

The President:



On the "Deeper" Struggle



Para-military operations and guerrilla warfare are the hottest military subjects these days since the "A" and "H" bombs. In this issue you'll find two timely articles dealing with the problem: *Sticks, Stones, and Atoms* (p. 20) and *La Guerra de Guerrillas* (p. 32). And here, in the President's own words, is the national philosophy behind it all.

✠ IT IS CLEARER THAN EVER THAT WE FACE A RELENTLESS struggle in every corner of the globe that goes far beyond the clash of armies or even nuclear armaments.

The armies are there, and in large numbers. The nuclear armaments are there. But they serve primarily as the shield behind which subversion, infiltration and a host of other tactics can steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas one by one in situations which do not permit our own armed intervention.

Power is the hallmark of this offensive—power and discipline and deceit. The legitimate discontent of yearning people is exploited. The legitimate trappings of self-determination are employed. But once in power, all talk of discontent is repressed—all self-determination disappears—and the promise of a revolution of hope is betrayed, as in Cuba, into a reign of terror.

Those who staged automatic "riots" in the streets of free nations over the effort of Cubans to regain their freedom should recall the long rollcall of refugees who cannot now go back—to Hungary, or to North Korea, or to North Viet-Nam, or to East Germany, or to Poland, or to any of the other lands from which a steady stream of refugees pours forth, in eloquent testimony to the cruel oppression now holding sway in their home lands.

We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concepts, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it, whether in Cuba or South Viet-Nam. And we dare not fail to realize that it is this struggle which is taking place every day, without arms or fanfare, in thousands of villages and markets and classrooms all over the globe.

The message of Cuba, of Laos, of the rising din of

Communist voices in Asia and Latin America—these messages are all the same. The complacent, the self-indulgent, the soft societies are to be swept away with the debris of history. Only the strong, only the industrious, only the courageous, only the visionary who determine the real nature of our struggle, can possibly survive.

No greater task faces this Nation or this Administration. No other challenge is more deserving of our every effort and energy. Too long we have fixed our eyes on traditional military needs, on armies prepared to cross borders or missiles poised for flight. Now it should be clear that this is no longer enough—that our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country, without the firing of a single missile or the crossing of a single border.

We intend to profit from this lesson. We intend to re-examine and reorient our forces of all kinds, our tactics and our institutions here in this community. We intend to intensify our efforts for a struggle in many ways more difficult than war. But disappointments will often accompany us.

For I am convinced that we possess all the necessary resources, and all the skill, and all the added strength that comes from belief in the freedom of man. And I am equally convinced that history will record the fact that this bitter struggle reached its climax in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Let me then make clear as the President of the United States that I am determined upon our system's survival and success, regardless of the cost and regardless of the peril.

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