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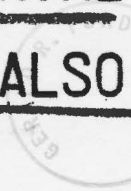
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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE,
FT. LESLEY J. MCNAIR, 9:30 A.M.
FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1970.

COMMANDANT GEN. KELLY, DEPUTY
COMMANDANTS, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY,
GRADUATES, AND FRIENDS.

THIS IS THE 24TH GRADUATING
CLASS TO HAVE GATHERED HERE AT THE NATIONAL
WAR COLLEGE FOR COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES.
AND WE NEED ONLY LOOK AT THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS
OF THOSE WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE YOU TO FULLY
APPRECIATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS
OCCASION.

I HAVE IN MIND THE 47 MILITARY
GRADUATES WHO ATTAINED FOUR-STAR RANK AND
THE 75 CIVILIAN GRADUATES WHO SUBSEQUENTLY
BECAME AMBASSADORS. THIS IS A TESTIMONIAL
NOT ONLY TO THE INDIVIDUALS CITED BUT ALSO
TO THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE ITSELF.

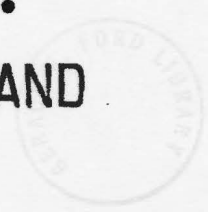


CERTAINLY IT TELLS OF THE SUPERB
SCHOOLING RECEIVED HERE BY THE GENTLEMEN
FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO BE NUMBERED AMONG
THE WAR COLLEGE'S STUDENTS.

I AM FAMILIAR WITH THE COURSES
YOU HAVE PURSUED DURING YOUR MONTHS OF
STUDY HERE, AND IT IS TO ONE OF THOSE
COURSES THAT I WOULD LIKE TO DEVOTE MY
REMARKS TODAY--THE ASSESSMENT OF NATIONAL
SECURITY POLICIES.

I WOULD OBSERVE FIRST OF ALL
THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH YOU
PURSUE YOUR STUDIES IS FAR DIFFERENT FROM
THAT OF THE SOVIET STUDENT OF MILITARY
STRATEGY. BY THAT I MEAN THAT THE SOVIET
STUDENT DOES NOT SUFFER FROM THE SAME
INHIBITIONS YOU DO--INHIBITIONS THAT ARE
PLACED UPON YOU BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE LIVE IN AN OPEN SOCIETY, AND
THAT SOCIETY HAS BEEN ENGAGED FOR MANY



YEARS IN A NATIONAL DEBATE OVER THE USE OF MILITARY POWER.

THE RESULT OF THAT DEBATE HAS BEEN TO PLACE GREAT RESTRAINTS ON THE EFFECTIVE USE OF AMERICAN MILITARY POWER IN THE PURSUIT OF AMERICAN POLITICAL OBJECTIVES.

WE SPEAK REPEATEDLY OF THE BALANCE OF POWER, AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT A BALANCE-OF-POWER POLICY MUST DEPEND UPON THE WILLINGNESS OF A NATION TO USE ITS POWER EITHER DIPLOMATICALLY OR IN WAR. AND WE KNOW FURTHER THAT THE IMPACT OF A NATION'S DIPLOMATIC MOVES ARE DIRECTLY TIED TO ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO USE THAT STRENGTH IF NEED BE.

IN 1945 WE DEVELOPED THE WORLD'S FIRST ATOMIC BOMB AT ALAMAGORDO, N.M., AND DROPPED IT ON HIROSHIMA, JAPAN,

ON AUGUST 6 AND ON NAGASAKI! ON AUGUST 9.

WE COULD HAVE MADE NUCLEAR WEAPONS A ^{much more} HIGHLY EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY FROM 1945 TO 1955. BUT WE DID NOT EVEN EMPLOY OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A CREDIBLE DIPLOMATIC THREAT DURING THIS PERIOD -- CREDIBLE ENOUGH TO PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION FROM MAKING TERRITORIAL GAINS AND FROM BUILDING A NUCLEAR ARSENAL NOW RIVALLING ^{our own} OURS.

WE ARE STILL DEBATING THE USES OF POWER. AND WHEN WE HAVE WAGED WAR SINCE 1945 WE HAVE GENERALLY ACTED AS THOUGH OUR STAGGERING ARRAY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS DID NOT EVEN EXIST. IN SHORT, ^{it can be argued} WE HAVE NOT KNOWN HOW TO USE THE "NON-USE" OF OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL STRATEGY.

THE REASON OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS BECAME ^{less potent} DIPLOMATICALLY USELESS WAS THAT



THE SOVIET UNION QUICKLY REALIZED WE HAD
^{apparent}
NO INTENTION OF EXPLOITING THE ADVANTAGE
WE HELD.

WE CAN POINT TO ONLY TWO
EXCEPTIONS TO THIS NUCLEAR INERTNESS.
WE KNOW THAT THE LATE PRESIDENT EISENHOWER
THREATENED TO STRIKE COMMUNIST CHINA
WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS DURING THE KOREAN
WAR, AND THIS MAY HAVE BEEN DECISIVE IN
TRANSFORMING THE KOREAN CONFLICT INTO AN
UNEASY ARMISTICE. THIS AND OUR FACEDOWN
OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE CUBAN MISSILE
CRISIS ARE THE ONLY APPARENT DIVIDENDS
FROM OUR TREMENDOUS INVESTMENT IN THE
CRUSHING NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY WE ONCE
ENJOYED.

①
WE ARE A GLOBAL POWER. YET WE
FIND IT ABHORRENT TO TAKE THE GREAT RISKS
INVOLVED IN ACTING LIKE A GLOBAL POWER.
THE SOVIET UNION SUFFERS FROM NO SUCH

INHIBITIONS AND THEREFORE THE ARCHITECTS OF ITS FOREIGN POLICY HAVE A FAR FREER HAND.

TODAY WE ARE DISCOVERING JUST HOW GREAT IS THE ABHORRENCE OF SOME AMERICANS TO THE WORLD POWER STRUGGLE. WE FIND THAT SOME AMERICANS ARE LITERALLY REFUSING TO LIVE IN THE WORLD OF GLOBAL POLITICS. THIS IS A MOST DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT WHEN WE CONSIDER THAT THE STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS OF A PEOPLE'S WILL DETERMINES THE OUTCOME OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.

I HAVE NOTED HOW A REFUSAL TO FULLY ACCEPT THE REALITIES OF GLOBAL POWER POLITICS HAS INHIBITED THIS NATION IN THE EFFECTIVE USE OF POWER.

THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY A STEADY GROWTH IN PACIFIST SENTIMENT WHICH HAS HAMPERED U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND

INTERFERED WITH THE RESPONSE OF SUCCESSIVE
NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS TO HOSTILE
SOVIET CHALLENGES. IT HAS ALSO GREATLY
SHARPENED DOMESTIC DIVISIONS.

"VON CLAUSEWITZ" WROTE THAT THE
PURPOSE OF WAR IS NOT THE PHYSICAL
DESTRUCTION OF THE ENEMY BUT THE
DESTRUCTION OF THE ENEMY'S WILL TO RESIST.

THE VIETNAM WAR IS NOT A
CONVENTIONAL WAR -- NOT AS THE UNITED
STATES HAS FOUGHT IT. WE HAVE NEVER
FOUGHT THE VIETNAM WAR IN THE CLASSICAL
CLAUSEWITZ SENSE. THE PREVIOUS
ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY OF GRADUALISM
CERTAINLY WAS NOT CALCULATED TO DESTROY
THE ENEMY'S WILL TO RESIST.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN
LIVING IN A DREAM -- LIVING UNDER THE
DELUSION THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE CUBAN
CRISIS ENDED THE THREAT OF SOVIET



AGGRESSION AND THAT SINCE THEN WE HAVE
BEEN AT PEACE WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS.
THE TRUTH IS THAT IN VIETNAM WE HAVE
BEEN AT WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION BY
PROXY, AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS
SOUGHT TO MAKE VIETNAM A COMMUNIST
BRIDGEHEAD FROM WHICH NEW OFFENSIVE
OPERATIONS COULD BE LAUNCHED AGAINST
NON-COMMUNIST STATES.

THE SOVIET OBJECTIVE HAS ALWAYS
BEEN THE SAME -- IN VIETNAM, IN CUBA AND
ALSO IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- TO DESTROY
THE UNITED STATES' WILL TO RESIST.

IT IS IN INDOCHINA THAT THE
SOVIET UNION HAS COME THE CLOSEST TO
DESTROYING THE U.S. WILL TO RESIST. WE
HAVE SEEN A RISE IN PACIFIST SENTIMENT,
SKILLFULLY EXPLOITED BY AMERICAN
SUBVERSIVES AND REVOLUTIONARIES. WE HAVE
SEEN CONTINUING DEMANDS THAT U.S. MILITARY

SPENDING BE CUT BELOW THE POINT OF
MARGINAL RISK.

MOST IMPORTANTLY, INCREASING
NUMBERS OF OUR PEOPLE ARE TAKING THE
ATTITUDE THAT MATTERS MILITARY SMACK OF
EVIL, THAT THERE IS INDEED A CONSPIRACY
BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND INDUSTRY TO
SPEND THE NATION INTO BANKRUPTCY, AND
THAT MILITARY SPENDING SHOULD BE
MERCILESSLY SLASHED SO THAT WE CAN SPEND
THESE FUNDS ON OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

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THESE AMERICANS DO NOT ASK
WHETHER THERE IS A POINT BELOW WHICH
MILITARY SPENDING CANNOT SAFELY BE CUT.
THEY TAKE THE POSITION THAT THERE NEED
BE NO LIMIT TO MILITARY REDUCTIONS.

THIS ASSAULT ON THE MILITARY
AND ON NATIONAL SECURITY IS CARRIED ON
BY INDIVIDUALS WHO SEEM COMPLETELY
OBLIVIOUS TO THE FACT THAT THE



INTERNATIONAL BALANCE OF POWER APPEARS TO
BE SHIFTING IN FAVOR OF THE SOVIET UNION,
THEY EITHER DO NOT KNOW OR DO NOT CARE.
THEY ARE EITHER IGNORANT OR BLIND OR
HOPELESSLY MISTAKEN IN THEIR BELIEFS.

A STRONG WAVE OF NEO-ISOLATIONISM
HAS SWEEPED OVER A SEGMENT OF THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE -- NOTABLY MANY OF OUR COLLEGE
STUDENTS AND SOME MEMBERS OF THE UNITED
STATES CONGRESS.

I RECOGNIZE THE BASIS FOR THAT
1970 VERSION OF ISOLATIONISM AND YET,
UPON FINAL ANALYSIS, I FIND IT IRRATIONAL.

THE BASIS FOR THE NEW
ISOLATIONISM IS THE GROWING FEELING AMONG
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THAT THE GAME HAS
NEVER BEEN WORTH THE CANDLE IN VIETNAM.
AND THE REASON FOR THAT FEELING IS THE
SERIES OF MISJUDGMENTS ^{or miscalculations} THAT MARKED
AMERICAN CONDUCT OF THE WAR DURING THE



*build-up of our commitment in South Vietnam
since early 1960*
PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION.

IN VIETNAM WE COMMITTED OURSELVES
TO A CAUSE THAT BECAME DISPROPORTIONATE
TO THE COST, IN MEN AND MONEY, AS WELL AS
TO THE EFFECTS HERE AT HOME.

IF WE WANTED A TESTING GROUND
FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS IN THE
EARLY 1960's, WE CERTAINLY WERE NOT
SUFFICIENTLY SELECTIVE WHEN WE CHOSE
VIETNAM-OR AT LEAST A "MONDAY MORNING
QUARTERBACK" COULD SAY IT WAS A "BAD CALL."

omit
THERE IS OVERWHELMING EVIDENCE
THAT OUR CIVILIAN LEADERS AT THE TIME
DID NOT SERIOUSLY CONSIDER OR DISCUSS THE
WAY IN WHICH AMERICAN POWER SHOULD BE
EMPLOYED IN VIETNAM.

OUR INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM HAS
BEEN CALLED "ARROGANCE OF POWER." MORE
ACCURATELY IT HAS BEEN A MISUSE OF POWER,
A MISAPPLICATION OF POWER, BECAUSE WE

IGNORED COMPLETELY THE VON CLAUSEWITZ INJUNCTION THAT THE PURPOSE OF WAR IS TO DESTROY THE ENEMY'S WILL TO RESIST.

WE WERE GRADUALLY PULLED INTO VIETNAM, COMMITTING OUR POWER, PRESTIGE AND HONOR UNDER THEORIES OF LIMITED WAR AND SELECTIVE RESPONSE. AND WE APPLIED OUR POWER IN A HALTINGLY GRADUAL WAY TO SHORE UP A DEMONSTRABLY WEAK GOVERNMENT THAT INITIALLY REFUSED TO STRENGTHEN ITSELF.

THERE IS NO LOGIC IN BLAMING THE MILITARY FOR THE TRAGEDY IN VIETNAM. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CRITICAL MISJUDGMENTS IN VIETNAM IN THE SIXTIES LIES WITH THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF THE NATION. WITHIN THE LIMITATIONS THAT THEY SET FOR THE MILITARY IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO GAIN EARLY AND TRADITIONAL SUCCESS IN THE VIETNAM WAR. IT BECAME AN AMERICAN

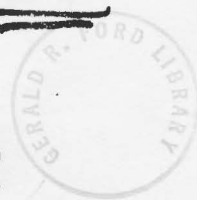
WAR AND YET SELECTIVE RESPONSE REMAINED THE BASIC STRATEGY.

IN SHORT, WE ATTEMPTED TO GAIN A NATIONAL OBJECTIVE WITHOUT EMPLOYING THE APPROPRIATE MEANS AND WITHOUT FIRST GETTING THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

NOW WE FIND AN INCREASING NUMBER OF AMERICANS URGING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM. I KNOW THEY HAVE NOT WEIGHED THE CONSEQUENCES OF PRECIPITOUS WITHDRAWAL. THE MESSAGE THAT IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL COMMUNICATES TO THE WORLD IS THAT SOME AMERICANS WOULD HAVE US AGAIN ADOPT A POLICY OF ISOLATIONISM AS WE DID IN THE THIRTIES.

THEY CRY OUT, "STOP THE WAR," BUT THEY NEVER DEBATE THE REAL ISSUE: CAN AMERICA BE ISOLATIONIST AND SURVIVE?

I DON'T THINK THE VIETNAM WAR



HAS PROVEN THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ABANDON ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE WORLD. IT HAS ONLY DEMONSTRATED THAT WE SHOULD BE MORE SELECTIVE AS TO HOW WE EMPLOY OUR POWER IN MEETING THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST AGGRESSION.

3
I THINK WE HAVE PROPERLY EMPLOYED OUR POWER IN ATTACKING THE COMMUNIST SANCTUARIES IN CAMBODIA. THIS IS THE KIND OF USE OF POWER THAT THE COMMUNISTS UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT. NO LONGER WILL THEY THINK THAT PRESIDENT NIXON IS ENGAGING IN MEANINGLESS RHETORIC WHEN HE TALKS OF AN APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE OTHER SIDE'S FAILURE TO COOPERATE WITH US IN OUR SEARCH FOR AN END TO THE VIETNAM WAR.

THE SHOCK AND OUTRAGE WITH WHICH SOME AMERICANS GREETED PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMBODIAN INITIATIVE UNDERSCORES THE


UNWILLINGNESS OF SOME OF OUR CITIZENS TO HAVE THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE A MEANINGFUL ROLE IN GLOBAL POLITICS. THE UNITED STATES MUST MAKE ITS POWER CREDIBLE BY USING IT UNDER APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES IF THIS NATION IS TO HAVE ANY KIND OF CLOUT IN WORLD CIRCLES. I THINK PRESIDENT NIXON HAS RESTORED THAT CREDIBILITY AND THUS HAS IMMEASURABLY ADDED TO U.S. PRESTIGE. *of influence.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS RESTORED OUR CREDIBILITY AT A TIME WHEN THE RAPID BUILDUP OF RUSSIAN NUCLEAR MISSILES THREATENS TO REDUCE THE UNITED STATES TO SECOND RANK AS A MILITARY POWER, A TIME WHEN WE ARE DEFERRING DECISIONS ON EXPANDING THE U.S. OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR ARSENAL TO MEET THE SOVIET CHALLENGE, A TIME WHEN WE ARE ENGAGING IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS,

A TIME WHEN THE SOVIET UNION IS SEEKING TO BROADEN AND MAKE PERMANENT ITS SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, A TIME WHEN SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD HAVE US HALT DEPLOYMENT OF THE SAFEGUARD ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEM.

ONE OF THE COSTS OF VIETNAM HAS BEEN THAT WE HAVE POSTPONED THE ORDERLY MODERNIZATION OF OUR ARMED FORCES. WE HAVE POSTPONED THE DEVELOPMENT OR DEPLOYMENT OF NEW AIRCRAFT, NEW MISSILES, AND NEW TANKS. WE ARE ALSO FACED WITH THE GROWING OBSOLESCENCE OF OUR NAVAL FLEET.

WE ARE IN A PERIOD OF TRANSITION. WE HAVE CUT OUR MILITARY BUDGETS AND POSTPONED MODERNIZATION OF OUR DEFENSES. WE DEBATE NATIONAL STRATEGY AND THE USES OF MILITARY POWER. SOME OF OUR PEOPLE TAKE THE HEAD-IN-THE-SAND ATTITUDE THAT THE UNITED STATES CAN UNILATERALLY DECLARE:



"GONNA MAKE WAR NO MORE."

THE FIRST DUTY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS THE DEFENSE OF THE NATION. BLIND CUTTING OF OUR MILITARY BUDGET IS COMPLETELY IRRATIONAL. YES, WE MUST HAVE A SYSTEM OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES -- BUT DEFENSE MUST BE GIVEN ITS PROPER PLACE ON THE SCALE.

AS THE PRESIDENT RECENTLY REMARKED, WITHOUT AN ADEQUATE DEFENSE ALL OF OUR OTHER GOALS WOULD BECOME MOOT.

INTERNATIONAL POWER POLITICS IS UNPALATABLE TO MANY AMERICANS BUT IT CANNOT BE AVOIDED. WE HAVE TO LEARN TO LIVE WITH IT. WE HAVE TO LIVE IN THE REAL WORLD, AND DRAWING PEACE SYMBOLS ON SIDEWALKS, DOORS AND BUILDINGS WILL NOT CHANGE THAT.

DO WE HAVE THE WILL TO RESIST OF WHICH VON CLAUSEWITZ SPOKE? IF WE DO NOT,

THE SOVIET UNION WILL WIN.

I KNOW OF NO AMERICAN WHO LOVES WAR. ANYONE WHO DOES IS EITHER INSANE OR A FOOL. BUT I AGREE WITH THE BRITISH PHILOSOPHER JOHN STUART MILL WHO DESCRIBED WAR AS "AN UGLY THING BUT NOT THE UGLIEST OF THINGS."

SAID MILL. "A MAN WHO HAS NOTHING WHICH HE IS WILLING TO FIGHT FOR, NOTHING WHICH HE CARES ABOUT MORE THAN HE DOES HIS OWN PERSONAL SAFETY, IS A MISERABLE CREATURE, WHO HAS NO CHANCE OF BEING FREE UNLESS MADE AND KEPT SO BY THE EXERTIONS OF MEN BETTER THAN HIMSELF. AND AS LONG AS JUSTICE AND INJUSTICE HAVE NOT TERMINATED THEIR EVER-RENEWING FIGHT FOR ASCENDENCY IN THE AFFAIRS OF MANKIND, HUMAN BEINGS MUST BE WILLING, WHEN THE NEED IS, TO DO BATTLE FOR THE ONE AGAINST THE OTHER."

--END--

*Distribution: Full
Galleries 11:30 a.m. 6/4/70*

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A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT GRADUATION EXERCISES OF THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE
AT FT. LESLEY J. McNAIR
9:30 A.M. FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1970

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

Commandant Gen. Kelly, deputy commandants, members of the faculty,
graduates, and friends:

This is the 24th graduating class to have gathered here at the National War College for commencement exercises. And we need only look at the accomplishments of those who have gone before you to fully appreciate the significance of this occasion.

I have in mind the 47 military graduates who attained four-star rank and the 75 civilian graduates who subsequently became ambassadors. This is a testimonial not only to the individuals cited but also to the National War College itself. Certainly it tells of the superb schooling received here by the gentlemen fortunate enough to be numbered among the War College's students.

I am familiar with the courses you have pursued during your months of study here, and it is to one of those courses that I would like to devote my remarks today--the assessment of national security policies.

I would observe first of all that the circumstances under which you pursue your studies is far different from that of the Soviet student of military strategy. By that I mean that the Soviet student does not suffer from the same inhibitions you do--inhibitions that are placed upon you by the American people.

We live in an open society, and that society has been engaged for many years in a national debate over the use of military power.

The result of that debate has been to place great restraints on the effective use of American military power in the pursuit of American political objectives.

We speak repeatedly of the balance of power, and we recognize that a balance-of-power policy must depend upon the willingness of a nation to use its power either diplomatically or in war. And we know further that the impact of a nation's diplomatic moves are directly tied to its military strength and its willingness to use that strength if need be.

In 1945 we developed the world's first atomic bomb at Alamogordo, N.M., and dropped it on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 9.

(more)

We could have made nuclear weapons a highly effective instrument of U.S. foreign policy from 1945 to 1955. But we did not even employ our nuclear weapons as a credible diplomatic threat during this period--credible enough to prevent the Soviet Union from making territorial gains and from building a nuclear arsenal now rivalling ours.

We are still debating the uses of power. And when we have waged war since 1945 we have generally acted as though our staggering array of nuclear weapons did not even exist. In short, we have not known how to use the "non-use" of our nuclear weapons as an instrument of foreign policy and national strategy.

The reason our nuclear weapons became diplomatically useless was that the Soviet Union quickly realized we had no intention of exploiting the advantage we held.

We can point to only two exceptions to this nuclear inertness. We know that the late President Eisenhower threatened to strike Communist China with nuclear weapons during the Korean War, and this may have been decisive in transforming the Korean conflict into an uneasy armistice. This and our facedown of the Soviet Union in the Cuban missile crisis are the only apparent dividends from our tremendous investment in the crushing nuclear superiority we once enjoyed.

We are a global power. Yet we find it abhorrent to take the great risks involved in acting like a global power. The Soviet Union suffers from no such inhibitions and therefore the architects of its foreign policy have a far freer hand.

Today we are discovering just how great is the abhorrence of some Americans to the world power struggle. We find that some Americans are literally refusing to live in the world of global politics. This is a most disturbing development when we consider that the strength or weakness of a people's will determines the outcome of international conflicts.

I have noted how a refusal to fully accept the realities of global power politics has inhibited this nation in the effective use of power.

This has been accompanied by a steady growth in pacifist sentiment which has hampered U.S. foreign policy and interfered with the response of successive National Administrations to hostile Soviet challenges. It has also greatly sharpened domestic divisions.

Von Clausewitz wrote that the purpose of war is not the physical destruction of the enemy but the destruction of the enemy's will to resist.

(more)

The Vietnam War is not a conventional war--not as the United States has fought it. We have never fought the Vietnam War in the classical Clausewitz sense. The previous Administration's policy of gradualism certainly was not calculated to destroy the enemy's will to resist.

The American people have been living in a dream--living under the delusion that the resolution of the Cuban crisis ended the threat of Soviet aggression and that since then we have been at peace with the Communist powers. The truth is that in Vietnam we have been at war with the Soviet Union by proxy, and that the Soviet Union has sought to make Vietnam a Communist bridgehead from which new offensive operations could be launched against non-Communist states.

The Soviet objective has always been the same--in Vietnam, in Cuba and also in the Middle East--to destroy the United States' will to resist.

It is in Indochina that the Soviet Union has come the closest to destroying the U.S. will to resist. We have seen a rise in pacifist sentiment, skillfully exploited by American subversives and revolutionaries. We have seen continuing demands that U.S. military spending be cut below the point of marginal risk.

Most importantly, increasing numbers of our people are taking the attitude that matters military smack of evil, that there is indeed a conspiracy between the military and industry to spend the Nation into bankruptcy, and that military spending should be mercilessly slashed so that we can spend these funds on our social problems.

These Americans do not ask whether there is a point below which military spending cannot safely be cut. They take the position that there need be no limit to military reductions.

This assault on the military and on national security is carried on by individuals who seem completely oblivious to the fact that the international balance of power appears to be shifting in favor of the Soviet Union. They either do not know or do not care. They are either ignorant or blind or hopelessly mistaken in their beliefs.

A strong wave of neo-isolationism has swept over a segment of the American people--notably many of our college students and some members of the United States Congress.

I recognize the basis for that 1970 version of isolationism and yet, upon final analysis, I find it irrational.

The basis for the new isolationism is the growing feeling among the American people that the game has never been worth the candle in Vietnam. And the reason

(more)

for that feeling is the series of misjudgments that marked American conduct of the war during the previous Administration.

In Vietnam we committed ourselves to a cause that became disproportionate to the cost, in men and money, as well as to the effects here at home.

If we wanted a testing ground for counterinsurgency operations in the early 1960s, we certainly were not sufficiently selective when we chose Vietnam or at least a "Monday morning quarterback" could say it was a "bad call."

There is overwhelming evidence that our civilian leaders at the time did not seriously consider or discuss the way in which American power should be employed in Vietnam.

Our intervention in Vietnam has been called "arrogance of power." More accurately it has been a misuse of power, a misapplication of power, because we ignored completely the von Clausewitz injunction that the purpose of war is to destroy the enemy's will to resist.

We were gradually pulled into Vietnam, committing our power, prestige and honor under theories of limited war and selective response. And we applied our power in a haltingly gradual way to shore up a demonstrably weak government that initially refused to strengthen itself.

There is no logic in blaming the military for the tragedy in Vietnam. The responsibility for the critical misjudgments in Vietnam in the Sixties lies with the civilian leadership of the Nation. Within the limitations that they set for the military it was impossible to gain early and traditional success in the Vietnam War. It became an American war and yet selective response remained the basic strategy.

In short, we attempted to gain a national objective without employing the appropriate means and without first getting the support of the American people.

Now we find an increasing number of Americans urging immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. I know they have not weighed the consequences of precipitous withdrawal. The message that immediate withdrawal communicates to the world is that some Americans would have us again adopt a policy of isolationism as we did in the Thirties.

They cry out, "Stop the war," but they never debate the real issue: Can America be isolationist and survive?

I don't think the Vietnam War has proven that the United States should abandon its leadership role in the world. It has only demonstrated that we should

(more)

be more selective as to how we employ our power in meeting the threat of Communist aggression.

I think we have properly employed our power in attacking the Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. This is the kind of use of power that the Communists understand and respect. No longer will they think that President Nixon is engaging in meaningless rhetoric when he talks of an appropriate response to the other side's failure to cooperate with us in our search for an end to the Vietnam War.

The shock and outrage with which some Americans greeted President Nixon's Cambodian initiative underscores the unwillingness of some of our citizens to have the United States continue a meaningful role in global politics. The United States must make its power credible by using it under appropriate circumstances if this Nation is to have any kind of clout in world circles. I think President Nixon has restored that credibility and thus has immeasurably added to U.S. prestige.

The President has restored our credibility at a time when the rapid buildup of Russian nuclear missiles threatens to reduce the United States to second rank as a military power, a time when we are deferring decisions on expanding the U.S. offensive nuclear arsenal to meet the Soviet challenge, a time when we are engaging in strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviets, a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to broaden and make permanent its sphere of influence in the Middle East, a time when some members of Congress would have us halt deployment of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system.

One of the costs of Vietnam has been that we have postponed the orderly modernization of our armed forces. We have postponed the development or deployment of new aircraft, new missiles, and new tanks. We are also faced with the growing obsolescence of our naval fleet.

We are in a period of transition. We have cut our military budgets and postponed modernization of our defenses. We debate national strategy and the uses of military power. Some of our people take the head-in-the-sand attitude that the United States can unilaterally declare: "Gonna make war no more."

The first duty of the Federal Government is the defense of the Nation. Blind cutting of our military budget is completely irrational. Yes, we must have a system of national priorities--but defense must be given its proper place on the scale.

As the President recently remarked, without an adequate defense all of our other national goals would become moot.

(more)

International power politics is unpalatable to many Americans but it cannot be avoided. We have to learn to live with it. We have to live in the real world, and drawing peace symbols on sidewalks, doors and buildings will not change that.

Do we have the will to resist of which von Clausewitz spoke? If we do not, the Soviet Union will win.

I know of no American who loves war. Anyone who does is either insane or a fool. But I agree with the British philosopher John Stuart Mill who described war as "an ugly thing but not the ugliest of things."

Said Mill: "A man who has nothing which he is willing to fight for, nothing which he cares about more than he does his own personal safety, is a miserable creature, who has no chance of being free unless made and kept so by the exertions of men better than himself. As long as justice and injustice have not terminated their ever-renewing fight for ascendancy in the affairs of mankind, human beings must be willing, when the need is, to do battle for the one against the other."

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Full Distribution

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REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AT GRADUATION EXERCISES OF THE NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE
AT FT. LESLEY J. McNAIR
9:30 A.M. FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1970

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

Commandant Gen. Kelly, deputy commandants, members of the faculty, graduates, and friends:

This is the 24th graduating class to have gathered here at the National War College for commencement exercises. And we need only look at the accomplishments of those who have gone before you to fully appreciate the significance of this occasion.

I have in mind the 47 military graduates who attained four-star rank and the 75 civilian graduates who subsequently became ambassadors. This is a testimonial not only to the individuals cited but also to the National War College itself. Certainly it tells of the superb schooling received here by the gentlemen fortunate enough to be numbered among the War College's students.

I am familiar with the courses you have pursued during your months of study here, and it is to one of those courses that I would like to devote my remarks today--the assessment of national security policies.

I would observe first of all that the circumstances under which you pursue your studies is far different from that of the Soviet student of military strategy. By that I mean that the Soviet student does not suffer from the same inhibitions you do--inhibitions that are placed upon you by the American people.

We live in an open society, and that society has been engaged for many years in a national debate over the use of military power.

The result of that debate has been to place great restraints on the effective use of American military power in the pursuit of American political objectives.

We speak repeatedly of the balance of power, and we recognize that a balance-of-power policy must depend upon the willingness of a nation to use its power either diplomatically or in war. And we know further that the impact of a nation's diplomatic moves are directly tied to its military strength and its willingness to use that strength if need be.

In 1945 we developed the world's first atomic bomb at Alamogordo, N.M., and dropped it on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6 and on Nagasaki on August 9.

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We could have made nuclear weapons a highly effective instrument of U.S. foreign policy from 1945 to 1955. But we did not even employ our nuclear weapons as a credible diplomatic threat during this period--credible enough to prevent the Soviet Union from making territorial gains and from building a nuclear arsenal now rivalling ~~ours~~ ^{OUR OWN}.

We are still debating the uses of power. And when we have waged war since 1945 we have generally acted as though our staggering array of nuclear weapons did not even exist. In short, ^{IT CAN BE ARGUED} we have not known how to use the "non-use" of our nuclear weapons as an instrument of foreign policy and national strategy.

The reason our nuclear weapons became diplomatically ~~useless~~ ^{LESS POTENT} was that the Soviet Union quickly realized we had no ^{APPARENT} intention of exploiting the advantage we held.

We can point to only two exceptions to this nuclear inertness. We know that the late President Eisenhower threatened to strike Communist China with nuclear weapons during the Korean War, and this may have been decisive in transforming the Korean conflict into an uneasy armistice. This and our facedown of the Soviet Union in the Cuban missile crisis are the only apparent dividends from our tremendous investment in the crushing nuclear superiority we once enjoyed.

We are a global power. Yet we find it abhorrent to take the great risks involved in acting like a global power. The Soviet Union suffers from no such inhibitions and therefore the architects of its foreign policy have a far freer hand.

Today we are discovering just how great is the abhorrence of some Americans to the world power struggle. We find that some Americans are literally refusing to live in the world of global politics. This is a most disturbing development when we consider that the strength or weakness of a people's will determines the outcome of international conflicts.

I have noted how a refusal to fully accept the realities of global power politics has inhibited this nation in the effective use of power.

This has been accompanied by a steady growth in pacifist sentiment which has hampered U.S. foreign policy and interfered with the response of successive National Administrations to hostile Soviet challenges. It has also greatly sharpened domestic divisions.

Von Clausewitz wrote that the purpose of war is not the physical destruction of the enemy but the destruction of the enemy's will to resist.

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The Vietnam War is not a conventional war---not as the United States has fought it. We have never fought the Vietnam War in the classical Clausewitz sense. The previous Administration's policy of gradualism certainly was not calculated to destroy the enemy's will to resist.

The American people have been living in a dream--living under the delusion that the resolution of the Cuban crisis ended the threat of Soviet aggression and that since then we have been at peace with the Communist powers. The truth is that in Vietnam we have been at war with the Soviet Union by proxy, and that the Soviet Union has sought to make Vietnam a Communist bridgehead from which new offensive operations could be launched against non-Communist states.

The Soviet objective has always been the same--in Vietnam, in Cuba and also in the Middle East--to destroy the United States' will to resist.

It is in Indochina that the Soviet Union has come the closest to destroying the U.S. will to resist. We have seen a rise in pacifist sentiment, skillfully exploited by American subversives and revolutionaries. We have seen continuing demands that U.S. military spending be cut below the point of marginal risk.

Most importantly, increasing numbers of our people are taking the attitude that matters military smack of evil, that there is indeed a conspiracy between the military and industry to spend the Nation into bankruptcy, and that military spending should be mercilessly slashed so that we can spend these funds on our social problems.

These Americans do not ask whether there is a point below which military spending cannot safely be cut. They take the position that there need be no limit to military reductions.

This assault on the military and on national security is carried on by individuals who seem completely oblivious to the fact that the international balance of power appears to be shifting in favor of the Soviet Union. They either do not know or do not care. They are either ignorant or blind or hopelessly mistaken in their beliefs.

A strong wave of neo-isolationism has swept over a segment of the American people--notably many of our college students and some members of the United States Congress.

I recognize the basis for that 1970 version of isolationism and yet, upon final analysis, I find it irrational.

The basis for the new isolationism is the growing feeling among the American people that the game has never been worth the candle in Vietnam. And the reason

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for that feeling is the series of misjudgments that marked American conduct of the war during the previous Administration.

In Vietnam we committed ourselves to a cause that became disproportionate to the cost, in men and money, as well as to the effects here at home.

If we wanted a testing ground for counterinsurgency operations in the early 1960s, we certainly were not sufficiently selective when we chose Vietnam or at least a "Monday morning quarterback" could say it was a "bad call."

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Our intervention in Vietnam has been called "arrogance of power." More accurately it has been a misuse of power, a misapplication of power, because we ignored completely the von Clausewitz injunction that the purpose of war is to destroy the enemy's will to resist.

We were gradually pulled into Vietnam, committing our power, prestige and honor under theories of limited war and selective response. And we applied our power in a haltingly gradual way to shore up a demonstrably weak government that initially refused to strengthen itself.

There is no logic in blaming the military for the tragedy in Vietnam. The responsibility for the critical misjudgments in Vietnam in the Sixties lies with the civilian leadership of the Nation. Within the limitations that they set for the military it was impossible to gain early and traditional success in the Vietnam War. It became an American war and yet selective response remained the basic strategy.

In short, we attempted to gain a national objective without employing the appropriate means and without first getting the support of the American people.

Now we find an increasing number of Americans urging immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. I know they have not weighed the consequences of precipitous withdrawal. The message that immediate withdrawal communicates to the world is that some Americans would have us again adopt a policy of isolationism as we did in the Thirties.

They cry out, "Stop the war," but they never debate the real issue: Can America be isolationist and survive?

I don't think the Vietnam War has proven that the United States should abandon its leadership role in the world. It has only demonstrated that we should

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be more selective as to how we employ our power in meeting the threat of Communist aggression.

I think we have properly employed our power in attacking the Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. This is the kind of use of power that the Communists understand and respect. No longer will they think that President Nixon is engaging in meaningless rhetoric when he talks of an appropriate response to the other side's failure to cooperate with us in our search for an end to the Vietnam War.

The shock and outrage with which some Americans greeted President Nixon's Cambodian initiative underscores the unwillingness of some of our citizens to have the United States continue a meaningful role in global politics. The United States must make its power credible by using it under appropriate circumstances if this Nation is to have any kind of clout in world circles. I think President Nixon has restored that credibility and thus has immeasurably added to U.S. prestige **AND INFLUENCE**.

The President has restored our credibility at a time when the rapid buildup of Russian nuclear missiles threatens to reduce the United States to second rank as a military power, a time when we are deferring decisions on expanding the U.S. offensive nuclear arsenal to meet the Soviet challenge, a time when we are engaging in strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviets, a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to broaden and make permanent its sphere of influence in the Middle East, a time when some members of Congress would have us halt deployment of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system.

One of the costs of Vietnam has been that we have postponed the orderly modernization of our armed forces. We have postponed the development or deployment of new aircraft, new missiles, and new tanks. We are also faced with the growing obsolescence of our naval fleet.

We are in a period of transition. We have cut our military budgets and postponed modernization of our defenses. We debate national strategy and the uses of military power. Some of our people take the head-in-the-sand attitude that the United States can unilaterally declare: "Gonna make war no more."

The first duty of the Federal Government is the defense of the Nation. Blind cutting of our military budget is completely irrational. Yes, we must have a system of national priorities--but defense must be given its proper place on the scale.

As the President recently remarked, without an adequate defense all of our other national goals would become moot.

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International power politics is unpalatable to many Americans but it cannot be avoided. We have to learn to live with it. We have to live in the real world, and drawing peace symbols on sidewalks, doors and buildings will not change that.

Do we have the will to resist of which von Clausewitz spoke? If we do not, the Soviet Union will win.

I know of no American who loves war. Anyone who does is either insane or a fool. But I agree with the British philosopher John Stuart Mill who described war as "an ugly thing but not the ugliest of things."

Said Mill: "A man who has nothing which he is willing to fight for, nothing which he cares about more than he does his own personal safety, is a miserable creature, who has no chance of being free unless made and kept so by the exertions of men better than himself. As long as justice and injustice have not terminated their ever-renewing fight for ascendancy in the affairs of mankind, human beings must be willing, when the need is, to do battle for the one against the other."

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