

29 minutes

ADDRESS BY  
GENERAL MAXWELL D. TAYLOR  
CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY  
TO THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA  
GARDEN COURT, PALACE HOTEL  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1955 -- 12:10 PM (PST)

AN ARMY TRAVELOGUE

I AM VERY HAPPY TO APPEAR TODAY BEFORE THE  
COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA. IT HAS BEEN THE  
RETIREMENT CEREMONY OF AN OLD AND GALLANT ARMY FRIEND,  
GENERAL BILL DEAN, WHICH JUSTIFIED THIS RATHER LONG TRIP  
FROM MY WORK BENCH IN THE PENTAGON. HOWEVER, I  
WELCOMED THE OCCASION FOR THE OPPORTUNITY BOTH TO SALUTE  
GENERAL DEAN AND TO RETURN AFTER A LONG ABSENCE TO  
SAN FRANCISCO. AS FOR HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF OTHER  
SOLDIERS GOING TO AND FROM PACIFIC ASSIGNMENTS AND ASIATIC  
BATTLEFIELDS, SAN FRANCISCO HAS OFTEN BEEN FOR ME A PORT  
OF LAST AND FIRST CALL. I HAVE NOT BEEN BACK FROM KOREA  
LONG ENOUGH TO FORGET THE THRILL OF LISTENING TO THE MUSIC  
OF THE ARMY BAND AT INCHON PLAYING FOR THE HOME-BOUND  
VETERANS OF THE EIGHTH ARMY, "CALIFORNIA, HERE I COME."

THOSE WERE AND ARE MAGIC WORDS FOR ARMY MEN STATIONED  
ON OUR PACIFIC OUTPOSTS IN KOREA, JAPAN, OKINAWA, AND MANY  
OTHER POINTS AROUND THE BAMBOO CURTAIN.

*IF YOU WILL PERMIT,*

I SHOULD LIKE TO TALK A BIT OF ARMY SHOP WITH YOU

*^*  
*Indeed,*  
TODAY. ~~I DON'T APOLOGIZE FOR MY SUBJECT, BECAUSE I~~

PRESUME YOU ASKED THE CHIEF OF STAFF BECAUSE OF AN INTEREST  
IN THE ARMY FOR WHICH HE SHARES WITH YOU THE RESPONSIBILITY.

IF I APPEAR TO THUMP THE ARMY TUB A TRIFLE LOUDLY, BEAR

WITH ME FOR I <sup>*would*</sup> ~~CAN~~ NOT HAVE WORN THE ARMY UNIFORM ALL MY

LIFE WITHOUT A SENSE OF PRIDE IN THE ARMY AND IN THE ARMY  
MISSION.

IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE ARMY HAS BEEN ABOUT FOR  
SOME 180 YEARS, AND THAT IT HAS SUCCESSFULLY DEFENDED THE  
COUNTRY IN ALL OF ITS WARS, THE MISSION OF INTERPRETING THE  
ARMY IS NOT NECESSARILY AN EASY ONE. I OFTEN FEEL, AS I

TRAVEL ABOUT THE COUNTRY IN THE COURSE OF MY DUTIES,  
THAT THE ARMY'S PURPOSE IS NOT CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD. I  
REMEMBER THAT WHEN I RETURNED AS A CADET FROM WEST POINT  
TO VISIT MY GRANDFATHER, A CIVIL WAR VETERAN, HE POSED A  
QUESTION WHICH I AM SURE MANY CITIZENS ASK TODAY, "SON,  
WHEN THERE'S NO FIGHTING GOING ON, WHAT DO YOU SOLDIERS  
DO?" WELL, THE REPLY TAKES A LITTLE TIME AND MANY  
CITIZENS DON'T HAVE THE TIME TO LISTEN.

ONE REASON THAT THE ARMY IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN IS  
ITS VERY COMPLEXITY. IT IS THE LARGEST BUSINESS OPERATION  
IN THE WORLD, HAVING CAPITAL ASSETS IN REAL ESTATE, SUPPLIES,  
EQUIPMENT, AND VARIOUS HOLDINGS TO THE VALUE OF OVER  
40 BILLION DOLLARS. THE HARDWARE WHICH REPRESENTS THE  
EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES IN THE HANDS OF OUR TROOPS AND IN  
OUR DEPOTS AMOUNTS TO ABOUT 25 BILLION DOLLARS, AND WE HAVE

THE PROBLEM OF OBSOLESCENCE OF MATERIEL AT AN ANNUAL RATE OF ALMOST TWO BILLION DOLLARS. IN TERMS OF PERSONNEL, THE ARMY HAS ON ITS PAYROLL SOME MILLION SOLDIERS AND AROUND 460,000 CIVILIANS. IT IS A GLOBAL ARMY, SCATTERED ABOUT THE WORLD WITH SOME 40% OF IT SERVING OVERSEAS IN 73 COUNTRIES. OUR CURRENT EXPENDITURES WHICH SUPPORT ARMY OPERATIONS UNDER CONDITIONS OF PEACE SUCH AS NOW EXIST AMOUNT TO BETWEEN EIGHT AND NINE BILLION DOLLARS.

THE BREADTH OF ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED BY THIS BUDGET I CAN ILLUSTRATE ONLY BY GIVING YOU A BRIEF TRAVELOGUE THROUGH A FEW OF THE AREAS ABROAD AND AT HOME WHERE THE ARMY IS ENGAGED IN THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY. INCIDENTALLY, THERE IS NO PARTICULAR METHOD IN CHOOSING THE ARMY ACTIVITIES WHICH I MENTION.

LET ME START THIS TRAVELOGUE IN THE FAR EAST, THE  
AREA WHICH I JUST LEFT <sup>FIVE</sup> ~~FOUR~~ MONTHS AGO. IF YOU VISITED  
KOREA TODAY, YOU WOULD FIND A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF  
THE ARMY, A REINFORCED CORPS, DEFENDING THE FORTIFIED  
HILLTOPS ALONG THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE. *Gen. Jean's 24th Div is still there* IN REAR OF THAT  
BATTLE LINE, YOU WOULD FIND MANY DIVERSE ARMY OPERATIONS,  
SOME OF WHICH MIGHT SURPRISE YOU. . FOR EXAMPLE, THROUGHOUT  
ALL OF RURAL KOREA YOU WOULD FIND HANDFULS OF ARMY  
SOLDIERS WITH PIECES OF HEAVY ENGINEERING EQUIPMENT  
ENGAGED IN ASSISTING IN THE REHABILITATION OF THAT UNFORTUNATE  
COUNTRY.

THESE DETACHMENTS ARE ASSISTING KOREAN CIVILIANS IN  
REBUILDING SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, HOSPITALS, IRRIGATION PROJECTS,  
REPAIRING BRIDGES AND ROADS, AND GENERALLY HELPING NOT ONLY  
THE GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO THE LITTLE MAN TO REPAIR THE  
DAMAGE OF WAR.

IN JAPAN, YOU WILL FIND THE ARMY ENGAGED IN TRAINING ITS TROOPS AND IN MAINTAINING DEPOTS, PORTS, AND SUPPLY FACILITIES NECESSARY TO SUPPORT ANY RECURRENCE OF MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE FAR EAST. ONE IMPORTANT DUTY IS THE TRAINING MISSION DESIGNED TO ASSIST THE JAPANESE IN DEVELOPING THEIR OWN FORCES.

ON OKINAWA, AS IN KOREA, YOU WOULD FIND ELEMENTS OF THE ARMY WORKING WITH OKINAWANS IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMY OF THAT ISLAND. EVENTS FREQUENTLY REMIND ME HOW OFTEN THE ARMY IS CHARGED WITH REPAIRING THE DAMAGE OF WAR AFTER PARTICIPATING IN A MILITARY VICTORY. IT HAS BEEN OUR LOT IN ITALY, GERMANY, AUSTRIA, JAPAN, OKINAWA, AND KOREA TO IMPLEMENT AND SUPPORT MAJOR PROGRAMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REHABILITATION DESIGNED TO RESTORE THE AREAS DEVASTATED BY THE WAR.

MOVING SOUTHWARD TO FORMOSA, WE MIGHT VISIT THE OFFSHORE  
THE FORMOSA STRAITS  
ISLANDS OF MATSU WHICH IS UNDER THE THREAT OF POSSIBLE  
COMMUNIST ATTACK. THERE YOU WOULD FIND MEMBERS  
OF THE ARMY MILITARY MISSION, ADVISING AND TRAINING THE  
NATIONALIST CHINESE DEFENDERS. SIMILARLY, FURTHER SOUTH  
IN VIETNAM, YOU WOULD FIND ARMY FORCES PREOCCUPIED WITH  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIVE TROOPS CAPABLE OF DETERRING  
FURTHER COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IN THAT AREA.

AS WE CONTINUE OUR TRAVELS, OVERFLYING ARMY MISSIONS  
IN THAILAND, PAKISTAN, IRAN, AND TURKEY, WE ARRIVE IN  
WESTERN EUROPE, WHERE THE PRINCIPAL STRENGTH OF THE  
OVERSEAS ARMY IS DEPLOYED. HERE THE SEVENTH ARMY IS A  
POWERFUL COMPONENT ELEMENT OF GENERAL GRUENTHER'S  
"NATO" FORCES. TO THE SOUTH IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA,  
WE HAVE RECENTLY SET UP A NEW COMMAND FOR ARMY FORCES

STATIONED IN ITALY, WHICH WILL BOLSTER DEFENSES OF THE  
SOUTHERN FLANK OF "NATO". IN EVERY COUNTRY OF THIS

AREA, AS IN THE FAR EAST, YOU WILL FIND ARMY MISSIONS

STIVING

TRYING TO GIVE THESE COUNTRIES THE CAPABILITY OF DEFENDING

THEMSELVES. WE NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE

UNITED STATES ARMY DOES NOT WANT TO STAY ABROAD

INDEFINITELY, THAT OUR GOAL IS TO HELP OTHER PEOPLE TO HELP

THEMSELVES AND THEN TO COME HOME. I AM FREE TO ADMIT

THAT THE HOME-COMING DATE IS PRESENTLY INDETERMINATE.

NOW BEFORE WE RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES, LET'S SUM

UP THE MEANING OF WHAT WE HAVE SEEN ABROAD. WHAT IS

THE ARMY DOING OVERSEAS IN THE COURSE OF THE DISCHARGE OF

THESE VARIED MISSIONS? FIRST AND FOREMOST, IT IS BEING A

DETERRENT FORCE - DETERRING WAR WHEREVER THE ARMY IS

DEPLOYED. THE PRESENCE OF AMERICAN TROOPS ALONG THE

IRON AND BAMBOO CURTAINS, | READY TO FIGHT IF NECESSARY, |

IS A CONSTANT REMINDER TO ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR THAT

HE WILL BE MET PROMPTLY BY AN AMERICAN SOLDIER. THAT

FACT IS A SOBERING REMINDER OF THE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES

WHICH AN AGGRESSIVE ADVENTURE WOULD ENTAIL. I WOULD

POINT OUT THAT NO ARMED AGGRESSION HAS BEEN INITIATED

WITHIN RANGE OF U.S. ARMY GUNS, WHEREVER STATIONED

ABROAD. AS AN ADDITIONAL DETERRENT, | THE ARMY IS

CREATING NATIVE STRENGTH | OFTEN IN AREAS WHERE ~~PRESENT~~

*WE HAVE NO FORCES OURSELVES.*  
~~AMERICAN MILITARY STRENGTH DOES NOT EXIST.~~ WE HOPE THAT

THESE NATIVE FORCES WILL DISCOURAGE ANY AGGRESSOR SEEKING

LOOT WITHOUT A FIGHT.

FINALLY, WHEREVER THE ARMY IS FOUND, WHEREVER THE

AMERICAN FLAG FLIES ABROAD, OUR ALLIES SEE THAT WE ARE

WILLING TO SHARE WITH THEM THE PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL DEFENSE.

THE RECORD SHOWS, I WOULD ADD, THAT WHEREVER AGGRESSION  
HAS BEEN RESISTED, IT HAS BEEN THE ~~FREE NATIONS~~ <sup>Since WWII</sup> LAND FORCES  
WHICH HAVE BORNE THE BRUNT OF THE AGGRESSION AND WHICH  
HAVE PLAYED THE DOMINANT ROLE IN MILITARY RESISTANCE  
THERETO.

I REMEMBER AN INCIDENT WHICH HAPPENED IN BERLIN WHEN  
KOREA BROKE OUT. I ASKED ONE OF THE LEADING BERLINERS  
WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT THE SITUATION IN KOREA -- THAT, AT  
A TIME WHEN OUR FORCES WERE GETTING PUSHED AROUND IN THE  
EARLY DAYS OF THE WAR. HIS REPLY WAS INTERESTING. HE SAID:

"WE GERMANS KNEW THAT YOU AMERICANS ARE  
GENEROUS, THAT YOU SEND US MARSHALL PLAN  
AID, THAT YOU ASSIST OUR ECONOMY. BUT WE  
GOT A REAL LIFT OUT OF YOUR ACTION IN KOREA,  
BECAUSE WE SAW THAT YOU WERE WILLING TO

FIGHT NOT JUST WITH PFANNKUCHEN (WITH PANCAKES)

BUT THAT YOU RISK THE LIVES OF YOUR AMERICAN SONS."

NOW TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT THE ARMY IS DOING AT HOME.

HERE TRAINING IS OUR PRIMARY BUSINESS. WE EXPECT TO GIVE

BASIC ARMY TRAINING TO ABOUT 300,000 MEN IN THE COURSE OF

THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR. I MIGHT REMIND YOU OF THE

TREMENDOUS TURNOVER OF PERSONNEL WHICH FACES THE ARMY

ANNUALLY. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ARMY ENTERED FISCAL YEAR

1955 WITH 1,400,000 MEN. IN THAT YEAR, WE LOST 800,000 AND

GAINED 500,000, ENDING WITH A TOTAL STRENGTH OF 1,100,000

MEN. JUST IMAGINE THE EFFECT UPON YOUR OWN ENTERPRISES

IF YOU WERE FORCED TO TURN OVER HALF OF YOUR PERSONNEL

IN ONE YEAR, AND TO DO THAT EVERY YEAR.

NOT ONLY DO WE TRAIN RECRUITS BUT WE RUN THE SCHOOLS  
FOR EVERYTHING FROM THE LOWEST GRADE, SHORT-TERM  
SPECIALTY TO THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE INTELLECTUAL AND  
PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SENIOR OFFICERS. WE  
ARE ALSO ENGAGED IN MANY LOGISTICAL ACTIVITIES RELATED TO  
SUPPORTING THE PRESENT ARMY AND PREPARING FOR THE POSSIBLE  
NECESSITIES OF WAR. <sup>scores of</sup> IN ~~74~~ DEPOTS AND STORAGE ACTIVITIES,  
WE ARE STORING, PROCESSING, DISTRIBUTING, AND REHABILITATING  
ARMY EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES. <sup>the</sup> IN ~~28~~ PERMANENT ARMY  
ARSENALS, WE ARE DEVELOPING WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT REQUIRED  
EITHER TODAY OR BY THE POSSIBLE EXIGENCIES OF THE FUTURE.

THE ARMY IS A PRINCIPAL CUSTOMER OF U.S. INDUSTRY.  
LAST YEAR, IN FACTORIES AND SIMILAR PRIVATE ENTERPRISES,  
THE ARMY PLACED ALMOST 2 MILLION CONTRACTS TOTALING  
5-3/4 BILLION DOLLARS, REPRESENTING THE CURRENT PRODUCTION

REQUIREMENTS OF THE ARMY. IN LABORATORIES AND  
SIMILAR ENTERPRISES, THE ARMY HAS PLACED 140 MAJOR  
CONTRACTS IN SIX MONTHS TOTALING 33 MILLION DOLLARS TO  
SUPPORT THE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS OF  
THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE. *Many of the R&D activities are in  
California*  
AS WE DID IN THE CASE OF THE OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES, LET  
US PAUSE FOR A MOMENT AND ASK OURSELVES WHAT THESE  
COMPLEX OPERATIONS AT HOME REPRESENT. BY AND LARGE,  
THEY ARE DESIGNED TO CREATE RESERVE STRENGTH TO SUPPORT  
THE ARMY'S REQUIREMENTS IN PEACE AND IN WAR. THEY ARE  
ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AT DEVELOPING THE SINEWS OF WAR,  
CAPABLE OF SUPPORTING OUR NATIONAL POLICIES TODAY AND IN  
THE FUTURE. THEY ARE ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AT GETTING THE  
MOST DEFENSE OUT OF THE MEN, MONEY, AND MATERIALS PLACED  
AT THE DISPOSITION OF THE ARMY. THEY ARE ACTIVITIES AIMED

AT GIVING US LASTING POWER -- THE ABILITY TO ENDURE -- IF  
THE DISASTER OF WAR SHOULD BEFALL US.

ADDED TOGETHER, / ARMY OPERATIONS ABROAD AND AT HOME, /  
COMPLEX AND VARIED AS THEY ARE, HAVE AN EXTREMELY SIMPLE  
PURPOSE. IN SYNTHESIS, / THEY REPRESENT THE EFFORTS OF  
OVER A MILLION AND A HALF SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS / ALL WORKING  
TO DEVELOP AN ARMY WHICH WILL DETER WAR, / BUT, IF THE  
DETERRENT FAILS, / WHICH IS READY TO FIGHT.

I DOUBT THAT ANY OF US WOULD ARGUE WITH THE STATEMENT /  
THAT IN GENERAL / IT IS OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVE / TO ASSURE  
THAT OUR PEOPLE LIVE SECURELY, / PROSPEROUSLY, / AND HAPPILY, /  
AT PEACE WITH THE WORLD. WE HAVE NO DESIGNS ON ANYONE  
NOR ANY DESIRE TO POSSESS ANYTHING IN THE HANDS OF ANOTHER  
NATION. OUR LEADERS SEEK TO DEVISE POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS / CAPABLE OF BRINGING HAPPINESS

TO OUR PEOPLE BUT WHICH DO NOT, AT THE SAME TIME, PRODUCE  
VIOLENT COLLISIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS BENT ON SIMILAR  
OBJECTIVES. OUR MILITARY FORCES HAVE THE PRIMARY  
MISSION OF DETERRING THE OUTBREAK OF WAR NOT ONLY THE  
BIG KIND BUT THE SO-CALLED SMALL WAR AS WELL BECAUSE  
THE SMALL WAR MAY LEAD TO THE BIG WAR AND THE BIG WAR  
MAY NOT ONLY EXTERMINATE THE LOSER BUT MAY BRING THE  
VICTOR TO DISASTER.

WHAT DO I MEAN WHEN I SAY THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR  
MILITARY PROGRAMS TO DETER WAR? I MEAN THAT THESE  
PROGRAMS MUST CREATE IN THE MIND OF ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR  
THE UNQUALIFIED ACCEPTANCE OF A CONCEPT; NAMELY, THAT  
AGGRESSION INIMICAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES  
AND HER ALLIES OF THE FREE WORLD WILL BE CONTESTED AND  
WILL LOSE IN THE END. IF HE BELIEVES WE CAN BEAT HIM IF

HE STARTS A WAR, HE IS NOT LIKELY TO START ONE. THIS  
DETERRENT CONCEPT, IN ORDER TO BE CONVINCING, MUST BE  
BASED ON REALITY; IT CANNOT BE MERE TALK, OR BLUFF, OR  
THREAT. INSTEAD, IT MUST BE BASED ON VISIBLE, TANGIBLE  
EVIDENCE OF OUR COUNTRY'S MILITARY, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL,  
AND MORAL STRENGTH IN BEING. IT IS THE VISIBLE BIG STICK,  
RATHER THAN A HEAVY TREAD, WHICH COUNTS.

FURTHERMORE, THIS MILITARY STRENGTH, TO BE IMPRESSIVE,  
MUST BE BALANCED STRENGTH APPLICABLE TO ANY LIKELY  
SITUATION. BY BALANCED STRENGTH I DO NOT MEAN, AS THE  
TERM IS SOMETIMES INTERPRETED, EQUAL STRENGTH OF ARMY,  
NAVY, AND AIR. ~~NONETHELESS, IT SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED~~  
~~THAT TOO MUCH OF ONE TYPE OF STRENGTH EVENTUALLY~~  
~~ENCOUNTERS THE LAW OF DIMINISHING RETURNS.~~ BALANCED  
STRENGTH MEANS FLEXIBLE PROPORTIONED STRENGTH, INCLUDING

MILITARY MEANS IN VARIOUS FORMS / APPROPRIATE TO DETER  
OR TO FIGHT SMALL WARS / AS WELL AS BIG WARS, / WARS IN JUNGLES  
OR MOUNTAINS, / WARS IN WHICH ATOMIC WEAPONS ARE USED, / OR  
WARS IN WHICH ATOMIC WEAPONS ARE NOT USED.      BALANCED  
STRENGTH INCLUDES THE MEANS TO PUT OUT BRUSH FIRES  
PROMPTLY BEFORE THEY CAN SPREAD INTO GENERAL WAR.

WHAT DOES THE ARMY HAVE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS  
BALANCED STRENGTH / WHICH WE HOPE WILL DETER WAR?

PRIMARILY (~~LIKE ANY OTHER MILITARY FORCE~~), IT DETERS  
THROUGH ITS STRENGTH IN BEING, / BY THE FACT OF HAVING TODAY /  
SUFFICIENT MEN AND RESOURCES / TRAINED AND DISPOSED TO  
FIGHT SUCCESSFULLY IF CHALLENGED.

AGAIN, AS I STATED EARLIER, THE ARMY DETERS WARS BY  
DEVELOPING THE FORCES OF OUR ALLIES.      IT PERFORMS AN  
IMPORTANT ROLE IN HELPING TO TEACH THE INDIGENOUS FORCES

OF 44 FREE COUNTRIES } HOW TO USE AND MAINTAIN THE EQUIPMENT  
MADE AVAILABLE UNDER THE MILITARY AID PROGRAMS } *At this moment it*  
~~AND IN~~ IS  
ASSISTING THEM TO DEVELOP OVER 200 COMBAT DIVISIONS.

~~WHILE THIS EFFORT IS CREATING STRENGTH IN MANY AREAS WHERE~~  
~~A POWER VACUUM WOULD OTHERWISE EXIST,~~ *THIS* IT IS A TIME-  
CONSUMING PROCESS WHICH WILL REQUIRE MEN, EFFORT AND  
PATIENCE FOR A CONSIDERABLE TIME.

THE ARMY HAS INVESTED A SIZABLE PORTION OF ITS HIGH-  
QUALITY PROFESSIONAL TALENT IN THESE OVERSEAS TRAINING  
MISSIONS. I OFTEN HAVE OCCASIONS TO SMILE AT THE  
REQUIREMENTS } PLACED UPON US } IN PRODUCING MEN WITH THE  
UNUSUAL TALENTS } TO HEAD THESE MISSIONS SUCCESSFULLY. I  
HAVE HAD OCCASION TO DESCRIBE THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR THE  
IDEAL CHIEF OF MISSION IN SOMETHING LIKE THE FOLLOWING  
WORDS. HE SHOULD BE: "A PHOTOGENIC, LINGUISTICALLY

GIFTED COSMOPOLITE WITH A DISTINGUISHED MILITARY RECORD,  
A POLISHED DRAWING ROOM TECHNIQUE, A PLEASANT MANNER  
WITH THE PRESS, AND A CAPABILITY FOR HOLDING HIS TONGUE  
AND HIS LIQUOR. ELIGIBILITY FOR PROMOTION IS DESIRABLE  
JUST IN CASE HE GETS ALONG WITH THE AMBASSADOR. A WELL-

GROOMED AND ADAPTABLE WIFE IS DESIRABLE BUT NO CHILDREN,

*The Army*  
PLEASE, AS ~~WE~~ CAN'T AFFORD TO RENT BIG HOUSES." I CAN

ASSURE YOU THAT THE REQUIREMENT PLACED UPON THE ARMY

TO PRODUCE MEN OF THIS TYPE IN SO MANY DIFFERENT PARTS

OF THE WORLD IS NOT AN EASY ONE TO FILL, <sup>BUT</sup> ~~AND~~ I'M ALWAYS

IMPRESSED WITH HOW MANY INCUMBENTS OF THESE POSITIONS

<sup>MATCH UP TO</sup>  
APPARENTLY ~~APPROXIMATE~~ THIS COMPLICATED FORMULA.

<sup>not only</sup>  
~~NOT ONLY DOES~~ THE ARMY DETER <sup>S</sup>WAR BY ITS FORCES

ABROAD BUT ALSO BY ITS FORCES AT HOME. THE GENERAL

<sup>ACTIVE</sup>  
RESERVE IS A TERM WHICH WE USE TO DESCRIBE ARMY TROOPS

IN THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES | HAVING VARYING DEGREES  
OF READINESS FOR PROMPT OVERSEAS MOVEMENT. THESE UNITS  
REPRESENT TO ANY POTENTIAL ENEMY | THE IMMEDIATE REINFORCE-  
MENTS HE WOULD ENCOUNTER AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF WAR | OR  
THE INITIATION OF LOCAL AGGRESSION. TO THE EXTENT THAT  
THEY ARE STRONG, | WELL-TRAINED AND EQUIPPED | AND OBVIOUSLY  
READY FOR TROUBLE, THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT PART OF <sup>our national</sup> ~~ARMY~~  
DETERRENT STRENGTH.

IN ADDITION TO THESE ACTIVE ARMY UNITS AT HOME, | WE MUST  
HAVE EFFECTIVE CIVILIAN RESERVE UNITS AS WELL. HENCE,  
THE ARMY MAKES CONTINUING EFFORTS | TO IMPROVE THE READINESS  
OF THE RESERVE COMPONENTS, | REPRESENTED BY THE NATIONAL  
GUARD | AND THE OTHER CIVILIAN RESERVE ORGANIZATIONS. TO  
THIS END, WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE PASSAGE OF THE RECENT  
RESERVE BILL IN CONGRESS. <sup>Although</sup> ~~EVEN THOUGH~~ AS NOW DRAWN

IT IS NOT YET PRODUCING THE VOLUNTEERS WE REQUIRE, WE ARE TRYING TO EXTRACT EVERY BENEFIT FROM ITS PROVISIONS. THE BILL IS A GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT TO THOSE OF US CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE AND SOLIDITY OF THE RESERVE COMPONENTS.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT DETERRENT ROLE WHICH THE ARMY PLAYS IS IN THE AREA OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSE. REGULAR ARMY AND NATIONAL GUARD UNITS ARE IN PLACE AROUND SAN FRANCISCO AS WELL AS OTHER MAJOR CITIES AND CENTERS. WE ARE CONSTANTLY TRYING TO IMPROVE THE WEAPONS WHICH WOULD DESTROY ENEMY AIRPLANES WHICH MIGHT ATTACK OUR HOMELAND. YOU ALL HAVE HEARD OF THE "NIKE" MISSILE, ONE OF THE FEW OPERATIONAL GUIDED MISSILES THAT WE KNOW ABOUT IN THE WORLD TODAY. IT IS CAPABLE OF FINDING AND TRACKING DOWN AIRCRAFT WITH THE RELENTLESSNESS OF A BLOODHOUND AND WITH AN INTELLIGENCE ALMOST HUMAN. THIS MISSILE IS ONLY THE

START OF A FAMILY OF ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES WHICH WE HOPE  
WILL MAKE OUR SKIES SO INHOSPITABLE AS TO DISCOURAGE ATTACK  
BY ANY POTENTIAL AGGRESSOR. THE ARMY, A PIONEER IN  
MISSILE DEVELOPMENT, MAKES WIDE USE OF AMERICAN SCIENCE  
AND INDUSTRY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THESE POWERFUL WEAPONS  
OF THE FUTURE. PROGRESS IN MISSILES IS PROGRESS IN  
DETERRENCE.

I HAVE TALKED AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE WAR-PREVENTIVE  
EFFECT OF THE ARMY. IT MIGHT WELL BE ASKED HOW DETERRENT  
STRENGTH IS RELATED TO WINNING STRENGTH THE ABILITY TO  
FIGHT SUCCESSFULLY IF THE DETERRENT FAILS AND WAR *ensues* COMES.  
IT MIGHT BE ASSUMED THAT THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH CONTRIBUTE  
TO DETERRENT STRENGTH ARE ALSO THOSE WHICH GIVE WINNING  
STRENGTH, BUT THAT IS NOT ALWAYS THE CASE. OUR OVER-ALL  
MILITARY POTENTIAL IS SOMEWHAT LIKE AN ICEBERG WHICH, AS IT

FLOATS IN THE ARCTIC SEA, PRESENTS ONLY ABOUT A NINTH OF  
ITS BODY ABOVE THE SURFACE OF THE WATER. IT IS THIS  
VISIBLE NINTH WHICH WARNS THE MARINER AND INDUCES HIM TO  
CHANGE HIS COURSE. IN THE SAME WAY, IT IS ONLY A CERTAIN  
PORTION OF OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WHICH IS VISIBLE TO  
AN ENEMY OR IS KNOWABLE TO HIM WHICH INDUCES HIM TO ADJUST  
HIS COURSE OF ACTION IN OUR FAVOR. OUR WINNING STRENGTH  
IS REPRESENTED BY THAT DEEPER, SUBMERGED PART OF THE  
ICEBERG WHICH IS NOT SEEN BUT FROM WHICH WE DRAW STRENGTH  
FOR THE LONG PULL. THIS STRENGTH IS CONCEALED IN OUR  
ATOMIC IGLOOS, IN OUR FACTORIES, IN OUR ECONOMIC AND  
INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL STRUCTURE, IN OUR POLITICAL CODE  
AND GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION, YES, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY,  
IT IS CONCEALED IN THE HEARTS AND THE WILLS OF OUR CITIZENS.  
ONLY INsofar AS THIS STRENGTH CAN BE DIVINED DOES IT

CONTRIBUTE TO DETERRENCE.      THUS, DETERRENT STRENGTH  
IS NOT ENTIRELY SYNONYMOUS WITH WINNING STRENGTH;  
PROVISION MUST BE MADE FOR BOTH; BOTH REQUIRE SPECIAL  
STUDY AND ANALYSIS IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT IN PROPER  
COMBINATION THEY PROVIDE SECURITY FOR OUR NATION.

I WOULD NOT WISH TO TALK TODAY AS THOUGH MILITARY  
STRENGTH PROVIDES THE SOLE DETERRENT TO WAR.      I WOULD  
NOT SUGGEST THAT PEACE CAN BE BASED SOLELY ON THE FEAR  
OF REPRISAL.      OUR PRESIDENT AT GENEVA HAS MADE AFFIRMATIVE  
PROPOSALS WHICH OFFER THE PROMISE OF DETERRING WAR THROUGH  
A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND A RESTORATION OF INTERNATIONAL  
CONFIDENCE.      THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOSE MORAL ATTRIBUTES  
WHICH CAUSE NATIONS TO RENOUNCE AGGRESSION AS AN INSTRUMENT  
OF POLICY PROVIDE A BASIC DETERRENT TO WAR, WHICH WE SOLDIERS  
RESPECT AS A HIGHER AIM THAN THE CREATION OF MATERIAL  
STRENGTH.

THOSE OF US WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH PLANNING FOR NATIONAL SECURITY ARE ASKED TO DEAL WITH IMPONDERABLES AND WITH QUESTION MARKS WHICH MAKE ALL OF OUR CONCLUSIONS SUBJECT TO CONSTANT REVIEW. MOST OF OUR PROBLEMS ARISE FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFICULTY IN FORESEEING THE CHARACTER OF ANY POSSIBLE WAR IN THE FUTURE. THIS DIFFICULTY IS INCREASED BY COMPETING CONCEPTIONS OF WHAT FUTURE CONFLICTS WILL BE. SOME BELIEVE THAT ONLY ONE TYPE OF WAR WILL OCCUR IN THE FUTURE, THAT IS, A SHORT AND DESTRUCTIVE WAR, INTRODUCED BY A DEVASTATING EXCHANGE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS. THIS IS THE DISASTER WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S GENEVA PROPOSALS UNDERTAKE TO AVERT. OTHERS BELIEVE THAT WAR MAY ASSUME MANY PROTEAN FORMS AND AVOID PICKING FAVORITES AMONG COMPETING CONCEPTS. THE SINGLE-TYPE-OF-WAR ADVOCATES PREDICT THAT A WAR OF THE FUTURE WILL

OPEN WITH ATOMIC AIR ATTACKS UPON THE UNITED STATES,  
FOLLOWED BY OUR RETALIATION WITH ATOMIC ATTACKS IN  
KIND. DEVASTATION WILL BE GREAT ON BOTH SIDES; AND THE  
OUTCOME OF THE ENTIRE WAR WILL DEPEND UPON SUCCESS IN  
THIS FIRST BRIEF DESTRUCTIVE PHASE. THE ATOMIC AIR-  
DELIVERED BOMB, IF THE PROTAGONISTS OF THIS VIEW ARE CORRECT,  
WILL BE THE PRIMARY AND DECISIVE WEAPON.

THIS CONCEPT OF THE SINGLE-TYPE, SHORT WAR IS A POSSIBLE  
FORM WHICH WAR MAY ASSUME. NO ONE WILL KNOW UNTIL THE  
TIME COMES HOW RIGHT OR HOW WRONG ARE <sup>THOSE</sup> ~~THE~~ THEORISTS WHO  
SUPPORT IT. PERSONALLY, I RATE THIS CONCEPT AS ONLY ONE  
OF THE FORMS, AND NOT NECESSARILY THE MOST LIKELY, WHICH  
WAR MAY TAKE IF THAT DISASTER COMES. PARTICULARLY AS  
ATOMIC DESTRUCTIVE CAPABILITIES GROW, IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY  
IMPROBABLE THAT AN AGGRESSOR WOULD INTENTIONALLY EMBARK

ON THE GAMBLE OF ATOMIC WORLD WAR. AS LONG AS WE HAVE

POWERFUL WEAPONS FOR RETALIATION/ AND ARE OBVIOUSLY

READY AND WILLING TO USE THEM, I AM RELUCTANT TO BELIEVE

THAT ANY HOSTILE NATION WILL INTENTIONALLY RISK THE HAZARDS

OF GENERAL WAR.

*ON the other hand there is an ever present*  
AT THE SAME TIME/ ~~I AM BY NO MEANS SURE~~

*possibility*  
THAT SOME NATION, ~~SOME TIME,~~ *will* MAY NOT ATTEMPT LOCAL ACTS

OF AGGRESSION TO WHICH OUR MASSIVE RETALIATORY POWER MAY

NOT APPLY.

FACED WITH THESE UNCERTAINTIES, WE SHOULD VERIFY

THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS AN INSTRUMENT WHICH DOES NOT

REQUIRE MASS DESTRUCTION TO OBTAIN ITS END. THE ARMY IS

EQUIPPED AND TRAINED TO APPLY MILITARY POWER WITH

DISCRETION, TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN FRIEND AND FOE, AND

TO TEMPER ITS APPLICATION OF FORCE/ FROM THE *warning* ADMONITORY

WHISTLE OF THE MILITARY POLICEMAN TO THE *Kilston blast of* ~~TERRIBLE DESTRUCTION~~

*the*  
~~OF~~ ATOMIC WEAPONS.

OUR MILITARY PLANNING MUST TAKE

INTO ACCOUNT THE INCREASING RELUCTANCE OF PEACE-LOVING

PEOPLE TO EMBARK ON GENERAL ATOMIC WAR AND GIVE INCREASING

ATTENTION TO THE CONSTANT DANGER OF EROSIVE EFFORTS

AGAINST WEAK MEMBERS OF THE FREE-NATION COMMUNITY.

IN CLOSING, LET ME SAY THAT, WHILE THE ARMY HAS

UNDERSTANDABLE DOUBTS FROM TIME TO TIME ABOUT ITS ABILITY

TO DIVINE THE FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS, WHILE IT HAS NO

FEELING OF INFALLIBLE PRESCIENCE IN ADJUDGING THE

REQUIREMENTS OF THE FUTURE, IT IS VERY CLEAR ABOUT TWO

THINGS: FIRST, ITS DETERMINATION TO GIVE THE UNITED STATES

THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE DEGREE OF FLEXIBLE, VERSATILE STRENGTH

*from*  
FOR THE MEN, MONEY, AND MATERIALS WHICH YOU ENTRUST TO

OUR USE. NEXT, IT IS SURE THAT THE ARMY WILL BE NO BETTER

THAN THE SYMPATHETIC SUPPORT WHICH IT RECEIVES FOR THE

IMPORTANCE OF ITS MISSION. THIS IS YOUR ARMY WHICH I LEAD,  
ONE IN WHICH YOUR FOREFATHERS HAVE SERVED, AND IN WHICH  
YOUR GRANDSONS -- AND MINE -- WILL DOUBTLESS SERVE. THE  
ARMY IS INEVITABLY A REFLECTION OF THE ENTIRE NATION WHICH  
CREATES AND NOURISHES IT WITH ITS SPLENDID MANHOOD. IT  
WILL ACHIEVE ITS PURPOSE OF DETERRING WAR ONLY IF THIS  
NATION IS WILLING TO PROVIDE ABLE MEN, ADEQUATE FUNDS, AND  
SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING FOR ~~AN~~ your Army. Only such an Army will have  
~~AN ARMY, OF SUCH VISIBLE~~ the  
STRENGTH AS TO GIVE PAUSE TO ANY ENEMY.

-END-