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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
BEFORE THE 49TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION
10 A.M., AUGUST 30, 1967, AT BOSTON, MASS.

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

Legionnaires, it is a distinct pleasure and a great honor to be with you. It's a bit like Old Home Week. I am a Legionnaire--a member of Furniture City Post No. 258 for 21 years--and proud of it. In fact, I suspect there might be some of my old shipmates in this audience--men of the aircraft carrier Monterey on which I spent two of my four years in the Navy.

I'm proud to be associated with the Legion because it is a good, sound, common sense organization dedicated to the advancement of all Americans, with a long-standing record of insistence on military preparedness.

One reason I take pride in being a Legionnaire is that our organization stands up for America. Legionnaires love America--its principles, its people and its history. The American Legion has been unwaveringly determined to protect America's security and, at the same time, promote the cause of peace throughout the world.

We are all working for peace--all of us, whether we're called hawks or doves--and never more than at this moment.

Now we have arrived at a critical point in time and history, a time of great national perplexity, a time of choosing and decision--yes, a moment of truth.

Millions of Americans who have never doubted the rightness of our being in Vietnam are asking themselves a soul-searching, devastatingly disturbing question: Is the Vietnam War "winnable?" Can we really win in Vietnam? Not "win" in the sense of unconditional surrender. Not "win" in the sense of bringing the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese to their knees. But "win" in terms of assuring the South Vietnamese the right to choose the government under which they will live. "Win" in the sense of protecting the security of the United States and bolstering the Free World in its struggle against Communism.

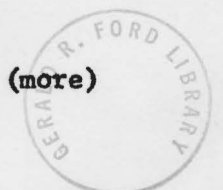
My objective--I want the United States to succeed in Vietnam.

I hope the Administration also has the same clear-cut objective.

When our Nation became actively engaged in the fighting in Vietnam in February, 1965, the American people supported the action.

But our involvement in Vietnam has since generated a giant cloud of confusion and a great gulf between the people and the Administration.

(more)



The reason is simple. For more than two years the Administration has been playing it by ear. The Administration's conduct of the war has been based on a new and naive theory--that if we gradually do just a little bit more, the enemy will some day lay down his arms and talk peace.

Initially we achieved a success. We stopped a quick communist take-over. Then we threw away our advantage by fighting the war on the enemy's terms.

Today the United States is bogged down in a massive land war in Southeast Asia, contrary to the views of great military strategists like the late General Douglas MacArthur.

For 2½ years we have fought a war of gradualism. We have allowed the enemy ample time to adjust to every turn of the screw. We have made it possible for Ho Chi Minh to anticipate and counter nearly every move we have made.

Is this any way to get an enemy to talk peace?

The Administration has followed a course of gradualism in Vietnam that has not worked because it could not work. It was contrary to all sound military strategy.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower recently said that when you must use force to support a national aim, for example in the defense of another country, there is no higher authority to which you can appeal. Therefore, you must win. To do that, Ike said, you need sufficient force and you must use it quickly and secretly so as to achieve surprise. He warned that a war of gradualism cannot be won.

Our fighting men have been tragically handicapped by the Administration's policy of gradualism. At the same time, the Southvietnamese have not done enough in their own behalf. In the first instance, too much political instability. Then a shoring up of a tenuous military regime. And now an election that may have too many American overtones.

Meantime, our leaders have almost completely Americanized the war.

There are two equally important fronts in South Vietnam---the military war and the program of pacification.

How are we doing? We and our allies--South Korea, The Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Thailand--must succeed on both fronts if we are to achieve our basic objective in Vietnam.

The pacification effort is aimed at winning the people's allegiance to their government with social, economic and political reforms.

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Let's not mince words. The Southvietnamese regular army thus far has failed to meet the military challenge. The local militia has failed to provide the security needed to make the pacification program work.

Tragically, the Saigon Government probably would collapse if both the Americans and North Vietnamese were to withdraw from the battlefield and let the South Vietnamese military and the Vietcong fight it out.

The reason--the basic problems in South Vietnam have gone unsolved.

Whatever the outcome of the Sept. 3 presidential election in Vietnam, the United States must insist that the post-election regime fully carry out a number of reforms, notably land reform. Such reforms must be achieved if a Saigon government is to have genuine support. Otherwise military success in Vietnam will be meaningless.

What is the military situation?

In recent days we have seen what amounts to an Administration propaganda campaign on our chances for success in Vietnam. It is obviously aimed at counter-ing a rising wave of frustration among the American people.

I hope there is a basis for such optimism. But the record does not seem to justify it. Secretary MacNamara, judging from his latest public statement, certainly does not share it. More than 90,000 Americans have been killed or wounded in combat in this war of gradualism. There have been more than 250,000 casualties from all causes. To what end? We and our allies have been able to secure only a fraction of a country roughly the size of my own state of Michigan.

We and our allies have killed an estimated 200,000 of the enemy. Yet we now face the largest force the Communists have yet put together in Vietnam--nearly 300,000.

The war in Vietnam is pretty much of a standoff right now--certainly this is the view of the American people--even though we have increased the American manpower commitment in Vietnam from 15,000 to 525,000 in the past 2½ years.

We have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy--with mounting American casualties--but the supply of Communist cannon fodder seems unlimited.

We are told the North Vietnamese have committed only one-fifth of their regular army to the war in South Vietnam. At the same time we are reaching the bottom of our ready manpower pool.

Because the Soviets have had 2½ years to deliver the most modern weapons and train the enemy in their use, our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines

(more)

are now fighting a much tougher war. Today the Communists are employing missiles, heavy artillery, and powerful mortars, all emplaced and fortified during the Administration's war of gradualism.

A way to the peace table must be found in Vietnam. I submit that the American people have the correct formula--succeed or get out.

To succeed in Vietnam we need a clear and coordinated plan with the determination at the top to see it through. If this fails, then the story of American participation in the Vietnam war will be written in five words in the history books--too little and too late. Too little early in the war--and too late now.

On Dec. 13, 1965, my party's National Coordinating Committee warned that we were getting bogged down in what could become an endless land war in Southeast Asia.

We pleaded for maximum use of our conventional air and sea power. We begged that the flow of supplies in North Vietnam through the port of Haiphong be stopped.

These thoughtful recommendations by those who support American objectives were ignored. The Administration has failed to carry out the first commandment of military strategy--cut off the enemy's supplies at the source, destroy the logistical support he needs to make war.

The Administration has not followed this course. Publicly, the Secretary of Defense has categorically cast it aside.

The Secretary has accused advocates of a more effective air war in the North of trying to substitute air attacks there for ground fighting in the South. This charge is ridiculous. What's more, it's a fabrication. I know of no one who has ever contended that meaningful air attacks against North Vietnam can be substituted for hard ground action in the South. Mr. McNamara sets up a straw man with such charges and then knocks it down. That is no defense at all for the mistaken course the Administration has followed in Vietnam.

A nation at war cannot afford confusion and doubt about its basic policies.

Mr. McNamara's recent argument against making the air war more effective was that there is no use trying it because it won't work anyway.

Where does the President stand? Does he stand with Mr. McNamara or with his military chiefs and those members of Congress who believe a meaningful air war will help us succeed in Vietnam?

(more)

What is our policy? Is it still Mr. McNamara's policy? What hope is there for success in Vietnam? That's what the American people wonder, and they want to hear it from the man in charge, the President of the United States.

If the President continues the indecisive and ineffective policies of the past 2½ years, then the American people are committed to a war of attrition that could last for 10 to 20 years.

If Mr. McNamara is right in his latest public assessment of the Vietnam situation--and I do not for a moment concede this--then the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time and under the best possible terms.

Our last opportunity for success in Vietnam may be fast disappearing.

I have called for a clear and coordinated plan to achieve success in Vietnam. Such a plan would include more effective and more meaningful bombing of significant military targets in North Vietnam. Not necessarily more tonnage, but dropping our bombs on meaningful targets instead of jungle trails or into the sea.

We must by one of several sound military tactics greatly reduce the flow of supplies through the port of Haiphong. This can be done in such a way that no enemy, misled by our past mistakes, will misjudge our will or intentions.

The South Vietnamese Army must be forced to shoulder more of the burden of the fighting in the South.

All of our allies who have enjoyed American aid should be called upon to join in a big push toward success in Vietnam.

The pacification program must be made to work.

Three weeks ago I disclosed that many highly significant military targets in North Vietnam were on a list declared off-limits by the President as commander-in-chief of our armed forces. I said it then and I say it now. I am opposed to sending one more American foot-soldier to Vietnam if our pilots are prevented from doing the job that needs doing--a job that should have been done months before.

Some people are concerned about civilian casualties in North Vietnam. I am more concerned about the lives of Americans and our allies in South Vietnam. I am not contending that air power alone will bring success in Vietnam and open the way to the peace table. It is just one of the paths we must take or accept the alternative of disengagement.

I am not advocating that civilian centers be bombed.

(more)

I am not proposing the use of nuclear weapons.

I am not advocating a ground invasion of North Vietnam by American forces.

So far as I know, no responsible Americans advocate these extreme measures.

There is substantial military agreement, and I concur, that if the war is waged more efficiently in the North it will aid our men in the South and save American lives.

The American people are saying "let's succeed or get out."

The voice of the people is invariably the voice of wisdom.

The American people know the Vietnam War could go on endlessly unless there is a concerted joint effort to bring it to the bargaining table. Events make men, but men also make events. The President of the United States has the power to change the pattern, to break the mold, to demand that our South Vietnamese allies shape up or lose our support.

Genuine success in a guerrilla war results when the local population is willing to fight its own war, with a conviction that their enemy--the Communists--be defeated. We saw the proof of this in South Korea, the Philippines, in Greece and in Malaya.

Let us fulfill our commitment in Vietnam. Let us stop labeling each other as hawks or doves. Let us admit past mistakes--stop defending past failures. Let us decide we are going to end this bloody war, quickly, successfully and honorably.

We cannot and should not do it alone.

I call upon the South Vietnamese soldier to engage in the imitation of excellence--to pattern himself after our American soldiers and Marines.

To the South Vietnamese, I say in the words of Pericles: "Take these men for your example. Freedom is the sure possession alone of those who have the courage to defend it."

Our objective in Vietnam is honorable. Our cause is just. Let us--we and our allies--pursue it to an honorable end. Thank you.

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49TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION
10 A.M., AUGUST 30, 1967, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

distinguished guests and our very special guests the veterans of the conflict in V.N.
LEGIONNAIRES, IT IS A DISTINCT PLEASURE AND A GREAT
Let me add a word - speaking directly to the Vietnam Veterans - 800 million Americans are deeply grateful for your sacrifices
HONOR TO BE WITH YOU. IT'S A BIT LIKE OLD HOME WEEK. I AM
A LEGIONNAIRE--A MEMBER OF FURNITURE CITY POST NO. 258 FOR
21 YEARS--AND PROUD OF IT. IN FACT, I SUSPECT THERE MIGHT BE
mighty SOME OF MY OLD SHIPMATES IN THIS AUDIENCE--MEN OF THE AIRCRAFT
1 Navy CARRIER MONTEREY ON WHICH I SPENT TWO OF MY FOUR YEARS IN THE
NAVY.

in my own post, the Michigan Department of
I'M PROUD TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEGION BECAUSE IT
nationally IS A GOOD, SOUND, COMMON SENSE ORGANIZATION DEDICATED TO THE
ADVANCEMENT OF ALL AMERICANS, WITH A LONG-STANDING RECORD OF
INSISTENCE ON MILITARY PREPAREDNESS.

essent ONE REASON I TAKE PRIDE IN BEING A LEGIONNAIRE IS THAT
OUR ORGANIZATION STANDS UP FOR AMERICA. LEGIONNAIRES LOVE
AMERICA--ITS PRINCIPLES, ITS PEOPLE AND ITS HISTORY. THE



AMERICAN LEGION HAS BEEN UNWAVERINGLY DETERMINED TO PROTECT AMERICA'S SECURITY AND, AT THE SAME TIME, PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

*The Legion fought for preparedness before W.W. II
" supported President Truman's strategy in Korea.
" supports our commitment in Vietnam - RUSK*

WE ARE ALL WORKING FOR PEACE--ALL OF US, WHETHER WE'RE CALLED HAWKS OR DOVES--AND NEVER MORE THAN AT THIS MOMENT.

NOW WE HAVE ARRIVED AT A CRITICAL POINT IN TIME AND HISTORY, A TIME OF GREAT NATIONAL PERPLEXITY, A TIME OF CHOOSING AND DECISION--YES, A MOMENT OF TRUTH.

MILLIONS OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE NEVER DOUBTED THE RIGHTNESS OF OUR BEING IN VIETNAM ARE ASKING THEMSELVES A SOUL-SEARCHING, DEVASTATINGLY DISTURBING QUESTION: IS THE VIETNAM WAR "WINNABLE?" CAN WE REALLY WIN IN VIETNAM? NOT "WIN" IN THE SENSE OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER. NOT "WIN" IN THE SENSE OF BRINGING THE VIET CONG AND THE NORTH VIETNAMESE TO THEIR KNEES. BUT "WIN" IN TERMS OF ASSURING THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH



THEY WILL LIVE. "WIN" IN THE SENSE OF PROTECTING THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES AND BOLSTERING THE FREE WORLD IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST COMMUNISM.

MY OBJECTIVE--I WANT THE UNITED STATES TO SUCCEED IN VIETNAM.

I HOPE THE ADMINISTRATION ALSO HAS THE SAME CLEAR-CUT OBJECTIVE.

WHEN OUR NATION BECAME ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE FIGHTING IN VIETNAM IN FEBRUARY, 1965, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SUPPORTED THE ACTION.

BUT OUR INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM HAS SINCE GENERATED A GIANT CLOUD OF CONFUSION AND A GREAT GULF BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

THE REASON IS SIMPLE. FOR MORE THAN TWO YEARS THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN PLAYING IT BY EAR. THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONDUCT OF THE WAR HAS BEEN BASED ON A NEW AND



NAIVE THEORY--THAT IF WE GRADUALLY DO JUST A LITTLE BIT MORE, THE ENEMY WILL SOME DAY LAY DOWN HIS ARMS AND TALK PEACE.

INITIALLY WE ACHIEVED A SUCCESS. WE STOPPED A QUICK COMMUNIST TAKE-OVER. THEN, WE THREW AWAY OUR ADVANTAGE BY FIGHTING THE WAR ON THE ENEMY'S TERMS.

TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS BOGGED DOWN IN A MASSIVE LAND WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, CONTRARY TO THE VIEWS OF ^a GREAT MILITARY STRATEGIST~~S~~ LIKE THE LATE GENERAL DOUGLAS ¹ Mac ARTHUR.

FOR 2½ YEARS WE HAVE FOUGHT A WAR OF GRADUALISM. WE HAVE ALLOWED THE ENEMY AMPLE TIME TO ADJUST TO EVERY TURN OF THE SCREW. WE HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR HO CHI MINH TO ANTICIPATE AND COUNTER NEARLY EVERY MOVE WE HAVE MADE.

IS THIS ANY WAY TO GET AN ENEMY TO TALK PEACE?

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FOLLOWED A COURSE OF GRADUALISM IN VIETNAM THAT HAS NOT WORKED BECAUSE IT COULD NOT WORK. IT



WAS CONTRARY TO ALL SOUND MILITARY STRATEGY.

GENERAL ~~DWIGHT D.~~ EISENHOWER RECENTLY SAID THAT WHEN YOU MUST USE FORCE TO SUPPORT A NATIONAL AIM, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE DEFENSE OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, THERE IS NO HIGHER AUTHORITY TO WHICH YOU CAN APPEAL. THEREFORE, YOU MUST WIN. TO DO THAT, IKE SAID, YOU NEED SUFFICIENT FORCE AND YOU MUST USE IT QUICKLY AND SECRETLY SO AS TO ACHIEVE SURPRISE. HE WARNED THAT A WAR OF GRADUALISM CANNOT BE WON.

OUR FIGHTING MEN HAVE BEEN TRAGICALLY HANDICAPPED BY THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF GRADUALISM. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE HAVE NOT DONE ENOUGH IN THEIR OWN BEHALF. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, TOO MUCH POLITICAL INSTABILITY. THEN A SHORING UP OF A TENUOUS MILITARY REGIME. AND NOW AN ELECTION THAT MAY HAVE TOO MANY AMERICAN OVERTONES.

MEANTIME, OUR LEADERS HAVE ALMOST COMPLETELY AMERICANIZED THE WAR.



THERE ARE TWO EQUALLY IMPORTANT FRONTS IN SOUTH VIETNAM--
THE MILITARY WAR AND THE PROGRAM OF PACIFICATION.

HOW ARE WE DOING? WE AND OUR ALLIES--SOUTH KOREA,
THE PHILIPPINES, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THAILAND--^{all 3 are} MUST
SUCCEED ON BOTH FRONTS IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE OUR BASIC
OBJECTIVE IN VIETNAM.

THE PACIFICATION EFFORT IS AIMED AT WINNING THE
PEOPLE'S ALLEGIANCE TO THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT WITH SOCIAL,
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORMS.

LET'S NOT MINCE WORDS. THE SOUTHVIETNAMESE REGULAR
ARMY THUS FAR HAS FAILED TO MEET THE MILITARY CHALLENGE. THE
LOCAL MILITIA HAS FAILED TO PROVIDE THE SECURITY NEEDED TO
MAKE THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM WORK.

TRAGICALLY, THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT PROBABLY WOULD COLLAPSE
IF BOTH THE AMERICANS AND NORTH VIETNAMESE WERE TO WITHDRAW
FROM THE BATTLEFIELD AND LET THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE MILITARY

AND THE VIETCONG FIGHT IT OUT.

THE REASON--THE BASIC PROBLEMS IN SOUTH VIETNAM HAVE GONE UNSOLVED.

WHATEVER THE OUTCOME OF THE SEPT. 3 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN VIETNAM, THE UNITED STATES MUST INSIST THAT THE POST-ELECTION REGIME FULLY CARRY OUT A NUMBER OF REFORMS, NOTABLY LAND REFORM. SUCH REFORMS MUST BE ACHIEVED IF A SAIGON GOVERNMENT IS TO HAVE GENUINE SUPPORT. OTHERWISE MILITARY SUCCESS IN VIETNAM WILL BE MEANINGLESS.

WHAT IS THE MILITARY SITUATION?

IN RECENT DAYS WE HAVE SEEN WHAT AMOUNTS TO AN ADMINISTRATION PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN ON OUR CHANCES FOR SUCCESS IN VIETNAM. IT IS OBVIOUSLY AIMED AT COUNTERING A RISING WAVE OF FRUSTRATION AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I HOPE/THERE IS A BASIS FOR SUCH OPTIMISM. BUT THE RECORD DOES NOT SEEM TO JUSTIFY IT. SECRETARY M c NAMARA, JUDGING



FROM HIS LATEST PUBLIC STATEMENT, CERTAINLY DOES NOT SHARE IT. MORE THAN 90,000 AMERICANS HAVE BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED IN COMBAT IN THIS WAR OF GRADUALISM. THERE HAVE BEEN MORE THAN 250,000 ^{American} CASUALTIES FROM ALL CAUSES. TO WHAT END? WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SECURE ONLY A FRACTION OF A COUNTRY ROUGHLY THE SIZE OF MY OWN STATE OF MICHIGAN.

WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE KILLED AN ESTIMATED 200,000 OF THE ENEMY. YET WE NOW FACE THE LARGEST FORCE THE COMMUNISTS HAVE YET PUT TOGETHER IN VIETNAM--NEARLY 300,000.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS PRETTY MUCH OF A STANDOFF RIGHT NOW--CERTAINLY THIS IS THE VIEW OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE INCREASED THE AMERICAN MANPOWER COMMITMENT IN VIETNAM FROM 15,000 TO 525,000 IN THE PAST 2½ YEARS.

WE HAVE INFLICTED HEAVY LOSSES ON THE ENEMY--WITH MOUNTING AMERICAN CASUALTIES--BUT THE SUPPLY OF COMMUNIST CANNON FODDER SEEMS UNLIMITED.



WE ARE TOLD THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE COMMITTED ONLY ONE-FIFTH OF THEIR REGULAR ARMY TO THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM. AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE REACHING THE BOTTOM OF OUR READY MANPOWER POOL.

BECAUSE THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD 2½ YEARS TO DELIVER THE MOST MODERN WEAPONS AND TRAIN THE ENEMY IN THEIR USE, OUR SOLDIERS, SAILORS, AIRMEN, AND MARINES ARE NOW FIGHTING A MUCH TOUGHER WAR. TODAY THE COMMUNISTS ARE EMPLOYING MISSILES, HEAVY ARTILLERY, AND POWERFUL MORTARS, ALL EMPLACED AND ^{all} FORTIFIED DURING THE ADMINISTRATION'S WAR OF GRADUALISM.

A WAY TO THE PEACE TABLE MUST BE FOUND IN VIETNAM. I SUBMIT THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE THE CORRECT FORMULA--
SUCCEED OR GET OUT.

TO SUCCEED IN VIETNAM WE NEED A CLEAR AND COORDINATED PLAN WITH THE DETERMINATION AT THE TOP TO SEE IT THROUGH.



IF THIS FAILS, THEN THE STORY OF AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE VIETNAM WAR WILL BE WRITTEN IN FIVE WORDS IN THE HISTORY BOOKS--TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE. TOO LITTLE EARLY IN THE WAR--AND TOO LATE NOW.

ON DEC. 13, 1965, MY PARTY'S NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE WARNED THAT WE WERE GETTING BOGGED DOWN IN WHAT COULD BECOME AN ENDLESS LAND WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

WE PLEADED FOR MAXIMUM USE OF OUR CONVENTIONAL AIR AND SEA POWER. WE BEGGED THAT THE FLOW OF SUPPLIES IN NORTH VIETNAM THROUGH THE PORT OF HAIPHONG BE STOPPED.

THESE THOUGHTFUL RECOMMENDATIONS BY THOSE WHO SUPPORT AMERICAN OBJECTIVES WERE IGNORED. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FAILED TO CARRY OUT THE FIRST COMMANDMENT OF MILITARY STRATEGY--CUT OFF THE ENEMY'S SUPPLIES AT THE SOURCE, DESTROY THE LOGISTICAL SUPPORT HE NEEDS TO MAKE WAR.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT FOLLOWED THIS COURSE. ~~END~~

PUBLICLY, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAS CATEGORICALLY CAST IT ASIDE.

THE SECRETARY HAS ACCUSED ADVOCATES OF A MORE EFFECTIVE AIR WAR ~~[IN THE NORTH]~~ OF TRYING TO SUBSTITUTE AIR ATTACKS ^{in the north} ~~THERE~~ FOR GROUND FIGHTING IN THE SOUTH. THIS CHARGE IS RIDICULOUS. WHAT'S MORE, IT'S A FABRICATION. I KNOW OF NO ONE WHO HAS EVER CONTENDED THAT MEANINGFUL AIR ATTACKS AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM CAN BE SUBSTITUTED FOR HARD GROUND ACTION IN THE SOUTH. MR. McNAMARA SETS UP A STRAW MAN WITH SUCH CHARGES AND THEN KNOCKS IT DOWN. THAT IS NO DEFENSE AT ALL FOR THE MISTAKEN COURSE THE ADMINISTRATION HAS FOLLOWED IN VIETNAM.

A NATION AT WAR CANNOT AFFORD CONFUSION AND DOUBT ABOUT ITS BASIC POLICIES.

MR. McNAMARA'S RECENT ARGUMENT AGAINST MAKING THE AIR WAR MORE EFFECTIVE IS THAT THERE IS NO USE TRYING IT BECAUSE IT



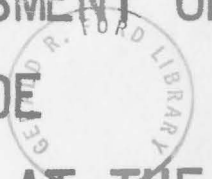
WON'T WORK ANYWAY.

WHERE DOES THE PRESIDENT STAND? DOES HE STAND WITH MR. McNAMARA OR ^{does he stand} WITH HIS MILITARY CHIEFS AND THOSE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO BELIEVE A MEANINGFUL AIR WAR WILL HELP US SUCCEED IN VIETNAM.

WHAT IS OUR POLICY? IS IT STILL MR. McNAMARA'S POLICY? WHAT HOPE IS THERE FOR SUCCESS IN VIETNAM? THAT'S WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WONDER, AND THEY WANT TO HEAR IT FROM THE MAN IN CHARGE, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IF THE PRESIDENT CONTINUES THE INDECISIVE AND INEFFECTIVE POLICIES OF THE PAST 2½ YEARS, THEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE COMMITTED TO A WAR OF ATTRITION THAT COULD LAST FOR 10 TO 20 YEARS.

IF MR. McNAMARA IS RIGHT IN HIS LATEST PUBLIC ASSESSMENT OF THE VIETNAM SITUATION--AND I DO NOT FOR A MOMENT CONCEDE THIS--THEN THE UNITED STATES SHOULD GET OUT OF VIETNAM AT THE



EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND UNDER THE BEST POSSIBLE TERMS.

OUR LAST OPPORTUNITY FOR SUCCESS IN VIETNAM MAY BE FAST DISAPPEARING.

I HAVE CALLED FOR A CLEAR AND COORDINATED PLAN TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN VIETNAM. SUCH A PLAN WOULD INCLUDE MORE EFFECTIVE AND MORE MEANINGFUL BOMBING OF SIGNIFICANT MILITARY TARGETS IN NORTH VIETNAM. NOT NECESSARILY MORE TONNAGE, BUT DROPPING OUR BOMBS ON MEANINGFUL TARGETS INSTEAD OF JUNGLE TRAILS OR INTO THE SEA.

WE MUST BY ONE OF SEVERAL SOUND MILITARY TACTICS GREATLY REDUCE THE FLOW OF SUPPLIES THROUGH THE PORT OF HAIPHONG. THIS CAN BE DONE IN SUCH A WAY THAT NO ENEMY, MISLEAD BY OUR PAST MISTAKES, WILL MISJUDGE OUR WILL OR ^{OUR} INTENTIONS.

THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE ARMY MUST BE FORCED TO SHOULDER MORE OF THE BURDEN OF THE FIGHTING IN THE SOUTH.

ALL ~~OR~~ OUR ALLIES WHO HAVE ENJOYED AMERICAN AID SHOULD



BE CALLED UPON TO JOIN IN A BIG PUSH TOWARD SUCCESS IN VIETNAM.

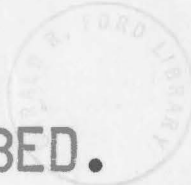
THE PACIFICATION PROGRAM MUST BE MADE TO WORK.

THREE WEEKS AGO I DISCLOSED THAT MANY HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT MILITARY TARGETS IN NORTH VIETNAM WERE ON A LIST DECLARED OFF-LIMITS BY THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF OUR ARMED FORCES. I SAID IT THEN AND I SAY IT NOW. I AM OPPOSED TO SENDING ONE MORE AMERICAN FOOT-SOLDIER TO VIETNAM IF OUR PILOTS ARE PREVENTED FROM DOING THE JOB THAT NEEDS DOING--A JOB THAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE MONTHS BEFORE.

SOME PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES IN NORTH VIETNAM. I AM MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE LIVES OF AMERICANS AND OUR ALLIES IN SOUTH VIETNAM. I AM NOT CONTENDING THAT AIR POWER ALONE WILL BRING SUCCESS IN VIETNAM AND OPEN THE WAY TO THE PEACE TABLE. IT IS JUST ONE OF THE PATHS WE MUST TAKE OR ACCEPT THE ALTERNATIVE OF DISENGAGEMENT.

I AM NOT ADVOCATING THAT CIVILIAN CENTERS BE BOMBED.

I AM NOT PROPOSING THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.



I AM NOT ADVOCATING A GROUND INVASION OF NORTH VIETNAM BY AMERICAN FORCES.

SO FAR AS I KNOW, NO RESPONSIBLE AMERICANS ADVOCATE THESE EXTREME MEASURES.

THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY AGREEMENT, AND I CONCUR, THAT IF THE WAR IS WAGED MORE EFFICIENTLY IN THE NORTH IT WILL AID OUR MEN IN THE SOUTH AND SAVE AMERICAN LIVES.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE SAYING "LET'S SUCCEED OR GET OUT."

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE IS INVARIABLY THE VOICE OF WISDOM.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THE VIETNAM WAR COULD GO ON ENDLESSLY UNLESS THERE IS A CONCERTED JOINT EFFORT TO BRING IT TO THE BARGAINING TABLE. EVENTS MAKE MEN, BUT MEN ALSO MAKE EVENTS. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAS THE POWER TO CHANGE THE PATTERN, TO BREAK THE MOLD, TO DEMAND

THAT OUR SOUTH VIETNAMESE ALLIES "SHAPE UP OR LOSE OUR SUPPORT."


GENUINE SUCCESS IN A GUERRILLA WAR RESULTS WHEN THE LOCAL POPULATION IS WILLING TO FIGHT ITS OWN WAR, WITH A CONVICTION THAT THEIR ENEMY--THE COMMUNISTS--BE DEFEATED. WE SAW THE PROOF OF THIS IN SOUTH KOREA, THE PHILIPPINES, GREECE AND IN MALAYA.

LET US FULFILL OUR COMMITMENT IN VIETNAM. LET US STOP LABELING EACH OTHER AS HAWKS OR DOVES. LET US ADMIT PAST MISTAKES--STOP DEFENDING PAST FAILURES. LET US DECIDE WE ARE GOING TO END THIS BLOODY WAR, QUICKLY, SUCCESSFULLY AND HONORABLY.

WE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT DO IT ALONE.

I CALL UPON THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE SOLDIER TO ENGAGE IN THE IMITATION OF EXCELLENCE--TO PATTERN HIMSELF AFTER OUR AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND MARINES.

TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE, I SAY IN THE WORDS OF PERICLES: "TAKE THESE MEN FOR YOUR EXAMPLE. FREEDOM IS THE



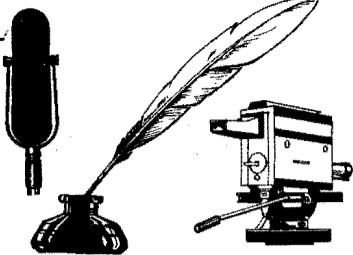
SURE POSSESSION ALONE OF THOSE WHO HAVE THE COURAGE TO
DEFEND IT."

OUR OBJECTIVE IN VIETNAM IS HONORABLE. OUR CAUSE IS
JUST. LET US--WE AND OUR ALLIES--PURSUE IT TO AN HONORABLE
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study
↑

-END-





CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
BEFORE THE 49TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION
10 A.M., AUGUST 30, 1967, AT BOSTON, MASS.

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

Legionnaires, it is a distinct pleasure and a great honor to be with you. It's a bit like Old Home Week. I am a Legionnaire--a member of Furniture City Post No. 258 for 21 years--and proud of it. In fact, I suspect there might be some of my old shipmates in this audience--men of the aircraft carrier Monterey on which I spent two of my four years in the Navy.

I'm proud to be associated with the Legion because it is a good, sound, common sense organization dedicated to the advancement of all Americans, with a long-standing record of insistence on military preparedness.

One reason I take pride in being a Legionnaire is that our organization stands up for America. Legionnaires love America--its principles, its people and its history. The American Legion has been unwaveringly determined to protect America's security and, at the same time, promote the cause of peace throughout the world.

We are all working for peace--all of us, whether we're called hawks or doves--and never more than at this moment.

Now we have arrived at a critical point in time and history, a time of great national perplexity, a time of choosing and decision--yes, a moment of truth.

Millions of Americans who have never doubted the rightness of our being in Vietnam are asking themselves a soul-searching, devastatingly disturbing question: Is the Vietnam War "winnable?" Can we really win in Vietnam? Not "win" in the sense of unconditional surrender. Not "win" in the sense of bringing the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese to their knees. But "win" in terms of assuring the South Vietnamese the right to choose the government under which they will live. "Win" in the sense of protecting the security of the United States and bolstering the Free World in its struggle against Communism.

My objective--I want the United States to succeed in Vietnam.

I hope the Administration also has the same clear-cut objective.

When our Nation became actively engaged in the fighting in Vietnam in February, 1965, the American people supported the action.

But our involvement in Vietnam has since generated a giant cloud of confusion and a great gulf between the people and the Administration.

The reason is simple. For more than two years the Administration has been playing it by ear. The Administration's conduct of the war has been based on a new and naive theory--that if we gradually do just a little bit more, the enemy will some day lay down his arms and talk peace.

Initially we achieved a success. We stopped a quick communist take-over. Then we threw away our advantage by fighting the war on the enemy's terms.

Today the United States is bogged down in a massive land war in Southeast Asia, contrary to the views of great military strategists like the late General Douglas MacArthur.

For 2½ years we have fought a war of gradualism. We have allowed the enemy ample time to adjust to every turn of the screw. We have made it possible for Ho Chi Minh to anticipate and counter nearly every move we have made.

Is this any way to get an enemy to talk peace?

The Administration has followed a course of gradualism in Vietnam that has not worked because it could not work. It was contrary to all sound military strategy.

General Dwight D. Eisenhower recently said that when you must use force to support a national aim, for example in the defense of another country, there is no higher authority to which you can appeal. Therefore, you must win. To do that, Ike said, you need sufficient force and you must use it quickly and secretly so as to achieve surprise. He warned that a war of gradualism cannot be won.

Our fighting men have been tragically handicapped by the Administration's policy of gradualism. At the same time, the Southvietnamese have not done enough in their own behalf. In the first instance, too much political instability. Then a shoring up of a tenuous military regime. And now an election that may have too many American overtones.

Meantime, our leaders have almost completely Americanized the war.

There are two equally important fronts in South Vietnam----the military war and the program of pacification.

How are we doing? We and our allies--South Korea, The Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, and Thailand--must succeed on both fronts if we are to achieve our basic objective in Vietnam.

The pacification effort is aimed at winning the people's allegiance to their government with social, economic and political reforms.

(more)

Let's not mince words. The Southvietnamese regular army thus far has failed to meet the military challenge. The local militia has failed to provide the security needed to make the pacification program work.

Tragically, the Saigon Government probably would collapse if both the Americans and North Vietnamese were to withdraw from the battlefield and let the South Vietnamese military and the Vietcong fight it out.

The reason--the basic problems in South Vietnam have gone unsolved.

Whatever the outcome of the Sept. 3 presidential election in Vietnam, the United States must insist that the post-election regime fully carry out a number of reforms, notably land reform. Such reforms must be achieved if a Saigon government is to have genuine support. Otherwise military success in Vietnam will be meaningless.

What is the military situation?

In recent days we have seen what amounts to an Administration propoganda campaign on our chances for success in Vietnam. It is obviously aimed at counter-ing a rising wave of frustration among the American people.

I hope there is a basis for such optimism. But the record does not seem to justify it. Secretary MacNamara, judging from his latest public statement, certainly does not share it. More than 90,000 Americans have been killed or wounded in combat in this war of gradualism. There have been more than 250,000 casualties from all causes. To what end? We and our allies have been able to secure only a fraction of a country roughly the size of my own state of Michigan.

We and our allies have killed an estimated 200,000 of the enemy. Yet we now face the largest force the Communists have yet put together in Vietnam--nearly 300,000.

The war in Vietnam is pretty much of a standoff right now--certainly this is the view of the American people--even though we have increased the American manpower commitment in Vietnam from 15,000 to 525,000 in the past 2½ years.

We have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy--with mounting American casualties--but the supply of Communist cannon fodder seems unlimited.

We are told the North Vietnamese have committed only one-fifth of their regular army to the war in South Vietnam. At the same time we are reaching the bottom of our ready manpower pool.

Because the Soviets have had 2½ years to deliver the most modern weapons and train the enemy in their use, our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines

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are now fighting a much tougher war. Today the Communists are employing missiles, heavy artillery, and powerful mortars, all emplaced and fortified during the Administration's war of gradualism.

A way to the peace table must be found in Vietnam. I submit that the American people have the correct formula--succeed or get out.

To succeed in Vietnam we need a clear and coordinated plan with the determination at the top to see it through. If this fails, then the story of American participation in the Vietnam war will be written in five words in the history books--too little and too late. Too little early in the war--and too late now.

On Dec. 13, 1965, my party's National Coordinating Committee warned that we were getting bogged down in what could become an endless land war in Southeast Asia.

We pleaded for maximum use of our conventional air and sea power. We begged that the flow of supplies in North Vietnam through the port of Haiphong be stopped.

These thoughtful recommendations by those who support American objectives were ignored. The Administration has failed to carry out the first commandment of military strategy--cut off the enemy's supplies at the source, destroy the logistical support he needs to make war.

The Administration has not followed this course. Publicly, the Secretary of Defense has categorically cast it aside.

The Secretary has accused advocates of a more effective air war in the North of trying to substitute air attacks there for ground fighting in the South. This charge is ridiculous. What's more, it's a fabrication. I know of no one who has ever contended that meaningful air attacks against North Vietnam can be substituted for hard ground action in the South. Mr. McNamara sets up a straw man with such charges and then knocks it down. That is no defense at all for the mistaken course the Administration has followed in Vietnam.

A nation at war cannot afford confusion and doubt about its basic policies.

Mr. McNamara's recent argument against making the air war more effective was that there is no use trying it because it won't work anyway.

Where does the President stand? Does he stand with Mr. McNamara or with his military chiefs and those members of Congress who believe a meaningful air war will help us succeed in Vietnam?

(more)

What is our policy? Is it still Mr. McNamara's policy? What hope is there for success in Vietnam? That's what the American people wonder, and they want to hear it from the man in charge, the President of the United States.

If the President continues the indecisive and ineffective policies of the past 2½ years, then the American people are committed to a war of attrition that could last for 10 to 20 years.

If Mr. McNamara is right in his latest public assessment of the Vietnam situation--and I do not for a moment concede this--then the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time and under the best possible terms.

Our last opportunity for success in Vietnam may be fast disappearing.

I have called for a clear and coordinated plan to achieve success in Vietnam. Such a plan would include more effective and more meaningful bombing of significant military targets in North Vietnam. Not necessarily more tonnage, but dropping our bombs on meaningful targets instead of jungle trails or into the sea.

We must by one of several sound military tactics greatly reduce the flow of supplies through the port of Haiphong. This can be done in such a way that no enemy, misled by our past mistakes, will misjudge our will or intentions.

The South Vietnamese Army must be forced to shoulder more of the burden of the fighting in the South.

All of our allies who have enjoyed American aid should be called upon to join in a big push toward success in Vietnam.

The pacification program must be made to work.

Three weeks ago I disclosed that many highly significant military targets in North Vietnam were on a list declared off-limits by the President as commander-in-chief of our armed forces. I said it then and I say it now. I am opposed to sending one more American foot-soldier to Vietnam if our pilots are prevented from doing the job that needs doing--a job that should have been done months before.

Some people are concerned about civilian casualties in North Vietnam. I am more concerned about the lives of Americans and our allies in South Vietnam. I am not contending that air power alone will bring success in Vietnam and open the way to the peace table. It is just one of the paths we must take or accept the alternative of disengagement.

I am not advocating that civilian centers be bombed.

(more)

I am not proposing the use of nuclear weapons.

I am not advocating a ground invasion of North Vietnam by American forces.

So far as I know, no responsible Americans advocate these extreme measures.

There is substantial military agreement, and I concur, that if the war is waged more efficiently in the North it will aid our men in the South and save American lives.

The American people are saying "let's succeed or get out."

The voice of the people is invariably the voice of wisdom.

The American people know the Vietnam War could go on endlessly unless there is a concerted joint effort to bring it to the bargaining table. Events make men, but men also make events. The President of the United States has the power to change the pattern, to break the mold, to demand that our South Vietnamese allies shape up or lose our support.

Genuine success in a guerrilla war results when the local population is willing to fight its own war, with a conviction that their enemy--the Communists--be defeated. We saw the proof of this in South Korea, the Philippines, in Greece and in Malaya.

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Whatever the outcome of the Sept. 3 presidential election in Vietnam, the United States must insist that the post-election regime fully carry out a number of reforms, notably land reform. Such reforms must be achieved if a Saigon government is to have genuine support. Otherwise military success in Vietnam will be meaningless.

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Because the Soviets have had 2½ years to deliver the most modern weapons and train the enemy in their use, we're now fighting a much tougher war. Today the Communists are employing missiles, heavy artillery, and powerful mortars, all emplaced and fortified during the Administration's war of gradualism.

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The Secretary has accused advocates of a more effective air war in the North of trying to substitute air attacks there for ground fighting in the South. This is ridiculous. What's more, it's a fabrication. Nobody, myself included, has ever contended that successful air attacks against North Vietnam can be substituted for hard ground action in the South. Mr. McNamara sets up a straw man with such charges and then knocks it down. That is no defense at all for the mistaken course the Administration has followed in Vietnam.

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Mr. McNamara's attitude on proposals for making the air war more effective is that there is no use trying it because it won't work anyway.

Where does the President stand? Does he stand with Mr. McNamara or with his military chiefs and those members of Congress who believe a meaningful air war will help us succeed in Vietnam?

What is our policy? Is it ^{still} Mr. McNamara's policy? What hope is there for success in Vietnam? That's what the American people ~~want to know~~ ^{wonder}, and they want to hear it from the man in charge, the President of the United States.

Is Mr. McNamara a disciple of defeat? If he is and the President stands with Mr. McNamara, then the American people are committed to a war of attrition

that could last for 10 to 20 years.

If Mr. McNamara is right in his current assessment of the Vietnam situation-- and I do not for a moment concede this--then the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time and under the best possible terms.

Our last opportunity for success in Vietnam may be fast disappearing.

I have called for a clear and coordinated plan to achieve success in Vietnam. Such a plan would include more effective and more meaningful bombing of significant military targets in North Vietnam. Not more tonnage, but dropping our bombs on meaningful targets instead of on jungle trails or into the sea.

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The Southvietnamese Army must be forced to shoulder more of the burden of the fighting in the South ~~and this will be a difficult proposition~~

All of our allies who have ^{enjoyed} ~~been beneficiaries~~ of American aid should be called upon to ^{join} ~~help~~ in a big push toward success in Vietnam.

The pacification program must be made to work.

Three weeks ago I disclosed that nearly half the significant military targets in North Vietnam were on a list declared off-limits by the President as commander-in-chief of our armed forces. I said it then and I say it now. I am opposed to sending one more American foot soldier to Vietnam if our pilots are prevented from doing the job that needs doing--a job that should have been done months before.

Some are concerned about civilian casualties in North Vietnam, I am interested in saving the lives of our men in Vietnam. The way to do this is to hit the enemy where it really hurts. I am more concerned about the lives of Americans and South Vietnamese.

I am not contending that bombing alone will bring success in Vietnam and open the way to the peace table. It is just one of the paths we must take or accept the alternative of disengagement.

I am not advocating that civilian centers be bombed.

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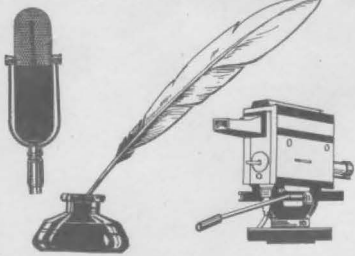
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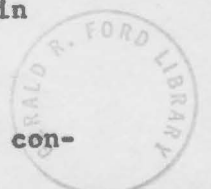
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(more)



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In recent days we have seen what amounts to an Administration propaganda campaign on our chances for success in Vietnam. It is obviously aimed at counter-ing a rising wave of frustration among the American people.

I hope there is a basis for such optimism. But the record does not seem to justify it. Secretary MacNamara, judging from his latest public statement, certainly does not share it. More than 90,000 Americans have been killed or wounded in combat in this war of gradualism. There have been more than 250,000 casualties from all causes. To what end? We and our allies have been able to secure only a fraction of a country roughly the size of my own state of Michigan.

We and our allies have killed an estimated 200,000 of the enemy. Yet we now face the largest force the Communists have yet put together in Vietnam--nearly 300,000.

The war in Vietnam is pretty much of a standoff right now--certainly this is the view of the American people--even though we have increased the American manpower commitment in Vietnam from 15,000 to 525,000 in the past 2½ years.

We have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy--with mounting American casualties--but the supply of Communist cannon fodder seems unlimited.

We are told the North Vietnamese have committed only one-fifth of their regular army to the war in South Vietnam. At the same time we are reaching the bottom of our ready manpower pool.

Because the Soviets have had 2½ years to deliver the most modern weapons and train the enemy in their use, our soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines

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are now fighting a much tougher war. Today the Communists are employing missiles, heavy artillery, and powerful mortars, all emplaced and fortified during the Administration's war of gradualism.

A way to the peace table must be found in Vietnam. I submit that the American people have the correct formula--succeed or get out.

To succeed in Vietnam we need a clear and coordinated plan with the determination at the top to see it through. If this fails, then the story of American participation in the Vietnam war will be written in five words in the history books--too little and too late. Too little early in the war--and too late now.

On Dec. 13, 1965, my party's National Coordinating Committee warned that we were getting bogged down in what could become an endless land war in Southeast Asia.

We pleaded for maximum use of our conventional air and sea power. We begged that the flow of supplies in North Vietnam through the port of Haiphong be stopped.

These thoughtful recommendations by those who support American objectives were ignored. The Administration has failed to carry out the first commandment of military strategy--cut off the enemy's supplies at the source, destroy the logistical support he needs to make war.

The Administration has not followed this course. Publicly, the Secretary of Defense has categorically cast it aside.

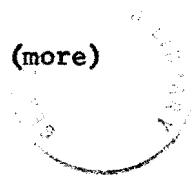
The Secretary has accused advocates of a more effective air war in the North of trying to substitute air attacks there for ground fighting in the South. This charge is ridiculous. What's more, it's a fabrication. I know of no one who has ever contended that meaningful air attacks against North Vietnam can be substituted for hard ground action in the South. Mr. McNamara sets up a straw man with such charges and then knocks it down. That is no defense at all for the mistaken course the Administration has followed in Vietnam.

A nation at war cannot afford confusion and doubt about its basic policies.

Mr. McNamara's recent argument against making the air war more effective was that there is no use trying it because it won't work anyway.

Where does the President stand? Does he stand with Mr. McNamara or with his military chiefs and those members of Congress who believe a meaningful air war will help us succeed in Vietnam?

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What is our policy? Is it still Mr. McNamara's policy? What hope is there for success in Vietnam? That's what the American people wonder, and they want to hear it from the man in charge, the President of the United States.

If the President continues the indecisive and ineffective policies of the past 2½ years, then the American people are committed to a war of attrition that could last for 10 to 20 years.

If Mr. McNamara is right in his latest public assessment of the Vietnam situation--and I do not for a moment concede this--then the United States should get out of Vietnam at the earliest possible time and under the best possible terms.

Our last opportunity for success in Vietnam may be fast disappearing.

I have called for a clear and coordinated plan to achieve success in Vietnam. Such a plan would include more effective and more meaningful bombing of significant military targets in North Vietnam. Not necessarily more tonnage, but dropping our bombs on meaningful targets instead of jungle trails or into the sea.

We must by one of several sound military tactics greatly reduce the flow of supplies through the port of Haiphong. This can be done in such a way that no enemy, misled by our past mistakes, will misjudge our will or intentions.

The South Vietnamese Army must be forced to shoulder more of the burden of the fighting in the South.

All of our allies who have enjoyed American aid should be called upon to join in a big push toward success in Vietnam.

The pacification program must be made to work.

Three weeks ago I disclosed that many highly significant military targets in North Vietnam were on a list declared off-limits by the President as commander-in-chief of our armed forces. I said it then and I say it now. I am opposed to sending one more American foot-soldier to Vietnam if our pilots are prevented from doing the job that needs doing--a job that should have been done months before.

Some people are concerned about civilian casualties in North Vietnam. I am more concerned about the lives of Americans and our allies in South Vietnam. I am not contending that air power alone will bring success in Vietnam and open the way to the peace table. It is just one of the paths we must take or accept the alternative of disengagement.

I am not advocating that civilian centers be bombed.

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I am not proposing the use of nuclear weapons.

I am not advocating a ground invasion of North Vietnam by American forces.

So far as I know, no responsible Americans advocate these extreme measures.

There is substantial military agreement, and I concur, that if the war is waged more efficiently in the North it will aid our men in the South and save American lives.

The American people are saying "let's succeed or get out."

The voice of the people is invariably the voice of wisdom.

The American people know the Vietnam War could go on endlessly unless there is a concerted joint effort to bring it to the bargaining table. Events make men, but men also make events. The President of the United States has the power to change the pattern, to break the mold, to demand that our South Vietnamese allies shape up or lose our support.

Genuine success in a guerrilla war results when the local population is willing to fight its own war, with a conviction that their enemy--the Communists--be defeated. We saw the proof of this in South Korea, the Philippines, in Greece and in Malaya.

Let us fulfill our commitment in Vietnam. Let us stop labeling each other as hawks or doves. Let us admit past mistakes--stop defending past failures. Let us decide we are going to end this bloody war, quickly, successfully and honorably.

We cannot and should not do it alone.

I call upon the South Vietnamese soldier to engage in the imitation of excellence--to pattern himself after our American soldiers and Marines.

To the South Vietnamese, I say in the words of Pericles: "Take these men for your example. Freedom is the sure possession alone of those who have the courage to defend it."

Our objective in Vietnam is honorable. Our cause is just. Let us--we and our allies--pursue it to an honorable end. Thank you.

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