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Speeches and messages: 1965-1967: [Vietnam]

Senator Daniel K. Inouye Papers

Speeches, Speeches and messages, Box SP2, Folder 3

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TOMORROW, THE GRATEFUL PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES WILL BE SETTING ASIDE THEIR DAILY CHORES TO PAY HOMAGE TO THE MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE SERVED IN OUR ARMED SERVICES THROUGHOUT THIS NATION'S HISTORY.

TOMORROW, WE WILL RE-DEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE GOALS FOR WHICH MILLIONS GAVE THEIR LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION AND FOR WHICH THOUSANDS TODAY ARE FIGHTING AND DYING IN THE SWAMPS AND MUDDY PLAINS OF VIET NAM.

BUT TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW, AND TOMORROW, WE SHALL ALWAYS HAVE TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT ALL OUR SACRIFICES IN THE PAST AND IN THE PRESENT SHALL NOT HAVE BEEN MADE IN VAIN.

THIS MORNING, AS I LEFT BUSTLING HONOLULU, I GLANCED BELOW AND SAW THE ISLAND OF TRANQUILITY WHICH IS PUNCHBOWL, THE FINAL RESTING PLACE OF MANY OF OUR DEAR AND DEDICATED FRIENDS. I COULD NOT HELP BUT WONDER WHAT THESE MEN WOULD HAVE THOUGHT OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN VIET NAM, OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS TAKING PLACE THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, AND OF THOSE WHO DEFIANTLY DESTROY THEIR DRAFT CARDS.

LAST THURSDAY AFTERNOON, I VISITED WITH MANY OF HAWAII'S AND THE COUNTRY'S WOUNDED BACK FROM VIET NAM AT TRIPLER GENERAL HOSPITAL ON OAHU. I SAT AND TALKED WITH THEM ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCES, ABOUT THEIR FEELINGS OF THE CONFLICT, AND ABOUT THEIR REACTION TO THE TURMOIL RAGING ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES FROM HAWAII TO NEW YORK.

I WAS REMINDED

I WAS REMINDED OF MY OWN EXPERIENCES, AND MY OWN FEELINGS AS I SAT IN THE HOSPITAL WARDS FIRST IN EUROPE AND LATER IN ATLANTIC CITY DURING WORLD WAR II.

I KNOW WHAT OUR WOUNDED TODAY THINK OF OUR COMMITMENTS IN THAT STRIFE-TORN PART OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. I KNOW WHAT THEY THINK OF DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT. AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT THEIR THOUGHTS ON THE MALICIOUS BURNING OF DRAFT CARDS WERE EXPRESSED TO ME IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS.

I WANT TO SAY HERE AND NOW THAT THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION IS BASIC TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT. IN OUR DEMOCRACY, ALL MEN SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEMSELVES EVEN IF THEIR VIEWS APPEAR TO BE HARSH AND BITTER AND CONTRARY TO THE PREVAILING VALUES OF SOCIETY.

THE VOICE OF DISSENT IS GUARANTEED. ANY STIFLING OF THAT VOICE WOULD BE AN ADMISSION OF SERIOUS INTERNAL DEFECTS IN OUR FABRIC OF GOVERNMENT.

BUT THE VOICES OF DISSENT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A SENSE OF CONSCIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY. FREEDOM OF SPEECH IS A CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE. BUT WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT PERSONAL CONSCIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS EXERCISE IS A MORAL DUTY.

TO SHOUT "FIRE!" IN A CROWDED THEATRE WHEN THERE IS SERIOUS RISK OF INCITING A MOB PANIC WITH CONSEQUENT LOSS OF LIVES AND LIMBS IS TO INDULGE IN FREE EXPRESSION WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY.

TO URGE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL IN VIET NAM WITHOUT PRUDENT

WEIGHING OF THE CONSEQUENCES

WEIGHING OF THE CONSEQUENCES TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS TO PRACTICE FREE SPEECH WITHOUT DEEP AND SERIOUS THOUGHT.

AND THIS IS WHY I CANNOT HELP BUT FEEL THAT SOME OF OUR SO-CALLED PEACE DEMONSTRATORS SHOULD SIT DOWN TO SERIOUSLY PONDER BOTH THE REASONS FOR AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR ACTIONS.

THIS IS WHY I CANNOT HELP BUT FEEL THAT MANY OF THESE DEMONSTRATORS SHOULD NOT ACT AS IF THEY AND THEY ALONE ARE LOVERS OF PEACE, AND THAT THEY AND THEY ALONE HAVE THE KEY TO THE PATH OF TRUTH.

THIS IS WHY I CANNOT HELP BUT FEEL THAT SUCH INDIVIDUALS SHOULD TRY TO FIND OUT IF THE CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES IN VIET NAM IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY ALONE OR REALLY THAT OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES WHO HAVE REFUSED EVERY OFFER OF NEGOTIATION.

AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE OF US WHO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY IN VIET NAM TO PRESENT A CONVINCING CASE FOR IT. WHAT I HAVE SAID OF THE EMOTIONAL DETRACTORS OF THAT POLICY MUST APPLY EQUALLY WELL TO THOSE WHO WOULD BLINDLY SUPPORT PRESENT POLICY SIMPLY ON NATIONALISTIC OR EMOTIONAL GROUNDS.

I AM SOMETIMES INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT WE WEAKEN OUR POSITION WHEN WE EMBRACE, OR ARE EMBRACED BY, THOSE WHO CANNOT DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE SWASTIKA AND THE EAGLE OF FREEDOM, BETWEEN EXTREMISM AND RATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND BETWEEN JINGOISM AND DEDICATION TO THE BASES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

I DEFINITELY BELIEVE THAT A REASONED STATEMENT OF THE BASIS FOR OUR COMMITMENT IN VIET NAM SHOULD PROVE THE BEST ARGUMENT IN THE

PRESENT DEBATE--WHY VIET NAM?

WHY VIET NAM? I, TOO, HAVE LONG PONDERED THAT QUESTION AS MORE OF OUR YOUNG MEN HAVE BEEN CALLED TO THE COLORS.

WHY VIET NAM? YOU, TOO, MUST HAVE ASKED THE SAME QUESTION AS YOUR FRIENDS, YOUR SONS, AND YOUR NEIGHBORS' SONS HAVE GONE FORTH TO SERVE.

WHY VIET NAM? THAT QUESTION MUST BE FACED FOR OUR VERY EXISTENCE AS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS AT STAKE IN THE ANSWER.

TOO MUCH HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID IN THE HEAT OF EMOTIONS RATHER THAN ON THE BASIS OF FACT. EVEN SOME OF OUR ACADEMIC FRIENDS HAVE NEGLECTED TO RENDER AN ACCURATE ACCOUNTING OF FACTS.

MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT THIS--WE HAVE A COMMITMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, A COMMITMENT WE MUST HONOR IF WE BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF ALL NATIONS TO BE FREE AND ABLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

OUR COMMITMENT BEGAN WITH UNITED STATES RATIFICATION OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY BY A VOTE OF 82 TO 1 IN FEBRUARY OF 1955. WE PLEDGED OURSELVES TO PROTECT ANY OF THE THREE NON-COMMUNIST STATES FORMED OUT OF THE OLD FRENCH INDO-CHINA AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IF SO REQUESTED.

A YEAR BEFORE THAT IN 1964, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER EXTENDED BOTH ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID TO SOUTH VIET NAM. HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIET NAM NEEDED SUCH AID TO COUNTERACT WHAT HAD ALREADY APPEARED TO BE A THREAT TO THE INTEGRITY OF THAT COUNTRY BY OUTSIDE FORCES.

FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS ANNUALLY

APPROPRIATED FUNDS TO HELP

APPROPRIATED FUNDS TO HELP THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GAIN A SOLID ECONOMIC AND MILITARY FOOTING AS AGAINST ~~PERSEASLE~~ INCURSIONS FROM THE NORTH.

AS A RESULT OF THIS SUSTAINED UNITED STATES EFFORT, WHAT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS REMARKABLE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS WAS ACHIEVED. A MUCH NEEDED LAND REFORM PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED. THOUSANDS OF NEW SCHOOLS AND HEALTH FACILITIES WERE CONSTRUCTED. TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS WERE ESTABLISHED AND OLD ONES REPAIRED. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ROSE SHARPLY WITH A CORRESPONDING INCREASE IN PER CAPITA INCOME.

NORTH VIET NAM, ON THE OTHER HAND, SUFFERED FROM DECREASES IN BOTH AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

WHEREAS THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF HANOI IN THE NORTH HAD EXPECTED TO ASSUME CONTROL OVER SOUTH VIET NAM BY 1954, IT APPEARED BY 1959 THAT THE SOUTH WAS NOT GOING TO PROVE SO ACCOMMODATING. THE SUCCESS OF UNITED STATES AID WAS FORESTALLING THE COMMUNIST TIME-TABLE. THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT OF HANOI WAS DISTURBED AND FRUSTRATED IN ITS TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS.

AND A DISTURBED AND FRUSTRATED GOVERNMENT WITH TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS ACTED ACCORDING TO A SCRIPT CHRONICLED MANY TIMES IN THE PAGES OF HISTORY.

SINCE THOSE WHO OPPOSE PRESENT POLICY IN SOUTH VIET NAM OFTEN SPEAK OF THE PRESENT CONFLICT AS A CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CONTENDING INDIGENOUS FACTIONS, IT MAY BE WELL TO RECOUNT EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THAT FATEFUL YEAR OF 1959.

FACED WITH A

FACED WITH A RAPIDLY VITALIZED SOUTH, THE NORTHERN GOVERNMENT OF HANOI UNDERTOOK GUERRILLA RAIDS AGAINST SOUTH VIET NAM. NOT ONLY WERE MILITARY UNITS THE TARGETS OF THIS COMMUNIST SUBVERSION BUT LOCAL CIVILIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND ORDINARY PEASANTS AS WELL.

THE HANOI GOVERNMENT INCREASED ITS COMMUNIST VIET CONG ARMY FROM 3,000 TO 12,000 PERSONNEL.

IN THE YEAR 1960 ALONE, THE COMMUNIST VIET CONG KILLED OR KIDNAPPED 3,000 LOCAL OFFICIALS, CIVILIANS, AND MILITARY PERSONNEL IN THE PROCESS OF ATTACKING NEW TOWNSHIPS, VARIOUS PUBLIC WORKS, AND MILITARY GARRISONS. MOREOVER, AS A RESULT OF SUCH COMMUNIST TERROIST ACTIVITIES, 200 SCHOOLS HAD TO BE CLOSED AT VARIOUS TIMES.

THE SITUATION WAS RAPIDLY DETERIORATING. THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST VIET CONG COULD NOT BE STOPPED BY THE KIND AND AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID WE WERE THEN SENDING TO SOUTH VIET NAM—EVEN THOUGH THEY WERE OF MORE THAN SUFFICIENT VOLUME TO OUTSTRIP COMMUNIST PRODUCTIVE CAPABILITIES TO THE NORTH.

THUS IT WAS THAT A SECOND UNITED STATES PRESIDENT HAD TO MAKE HIS MOVE TO HONOR A COMMITMENT.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY DECIDED IN 1961 THAT ACCELERATED VIET CONG ACTIVITY DEMANDED THAT IT BE COUNTERATTACKED WITH MORE AMERICAN MILITARY SUPPORT AS WELL AS ECONOMIC AID. THE UNITED STATES INCREASED ITS PERSONNEL IN LOGISTICAL, TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION, AND TRAINING COMPONENTS. MORE AID WAS PUMPED INTO MAKING LIFE BETTER IN THE VILLAGES.

THE HANOI GOVERNMENT RETALIATED

THE HANOI GOVERNMENT RETALIATED BY INCREASING THE TEMPO OF ITS ACTIVITIES THROUGH 1962 AND 1963. PRESIDENT KENNEDY, AND THEN PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAW NO OTHER CHOICE BUT TO HONOR OUR COMMITMENTS IN 1963 AND 1964.

IN AUGUST OF 1964, NORTH VIETNAMESE GUNBOATS ATTACKED AMERICAN DESTROYERS IN INTERNATIONAL WATERS. PRESIDENT JOHNSON REACTED BY SENDING U.S. AIR POWER AGAINST NORTH VIETNAMESE NAVAL INSTALLATIONS.

THIS WAS THE INCIDENT THAT DEFINITELY UNDERSCORED OUR COMMITMENT AND THE EXTENT OF OUR INVOLVEMENT IN HONORING THAT COMMITMENT—FOR CONGRESS BY A COMBINED VOTE OF 504 TO 2 APPROVED A JOINT RESOLUTION SUPPORTING PRESIDENT JOHNSON FOR HIS DECISION, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMED FORCE TO MEET ANY FURTHER COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

THIS, THEN, IS OUR COMMITMENT. WE MUST, AND WE HAVE, HONORED IT CONSISTENTLY THROUGH A DECADE AND THREE ADMINISTRATIONS. IT HAS BEEN A BI-PARTISAN COMMITMENT. IT HAS BEEN A NEAR-UNANIMOUS CONGRESSIONAL COMMITMENT.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON PLAINLY EMPHASIZED ON APRIL 7, 1965:

OUR OBJECTIVE IS THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH VIET NAM AND ITS FREEDOM FROM ATTACK. WE WANT NOTHING FOR OURSELVES— ONLY THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIET NAM BE ALLOWED TO GUIDE THEIR OWN COUNTRY IN THEIR OWN WAY.

WE MUST REALIZE THAT WE ARE THERE BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF THAT EMBATTLED COUNTRY REQUESTED, AND CONTINUE TO REQUEST, OUR HELP.

AS THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR CLEARLY DOCUMENTS WITH EVIDENCE, THE NUB OF THE PROBLEM IS THE FACT THAT SOUTH VIET NAM

HAS BEEN INFILTRATED

HAS BEEN INFILTRATED BY THOUSANDS OF TRAINED MILITARY PERSONNEL FROM THE NORTH WHO ARE SCHOOLED IN COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS. THE ULTIMATE AIM IS THE COMPLETE SUBJUGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIET NAM. TOWARDS THAT END, THESE PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN SUPPLIED WITH TREMENDOUS QUANTITIES OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION TRACED WITH EVIDENCE TO COMMUNIST CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION, OR OTHER COMMUNIST SATELLITES.

THE NORTH VIETNAMESE VIET CONG IS UNDOUBTEDLY CONTROLLED BY ITS COMMUNIST MAJORITY. IT IS NOT SIMPLY MADE UP OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE WHO FLED TO THE NORTH.

IN SHORT, THIS IS NOT SIMPLY A CIVIL WAR, BUT A WAR DIRECTED WITH THE SINGLE PURPOSE IN MIND OF ULTIMATE SUBJUGATION OF SOUTH VIET NAM BY HANOI-DIRECTED COMMUNISTS.

WE MUST ALSO REMEMBER WHAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID IN HIS BALTIMORE SPEECH: THAT IT IS THE COMMUNISTS, AND NOT OURSELVES, WHO HAVE WANTED THE TURMOIL IN SOUTH VIET NAM TO CONTINUE; THAT IT IS THE COMMUNISTS AND NOT THE UNITED STATES WHO HAD REFUSED ALL OFFERS OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE ALWAYS READY TO MEET AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE FOR "WE FEAR THE MEETING ROOM NO MORE THAN WE FEAR THE BATTLEFIELD"...BUT, SO FAR, WE HAVE NOT MET WITH SUCCESS FROM HANOI...OR PEIPING...OR MOSCOW.

AS MUCH AS WE DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE, IT TAKES TWO TO DO SO. THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA, PRIME MINISTER WILSON OF ENGLAND, SECRETARY U THANT OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE ALL CONFIRMED THE LACK OF ANY DESIRE ON THE PART OF HANOI, PEIPING, OR MOSCOW TO NEGOTIATE.

MEANWHILE, WE ARE PROVIDING

MEANWHILE, WE ARE PROVIDING ALL THE HELP WE CAN IN THE WAY OF MEDICAL AND ECONOMIC AID TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIET NAM. ALL THE TECHNICAL RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY ARE BEING MADE AVAILABLE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE CRUCIAL MEKONG RIVER DELTA AREA. PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS PLEDGED HELP TO ANY AND ALL COUNTRIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA WHO DESIRE THIS WAY OUT OF THE MISERIES OF POVERTY RATHER THAN THE COMMUNIST WAY.

HOWEVER, SIMPLY PROVIDING MORAL OR ECONOMIC SUPPORT TO COUNTRIES UNDER THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST SUBVERSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS NOT ENOUGH. SOPHISTICATED MEANS OF INFILTRATION AND HIGHLY DEVELOPED TECHNICAL WEAPONS OF WAR MUST BE COUNTERED WITH ALL THE RESOURCES AT OUR COMMAND.

SOME ARGUE THAT FOR THE DOWNTRODDEN AND POVERTY-STRICKEN PEOPLES OF THESE COUNTRIES, THERE IS NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE THAN COMMUNISM. THEY SAY THAT EVEN COMMUNISM IS BETTER THAN SOME FORMS OF CORRUPT GOVERNMENTS SEEN IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

BUT, I MUST REPLY, SUCH ARGUMENTS RUN COUNTER TO FACT AND EXPERIENCE. THEY FAIL TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE HATRED HELD FOR COMMUNISM BY THE PEASANTS OF SOUTH KOREA. THEY FAIL TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE DISLIKE OF CHINESE COMMUNISM HARBORED BY THE MALAYSIAN AND THE THAI. THEY DO NOT FACE UP TO THE INTENSE BATTLES WAGED BY FILIPINOS AGAINST THE COMMUNIST HUKBALAHAP MOVEMENT WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. AND THEY CERTAINLY RUN COUNTER TO THE ACTIONS AND FEELINGS OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES AGAINST THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE NORTH.

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE WOULD NOT ENDURE THE SACRIFICES THEY HAVE MADE IF THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN THEIR CAUSE. MORE VIETNAMESE ARE

FIGHTING AND DYING

FIGHTING AND DYING THAN AMERICANS. SINCE 1959, THEY HAVE SUFFERED 80,000 COMBINED MILITARY AND CIVILIAN CASUALTIES - EQUIVALENT TO NEARLY ONE MILLION CASUALTIES IN OUR POPULATION. 200,000 OF THEM HAVE FLED TO SOUTH VIET NAM CONTROLLED AREAS. IN THE LAST SIX YEARS, NO DEFECTION OF ANY CONSEQUENCE HAS OCCURRED. BUDDHISTS, CATHOLICS, CAMBODIANS, AND THE MONTAGNARDS ARE ALL OVERWHELMINGLY OPPOSED TO HANOI.

GIVEN A FREE CHOICE, I AM POSITIVE THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, NOT TO MENTION THOSE IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, WOULD FAR PREFER SOME OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT THAN COMMUNIST SUBJUGATION. I AM CONVINCED THAT WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO INSURE AT LEAST THAT FREEDOM OF CHOICE...A FREEDOM WHICH CANNOT BE GUARANTEED BY THE COMMUNISTS...A FREEDOM WHICH THEY HAVE LONG DENIED IN GERMANY, IN POLAND, IN HUNGARY, IN NORTH KOREA AND NORTH VIET NAM, AND, OF COURSE, IN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION.

DEPENDING ON OUR ACTIONS IN SOUTH VIET NAM, DEPENDING UPON THE ASIANS' ESTIMATE OF HOW FAR THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO GO TO FACE UP TO ITS COMMITMENTS AGAINST COMMUNIST CONQUEST, WE MAY RETAIN OR LOSE OUR FRIENDS IN THAILAND, THE PHILIPPINES, AND THE REST OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. WE ARE FACING A MOST CRUCIAL TEST NOT ONLY IN SOUTH VIET NAM BUT IN THE WHOLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. ARE WE WILLING TO STAND UP AND BE COUNTED? ARE WE WILLING TO PAY MORE THAN LIP SERVICE TO THE IDEA OF HALTING THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD?

THE ANSWER MUST BE A RESOUNDING "YES!" IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE TO

ENJOY THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE

ENJOY THE TRUST AND CONFIDENCE OF THESE PEOPLES--A RESOUNDING "YES!" IF WE ARE TO CONTINUE TO HONOR OUR COMMITMENT NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA BUT TO OUR OWN HERITAGE AND OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS.

SOUTH VIET NAM TODAY, THAILAND TOMORROW, AND THERE WILL BE STILL OTHERS, UNTIL THOSE WHO LIVE BY FORCE COME TO UNDERSTAND THAT FORCE NO LONGER WORKS - OR UNTIL THEY ARE DESTROYED. THE WILLPOWER OF A NATION, JUST AS THE WILLPOWER OF A MAN, IS THE MEASURE OF ITS STRENGTH. THERE IS NO REST AND THERE WILL BE NO REST, NO TIME WHEN WE MAY REST SECURE AS LONG AS THERE ARE POWERFUL NATIONS WHOSE POLICIES ARE OPPOSED TO HUMANITY. WE DO NOT LIKE WAR, BUT IT APPEARS THAT FORCE AND WAR IS THE ONLY ARGUMENT SUCH OPPONENTS RESPECT. CONSIDER THE ADMITTED POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHINESE LEADERS WHO HAVE WRITTEN THAT, "POLITICAL POWER COMES OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN." CONSIDER THE CONCEPTS OF A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS THEY RELATE TO SUCH A PHILOSOPHY.

IF WE DO NOT FIGHT THIS WAR, THERE WILL BE ANOTHER, AND IF WE DO NOT FIGHT THAT ONE, THERE WILL COME A TIME WHEN THERE IS NO CHOICE; AND THE PRICE WILL BE INCREASED ACCORDINGLY.

THE TROUBLE WITH THIS WAR, AS WITH THE WAR IN KOREA, IS THAT IT IS AN ABSTRACT WAR FOR THE MEN WHO FIGHT AND DIE IN IT AND FOR THEIR FAMILIES. HOW DIFFICULT IT MUST BE TO LEAVE A COUNTRY AT PEACE, AND GO TO A HOT AND UNCOMFORTABLE LAND WHERE DEATH IS ALWAYS WAITING. HOW DOES A SOLDIER FEEL WHO MUST FIGHT, AND DIE PERHAPS, IN A WAR THAT MOST OF HIS

NEIGHBORS AND COUNTRYMEN

NEIGHBORS AND COUNTRYMEN NEED NOT FIGHT IN OR EVEN THINK ABOUT? HOW DOES A MAN FEEL TO BE THE ONE CALLED UPON TO GIVE THAT "LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION" WHEN THE NATION'S SAFETY SEEMS SECURE AND THE MEANING OF THE WAR IS BURIED EVEN DEEPER IN INCOMPREHENSIBLES THAN THE MEANING OF WAR USUALLY IS? BUT THE COMPLAINTS AREN'T COMING FROM THE MEN WHO ARE CALLED UPON TO CARRY THESE BURDENS.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO ACCEPT A RESPONSIBILITY WHICH IS NOW OURS AND WHICH WE COULD NOT WITH INTEGRITY OR WITH SAFETY AVOID. WE ARE AT WAR AND WE HAVE NO CHOICE EXCEPT TO WIN IT.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID OF ANOTHER WAR THAT IT WAS A WAR WHICH TESTED WHETHER THIS NATION OR ANY NATION CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY COULD LONG ENDURE. THE WAR WE ARE PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN IS AS GREAT A TEST OF THAT QUESTION AS WAS THE WAR THAT LINCOLN SPOKE OF. OUR DETERMINATION TO FIGHT AND OUR WILL TO PREVAIL ARE IN THE LONG VIEW AS NECESSARY TO THE SURVIVAL OF THIS NATION AND ITS IDEALS AS THEY WERE A CENTURY AGO. THERE WERE MANY WHO SAID THEN THAT THE WAR WAS NOT WORTH THE PRICE, THERE WERE GRUMBLINGS AND EVEN RIOTS AGAINST THE DRAFT AND THERE WERE THOSE WHO DESIRED PEACE ON ANY TERMS.

BT FREE MEN HAVE ALWAYS HAD TO FIGHT TO REMAIN FREE, AND THERE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN OTHERS WHO SAW FREE MEN AS THEIR GREATEST ENEMY. IF THIS NATION IS TO FULFILL ITS PROMISE, IF IT IS TO CONFIRM ITS CHOSEN DESTINY OF BRINGING A GREATER OPPORTUNITY TOWARD THE FULFILLMENT OF MEN EVERYWHERE, WE MUST STAND READY FOR THIS AND EVERY OTHER TEST. THE WAR IN KOREA AND IN VIET NAM ARE THE ALTERNATIVES WHICH TYRANNY HAS FOUND IN AN AGE WHERE

13.

TOTAL CONFRONTATION MEANS TOTAL ANNIHILATION. BUT THEY ARE JUST AS MUCH A TEST OF OUR WILL TO REMAIN FREE AS TOTAL WAR WAS BEFORE. WE MUST MEET THAT TEST, FOR IF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD EVER LOSE ITS ABILITY TO BRING TO BEAR UPON THE PLAY OF WORLD EVENTS THE DETERMINATION OF MEN TO BE FREE, THE FORCE OF MODERN TOTALITARIANISM WOULD HAVE IT WITHIN ITS POWER TO PLUNGE MANKIND IN A DARK AGE OF SO GREAT A DEPTH THAT CENTURIES NEED PASS BEFORE THE SPIRIT OF MAN COULD FREE ITSELF AGAIN.

AND THAT IS WHY, EVEN WHILE HOLDING THE DOOR OPEN FOR HONEST NEGOTIATION, AS OUR PRESIDENT HAS SAID,

"WE WILL NOT BE DEFEATED.

WE WILL NOT GROW TIRED.

WE WILL NOT WITHDRAW, EITHER OPENLY OR UNDER THE CLOAK

OF A MEANINGLESS AGREEMENT," --

FOR, INDEED, WE DID NOT CHOOSE TO BE THE GUARDIANS AT THE GATE, BUT THERE IS NO ONE ELSE.