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PILGRIMS ADDRESS - JANUARY 26, 1966

AS I ARISE TO ADDRESS THE PILGRIMS TODAY, I HAVE THE UNCOM-
FORTABLE FEELING ~~OF BEING THE WRONG MAN, OR OF BEING AT THE WRONG~~
that a mistake has been made somewhere, either in the speaker
or the platform -- either in the man or the place.
~~PLACE~~. SO FAR AS I AM AWARE, THERE WAS NO REPRESENTATIVE OF MY
BRANCH OF THE TAYLOR FAMILY ON THE PASSENGER LIST OF THE MAYFLOWER.
NOR INDEED WERE THEY REPRESENTED IN THE FOLLOW-ON WAVES OF REIN-
FORCEMENTS WHO -- TO USE THE JARGON OF TODAY -- CONSTITUTED THE
BRITISH ESCALATION OF EFFORT ~~TO COMBAT~~ ⁱⁿ THE NORTHERN COLONIES. Apart from the
chance of a free lunch at the Waldorf, which attracts others as well,
IF CALLED UPON TO FIND ANY REMOTE JUSTIFICATION FOR MY PRESENCE
BEFORE THIS PODIUM, I COULD, PERHAPS, ADVANCE TWO DIFFIDENT
EXCUSES. THE FIRST IS THE FACT THAT I DID TAKE PART IN THE PIL-
GRIMAGE IN REVERSE WHICH CARRIED COUNTLESS THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN
SOLDIERS ON A RETURN TRIP TO MOTHER ENGLAND DURING WORLD WAR II.
INDEED, I DWELT SO LONG IN THE VICINITY OF NEWBURY THAT I NOW
VENTURE TO CALL MYSELF A BERSHIREMAN AND EVEN KNOW HOW TO PRONOUNCE
THE NAME OF THE PLACE CORRECTLY. BUT A MORE VALID AND MORE SERIOUS
REASON FOR BEING HERE WOULD BE A PARTICIPATION IN THE ~~CENTRAL~~
RESPECT AND ADMIRATION SHARED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC FOR
THE STALWART PILGRIM BAND WHO LANDED AT PLYMOUTH IN 1620. THEIR
VIRTUES WERE MANY AND WE NEED THEM SORELY IN OUR LIFE TODAY.

WE RESPECT THE PILGRIMS BECAUSE THEY WERE MEN AND WOMEN OF
CHARACTER WHO LIVED BY A SET OF VALUES CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AND

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CONSCIOUSLY PURSUED. IN THE PURSUIT OF THESE VALUES, THEY WERE WILLING TO GIVE UP WHAT WE WOULD CALL A NORMAL LIFE AT HOME TO CROSS A HOSTILE OCEAN AT THE RISK OF THEIR LIVES TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN A FORBIDDING WILDERNESS INHABITED BY DANGEROUS SAVAGES. BUT AS PILGRIMS SEEKING THE HEAVENLY LAND PORTRAYED IN THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, THEY WERE WILLING "TO ENDURE HARDNESS AS GOOD SOLDIERS OF JESUS CHRIST."

ALTHOUGH PLYMOUTH COLONY GREW ONLY FROM 102 TO ABOUT 300 SOULS IN THE FIRST TEN YEARS, WE FIND FEW RECORDS OF COMPLAINTS AMONG THE PILGRIMS AS TO THE NATURE OF THEIR TASK. THERE WAS NO TALK ABOUT HAVING LANDED AT THE WRONG PLACE OR AT THE WRONG TIME OR FOR THE WRONG REASON. THEY DID NOT LOOK OVER THEIR SHOULDER TO SEE WHETHER THEY WERE BEING APPLAUDED OR CRITICIZED IN ENGLAND OR BY THE OUTSIDE WORLD. IT IS TRUE THAT THEY HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF WORKING OUT THEIR PROBLEMS IN COMPARATIVE PRIVACY. THEY WERE UNACCOMPANIED BY REPORTERS OR TELEVISION. THEY RECEIVED NO PARLIAMENTARY VISITORS. OUT OF COMMUNICATION WITH EUROPE, THEY DID NOT LEARN FROM HOME THAT THEY COULD NEVER SUCCEED IN THE FACE OF ALL THE OBSTACLES WHICH CONFRONTED THEM. THEY WERE NOT EXPOSED TO ADVICE ON THE WAY TO TREAT THE TOMAHAWK-WIELDING, SCALP-LIFTING INDIANS. THEY DID NOT HEAR THE INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS WHO ^{said} ~~WERE~~ ~~SAYING~~ THAT THEY WERE BEHAVING ILLEGALLY IN TRESPASSING ON PROPERTY

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ALREADY CEDED BY THE POPE TO THE SPANISH CROWN. SO, LEFT PRETTY MUCH TO THEIR OWN DEVICES, THE PILGRIMS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS NEVER GAVE UP THE EFFORT TO GAIN A BETTER LAND AND CONTINUED TO DISPLAY IN THE FACE OF ADVERSITY THAT TENACITY OF PURPOSE WHICH IN THE LONG RUN MAKES A PLEASURE OF DUTY AND A VIRTUE OF PENANCE.

IN RELATION TO THAT LATTER PARTICULARLY BRITISH VIRTUE, I AM REMINDED OF A STORY TOLD BY ONE OF MY MILITARY FRIENDS WHO WAS AMONG THE FIRST OF THE SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICERS TO BE STATIONED IN ENGLAND PRIOR TO OUR ENTRANCE INTO WORLD WAR II. HE TOLD THE STORY OF A VISIT TO A LANCER REGIMENTAL MESS WHERE HE WAS TREMENDOUSLY IMPRESSED, AS ARE ALL AMERICAN VISITORS AT THEIR FIRST ATTENDANCE AT ~~THE MESS~~ ^{the ritual of the mess.} WHAT IMPRESSED HIM MOST, PERHAPS, WAS THAT AT THE END OF THE MEAL THE BAND SUDDENLY BROKE OUT INTO A LUGUBRIOUS HYMN. TURNING TO THE REGIMENTAL COMMANDER, HE ASKED WHY A HYMN ON SUCH A FESTIVE OCCASION. "OH", SAID THE COMMANDING OFFICER, "IN THE 17th OR 18th CENTURY I FORGET WHICH, IN INDIA I THINK IT WAS, OUR REGIMENT EITHER LOST A TOWN OR SACKED A TOWN, I'M NOT SURE WHICH, BUT AS A RESULT WE WERE CONDEMNED TO PLAY A HYMN AT MESS EVERY DAY FOR A HUNDRED YEARS." "OH", SAID MY FRIEND ADDING UP QUICKLY, "REGARDLESS ^{of} WHETHER THIS OCCURRED IN THE 17th OR 18th CENTURY THE HUNDRED YEARS ^{are} EX LONG PAST." "AH, YES", SAID THE OFFICER, "BUT AT THE END OF A HUNDRED YEARS WE HAD GOT ^{rather} TO LIKE THE HYMN SO WELL ~~THAT~~ WE HAVE KEPT PLAYING IT EVER SINCE."

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I THINK THAT WE AMERICANS HAVE SOMETHING TO LEARN FROM THIS ABILITY TO TURN PENANCE INTO PLEASURE. BY FORCE OF HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCE, WE ARE NOW REQUIRED TO CARRY MANY OF THE BURDENS OF WORLD LEADERSHIP AND TO PERFORM MANY OF THE CHORES OF KEEPING THE PEACE WHICH FORMERLY FELL TO OUR BRITISH FRIENDS. THUS FAR, WE HAVE FOUND THE TASK FAR FROM ENJOYABLE. PERHAPS IT MAY BECOME SO AFTER THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS. IT MAY BE BECAUSE IT IS NOW OUR PROBLEM BUT IT DOES SEEM THAT THE TASK HAS BECOME INHERENTLY HARDER TODAY THAN WHEN THE BRITISH FLEET IMPOSED A PAX BRITANNICA ON A LARGE PART OF THE WORLD. WHEN A BLOCKADE, A CANNONADE OR A LANDING PARTY COULD CORRECT THE PETTY TYRANT OR SUBDUE THE INSOLENT TROUBLE-MAKER, THERE WAS A CERTAIN SIMPLICITY IN KEEPING THE PEACE. IN 1739, GREAT BRITAIN WENT UNHESITATINGLY TO WAR WITH SPAIN BECAUSE A SPANISH SEA CAPTAIN HAD BOARDED THE BRITISH BRIG REBECCA SEVEN YEARS BEFORE AND HAD CUT OFF THE EAR OF CAPTAIN ROBERT JENKINS, THE MASTER OF THE BRIG, IN THE ENSUING SCUFFLE. NO QUESTION APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN RAISED BY ANYONE IN PARLIAMENT AS TO WHAT CAPTAIN JENKINS WAS DOING AT THE TIME, WHETHER HIS ACTIONS HAD BEEN NEEDLESSLY PROVOCATIVE OR WHETHER HIS BRIG WAS IN A SEA AREA WHICH THE SPANISH CONSIDERED IN THEIR SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. THE ONLY FACT THAT MATTERED WAS THAT A PAPIST SPANIARD HAD CUT OFF THE EAR OF A BRITISH SEAMAN AND SUCH BEHAVIOR COULD NOT GO UNPUNISHED.

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IN OUR 20th CENTURY ROLE OF GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE, WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE FINDING FEW ISSUES AS CLEAN-CUT AS JENKINS' SEVERED EAR, PARTICULARLY NOT IN OUR INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. THERE, WE ARE FINDING THE GOING HARD, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE INTRINSIC COMPLEXITY OF THE MILITARY AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF THIS CONFLICT, BUT BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF OUR MOTIVES AND INTENTIONS SOMETIMES AT HOME, SOMETIMES ABROAD. IT SEEMS TO US AT LEAST EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT AS AVENGING JENKINS' EAR TO CARRY OUT A COMMITMENT MADE OVER A DECADE AGO TO ASSURE THIS SMALL COUNTRY OF SOUTH VIET-NAM THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE CHOICE OF ITS GOVERNMENT. IT SEEMS TO US ALSO THAT OUR FRIENDS SHOULD APPRECIATE THAT THE ISSUES AT STAKE GO WELL BEYOND THE FRONTIERS OF SOUTH VIET-NAM ITSELF. APART FROM THE DISCHARGE OF OUR OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY, WE FEEL A STRONG RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEAT THE SO-CALLED "WAR OF LIBERATION" OR "PEOPLES' WAR" WHICH HAS BEEN DECLARED AGAINST SOUTH VIET-NAM AND HAS BEEN WAGED THERE SINCE 1960. WE VIEW THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" AS A NEW AND SINISTER CHALLENGE THREATENING NOT ONLY SOUTHEAST ASIA BUT MANY OF THE EMERGING COUNTRIES OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. HENCE, THE SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION BEING WAGED BY HANOI AND PEKING IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, IT SEEMS TO US, IS NOT AN ISOLATED EVENT THAT CAN BE TREATED IN ABSTRACTION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, BUT

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RATHER A SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENT WHICH INVOLVES THE INTERESTS OF A LARGE PART OF THE FREE WORLD.

IT WAS IN COMPARATIVELY RECENT TIMES THAT THIS TERM OF COMMUNIST JARGON, THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" OR ITS SYNONYM THE "PEOPLES' WAR" ENTERED INTO OUR POLITICAL AWARENESS. ALTHOUGH THESE TERMS APPEAR IN EARLY MARXIST-LENINIST WRITINGS, THE EVENT WHICH FOCUSED OUR ATTENTION ON THEM WAS HANOI'S DECLARATION OF A "WAR OF LIBERATION" ON PRESIDENT DIEM'S GOVERNMENT IN 1960. THIS ESCALATION OF THE WAR -- AS WE WOULD NOW DESCRIBE IT -- RESULTED FROM THE FAILURE OF FIVE YEARS OF ATTEMPTED POLITICAL SUBVERSION TO OVERTHROW THE DIEM REGIME, CONDUCTED BY THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL CADRES WHICH HAD BEEN LEFT BEHIND IN SOUTH VIET-NAM FOLLOWING THE GENEVA ACCORDS AND THE PARTITION OF VIET-NAM IN 1954. YOU WILL RECALL THAT, IN THOSE EARLY YEARS, THE DIEM GOVERNMENT HAD WEATHERED THE STORMS WHICH THREATENED TO DESTROY IT, HAD DEVELOPED A SURPRISING DEGREE OF UNITY IN AN INHERENTLY DIVIDED COUNTRY AND HAD PRODUCED SIGNS OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS. IT WAS THIS DEGREE OF SUCCESS WHICH PROMPTED HANOI TO CHANGE THE GAME AND RESORT TO LARGE-SCALE GUERRILLA WARFARE.

IN WASHINGTON, WE DID NOT SENSE THE SIGNIFICANCE OR PERCEIVE THE PRACTICAL EFFECTS OF THIS CHANGE IN BEHAVIOR UNTIL EARLY 1961, BY WHICH TIME THE INCREASE IN VIET CONG TERRORISM AND GUERRILLA ACTIVITY SHOWED CLEARLY THAT SOMETHING NEW AND IMPORTANT HAD BEEN

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ADDED TO THE SITUATION. IF WE NEEDED ADDED CLARIFICATION OF COMMUNIST INTENTIONS, CHAIRMAN KHRUSHCHEV GAVE IT TO US IN HIS ADDRESS OF JANUARY, 1961, WHICH EXPLAINED THE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION. "NOW, HE SAID, A WORD ABOUT 'NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS'. THE ARMED STRUGGLE BY THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE OR THE WAR OF THE ALGERIAN PEOPLE SERVE AS THE LATEST EXAMPLE OF SUCH WARS. THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY WARS. SUCH WARS ARE NOT ONLY ADMISSIBLE BUT INEVITABLE. CAN SUCH WARS FLARE UP IN FUTURE? THEY CAN. THE COMMUNISTS FULLY SUPPORT SUCH JUST WARS AND MARCH IN THE FRONT RANK WITH THE PEOPLES WAGING LIBERATION STRUGGLES."

AS WE WATCHED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SAVAGE GUERRILLA WARFARE IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, WE BECAME AWARE THAT WE WERE MERELY SEEING AN OLD GAME PLAYED UNDER A NEW NAME. WE RECOGNIZED IT AS THE SAME TACTIC EMPLOYED IN THE CIVIL WAR IN GREECE, IN THE HUK INSURRECTION IN THE PHILIPPINES, IN THE GUERRILLA WARFARE IN MALAYA AND DURING PHASES OF THE CHINA CIVIL WAR. IT COULD EVEN BE SAID THAT CASTRO HAD WAGED A "WAR OF LIBERATION" IN SEIZING THE POLITICAL POWER IN CUBA. BY ANALYZING THE ELEMENTS WHICH ENTERED INTO THESE COMMUNIST-INSPIRED CONFLICTS, IT WAS RELATIVELY EASY TO REACH A DEFINITION OF THE TERM, "WAR OF LIBERATION" OR "PEOPLES' WAR". COMMON TO ALL WAS THE USE OF SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION FOR THE OVERTHROW OF A NON-COMMUNIST STATE BY TERRORISM AND GUERRILLA WARFARE, SUPPORTED CLANDESTINELY FROM AN EXTERNAL COMMUNIST SOURCE.

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AS WE BECAME MORE DEEPLY INVOLVED IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, IT WAS APPARENT THAT THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" REPRESENTED A FORMIDABLE THREAT AND THAT ONE OUTCOME OF OUR EFFORTS MUST BE TO FIND A WAY TO COPE WITH IT THERE AND ELSEWHERE, AND/^{thus}EXPLODE THE MYTH OF ITS INVINCIBILITY. THE COMMUNIST LEADERS HAD LONG BEEN VOCAL IN PROCLAIMING ITS MERITS AS A CHEAP AND EASY WAY FOR THE EXPANSION OF THEIR CAUSE. IT WAS CLEARLY THEIR HOPE THAT THE OUTCOME IN SOUTH VIET-NAM WOULD DEMONSTRATE ITS IRRESISTIBILITY. GENERAL GIAP, THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES, STATED: "SOUTH VIET-NAM IS THE MODEL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF OUR TIME. IF THE SPECIAL WARFARE THAT THE U. S. IMPERIALISTS ARE TESTING IN SOUTH VIET-NAM IS OVERCOME, THEN IT CAN BE DEFEATED ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD." MARSHAL LIN PIAO, THE CHICOM MINISTER OF DEFENSE, EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT "WARS OF LIBERATION" WAGED IN NUMEROUS PARTS OF THE WORLD COULD RESULT IN THE DEPLETION OF U. S. STRENGTH AND OUR ULTIMATE DEFEAT. HE STATED: "THE MORE SUCCESSFUL THE DEVELOPMENT OF "PEOPLES' WARS" IN A GIVEN REGION, THE LARGER THE NUMBER OF U. S. IMPERIALIST FORCES THAT CAN BE PINNED DOWN AND DEPLETED. EVERYTHING IS DIVISIBLE AND SO IS THE COLOSSUS OF U. S. IMPERIALISM. IT CAN BE SPLIT AND DEFEATED." LIN PIAO ALSO HAD THE FEELING THAT THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" WAS RELATIVELY SAFE, ADDING, "THERE HAVE BEEN 'WARS OF LIBERATION' FOR TWENTY YEARS SINCE WORLD WAR II. HAS ANY SINGLE ONE DEVELOPED INTO

A WORLD WAR?" AS RECENTLY AS MR. RESTON'S MOSCOW INTERVIEW OF DECEMBER 8, 1965, KOSYGIN PUT HIMSELF ON RECORD AS HAVING CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE OF THE "WAR OF LIBERATION." "WE BELIEVE THAT NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS ARE JUST WARS AND THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE AS LONG AS THERE IS NATIONAL OPPRESSION BY IMPERIALIST POWERS. TAKE SOUTHERN RHODESIA. THERE WILL BE A NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR THERE."

THESE STATEMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST ELITE SHOW CLEARLY THAT THEY TAKE VERY SERIOUSLY THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" WHICH THEY VIEW AS THE PREFERRED TACTIC FOR COMMUNIST EXPANSION IN THE FUTURE. IT APPEALS TO THEM AS BEING CHEAP SINCE GUERRILLA FORCES CAN BE TRAINED, EQUIPPED AND MAINTAINED AT A RELATIVELY LOW LEVEL OF COST IN COMPARISON TO THE GREAT EXPENDITURES NECESSARY ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT UNDER ATTACK. THERE IS THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE THAT THE CLANDESTINE EXTERNAL ALLY CAN DISAVOW PARTICIPATION IN THE GUERRILLA WARFARE AS HANOI HAS TRIED TO DENY COMPLICITY WITH THE VIET CONG. IT IS TRUE THAT HANOI'S PARTICIPATION IN REINFORCING, SUPPLYING AND DIRECTING THE GUERRILLAS IS NOW SO OBVIOUS THAT THE BRASSIEST OF COMMUNIST APOLOGISTS HAVE BEEN REDUCED TO SILENCE, BUT FOR A TIME AT LEAST, THEIR DISAVOWALS CONFUSED AND MISLED THE UNWARY PUBLIC. THE FINAL ADVANTAGE PERCEIVED IN THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" WAS ITS RELATIVE SAFETY, NOTED BY LIN PIAO, SINCE ITS AMBIGUITY IS DIFFICULT TO CONFRONT WITH CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCE AND SINCE, BECAUSE OF THE SPORADIC NATURE OF GUERRILLA COMBAT, IT IS NOT

LIKELY TO EXPAND INTO A LARGE-SCALE WAR WHICH IN TURN MIGHT ESCALATE TO THE GREAT NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST WHICH ALL PARTIES WISH TO AVOID.

IF THIS NEW TECHNIQUE PROMISES SO MUCH TO THE COMMUNIST LEADERS, IT BECOMES OUR TASK ^{in maintaining the peace} TO EXPOSE ITS WEAKNESS AND TO DEMONSTRATE IN SOUTH VIET-NAM AND ELSEWHERE THAT FAR FROM BEING CHEAP, DISAVOWABLE AND SAFE, THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" CAN BE MADE COSTLY, DANGEROUS AND DOOMED TO FAILURE.

IF THE COMMUNIST LEADERS HAVE TAKEN THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" SERIOUSLY, SO ALSO HAS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. SINCE 1961, THERE HAS BEEN A SERIES OF IMPORTANT PROGRAMS DEVELOPED IN THE PRINCIPAL DEPARTMENTS OF OUR GOVERNMENT TO ASSURE THEIR READINESS TO WORK ^{together} /EFFECTIVELY ~~TOGETHER~~ IN ANTICIPATING, PREVENTING AND, IF NEED BE, IN DEFEATING FUTURE EFFORTS AT SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION IN NEW PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE TRAINING AND EQUIPPING OF OUR ARMED FORCES HAVE BEEN DRASTICALLY REVISED IN CONSISTENCE WITH THIS NEW ATTENTION TO THE SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE. THIS FORM OF WARFARE IS, OF COURSE, NOT NEW TO THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION. UNWITTINGLY PERHAPS THE PILGRIMS WERE ENGAGING IN GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THEIR FIRST BRUSHES WITH THE INDIANS. SINCE THEN, GUERRILLA WARFARE HAS OCCURRED AT MANY TIMES IN MANY FORMS IN OUR HISTORY. I LIKE TO READ THE FOLLOWING MILITARY DISPATCH AND

THEN ASK THE HEARER TO GUESS WHAT PLACE IN VIET-NAM IS DESCRIBED.

"THE EVIL WHICH EXISTS UPON ~~THE~~ ^{this} BORDER ~~IS~~ IS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT
IN KIND AND FAR GREATER IN DEGREE THAN ELSEWHERE. IT IS THE OLD
frontier
~~THE~~ HATRED INTENSIFIED BY THE REBELLION AND BY THE MURDERS,
ROBBERIES AND ARSON WHICH HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE IRREGULAR WARFARE
CARRIED ON DURING THE EARLY PERIODS OF THE INSURGENCY, NOT ONLY BY
THE INSURGENTS, BUT BY OUR OWN TROOPS AND PEOPLE. THE EFFECT OF
THIS HAS BEEN TO RENDER IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY MAN WHO OPENLY AVOWED
AND MAINTAINED HIS LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT TO LIVE OUTSIDE OF
MILITARY POSTS. A LARGE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE REMAINING THERE
are
~~WERE~~ OPEN REBELS, WHILE THE REMAINDER ~~WERE~~ ^{are} COMPELLED TO ABSTAIN
FROM ANY WORDS OR ACTS IN OPPOSITION TO THE REBELLION AT THE PERIL
OF THEIR LIVES. ~~THEY~~ ^{all are} PRACTICALLY/ENEMIES OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
FRIENDS OF THE GUERRILLAS. THE LATTER ~~FOUND~~ ^{find} NO DIFFICULTY IN
SUPPLYING THEMSELVES WHEREVER THEY ~~WENT~~ ^{go} AND, WHAT ~~WAS~~ ^{is} OF VASTLY
GREATER IMPORTANCE TO THEM, THEY OBTAINED PROMPT AND ACCURATE
INFORMATION OF EVERY MOVEMENT OF OUR TROOPS, WHILE NO CITIZEN ~~WAS~~ ^{is}
SO BOLD AS TO GIVE US INFORMATION IN REGARD TO THE GUERRILLAS. IN
A COUNTRY REMARKABLY WELL ADAPTED BY NATURE FOR GUERRILLA WARFARE,
WITH ALL THE INHABITANTS PRACTICALLY THE FRIENDS OF THE GUERRILLAS,
IT HAS BEEN FOUND IMPOSSIBLE TO RID THE COUNTRY OF SUCH ENEMIES.
AT NO TIME DURING THE WAR ~~HAVE THESE COUNTRIES~~ ^{has this area} BEEN FREE FROM THEM.
NO REMEDY SHORT OF DESTROYING THE SOURCE OF THEIR GREAT ADVANTAGE
OVER OUR TROOPS ~~COULD~~ ^{can} CURE THE EVIL."

THIS IS NOT A DISPATCH OF GENERAL WESTMORELAND BUT RATHER THAT OF MAJOR GENERAL JOHN M. SCHOFIELD OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1863, DESCRIBING THE GUERRILLA SITUATION ON THE MISSOURI-KANSAS BORDER.

IF WE HAVE FACED THE PROBLEM BEFORE, WE NOW FACE IT AGAIN -- ALTHOUGH IN A QUITE DIFFERENT CONTEXT. IT THREATENS NOT ^{one} STATE OF OUR UNION BUT MANY STATES OF THE EMERGING WORLD. PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS ENUNCIATED OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE THREAT IN THE FOLLOWING WORDS: "THE GREAT BATTLEGROUND FOR THE DEFENSE AND EXPANSION OF FREEDOM TODAY IS THE ^{southern} ~~central~~ HALF OF THE GLOBE: ASIA, LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST -- THE LANDS OF THE PEOPLE WHO HARBOR THE GREATEST HOPES. THE ENEMIES OF FREEDOM THINK THEY CAN DESTROY THE HOPES OF THE NEWER NATIONS AND THEY AIM TO DO IT BEFORE THE END OF THIS DECADE. THIS IS A STRUGGLE OF WILL AND DETERMINATION AS MUCH AS ONE OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE. IT IS A BATTLE FOR THE CONQUEST OF THE MINDS AND SOULS, AS MUCH AS FOR THE CONQUEST OF LIVES AND TERRITORY. IN SUCH A STRUGGLE, WE CANNOT FAIL TO TAKE SIDES." IN SOUTH VIET-NAM, WE HAVE INDEED TAKEN SIDES AND WE ^{should} ~~will~~ CONTINUE TO TAKE SIDES UNTIL WE HAVE EXPOSED THE MYTH OF THE INVINCIBILITY OF THE "WAR OF LIBERATION" AND HAVE ASSURED A FAIR DEAL ^{the people of} FOR/SOUTH VIET-NAM. UNDOUBTEDLY, WE SHALL HAVE TO TAKE SIDES ELSEWHERE AGAINST SUBVERSIVE AGGRESSION UNTIL SUCH TIME AS WE SUCCEED IN CONVINCING THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP THAT THE WEAK, EMERGING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD ARE NOT AN UNDEFENDED HAPPY HUNTING GROUND FOR THEIR SUBVERSIVE AGENTS AND GUERRILLA WARRIORS.

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IN FULFILLING THIS RESOLVE WE SHALL NEED PATIENCE, COURAGE
AND PERSEVERANCE -- PILGRIM VIRTUES ALL.

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