I. Oct 26

Present plan

2 tech of V. Nam –

① what we found, ~~we~~ how we changed, where we are going –

(Why are we there what are we doing secret negotiation.

Decision involved

There is nothing I want more I could live ordeal loop free

V. on Jan 70 –

5 year – more troops –

bombing stopped – ~~no pro~~ no free off –

5. American fighting.

@ S.V. Nam United –

Wednesday:

Time to end this war –

① The ~~choice~~ question is how –

① get-out – "love in V. Nam" – bring boys home –"

② ~~It wanted~~

@ Results:

Compile of Report on both

Westbrook not indefinitely,

1. We proceeded on 2 fronts

@ Negotiate – Deescalate fighting

~~second~~ – all – get S.V. Nam in

(b) Saigon range: (Deescalate fighting)

① Asian policy – Nixon

① V. Nam volunteer

② V Nam in –

Consultation –

③ ~~Succeeded~~

④ It is working –

It is better than we thought

Tet will be some –

more encouraging

a plan

Get fight Won for the

Need for negotiating teams — also —

Now — why not get out D — now —

① I know the politics
could blame an John —

~~② The consequ~~
② why are we there ? —
③ what would happen be
of our getting out — ! ? —

The choice is clear —

① get out —
~~another way~~ —
increase chance of war

② Negotiate — V. return —
① It works —
② It expands opposition
③ It will be ~~to~~ faster
if — support —

How fast ? Depends on you —

We can and won —
win the peace —

I do not offer easy way —
I do offer the right way —

~~another method~~
fighting you — won't
be defeated —
V. Nam — won't —

Haiti will end

All rights

~~the~~ Men home now
Their younger brother

N. V. Nam can't

My fellow Americans:

There are two choices open to us if we want to end the war.

1. ~~The first one is to accept defeat~~ ~~& make~~ order an immediate withdrawal regardless of consequences & accept defeat

2. The other is ~~the way I have outlined~~ — to persist in our search for a ~~just peace~~ ~~negotiated settlement~~ a just peace — through a negotiated settlement if possible — if ~~not~~ not through a plan for Vietnamization in which we withdraw all of our forces from V. Nam as the S. V. Nam become strong enough to defend their own freedom.

I have chosen the 2d way.

1. It is not the easy way — it is the right way. ~~The first way would end the war sooner~~ ~~The~~ It is a plan for peace which will work —

~~2. I spoke of the consequences of a~~

~~1. I know there are those who say we should walk~~

2. I spoke of consequences of a defeat or humiliation for U.S. in V. Nam & mentioned the ~~loss of~~ our allies in the world would lose confidence in America,

1. ~~Even than~~ Far more dangerous — ~~America would lose~~

our greatness as nation has been our capacity do what ~~we knew when~~ had to be done when we knew our cause was right.

In asking for your support I do not challenge the right to disagree:

1. If some believe we should have - you have every right - to say it
2. ~~If~~ The great majority do want to lose - they want a just peace - I offer a plan to bring that peace -
   ~~a your support will hasten the~~
   a The more support we have for our plan - The sooner - the war will end -

What can I do -

To the great silent majority - I ask you support

I pledge to end the war -

I shall keep the pledge -

We have initiated a plan which -

- The hopes of world rest with us - What History is written - America must meet the test -

~~I shall~~

We shall meet that test + for + those who live in peace & freedom - will thank us for having had the courage to meet our challenge

Shall report.

But the question I faced in June - & the one we face today is: ~~what would~~ now that we are in the war what is the best way to end it

1. Faced with that question - ~~I rejected~~ ~~that~~ I could only conclude that a ~~immediate withdrawal~~ implicit that an immediate withdrawal would be disaster to the cause of peace it was required to see ~~would be the effect of an immediate withdrawal~~ - not only for S. V. Nam but for the U.S. & the ~~disaster not only for S.V. Nam but~~ cause of peace. such a withdrawal was designed to see ~~U.S. as well~~

For S. V. Nam - our ~~troops~~ withdrawal before they are prepared to take over their own defense - would mean a ~~repeta~~ repetition

For the U.S. ~~it~~ This first defeat in our history would result in a collapse of confidence in U.S. not only in Asia but throughout the world.

For the future of peace it ~~would~~ ~~mean~~ would be a danger vindication of those who advocate ~~wider war~~ ~~as an instrument of~~ as the means to impose on the world.

~~But~~

~~But this did not mean that we continued~~

~~the~~

~~I decided that~~

~~I decided that a complete change~~

~~I decided that~~

I chose instead to change our policy in V. Nam from a war policy to a Peace policy ~~and to seek a just peace in this~~

~~complex war~~ In a war fought on many fronts

~~by I began a process~~

I ~~we~~ initiated a pursuit for peace on many fronts —

1. at the Paris Conference - in 38 ~~days~~ - public forum — we have presented ~~our fair complete~~
2. In ~~a~~ Speech of May 19, before the U.N ~~we~~ + ~~on~~ a number of occasions public — ~~we~~ have set forth

Not limited.

~~On the addition~~

There has been no response by the from Hanoi to these public proposals.

1. This ~~means that the~~ is refusal to discuss our proposals -
2. They demand that war end on their terms that we withdraw all American ~~troops~~ forces immediately & that we overthrow the govt of S. V. Nam as we leave -
3. They have responded to our public words of moderation with insult.

We however have ~~refused to be discouraged~~ ~~continued to our seek~~ been deterred by these public insults -

① From long experience I know that in a long & bitter war like this an cannot & will not be settled ~~by~~ in public forum -

② That is why in addition to ~~those public~~ public statements & negotiations I have explored every possible private avenue that might lead to a settlement.

③ The American people are entitled to know how diligent our search for peace. I tonight take the unprecedented step of first time disclosing some of the initiatives for peace we have taken ~~in secrecy~~

① in secrecy because we thought that might open a door which publicly would be closed -

① Before my inauguration, I brought an individual who was directly in contact on a personal basis with

III

To understand the consequences of immediate or precipitate withdrawal of American forces from V. Nam, we must go back & see how America became involved in the war in the 5 years ago:

1. We did not start the war -
2. N. V. Nam, ~~in violation of treaty agreements~~ ~~contrary~~ with the support of U.S.S.R. & Communist China tried to ~~impose~~ ~~take over~~ impose a Communist govt on S. V. Nam by ~~supporting~~ ~~supporting~~ ~~them~~ by ~~supp~~ instigating + ~~sup~~ supporting a revolution. ~~war in the South~~
   ~~3. The govt the govt of S. V. Nam asked~~
   ~~3. The U.S. responded to a request~~
   3. In response ~~to~~ the ~~gov~~ request of the govt of S. V. Nam - the U.S. sent first arms & then troops to help prevent the Communist takeover
   4. We did not then or now seek bases in S. V. Nam, ~~or to~~ or the ~~or~~ conquest of N. V. Nam ~~&~~
      ~~&~~ our limited aim was to provide to people of S. V. Nam the right choose their own govt without any outside interference -

~~to We can dis~~
~~Many dis~~
~~Many disagree with that~~ the decision
Many believe the decision to ~~send~~ send troops to S. V. Nam ~~assistance was wrong.~~
~~Many~~
~~We can~~ Many ~~believe~~ (including myself) disagree ~~to~~ with

This is the truth (Flo Dwyer)

Leg Leader Oct 28

Cease fire

~~Okay~~

~~Statement~~

To those who want a cease fire we have offered to negotiate ~~a cease~~ unconditional cease fire -

① S.V. Nam has agreed to negotiate a cease fire -

The Enemy refuses to discuss the subject

Some suggest we should order a cease fire regardless of what enemy does -

1. This I shall not do -
2. as Commander in chief I shall ~~not give~~ ask Americans to cease while the enemy continues to fire.
3. It would endanger American forces - to order them ~~to not~~ to stop firing while the enemy is free to
4. ~~I shall not~~ I shall take risks for peace - but I cannot (as C in C) & will not ask American men to ~~cease fire~~ - ~~cease fire~~ risk their lives - by cease fire - when the enemy continues to fire.

I have not played the politics of peace. I will not play politics with peace

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~~This~~ For years Americans have been confused - ~~divi~~ divided - to ~~an~~

① Some of this confusion & division due to the ~~lack of~~ disagreement on the facts

② It is time to know the facts

just show the facts

why we are [illegible]

what [illegible]

First a political point:

① Nothing I want more -

② Could have ended home -

③ Effect would be to increase danger of war -

a. why are we there? - supported by South + China.

① N. V. Nam - tries to take over South

② U.S. helped S. V. Nam defend self -

③ If they succeed:

We can disagree with that decision -
We can disagree with conduct - (would used some plan -
But now we are there -

There is no easy way:

It is a clear choice -

① accept defeat - humiliation

② or end the war by our plan -

③ Cease Fire - (Both offered) on 5 occasions
Then on Oct 4

① They refuse -

② Coalition? -

① We have offered right to supervise coalition elections - to run as a party - to accept results -

② We say only that S. V. Nam people shall choose -

② If imposed - a defeat - + can Communists take over

A major change in policy:

① American family arm + men to help others

② We should keep our treaties
If a young person - we have a shield -

③ We shall help others with arms -
a people who will not defend selves - can't be defended.

① But our goal is to help others ~~but~~ fight their war - not fight for them.

Occasion for [illegible]

Wilson - peace - he kept us out of war -) both died -
F.D.R. - a peace candidate -
H.S.T. - split his party -
Ike - ended war - so that S. Korea is free of Communist control
JK - cooperation -

Conclusion:

The choice is clear:

1. I do not offer an easy way -
   a. Bombing N. V. Nam - would not win the peace - The key is S. V. Nam showing that to point they can defend selves -
2. I do not offer easy way - get out -
3. I offer the right way: end war win peace
   ① Vietnamize -
   ② Negotiate -

Your determine the latter -

① I know some want defeat "Lose in V. Nam."
   a. Majority for Peace -
   a. Dissent - but do so - America is united behind a reasonable offer - We shall not be defeated

United for Peace
United against defeat

~~Offer~~ -

① 1/2 million - ~~1/100 of all~~ 1/10 - of all the
② others are silent.
   ① If they
   ① Let them know - End the War - Win Peace

Doing will not be made in streets
It will offend many -
Win up -

③ There is another voice -
The war will not be an issue in 72 -
It may not be in 70 -

Time for great silent majority to speak up for America
to speak up for peace - to let the world know

whether I win or lose does not matter
whether Peace + freedom survive does -

our fighting men can't be defeated
S. V. Nam will not break -
The question is - will America break -

History will record that we met the test of greatness.

Oct 26 - Sunday - CO -
Final notes - V. Nam:

{Cavalier comments - on effect of withdrawal}

(Report again Dec 15)

We put into effect a plan to end the war -

1. The plan has been working -
2. It is the right plan -
3. We shall continue -
4. It will succeed -

Peace without Defeat - (yes no)

Progress in Vietnamization has exceeded our expectations.

① Progress on level of activity - has exceeded -
② Progress on negotiations has not -

If enemy a risk takes advantage - by ~~endangering~~ escalating

1. It will be their fault, not ours -
2. We ~~shall~~ ~~ready to~~ have the means to resort + I shall not hesitate to use those means - more effectively than we have in the past. This is not a threat - this is a statement of fact policy ~~and~~ designed to ~~keep casualties~~ continue deescalate ~~soon~~ + bring war to end.

@. We have a plan - + the enemy has been informed of that plan -

Soviet:

Indicated willingness - Except ~~shopping table~~ -

1. ~~what~~ Reason for no action - we can't say -
2. The interests of both will ~~have~~ be served by removing this issue:

③ Sans Soviet help we shall end war -
④ With it it could end sooner
If they are unable or unwilling - Decision is theirs -

Intro:

@ This war for 5 years - American people are entitled to know
@ Why we are there -
What we found -
What we have done -

Wilson - not war to end war
but would ~~safe~~ ~~could~~ have
been war -

Roosevelt - Hopes - not realized - The Negi
Terror did
not engulf world
L.B.J. - Dominican -

We have had a number of Conferences -
① Secty of State - Dos -
② Purpose to open other channel - ~~and~~
take ~~it~~ ~~calls~~ out of propaganda forum
+ get them in a peace forum

Whether Peace or freedom survive depends on
domestic here -
① It depends on support = ~~If~~ more than before
now before has
entering - counted on
Divisive in U.S.
① People search - ~~see~~
① Policy not made in streets
It is made by elections -
If I fail - I ~~should be~~ should
expect to be defeated -

We shall have set backs -

Lovil
Time is not on their side -
① as S.V. Nam gets stronger the price gets higher -
Positive momentum establish. (page 2 Lines)
~~I~~ We take risks:
1. Enemy will escalate -

Development of S.E. Asia - often hostilities cease
Candor - avoid over ~~p~~ optimistic forecasts -
- can now base optimism on reports
of facts not wishes -

Rogers
A Peace Policy - not a War Policy -
S.V. Nam Govt not representative.
① It is elected - No elections in North
② It is willing to submit facts to election.

Enemy should not miscalculate

① ~~Our withdrawal is from strength not weakness~~ -

② It is planned - not affected by propaganda -
will not affected by propaganda -

③ It will continue - It will succeed -

④ Time is not on their side -
① As S. V. Nam gets stronger - gains among people - their position become weaker -

~~Mentioned on Vietnamization. - (after his trip)~~
~~① Program exceeded our expectations.~~

Prepared Speech - with cousins - ! (no State Department or Pentagon)

Peace with Honor - or Peace with humiliation
End War - to Win the Peace - or lose the Peace -

War waged on many fronts -
We wage peace on many fronts -

We discuss anything - peace fair to both - They nothing but our defeat -

I could end the war - blame it on my predecessor -
- get credit mine in landslide -
~~Question is not~~ What matter is not
which Person - but
which Course Wise - course out right.

One year ago - stopped the bombing -
① Since then negotiate.

~~The War had been Americanized~~ -