

Pres file~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Tuesday, November 28, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: U. S. Goals in Viet-Nam

You asked that Bill Jorden do a report showing that our goals in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia have been consistent over the years, that there has not been a "switch," as Bobby Kennedy charged on Sunday.

Attached is his report.

It starts with the basic commitment under SEATO in 1955. It makes clear that the Senate understood the connection between our commitment to Southeast Asia and our own national interests.

It uses quotes from President Kennedy showing clearly that he understood how deeply our own security was involved in Viet-Nam and Asia.

It concludes with a long selection of quotations from you over the 1963-1965 period -- all demonstrating that you saw consistently the deeper meaning of our involvement in Asia.

I doubt that any reasonable person could read this collection and still believe there had been any "switch" whatsoever in our policy or our understanding of our commitment. And it is hard to understand how a man could have been as close to all this as Bobby was and reach his stated conclusion.

W. W. Rostow

Att.

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E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4(b)

White House Guidelines, Feb. 24, 1982

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SUBJECT: U. S. Goals in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia

It has been said that this Administration has changed goals in Viet-Nam, that under President Kennedy we were fighting only so the Vietnamese people would have the right to decide their own future but that now we are fighting for selfish national interests.

There are at least three things wrong with this allegation:

-- President Kennedy made it very clear from the outset of his Administration that we were involved in Southeast Asia because of our treaty obligations and our national interests;

-- There was no "switch" in our goals from then until now and they have been stated clearly and often;

-- This highly over-simplified description of a policy ignores the fact that it is possible -- and more often true than not -- that commitments and actions in foreign affairs have more than one single, simple objective.

In this case, our own national interests and the emergence of a South Viet-Nam that is free from aggression and able to shape its own future are consistent and complementary goals.

The basic decision of the United States that Southeast Asia was important to its national security was made in 1955 when our Senate ratified the SEATO Treaty. Article IV of that Treaty states:

"Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."

The meaning of the Treaty and all its implications were fully and freely discussed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and by the full Senate. The Committee reported the Treaty favorably by a vote of 14 to 1. The full Senate gave its advice and consent by a vote of 82 to 1.

Senator Walter George, then chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said during the Senate debate:

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"...if there were a subversive, revolutionary movement in, let us say, Vietnam or Thailand, propagated by communism, that would be regarded as a threat to us."

Senator H. Alexander Smith said the Treaty served as a warning to Peking and Moscow that "they are no longer free to isolate and absorb the countries of Southeast Asia, one by one. Laos or Cambodia or South Vietnam or Thailand cease to be individual entries on their timetable of conquest."

Senator Mike Mansfield supported the Treaty because it was "another milestone in the evolution of our policy to try and create a solid collective-security system in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia areas."

The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have acted in Southeast Asia in ways totally consistent with the spirit and the letter of that solemn treaty obligation. We have recognized that our own interests and our own security are closely tied to the interests and security of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

In one of his first major foreign policy statements after taking office, President Kennedy (in March 1961) addressed the then urgent problem of increasing communist aggression in Laos. He said:

"SEATO -- the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization -- was organized in 1954 with strong leadership from our last administration, and all members of SEATO have undertaken special treaty responsibilities towards and aggression in Laos..."

"My fellow Americans, Laos is far away from America, but the world is small. Its two million people live in a country 3 times the size of Australia. The security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence. Its own safety runs with the safety of us all -- in real neutrality observed by all..."

"Our response will be made in close cooperation with our allies and the wishes of the Laotian Government. We will not be provoked, trapped or drawn into this or any other situation; but I know that every American will want his country to honor its obligations to the point that freedom and security of the free world and ourselves may be achieved."

President Kennedy was always conscious of the meaning for the United States -- and for the kind of world we all want -- of our commitments and our actions throughout the world -- in Southeast Asia, in Europe and elsewhere.

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In a news conference in early 1962 he said:

"The United States is carrying a heavy load, but not only in the United Nations; it's carrying a heavy load around the world. The United States is making a major effort, for example, in Berlin and Viet-Nam and in Latin America. The burdens that we carry are greater than any other free country. But I must say that if we did not carry them, in my opinion, the cause of freedom would collapse in a whole variety of ways... the alternative will be a steady expansion of communist power in all those areas, which I think would be far more expensive in the long run."

And in one of his last statements on the issue, on September 26 1963, President Kennedy made clear the connection he saw between our actions in Viet-Nam and our own deepest interests. In Great Falls, Montana, he said:

"It is the United States, this country, your country, which in 15 to 18 years has almost singlehandedly protected the freedom of dozens of countries who, in turn, by being free, protect our freedom. So when you ask why we are in Laos, or Viet-Nam, or the Congo, or why we support the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, we do so because we believe that our freedom is tied up with theirs, and if we can develop a world in which all the countries are free, then the threat to the security of the United States is lessened. So we have to stay at it. We must not be fatigued."

The record of those years is clear. The goals that President Kennedy had in mind in our involvement in Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia were also clear. To say now that we were there merely to protect the Vietnamese people and give them the right to decide their own future -- that our involvement had nothing to do with our own obligations, our own interests and our own security -- is simply a distortion of history.

President Johnson has consistently seen the close relationship between the security of Asia and the security of the United States. He and President Kennedy were both Senators when the SEATO Treaty was adopted. Like their fellow-Senators, they knew what the Treaty said, what it meant, and what it might mean in the future.

In his first major report on foreign affairs as Vice President, following a trip to Asia, he told President Kennedy in May 1961:

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"The battle against Communism must be joined in Southeast Asia with strength and determination to achieve success there or the United States, inevitably must surrender the Pacific and take up our defenses on our own shores. Asian Communism is compromised and contained by the maintenance of free nations on the subcontinent. Without this inhibitory influence, the island outposts -- the Philippines, Japan Taiwan -- have no security."

Later in that same report Vice President Johnson said:

"The fundamental decision required of the United States -- and time is of the greatest importance -- is whether we are to attempt to meet the challenge of Communist expansion now in Southeast Asia by a major effort in support of the forces of freedom in the area or throw in the towel."

From the time he became President in November 1963 President Johnson has consistently and often expressed the importance of Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia to the national interests of the United States. He and previous Presidents have also stressed the fact that our actions were taken in response to the wishes of the governments and peoples concerned who sought help in preserving their independence and freedom.

The following collection of statements by the President made since he took office makes this conclusion unmistakably clear:

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ADDRESS BEFORE A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS
November 27, 1963

"This Nation will keep its commitments from South Viet-Nam to West Berlin. We will be unceasing in the search for peace; resourceful in our pursuit of areas of agreement even with those with whom we differ; and generous and loyal to those who join with us in common cause."

ANNUAL BUDGET MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS, FISCAL YEAR 1965
January 21, 1964

"The less-developed nations are engaged in a critical struggle for political independence and economic betterment. This struggle takes many forms, from combating armed aggression and subversion in Vietnam to advancing national efforts to reduce poverty and illiteracy in South Asia, Latin America and other areas. Upon the outcome of this struggle will depend the stability and security of much of the world."

REMARKS TO KEY OFFICIALS OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
February 11, 1964

"We are not pulling out of Southeast Asia because we are not willing to yield that part of the world to the envelopment of communism. We are providing assistance to save people who want to save themselves."

**TV AND RADIO INTERVIEW CONDUCTED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF
MAJOR BROADCAST SERVICES**
March 14, 1964

"Q. President Kennedy said, on the subject of Viet-Nam I think, that he did believe in the falling domino theory that if Viet-Nam were lost that other countries in the area would soon be lost.

"The President. I think it would be a very dangerous thing, and I share President Kennedy's view, and I think the whole of Southeast Asia would be involved and that would involve hundreds of millions of people and I think it's -- it cannot be ignored, we must do everything that we can we must be responsible, we must stay there and help them, and that is what we are going to do."

REMARKS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
LUNCHEON IN NEW YORK CITY

April 20, 1964

"But we have also learned in this century, and we have learned it at painful and bloody cost, that our own freedom depends upon the freedom of others, that our own protection requires that we help protect others, that we draw increased strength from the strength of others.

"Thus, to allies we are the most dependable and enduring of friends, for our own safety depends upon the strength of that friendship. To enemies we are the most steadfast and determined of foes for we know that surrender anywhere threatens defeat everywhere. For a generation, without regard to party or region or class our country has been united in a basic foreign policy that grows from this inescapable teaching."

"The Berlin airlift, the Korean war, the defense of Formosa, the Cuba crisis, the struggle in Viet-Nam prove our determination to resist aggression and prove our ability to adapt particular response to particular challenge."

"Armed Communist attack on Viet-Nam is today a reality. The fighting spirit of South Viet-Nam as Secretary Rusk told us from there yesterday is a reality. The request of a friend and an ally for our help in this terrible moment is a reality. The statement of the SEATO allies that Communist defeat is "essential" is a reality. To fail to respond to these realities would reflect on our honor as a nation, would undermine worldwide confidence in our courage, would convince every nation in South Asia that it must now bow to Communist terms to survive."

PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF
June 2, 1964

"Like a number of other nations, we are bound by solemn commitments to help defend this area against Communist encroachment. We will keep that commitment. In the case of Viet-Nam, our commitment today is just the same as the commitment made by President Eisenhower to President Diem in 1954 -- a commitment to help these people help themselves.

"We are concerned for a whole great geographic area not simply for specific complex problems in specific countries.

We have one single central purpose in all that we do in Southeast Asia and that is to help build a stable peace. It is others and not we, who have brought terror to small countries and peaceful peasants. It is others not we, who have preached and practiced the use of force to establish dictatorial control over their neighbors.

"It is others, not we, who have refused to honor international agreements that aim at reasonable settlement of deep-seated differences. The United States cannot fail to do its full share to meet the challenge which is posed by those who disturb the peace of Southeast Asia, but the purpose of America will not change. We stand for peace."

PRESIDENT'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF
June 23, 1964

"The policy of the United States toward Southeast Asia remains as it was on June 2nd, when I summarized it in four simple propositions:

1. America keeps her word.
2. The issue is the future of Southeast Asia as a whole.
3. Our purpose is peace.
4. This is not just a jungle war but a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity."

**RADIO & TV REPORT TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOLLOWING
RENEWED AGGRESSION IN THE GULF OF TONKIN**

August 4, 1964

"In the larger sense this new act of aggression aimed directly at our own forces again brings home to all of us in the United States the importance of the struggle for peace and security in southeast Asia. Aggression by terror against the peaceful villagers of South Viet-Nam has now been joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America.

"The determination of all Americans to carry out our full commitment to the people and to ^{the} government of South Viet-Nam will be redoubled by this outrage. Yet our response, for the present will be limited and fitting. We Americans know although others appear to forget, the risks of spreading conflict. We still seek no wider war."

"...I have today met with the leaders of both parties in the Congress of the United States and I have informed them that I shall immediately request the Congress to pass a resolution making it clear that our Government is united in its determination to take all necessary measures in support of freedom and in defense of peace in southeast Asia."

**REMARKS AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY ON THE COMMUNIST
CHALLENGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

August 5, 1964

"Aggression -- deliberate, willful, and systematic aggression -- has unmasked its face to the entire world. The world remembers -- the world must never forget -- that aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed.

We of the United States have not forgotten.

That is why we have answered this aggression with action.

America's course is not precipitate.

America's course is not without long provocation.

For 10 years three American Presidents -- President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, and your present President -- and the American people have been actively concerned with threats to the peace and security of the peoples of southeast Asia from the Communist government of North Vietnam.

President Eisenhower sought -- and President Kennedy sought -- the same objectives that I still seek:

That the governments of southeast Asia honor the international agreements which apply in the area;

That those governments leave each other alone;

That they resolve their differences peacefully;

That they devote their talents to bettering the lives of their peoples by working against poverty and disease and ignorance. "

**SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON U. S. POLICY IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA*** August 5, 1964

"These latest actions of the North Vietnamese regime have given a new and grave turn to the already serious situation in Southeast Asia. Our commitments in that area are well known to the Congress. They were first made in 1954 by President Eisenhower. They were further defined in the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty approved by the Senate in February 1955.

"This Treaty with its accompanying protocol obligates the United States and other members to act in accordance with their Constitutional processes to meet Communist aggression against any of the parties or protocol states.

"Our policy in Southeast Asia has been consistent and unchanged since 1954. I summarized it on June 2 in four simple propositions:

"1. America keeps her word. Here as elsewhere, we must and shall honor our commitments.

"2. The issue is the future of Southeast Asia as a whole. A threat to any nation in that region is a threat to all, and a threat to us.

"3. Our purpose is peace. We have no military political or territorial ambitions in the area.

"4. This is not just a jungle war, but a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity. Our military and economic assistance to South Vietnam and Laos in particular has the purpose of helping these countries to repel aggression and strengthen their independence.

"The threat to the free nations of Southeast Asia has long been clear. The North Vietnamese regime has constantly sought to take over South Vietnam and Laos. This Communist regime has violated the Geneva

*The Southeast Asia Resolution, approved by the Senate (88-2) and by the House of Representatives (414-0) on August 10, 1964, said in part:

"The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

Accords for Vietnam. It has systematically conducted a campaign of subversion, which includes the direction, training, and supply of personnel and arms for the conduct of guerrilla warfare in South Vietnamese territory. In Laos, the North Vietnamese regime has maintained military forces, used Laotian territory for infiltration into South Vietnam, and most recently carried out combat operations -- all in direct violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1962."

"As I have repeatedly made clear, the United States intends no rashness, and seeks no wider war. We must make it clear to all that the United States is united in its determination to bring about the end of Communist subversion and aggression in the area. We seek the full and effective restoration of the international agreements signed in Geneva in 1954 with respect to South Vietnam and again in Geneva in 1962 with respect to Laos."

REMARKS IN NEW YORK CITY AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE
ALFRED E. SMITH MEMORIAL FOUNDATION
October 14, 1964

"In Asia there is a different prospect. On that strife-streaked continent an ambitious and aggressive power menaces weak and poor nations.

"Here -- as we have done in Europe -- we must help create the conditions which can make peace possible. The task is different and more difficult. It is not less important.

"We will assist against attack. We will strengthen our commitments of alliance. We will work with the nations of Asia to build the hope and self-confidence on which their independence must rest.

"The final outcome will depend on the will of the Asian people. But as long as they turn to us for help we will be there. We will not permit the great civilizations of the East -- almost half the people of the world -- to be swallowed up in Communist conquest.

"Let no one be foolhardy enough to doubt the strength of that unyielding American commitment.

"In Viet-Nam we believe that, without help, the people of South Viet-Nam can defeat Communist aggression. We will continue to act on this belief without recklessness and without retreat."

REMARKS IN MEMORIAL HALL, AKRON UNIVERSITY
October 21, 1964

"I can assure you that your country is the mightiest nation in all the world. But we do not intend to use that might to bury anyone. And we want all to know and read us loud and clear: we do not intend to be buried either.

"In Asia we face an ambitious and aggressive China but we have the will and we have the strength to help our Asian friends resist that ambition."

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE TO THE AMERICANS IN VIET-NAM
December 23, 1964

"You who carry freedom's banner in Viet-Nam are engaged in a war that is undeclared -- yet tragically real. It is a war of terror where the aggressor moves in the secret shadows of the nights. Murder and kidnaping and deception are his tools. Subversion and conquest are his goals. It is a war waged with political, social, economic and psychological weapons as well as guns and bombs. Thus every American in Viet-Nam, whether soldier, embassy secretary, or AID official, whether in the jungle, in the mountains or in the cities, is on the front-lines of this struggle.

"Those of you who are helping the Vietnamese people to defend themselves against this insidious warfare may serve in places with names that ring strange to American ears: Long Khot, Kien Tuong, Binh Gia. But your sacrifices are known and honored in American towns and cities more familiar to you, for you are meeting your country's commitment to a world of justice."

ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION
January 4, 1965

"In Asia, communism wears a more aggressive face. We see that in Vietnam. Why are we there?

"We are there, first, because a friendly nation has asked us for help against Communist aggression. Ten years ago our President pledged our help. Three Presidents have supported that pledge. We will not break it now.

"Second our own security is tied to the peace in Asia. Twice in one generation we have had to fight against aggression in the Far East. To ignore aggression now would only increase the danger of a much larger war."

SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION'S DEFENSES
January 18, 1965

"Four years ago, President John F. Kennedy stated to the Congress and the world 'The primary purpose of our arms is peace, not war.' That is still their purpose. We are armed, not for conquest but to insure our own security and to encourage the settlement of international differences by peaceful processes."

NEWS CONFERENCE
April 1, 1965

"We have a commitment to the people of South Vietnam. That commitment is not only the result of the commitment President Eisenhower made... but that the Congress of the United States -- the Senate -- made in its vote of 82-1 in approving the SEATO Treaty which provided that in effect when any nation was attacked and asked for our help, any signatories of that treaty would receive that help. So we have that commitment; if we ignore that treaty, we might as well tear up all the treaties we are party to."

ADDRESS AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

April 7, 1965

"The world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place."

"The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nations of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest."

"Of course some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attack on their own government. But trained men and supplies orders and arms flow in a constant stream from north to south."

"This support is the heartbeat of the war..."

"Over this war -- and all Asia -- is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes."

"Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?"

"We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam. We have helped to build and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence."

"And I intend to keep that promise."

"To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong."

"We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war..."

"There are those who wonder why we have a responsibility there. Well, we have it there for the same reason that we have a responsibility for the defense of Europe. World War II was fought in both Europe and Asia, and when it ended we found ourselves with continued responsibility for the defense of freedom."

NEWS CONFERENCE

April 27, 1965

"Defeat in South Vietnam would deliver a friendly nation to terror and repression. It would encourage and spur on those who seek to conquer all free nations that are within their reach.

"Our own welfare, our own freedom, would be in great danger. This is the clearest lesson of our time. From Munich until today we have learned that to yield to aggression brings only greater threats and brings even more destructive war..."

"Wherever we have stood firm, aggression has been halted, peace has been restored, and liberty has been maintained. This was true under President Truman, under President Eisenhower, under President Kennedy, and it will be true again in Southeast Asia."

NEWS CONFERENCE

April 27, 1965

"Our enemies would have you believe that we are following policies that are ill-advised, but we are following the same policies in Asia that we followed in Europe, that we followed in Turkey and Greece and Iran. We are resisting aggression, and as long as the aggressors attack, we will stay there and resist them -- whether we make friends or lose friends."

**SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS REQUESTING ADDITIONAL
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MILITARY NEEDS IN VIET-NAM**

May 4, 1965

"Now, in Viet-Nam, we pursue the same principle which has infused American action in the Far East for a quarter of a century.

"There are those who ask why this responsibility should be ours. The answer is simple. There is no one else who can do the job. Our power is essential, in the final test if the nations of Asia are to be secure from expanding communism. Thus when India was attacked, it looked to us for help, and we gave it gladly. We believe that Asia should be directed by Asians. But that means each Asian people must have the right to find its own way, not that one group or nation should overrun all the others.

"Make no mistake about it. The aim in Viet-Nam is not simply the conquest of the South, tragic as that would be. It is to show that American commitment is worthless. Once that is done, the gates are down and the road is open to expansion and endless conquest. That is why Communist China opposes discussions, even though such discussions are clearly in the interest of North Viet-Nam.

"Moreover, we are directly committed to the defense of South Viet-Nam. In 1954 we signed the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. That treaty committed us to act to meet aggression against South Viet-Nam. The United States Senate ratified that treaty and that obligation by a vote of 82-1.

"Less than a year ago the Congress, by an almost unanimous vote, said that the United States was ready to take all necessary steps to meet its obligations under that Treaty.

"That resolution of the Congress expressed support for the policies of the Administration to help the people of South Viet-Nam against attack -- a policy established by two previous Presidents.

"Thus we cannot, and will not, withdraw or be defeated. The stakes are too high, the commitment too deep, the lessons of history too plain.

"At every turning point in the last thirty years, there have been those who opposed a firm stand against aggression. They have always been wrong. And when we heeded their cries, when we gave in, the consequence has been more bloodshed and wider war.

"We will not repeat that mistake. Nor will we heed those who urge us to use our great power in a reckless or casual manner. We have no desire to expand the conflict. We will do what must be done. And we will do only what must be done."

NEWS CONFERENCE

July 28 1965

"But we must not let this mask the central fact that this is really war. It is guided by North Vietnam and it is spurred by Communist China. Its goal is to conquer the South, to defeat American power and to extend the Asiatic dominion of communism."

"There are great stakes in the balance."

"Most of the non-Communist nations of Asia cannot, by themselves and alone, resist the growing might and the grasping ambition of Asian communism. Our power, therefore, is a very vital shield. If we are driven from the field in Vietnam, then no nation can ever again have the same confidence in American promise or in American protection."

"In each land the forces of independence would be considerably weakened and an Asia so threatened by Communist domination would certainly imperil the security of the United States itself."

REMARKS TO THE DELEGATES TO THE ALF-CIO CONVENTION

December 9, 1965

"I know it is said by a few: 'But Vietnam is different. Our stake is different. Our stake there hardly justifies one boy's life.' Well, Vietnam is different. The aggressor has chosen a different terrain, a different people, and a different kind of war to satisfy his appetite. But his goal is the same -- someone else's freedom."

"To defend that freedom -- to permit its roots to deepen and grow without fear of external suppression -- is our purpose in South Vietnam. Unchecked aggression against free and helpless people would be a very grave threat to our own freedom here in America and would be an offense to our own conscience."

REMARKS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BUSINESS COUNCIL
December 2, 1965

"No one of us -- businessman, laboringman, Government employee -- can ever forget that what American fighting men are doing in Vietnam may very well determine the shape and form of your future -- and of our Nation's future.

"Here at home we have built strength and prosperity. In Vietnam the American soldier is exerting that strength, and using that prosperity, to construct a durable road to peace in the world."