ejecting warheads separately on different targets. For example, each Poseidon is scheduled to carry ten separate warheads electronically aimed at different targets. In addition, each Poseidon will be carrying decoy devices, which would make each Poseidon appear on the enemy radar screen, not as one warhead, but as several dozens. This targeting flexibility will give the multiple warhead missile the amazing ability to elude and overwhelm ABM defense systems.

The destructive power of the Soviet Union vis a vis the United States is equally great. While its present strategic nuclear force is less sophisticated, the Soviet's first strike attack can result in an unbelievably high number of fatalities in the United States, primarily because of the concentration of our population in our great cities. According to a study released by the Pentagon about four years ago, the Soviet Union currently has a first strike capacity to kill over sixty per cent of our population or over one hundred and twenty million Americans. This attack could also destroy over sixty per cent of our industrial and productive capacity. Just imagine what New York City will look like an hour after this Soviet attack.

Projections for the Soviet's strategic nuclear force five years hence include the addition of a Polaris type nuclear missile carrying submarine fleet, the deployment of Minuteman III type missiles armed with multiple warheads and a fractional orbit bombardment system with outer space delivery vehicles capable of avoiding our present day early warning system.

For the past two decades, nuclear holocaust has been prevented by the realization that nuclear war can only result in mutual destruction. The assured destruction capacity of both nations has, thus far, been powerful and persuasive enough to deter the use of nuclear weapons.

This nuclear detente which has forestalled the eruption of a thermo-nuclear war is threatened by the development of nuclear weapons by Communist China. However, the Red Chinese nuclear arsenal is reported to have less than twenty bombs. More importantly, these Chinese bombs must today be delivered by middle range bombers. The Red Chinese are



negotiate only from a position of superiority. Can you imagine the Soviets deciding to begin discussions because they are admittedly weaker than us? Use of the word "superiority" belongs in the semantics of the arms race but not as a prelude to meaningful discussions with the Soviets.

The deployment of President Nixon's "SAFEGUARD" ABM system could well develop as a base for a Soviet oriented thick ABM system. After serving for six years on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I am convinced that the deployment of a thick ABM system will be astronomically expensive, impractical, and dangerous and, above all, contrary to our national interest.

This leads to my third reason -- cost. President Nixon's "SAFEGUARD" ABM system has a present price tag of \$6,000,000,000. There is one thing certain about military and defense projects -- the final cost always exceeds the initial estimated cost. And, God forbid, if this "SAFEGUARD" system serves as a spur in the nuclear arms race, the final cost will most certainly exceed a hundred billion dollars. Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, who served as our Nation's first Air Force Secretary, recently suggested that a thick ABM system may cost in the neighborhood of four hundred billion dollars. According to the former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, this exorbitantly expensive ABM will not necessarily decrease our fatality rate in a nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union, if the Soviets responded to our deployment of a thick ABM system by increasing and strengthening their strategic nuclear force by adding to it more and better sophisticated MIRV type missiles. During the past several weeks many experts have appeared in Congress to present their views on the ABM. I recall one expert suggesting that an American ABM system was justified and desirable because an effective system could destroy over seventy per cent of incoming enemy missiles. These statistics should demonstrate the utter futility of the ABM system. Just imagine the Soviets firing eight thermonuclear ICBMs aimed at Washington, D. C. With an effective ABM system only two missiles with their multimegaton warheads will strike Washington. The residents of Washington can be comforted to learn that they will be killed only once and not four times. Seriously, it matters not whether Washington is hit by two or eight warheads. The city will be completely destroyed.

Therefore, while an ABM system cannot guarantee security, it can, and most certainly will, trigger the escalation of the nuclear arms race. The deployment of an ABM system in our country will most likely motivate the Soviet Union to develop more and better offensive nuclear weapons with which to inundate and, thus, offset our defensive strength. Rather than providing security, the billions spent on deploying the ABM system may well accelerate the pointless spiral of the arms race to a level of even greater destruction.

And in speaking of cost, I do not believe I need to dwell upon the domestic needs of our Nation. I do not believe I need to convince you that our Nation must act swiftly to respond to the decay and sickness of our great cities; that we must eradicate hunger; that we must assure

our citizens adequate housing and jobs; that we must rid our environment of the pollution of civilization. There is so much that must be done. National human needs must be given a much higher priority than an ABM system.

My fourth reason cannot be supported by documented evidence. However, I sincerely feel that it is deserving of consideration. In addition to escalating the nuclear arms race, the deployment of an anti ballistic missile system awakens in me a dreadful fear that the leaders of a nation may, at a certain stage in the development of its ABM system, convince themselves that they have finally established a "full-proof" nuclear defense system. Operating on this dangerous and erroneous assumption, that its citizens would be saved and protected by this ABM system, the leaders of this Nation may be tempted to trigger a pre-emptive nuclear war.

My fifth reason relates to Red China. Most of our national leaders have on many occasion advocated resumption of normal relations with Red China. In one of his early presidential pronouncements, President Nixon called upon Red China to exchange scholars, agriculturists, students and others with us. President Nixon also looked forward to our Warsaw meetings with Red Chinese officials. Aiming this multi billion dollar "SAFEGUARD" ABM system against an imaginary Red Chinese attack does not seem to be in tune with our presidential chorus of peace.

My sixth and final reason concerns our new or now generation. When I was born nearly forty-five years ago in Hawaii, the world climate was rather peaceful. We were poor and suffered from the great depression.

Although our food cupboard was often bare, there was this promise -- granted, an elusive promise -- of a good and happy future. But those of the new generation, though they have TV sets, fancy clothes, and fast cars, have, since their birth, lived with the threat of a future of the dark and dreaded mushroom cloud constantly hovering overhead. They have seen their fathers and elder brothers travel to distant Korea. They have lived through the tense days of the Berlin crisis. They were old enough to grasp the full potentials of the Cuban crisis. And now the Middle East crisis and the even present war in Vietnam. And throughout all of these dangerous days, the specter of the mushroom cloud was ever present. And some of us -- the elders -- often find ourselves observing the strange activities of the new generation and asking "why?" I suggest that we may witness the return of domestic tranquility in our land if we replaced the deadly mushroom cloud with the cloud of hope.

No, I cannot ask the American people to finance a system which may trigger a new round in the costly and dangerous arms race or a nuclear war itself. Instead, I do ask that we direct all efforts towards negotiating with the Soviet Union on the reduction of offensive and defensive nuclear missiles. A decision to delay the initiation of talks today may be a decision we will not live to regret.

SPEECH BY SENATOR DANIEL K. INHOUE  
BETHUNE - COOKMAN COLLEGE  
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

LIKE MANY AMERICANS, I WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED WITH  
MARCH 19, 1969

PRESIDENT NIXON'S RECENT DECISION TO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY AN  
AN ANTI BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM, <sup>REPORTEDLY</sup> ~~SUPPOSEDLY~~ TO PROTECT THIS  
NATION FROM AN ~~ON~~ ONSLAUGHT OF COMMUNIST CHINESE ICBMs.  
AND, HE HAS NAMED THIS ABM SYSTEM "SAFEGUARD". IF THIS  
PROBLEM WERE LESS SERIOUS AND LESS DEADLY, I WOULD <sup>BE</sup> ~~HAVE BEEN~~  
TEMPTED TO SUGGEST THAT THE PRESIDENT'S MADISON AVENUE ORIENTED  
PR?MEN SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR <sup>THE</sup> ~~NAMING~~ <sup>OF MILITARY</sup> PROJECTS SOMEHOW GOT  
IT'S FILES A BIT MIXED UP WITH DEODORANT AND ANTI PERSPIRANT  
COMMERCIALS.

PRESIDENT NIXON HAD A RARE OPPORTUNITY - AN OPPORTUNITY  
THAT SELDOM PRESENTS ITSELF TO THE HEAD OF STATE OF A MAJOR  
NATION \* TO TAKE THIS EARTH ONE STEP AWAY <sup>a very important step away</sup> FROM THE THREAT  
OF NUCLEAR WAR AND ONE <sup>very important</sup> STEP CLOSER TO PEACE. BECAUSE THERE NOW  
SEEMS TO ~~EXIST~~ A BALANCE IN THE INSTRUMENTS <sup>OF</sup> DEATH AND TERROR  
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, <sup>would seem to be</sup> ~~THE~~ TIME  
NOW ~~IS~~ THE TIME TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH  
SOVIET OFFICIALS TO <sup>BULGING</sup> ~~THE~~ STOCKPILES OF OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE  
NUCLEAR MISSILES <sup>REDUCE</sup> ~~SYSTEMS~~. INSTEAD, <sup>SPUR</sup> OUR PRESIDENT'S DECISION  
COULD WELL SIGNAL THE <sup>ESCALATION</sup> ~~ESCALATION~~ AND ~~THE~~ INTENSIFICATION  
OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT ~~THERE ARE~~  
EVERY EFFORT WILL BE EXERTED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE TO  
VETO THE PRESIDENT'S "SAFEGUARD" DECISION AND PLACE OURSELVES  
IN THE PATHWAY OF NUCLEAR SANITY,

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IT WAS TWENTY FOUR YEARS AGO -- AUGUST 6, 1945 <sup>to</sup> BE  
EXACT -- WHILE I WAS RECUPERATING IN AN ARMY HOSPITAL THAT  
I HEARD PRESIDENT HARRY <sup>5</sup> TRUMAN ANNOUNCE THE DETONATION OF A  
NEW AND POWERFUL BOMB OVER THE CITY OF HIROSHIMA. LATER I WAS  
STUNNED TO LEARN THAT THIS NEW WEAPON -- CALLED THE ATOMIC BOMB <sup>3</sup> --  
HAD THE EXPLOSIVE POWER OF 20,000 TONS OF TNT. SINCE THAT FATEFUL  
AND FEARFUL DAY, THE PICTURE OF THE MUSHROOM CLOUD HAS BECOME  
OF THE BOMB  
RATHER COMMONPLACE, THE EXPLOSIVE POWER/HAS MULTIPLIED, AND  
SOPHISTICATED DELIVERY SYSTEMS HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED TO CARRY  
THESE NUCLEAR WARHEADS TO DISTANT TARGETS.

TODAY, TWENTY-FOUR YEARS LATER, THE UNITED STATES IS  
ARMED WITH A STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCE OF ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED  
AND TEN INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES. OF THIS NUMBER, A  
THOUSAND ARE OF THE MINUTEMAN I AND II VINTAGE, EACH CARRYING A  
NUCLEAR WARHEAD WITH THE EXPLOSIVE POWER OF OVER ONE MEGATON  
OF TNT. THIS FORCE INCLUDES FIFTY FOUR TITAN ICBM's, ~~WITH/WARHEADS~~  
EACH CARRYING A WARHEAD WITH THE EXPLOSIVE POWER OF APPROXIMATELY  
FIVE MEGATONS <sup>OF TNT.</sup> AND, FINALLY OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCE HAS IN

constant readiness 656 POLARIS ICBM's CARRIED BY FORTY ONE  
 SWIFT, SILENT AND LONG RANGE POLARIS SUBMARINES. EACH  
 POLARIS MISSILE CARRIES A ONE MEGATON WARHEAD.

AND DESTRUCTIVE  
 OUR CURRENT EXPLOSIVE/CAPACITY HAS BEEN ESTIMATED  
 AT 20,000 ~~100~~ MEGATONS OR TWENTY BILLION TONS OR FORTY  
 TRILLION POUNDS OF TNT. THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR DESTRUCTIVE  
 CAPABILITY CAN BE CLEARLY SHOWN WHEN WE RECALL THAT LESS THAN  
 TWO MEGATONS OF EXPLOSIVES WERE EXPENDED DURING ALL OF WORLD  
 WAR II. TWO OF OUR POLARIS MISSILES ALONE CARRY EXPLOSIVES  
~~EQUAL TO MORE~~ MORE DESTRUCTIVE THAN ALL THE BOMBS, MORTARS  
 AND  
 SHELLS, ARTILLERY SHELLS, GRENADES, MINES, BOOBY TRAPS  
 DETONATED DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

AT THIS VERY MOMENT, OUR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCE IS  
 CAPABLE OF DESTROYING TWO FIFTHS OF THE SOVIET POPULATION  
 AND ABOUT THREE QUARTERS OF ITS INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY EVEN AFTER  
 SUSTAINING THE HEAVIEST NUCLEAR ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION CAN  
 INFLECT ON US. IN ALL PRACTICAL TERMS, THIS IS TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

AS POWERFUL AS OUR CURRENT STRATEGIC FORCE IS TODAY,  
 OUR DESTRUCTIVE CAPACITY WILL INCREASE MANY TIMES OVER WITH THE  
 OPERATIONAL DEPLOYMENT OF TWO NEW STRATEGIC MISSILES, THE  
 POSEIDON AND MINUTEMAN III. BOTH STRATEGIC MISSILES ARE  
 PROGRAMMED TO CARRY MIRV's, MULTIPLE INDIVIDUALLY GUIDED  
 RE-ENTRY VEHICLES, WHICH ARE CAPABLE OF EJECTING WARHEADS

SEPARATELY ON DIFFERENT TARGETS. FOR EXAMPLE, ~~ONE~~ <sup>EACH</sup> POSEIDON  
 IS SCHEDULED TO CARRY TEN SEPARATE WARHEADS ELECTRONICALLY

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AIMED AT DIFFERENT TARGETS. IN ADDITION, EACH POSEIDON  
WILL BE CARRYING DECOY DEVICES, WHICH WOULD MAKE EACH  
POSEIDON APPEAR ON THE ENEMY RADAR SCREEN, NOT AS ONE ~~MISSILE~~  
WARHEAD, BUT AS SEVERAL DOZENS. THIS TARGETING FLEXIBILITY  
WILL GIVE THE MULTIPLE WARHEAD MISSILE THE AMAZING ABILITY  
TO ELUDE AND OVERWHELM ABM DEFENSE SYSTEMS.

THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION ~~VIS A~~ VIS  
THE UNITED STATES IS EQUALLY GREAT. WHILE ITS PRESENT STRATEGIC  
NUCLEAR FORCE IS LESS SOPHISTICATED, THE SOVIET'S FIRST STRIKE  
ATTACK CAN RESULT IN AN UNBELIEVABLY HIGH NUMBER OF FATALITIES  
IN THE ~~UNITED~~ STATES, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE CONCENTRATION  
OF OUR POPULATION IN OUR GREAT CITIES. ACCORDING TO A STUDY  
RELEASED ~~ABOUT~~ BY THE PENTAGON ABOUT FOUR YEARS AGO, THE  
SOVIET UNION CURRENTLY HAS A FIRST STRIKE CAPACITY TO KILL  
OVER SIXTY PER CENT OF OUR POPULATION OR OVER ONE HUNDRED AND  
TWENTY MILLION AMERICANS. THIS ATTACK COULD ALSO DESTROY OVER  
SIXTY PER CENT OF OUR INDUSTRIAL AND PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.  
JUST IMAGINE WHAT NEW YORK CITY WILL LOOK LIKE AN HOUR AFTER  
THIS SOVIET ATTACK.

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PROJECTIONS FOR THE SOVIET'S STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCE  
FIVE YEARS HENCE INCLUDE THE ADDITION OF A POLARIS TYPE NUCLEAR  
MISSILE CARRYING SUBMARINE FLEET, THE DEPLOYMENT OF ~~POSSIBLE~~  
MINUTEMAN III TYPE MISSILES ARMED WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS  
AND A FRACTIONAL ORBIT BOMBARDMENT SYSTEM WITH OUTER SPACE  
DELIVERY VEHICLES CAPABLE OF AVOIDING OUR PRESENT DAY EARLY  
WARNING SYSTEM.

FOR THE PAST TWO DECADES, NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST HAS BEEN  
PREVENTED BY THE REALIZATION THAT NUCLEAR WAR CAN ONLY RESULT  
IN MUTUAL DESTRUCTION. THE ASSURED DESTRUCTION CAPACITY OF  
BOTH NATIONS HAS, THUS FAR, BEEN POWERFUL AND PERSUASIVE ENOUGH  
TO DETER THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THIS NUCLEAR DETENTE WHICH HAS FORESTALLED THE ERUPTION  
OF A THERMONUSLEAR WAR IS THREATENED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY COMMUNIST CHINA. HOWEVER, THE RED CHINESE  
NUCLEAR ARSENAL IS REPORTED TO HAVE LESS THAN TWENTY BOMBS.  
MORE IMPORTANTLY, THESE CHINESE BOMBS MUST TODAY BE DELIVERED  
BY MIDDLE RANGE BOMBERS. THE RED CHINESE ARE PRESENTLY WORKING

FURIOUSLY TO DEVELOP AN INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE DELIVERY SYSTEM. LAST YEAR, THE PENTAGON ESTIMATED THAT THE CHINESE COULD PROBABLY GENERATE ENOUGH RESOURCES TO SUPPORT A MODERATE AND UNSOPHISTICATED ICBM DEPLOYMENT BY 1975.

FEAR OF A NUCLEAR ATTACK BY COMMUNIST CHINA HAS LED SOME OF MOST POWERFUL POLITIC LEADERS AND MOST OF OUR MILITARY LEADERS TO ADVOCATE THE ~~DEVELOPMENT~~ DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT OF A SO CALLED THIN ABM SYSTEM TO PROTECT US FROM THIS A RELATIVELY UNSOPHISTICATED RED CHINESE NUCLEAR ATTACK. AND SO WE WITNESS THE BIRTH OR HOPEFULLY THE FATAL PREMATURE BIRTH OF ~~THE~~ <sup>PRESIDENT NIXON'S</sup> "SAFEGUARD" ~~ABM~~ THIN ABM SYSTEM.

AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, MY INTEREST IN THE ANTI BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM HAS BEEN MORE THAN CASUAL. ALTHOUGH I AM NOT AN EXPERT IN THIS FIELD, MY STUDY OF THE ABM SYSTEM HAS LED ME TO A DEFINITE CONCLUSION -- <sup>THAT</sup> ~~THE~~ IT IS IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES TO STOP THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM SYSTEM, WHETHER SUCH SYSTEM BE THICK <sup>OR</sup> ~~THIN~~ ~~OR MODERATE~~. I AM OPPOSED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABM SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS.



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FIRST, I AM CONVINCED THAT THE "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM  
WILL BE OBSOLETE AND INEFFECTIVE BY THE TIME IT IS DEPLOYED.  
IT WILL BE AN EXPENSIVE AND INEFFECTIVE NUCLEAR "MAGINOT LINE".  
I CANNOT CONCEIVE THAT THIS THIN SYSTEM IS NECESSARY AGAINST  
A HIGHLY IMPROBABLE CHINESE NUCLEAR ATTACK. IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY  
SUICIDAL FOR THE CHINESE TO LAUNCH A NUCLEAR ATTACK. OUR RESPONSE  
WOULD BE SWIFT AND DEADLY. THE RED CHINESE MAY ~~BE~~/TROUBLESOME  
AND TREACHEROUS BUT THEY HAVE NEVER SHOWN THAT THEY ~~WERE~~ ARE  
INSANE. IT WOULD BE THE HEIGHT OF INSANITY FOR THE CHINESE  
TO EVEN CONSIDER ATTACKING US WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AND EVERYONE  
ADMITES THAT THE SAFEGUARD SYSTEM WILL BE ABSOLUTELY INEFFECTIVE  
AGAINST ANY SOVIET ATTACK. THIS ELEMENT OF ~~THE~~ "SAFEGUARD'S"  
WOULD ONLY SERVE TO WEAKEN THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR DETERRENT.  
SECOND, IT IS CLEAR THAT IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE  
DEFENSE AGAINST THE PREDICTABLE INCREASING NUMBER AND SOPHISTICATION  
OF ~~RED~~ RED CHINA'S WEAPONS AND MISSILES, THIS "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM  
WILL REQUIRE THICKENING -- MORE AND MORE MISSILES. THUS BEGINS  
THE DREADED AND COSTLY ARMS RACE, A RACE WHERE ALL PARTICIPANTS  
SUFFER AND LOSE. THERE ARE NO WINNERS IN THIS RACE.

888888

TATP6/TAP/00BT///PRESIDENT/NIXON

OUR DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINUTEMAN III AND POSEIDON  
MISSILE SYSTEMS WITH THE MIRV WAS AMERICA'S RESPONSE TO  
REPORTS OF SOVIET DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM SYSTEM AROUND MOSCOW  
NOW WE LEARN THAT THIS SOVIET ABM SYSTEM WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY

INEFFECTIVE AGAINST ANY MASSIVE NUCLEAR ATTACK BY OUR LESS  
SOPHISTICATED MINUTEMAN I AND II AND THE BULKY TITAN.

THE ABMs USED IN THE MOSCOW DEFENSE SYSTEMS <sup>are</sup> SIMILAR TO  
OUR NOW DISCARDED AND DEFUNCT NIKE ZEUS SYSTEMS.

THERE IS ONE THING WE SHOULD HAVE LEARNED IN OUR  
NUCLEAR CONTEST WITH THE SOVIETS -- AN ADVANCEMENT BY ONE  
SIDE WILL ALWAYS BE MET WITH A RESPONSE AIMED AT MAKING THIS  
ADVANCEMENT AS INEFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE. FURTHERMORE, WE  
SHOULD HAVE CONCLUDED BY NOW THAT IT IS RIDICULOUS FOR US TO  
PIOUSLY SEEK NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE PROCLAIMING THAT WE  
WILL NEGOTIATE ONLY FROM A POSITION OF ~~STRENGTH OR~~ SUPERIORITY.  
CAN YOU IMAGINE THE SOVIETS DECIDING TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS <sup>because</sup> THEY  
ARE ADMITTEDLY WEAKER THAN US? USE OF THE WORD "SUPERIORITY"  
BELONGS IN THE SEMANTICS OF THE ARMS RACE BUT NOT AS A PRELUDE  
TO MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

9999999

~~EE~~/ THE DEPLOYMENT OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S "SAFEGUARD" ABM SYSTEM COULD WELL DEVELOP AS A BASE FOR A SOVIET ORIENTED THICK ABM SYSTEM. AFTER SERVING FOR SIX YEARS ON THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE I AM CONVINCED THAT THE DEPLOYMENT OF A THICK ABM SYSTEM WILL BE ASTRONOMICALLY EXPENSIVE, IMPRACTICAL, AND DANGEROUS AND, ABOVE ALL, CONTRARY TO ~~THE~~ OUR NATIONAL INTEREST.

THIS LEADS TO MY THIRD REASON -- COST. PRESIDENT NIXON'S "SAFEGUARD" ABM SYSTEM HAS A PRESENT PRICE TAG OF \$6,000,000,000. THERE IS ONE THING CERTAIN ABOUT MILITARY AND DEFENSE PROJECTS -- THE FINAL COST ALWAYS EXCEEDS THE INITIAL ESTIMATED COST. AND, GOD FORBID, IF THIS "SAFEGUARD" SYSTEM SERVES <sup>AS</sup> A SPUR IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, THE FINAL <sup>MOST</sup> COST WILL/CERTAINLY EXCEED A HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS.

SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON OF MISSOURI, WHO SERVED AS OUR NATION'S FIRST AIR FORCE SECRETARY, RECENTLY SUGGESTED THAT A THICK ABM SYSTEM MAY COST IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF FOUR HUNDRED BILLION DOLLARS. ACCORDING<sup>to</sup> THE FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT MCNAMARA, THIS EXORBITANTLY EXPENSIVE ABM WILL NOT

NECESSARILY DECREASE OUR FATALITY RATE IN A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE

WITH THE SOVIET UNION, IF THE SOVIETS RESPONDED TO ~~THE~~

~~DE~~ OUR DEPLOYMENT OF A THICK ABM SYSTEM BY INCREASING AND  
STRENGTHENING THEIR STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCE BY ADDING TO IT

~~MORE~~ <sup>BETTER</sup> SOPHISTICATED MIRV TYPE MISSILES. ~~SEVERAL~~

~~MONTHS/ADD~~ DURING THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS MANY EXPERTS HAVE

APPEARED IN CONGRESS TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE ABM. I

RECALL ONE EXPERT SUGGESTING THAT ~~???~~ <sup>American</sup> AN ABM SYSTEM WAS

JUSTIFIED AND DESIRABLE BECAUSE AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM COULD

DESTROY OVER SEVENTY PER CENT OF INCOMING ENEMY MISSILES.

THESE STATISTICS SHOULD DEMONSTRATE THE UTTER FUTILITY OF  
THE ABM SYSTEM. JUST IMAGINE THE SOVIETS FIRING EIGHT

THERMONUCLEAR ICBMs AIMED AT ~~WASHINGTON~~ WASHINGTON, DC.

WITH AN EFFECTIVE ABM SYSTEM ONLY TWO MISSILES WITH THEIR

MULTIMEGATON WARHEADS WILL STRIKE WASHINGTON. THE RESIDENTS

OF WASHINGTON CAN BE COMFORTED TO LEARN THAT THEY WILL BE KILLED

ONLY ONCE AND NOT FOUR TIMES. SERIOUSLY, <sup>IT</sup> MATTERS NOT

WHETHER WASHINGTON IS HIT BY TWO OR EIGHT WARHEADS. THE CITY

WILL BE COMPLETELY DESTROYED.

11 11 11 11 11

THEREFORE, WHILE AN ABM SYSTEM CANNOT GUARANTEE  
SECURITY, IT CAN, AND MOST CERTAINLY WILL, TRIGGER THE ESCALATION  
~~NUCLEAR?~~ OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM  
SYSTEM IN OUR COUNTRY WILL MOST LIKELY MOTIVATE THE SOVIET  
UNION TO DEVELOP MORE AND BETTER OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS  
WITH WHICH TO INUNDATE AND, THUS, OFFSET OUR DEFENSIVE  
STRENGTH. RATHER THAN PROVIDING SECURITY, THE BILLIONS  
SPENT ON DEPLOYING THE ABM SYSTEM MAY WELL ACCELERATE THE  
~~?POINTLESS~~ POINTLESS SPIRAL OF THE ARMS RACE TO A LEVEL OF EVEN  
GREATER DESTRUCTION.

AND IN SPEAKING OF COST, I DO NOT BELIEVE I NEED TO  
DWELL UPON THE <sup>DOMESTIC</sup> NEEDS OF <sup>OUR</sup> NATIONS. I DO NOT BELIEVE I NEED TO  
CONVINCE YOU THAT OUR NATION MUST ACT SWIFTLY TO RESPOND  
TO THE ~~DEPRY~~ DECAY AND SICKNESS OF OUR GREAT CITIES; THAT  
WE MUST ERADICATE HUNGER; THAT WE MUST ASSURE OUR CITIZENS  
ADEQUATE HOUSING AND JOBS; THAT WE MUST <sup>RID</sup> ~~CLEAN~~ OUR ENVIRONMENT  
OF THE POLLUTION OF CIVILIZATION. THERE IS SO MUCH THAT MUST  
BE DONE, ~~AND~~ NATIONAL HUMAN NEEDS MUST BE GIVEN A MUCH HIGHER  
PRIORITY THAN AN ABM SYSTEM.

OUR PRESIDENTIAL CHORUS OF PEACE.

MY SIXTH AND FINAL REASON CONCERNS OUR NEW OR NOW  
GENERATION. WHEN I WAS BORN NEARLY FORTY FIVE YEARS AGO,  
IN HAWAII, THE WORLD CLIMATE WAS ~~COMPATIVELY~~ RATHER PEACEFUL.  
WE WERE POOR AND SUFFERED FROM THE GREAT DEPRESSION. ~~AND~~ ALTHOUGH  
OUR FOOD CUPBOARD WAS OFTEN BARE THERE WAS THIS PROMISE --  
GRANTED AN ELUSIVE PROMISE -- OF A GOOD AND HAPPY FUTURE.

BUT THOSE OF THE NEW GENERATION, THOUGH THEY HAVE TV SETS,

FANCY CLOTHES, ~~FAST CARS AND~~ AND FAST CARS, HAVE SINCE THEIR

WITH THE THREAT OF A FUTURE OF <sup>CONSTANTLY HOVERING</sup>  
BIRTH LIVED/THE DARK AND DREADED MUSHROOM CLOUD OVERHEAD.

THEY HAVE SEEN THEIR FATHERS AND ELDER BROTHERS TRAVEL TO

DISTANT KOREA. THEY HAVE LIVED THROUGH THE TENSE/DAYS OF THE  
BERLIN

CRISIS. THEY WERE OLD ENOUGH TO GRASP THE FULL POTENTIALS OF  
THE CUBAN CRISIS. AND NOW THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS AND THE EVER  
PRESENT WAR IN VIETNAM. AND THROUGHOUT ALL OF THESE DANGEROUS

DAYS, THE SPECTER OF THE MUSHROOM CLOUD WAS EVER PRESENT.

-- THE ELDERS --

AND SOME OF US <sup>^</sup> OFTEN FIND OURSELVES OBSERVING THE STRANGE

ACTIVITIES OF THE NEW GENERATION AND ASKING "WHY?" I SUGGEST

THAT WE MAY WITNESS THE RETURN OF DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY IN OUR

LAND IF WE REPLACED THE DEADLY MUSHROOM CLOUD WITH THE CLOUD OF  
HOPE.

NO, I CANNOT ASK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO FINANCE A SYSTEM WHICH MAY TRIGGER A NEW ROUND ~~of costly~~ IN THE COSTLY AND DANGEROUS ARMS RACE OR A NUCLEAR WAR ITSELF. INSTEAD, I DO ASK THAT ~~we~~ WE DIRECT ALL EFFORTS TOWARDS NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON THE REDUCTION OF OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE NUCLEAR MISSILES. A DECISION TO DELAY THE INITIATION OF TALKS TODAY MAY BE A DECISION WE WILL NOT LIVE TO REGRET.

~~LET US PRAY THAT WE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO THE  
DEPLOYMENT OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S "SAFEGUARD" ABM SYSTEM  
WILL SUCCEED IN OUR EFFORTS TO VETO~~

# COPY

2 July 1969

Samoan Council of Chiefs and Orators in Hawaii  
c/o Mr. Gus Hannemann — 891-412  
2001 Mahao Place  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Talofa!

I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the Samoan Council of Chiefs and Orators in Hawaii and the more than 10,000 members of the Samoan community on your observance of the 69th Anniversary of American Samoa's entry into the family of the United States of America.

April 17, 1900 was a memorable occasion for the United States. Hawaii has been fortunate to share the spirit and energy of the Samoan members of our community. Hawaii is fortunate that the leadership of our Samoan community has honored this memorable event. I join you in the spirit of friendship which is the hallmark of our Samoan people.

Soifua,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



United States Senate

10,000 Samosans April 17, 1900  
MEMORANDUM

Commemorating 69<sup>th</sup> Anniversary  
of ceding Samoa to U.S.

Samoa Council of Chiefs &  
Orators in Hawaii

Mr. Gus Hannemann  
2001 Mahalo Place  
Honolulu 96819

6<sup>th</sup> of April of celebrating  
Samoa

Talofa

Foi  
Loisua - sincerely -

# COPY

26 June 1969

United Federation of Post Office Clerks  
Local 167  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Members and Friends:

I was hopeful of being able to attend your installation of officers luau this year, but regret that I am obliged to extend my greetings in this manner.

I wish to express my sincere congratulations for work well-done to the outgoing officers of the United Federation of Post Office Clerks, Local 167 - and to extend my best wishes to the incoming officers, who I know, will emulate the hard work and dedication of their predecessors.

Your progress in the federal family of workers needs the joint effort of all departments. It also requires the foresight and understanding of your legislative and administrative supporters. I believe that Hawaii's locals have demonstrated their spirit of brotherhood and collective effort on the national level. I hope you will continue these efforts in helping those of us in Washington to carry your message forward.

Please call on me if I can be of any service to you and your families on personal or business matters.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# COPY

26 June 1969

National Association of Letter Carriers  
Honolulu  
Hawaii

Dear Members and Friends:

I regret that I am unable to participate in the annual installation of officers dinner of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch 860.

I wish, through these means, to extend my sincerest congratulations to the outgoing officers of the Association for a very fruitful year. I also wish to extend my best wishes to the incoming officers and express the hope that you can emulate the accomplishments of your predecessors.

Please call on me if I can be of service to your members and their families on business or personal matters.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# COPY

18 June 1969

Professor Adriano D. Emperado, President  
Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute, Inc.  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Professor Emperado:

I extend my sincerest greetings to you and your organization on the occasion of the First Annual Joseph D. Emperado Memorial Open Tournament.

As founder and president of the Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute, you have encouraged and nurtured a wholesome activity for the general health and well-being of our community.

I express my earnest support of your sponsorship of the First Annual Tournament in the memory of your beloved brother, Joseph D. Emperado. I am confident that this tournament will memorialize his contributions to the art of Kenpo-Karate and his outstanding work as chief instructor at Palama Settlement for many fruitful years. Best wishes for continued success.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

KAJUKENBO SELF DEFENSE  
THE — —

ESPECIALLY TO PROF  
ADRIANO D. EMPERADO  
FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT  
OF THIS INSTITUTE

JOSEPH CHIEF INSTRUCTOR  
OF KENPO - KARATE AT  
PALAMA SETTLEMENT FOR  
OVER 10 YRS.

# 1969 KAJUKENBO SELF-DEFENSE INSTITUTE, INC.

## 1st ANNUAL JOSEPH D. EMPERADO MEMORIAL OPEN TOURNAMENT

(Open to all styles or systems)

DATE: Saturday, July 26, 1969.

PLACE: PALAMA SETTLEMENT GYMNASIUM.

WEIGH-IN AND REGISTRATION: 9:00 a.m. to 10:30 a.m. Saturday, July 26, 1969 at Palama Settlement Gymnasium. Exact weights are required on Saturday — PLEASE BE PROMPT.

PRELIMINARY ELIMINATION STARTS: 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. (6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. will be dinner hour.)

FINAL ELIMINATION STARTS: Saturday, July 26, 1969, 7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m.

### MATCHES:

1. Kata (form) competition is open to all styles. Jr. Division — Women Division.
2. Junior Division Freestyle will be divided into two age groups and weight divisions. 9-11 lightweight and heavyweight. 12-14 lightweight and heavyweight.
3. Womens Division Freestyle will be divided into three divisions. 90-100 lightweight, 111-125 middleweight, 126 and above heavyweight.
4. Senior Division Freestyle will be for men only. This tournament will be classified into three major divisions. Lightweight for those weighing under 155, middleweight for those weighing between 156-175 and heavyweight for those weighing 176 and over.
5. All contests will be conducted in accordance with the rules outlined in cited guide.

ENTRY FEE: \$3.00 per senior contestant for each event entered. Fill out separate entry form for each event.  
\$2.50 per junior contestant for each event entered. Fill out separate entry form for each event.

NOTE: Entries will not be accepted after July 19, 1969. Deadline will be adhered to without exception.

ELIGIBILITY: All contestants must be students of an established school or club whose instructor holds the rank of first degree BLK. Tournament will be open to all styles or system white (which includes green, purple, blue, etc.), brown and black belts.

EQUIPMENT: Protective cups will be mandatory along with uniform.

### AWARDS:

1. Trophy awards for first, second and third place winners in the 9-11 and 12-14 age group categories of lightweight and heavyweight divisions.
2. Trophy awards for first in the Kata competitions of the open divisions, junior and womens divisions.
3. Trophy awards for first, second and third place winners in white, brown and black belt categories of lightweight, middleweight and heavyweight divisions.
4. Trophy awards for Grand Champion plus special awards.

TOURNAMENT DIRECTOR:

TOURNAMENT PHYSICIAN:

TOURNAMENT LEGAL COUNSELOR:

### DONATIONS:

\$1.00 adults  
\$ .50 children

**KAJUKENBO**  
**SELF-DEFENSE INSTITUTE, Inc.**  
**FIRST ANNUAL OPEN**  
**KARATE TOURNAMENT**

**IN MEMORY OF**  
**JOSEPH EMPERADO**

**DATE: SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1969**

**LOCATION: PALAMA SETTLEMENT GYM**  
**810 N. Vineyard Blvd.**

**PRELIMINARY ELIMINATION STARTS:**  
**10:00 A.M. TO COMPLETION**

**FINAL ELIMINATION CHAMPIONSHIPS**  
**STARTS: 7:00 P.M. TO COMPLETION**

**Donation: Adults \$1.00 - Children \$.50**

Entrance Fee:      Senior Division – \$3.00      Junior Division – \$2.50

FREESTYLE \_\_\_\_\_ JR. DIVISION \_\_\_\_\_ KATA (forms) \_\_\_\_\_ WOMAN \_\_\_\_\_

Home Address \_\_\_\_\_

Number and Street	City	State	Zip Code
_____	_____	_____	_____

Home Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Birth Date \_\_\_\_\_ Age \_\_\_\_\_ Wt. \_\_\_\_\_ Hgt. \_\_\_\_\_

Style of System \_\_\_\_\_ Name of Instructor \_\_\_\_\_

Name of Club \_\_\_\_\_ Club Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Club Address	Number and Street	City	State	Zip Code
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Past Tournaments Entered \_\_\_\_\_

Position Placed \_\_\_\_\_

I, the undersigned, do hereby voluntarily submit my application for attendance and participation in the 1969 KAJUKENBO SELF DEFENSE INSTITUTE, INC. KARATE CHAMPIONSHIPS, and do hereby assume full responsibility for any and all damages, injuries or losses that I may sustain or incur, if any, while attending or participating, and I hereby waive all claims against the promoters, or operators, or sponsors fo said KARATE CHAMPIONSHIPS individually or otherwise, for any claim for injuries that I might sustain.

I fully understand that any medical treatment given me will be of a First Aid treatment type only.

I consent that any pictures furnished by me or any picture taken of me in connection with the Championships can be used for publicity, promotion or television showing, and I waive compensation in regard thereto.

If under 21, this release and consent to also be signed by parent or guardian.

Signature of Contestant

(If under 21, Signature of Parent or Guardian)

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

ALL ENTRIES TO BE IN TO TOURNAMENT DIRECTOR BY JULY 19, 1969.  
IMMEDIATE RETURN REQUESTED.



# COPY

19 June 1969

Mr. Philip D. Doseo, Secretary-Treasurer  
Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute, Inc.  
Palama Settlement  
810 North Vineyard Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814

Dear Mr. Doseo:

This is in reply to your letter addressed to Senator Inouye relative to the First Annual Joseph D. Emperado Open Tournament.

I was contacted by Mr. "Twinkle" Kawakami and committed Senator Inouye to donating a trophy for the tournament. I also have arranged a message from Senator Inouye, at Mr. Kawakami's request, to be printed in a program. This message is ready for pick-up in our Honolulu office. I would appreciate your contacting Mr. Kawakami for coordination of efforts.

I wish to extend Senator Inouye's best wishes to your organization and assure you his continued support.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

MORIO OMORI  
Executive Assistant

MO:eyh

KAJUKENBO SELF-DEFENSE INSTITUTE, INC.

Palama Settlement

810 N. Vineyard St. Honolulu, Hawaii 96814

June 18, 1969

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
U. S. Senator  
c/o Morio Omori  
Capital Investment Bldg., Suite 602  
239 Merchant Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

My Dear Senator,

Thank you for your help in supporting us in our past 1968 tournament which was held July 6, 1968 at the Honolulu International Center. We would like to have your continued support in our coming 1969 First Annual Joseph D. Emperado Karate Championship Tournament to be held at Palama Settlement, July 26, 1969, at 7 p. m.

Our organization is a non profit organization, organized for the purpose of developing martial art which will greatly aid in the promotion and public acceptance of the true value of this unique system which is practiced today in physical and over-all self-defense training. The Kajukenbo style holds the strong technique of the Emperado system, and for the first time the system will be displayed to the public by the masters and instructors of this closed door form originated in Hawaii.

We will be honored by the appearance of the founder of the Kajukenbo Self-Defense Institute, Professor Adriano D. Emperado. We look forward to meeting you at our tournament on July 26. In addition, other types of martial art forms will be demonstrated for your interest and enjoyment.

Respectfully yours,



PHILIP D. DOSEO  
KAJUKENBO SELF-DEFENSE INSTITUTE, INC.  
Secretary Treasurer

PDD/cc

P. S. Reply to Philip Doseo  
c/o Hawaiian Life Insurance Co., Ltd.  
P. O. Box 3149  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96802

# COPY

9 June 1969

Mr. Warwick G. Kent  
Secretary General  
Junior Chamber International  
P. O. Box 577  
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

Dear Mr. Kent:

I should like to offer the facilities and hospitality of the State of Hawaii to the 1971 World Congress Junior Chamber International for its convention in November of 1971.

I sincerely believe that the World Congress will find the convention atmosphere and other amenities in Hawaii equal to any other site under consideration.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

# COPY

9 June 1969

Mr. Warwick G. Kent  
Secretary General  
Junior Chamber International  
P. O. Box 577  
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Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

<sup>on invitation</sup>  
The previous letter to Mr. Narvick  
J. Kent, Secretary General, <sup>Junior</sup> Chamber  
International, P.O. Box 577, Coral  
Gables, Florida 33134

intending inviting the 1971

World Congress Junior Chamber  
International to come to Hawaii -  
November 1971

~~Mr. King~~ Mr. King, Pres.  
Chairman of the

Executive Council  
Mr. Ahlstrom

Request was made by Eric Rasmussen

# United States Senate

---

## MEMORANDUM

5 June 1969

Lamela,

Since I don't have a copy of the speech in this office, will you be kind enough to send a copy to Sgt. Ishizaki from your office.

Much thanks.

1 June 69

Dear Sir,

I wrote you about a month ago concerning a speech you had given in November or December, 1968 @ Ft. Shafter to a group of veterans. I think the name of the group was the "Veterans of Foreign Wars". I would like a copy of that speech and also, if available, a petition for deactivation of the 29<sup>th</sup> Inf Bde. The topic of the speech was on the 29<sup>th</sup>.

Sincerely

Ken T. Ishizaki  
(Formerly of the 29<sup>th</sup>)

Address : Spt. Ken T. Ishizaki

NG29059614

HHSB, S/6 Arty  
1st Inf Div

APO SF 96345

# COPY

29 May 1969

Mr. Stanley Izumigawa  
Nanihoa Drive  
Wailuku, Maui

Dear Stanley:

I learned with pride and pleasure of your transfer from Waihee School to become principal of Kamehameha III School in Lahaina.

I sincerely believe that this is a recognition of your dedication to the education of our young people. I also know that you will continue your outstanding administrative work at Kam III and benefit a larger number of students at this larger school.

I join the Waihee PTA and the people of the Maui community in extending you my sincerest congratulations and best wishes for continued success in your every endeavor.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh



**United States Senate**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 28, 1969

Mr. Morio Omori  
Suite 602  
Capital Investment Bldg.  
Merchant St.  
Honolulu, Hawaii

Dear Morio,

I am writing this letter to you, knowing that Dan will be in Honolulu for the various commencement exercises.

Please have Dan send a letter of condolence to Mrs. Shiro Mukai, who lost her father Jack Yoshio Hamasaki yesterday. Miriam has always helped us on the campaign trail and I'm sure she and her family will appreciate a message. Her address:

Mrs. Miriam Mukai  
103 Ku Drive  
Wailuku, Maui

On Thursday evening, June 12, the Waihee PTA and the people of this community will honor Principal Stanley Izumigawa who will be leaving Waihee School after five years to head Kamehameha III School in Lahaina. Stanley is another of Dan's staunch supporters, who went on the stump for Dan at one of our political rallies and also made a generous campaign contribution. Please have Dan write a letter of congratulations to him on his promotion to a larger school. Send it in my care as the program committee for the aloha dinner will like to have it read that evening.

Mr. Stanley Izumigawa  
Naniloa Drive  
Wailuku, Maui

With Fond Aloha

COPY

29 May 1969

Mrs. Miriam Mukai  
103 Ku Drive  
Wailuku, Maui

Dear Miriam:

I know that any word I can express to you and your family cannot ease your sorrow over the passing of your beloved father. If I can be of any help in any way during this trying period, please let me reciprocate your help to me over the years.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:eyh

# COPY

29 May 1969

Dear Comrades and Sisters:

It is an honor to greet the members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Department of Hawaii, and the Ladies' Auxiliary as my comrades and sisters.

The continued service being performed by the VFW to the community in general and to veterans and their families in particular has been unheralded for too long. I point with great and justified pride to the VFW's national and local program of rehabilitation of veterans through the Buddy Poppy program. I point with equal pride to its program of engendering and adhering to the principles of loyalty to our Nation in these times of upheaval and conflict. The VFW has been a source of strength in instilling common pride in the principles of democracy among our youth. Its ideals have transcended differences in approach and policies of our Nation over the years. It has steered a clear and straight course to uphold the best of our American mores and traditions.

I extend to Department Commander George Maile, the Council of Administration and the dedicated comrades and sisters of the VFW, my sincerest greetings and best wishes for continued success and a memorable 31st Annual Convention.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

# COPY

18 April 1969

Mr. Sol Gould, Publisher  
TV Time  
Suite 801, 1136 Union Mall  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Dear Mr. Gould:

I join the many thousands of the grateful readership of TV Time in Hawaii in extending my congratulations on its anniversary.

With the advent of TV as an integral part of practically every home in Hawaii, your TV Time publication has extended a much appreciated service to the people of Hawaii. I know that the enjoyment of this medium of communication and entertainment has been enhanced a hundred-fold by your outstanding publication.

Please accept my sincerest best wishes for continued success and service to our Aloha State.

Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

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Warmest aloha.

Sincerely,

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator

DKI:ps

# COPY

9 March 1969

VIA TELEPHONE

Mr. Robert Sato  
President, Citizens Study Club of Oahu  
C/O Wo Fatt  
115 N. Hotel St.

Dear Bob:

It is with sincere regret that I am unable to join you on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Citizenship Club of Oahu.

The services rendered by the organization have constantly met the challenges of the changing world. These services were unselfish; were dedicated to helping your fellow man to be a part of this great Country; aided him to assume his place within this State; and rendered assistance for him to be accepted within his community.

All of you who are gathered here may well take pride in the achievements of the leadership and the membership.

Although I cannot be with you tonight, you know that my heart is with you. Happy anniversary.

Aloha

DANIEL K. INOUE  
United States Senator