## What Civilians Can Contribute to the Nation's Security

By LT. GEN. I. D. WHITE

I have been asked to talk on how you can contribute to the nation's security. Oklahoma's interest in this matter has always been outstanding. Your great 45th Division "Thunderbirds," and your steadily increasing reserve activities are inspiring examples of this interest. There is, however, another area which requires even greater attention by you community leaders. I refer to the tremendous need for the home, the church, and the school to more completely fulfill their rightful responsibility for the moral and spiritual toughening of our youth if they are to behave like men when the nation's security is challenged.

This toughening process is really nothing more than the developing of a firm and lasting conviction that our religious beliefs, our American institutions, our way of life, our rights and privileges, are the best in the world and are worth fighting for.

As a combat commander it has been my privilege in two wars to see soldiers work seeming miracles. The mission of the Army is victory in combat, and you must realize that the miracles the military can be expected to accomplish are only military miracles. The Army cannot take youths who are psychologically unprepared to face life, and turn them into giants of spiritual courage. The military will do all that it can; but there is never time for such work, no matter how much we should like to accomplish it. The responsibility for the proper moral development of our young men rests squarely on the home, the church, and the school. Unfortunately, many of our people refuse to face up to this fact.

For many generations we have prided ourselves on the patriotic conduct of our youth, and we have had ample cause to do so. But we have refused to believe, or failed to see, that a young American can be false to this heritage.

The Nation was amazed and humiliated to learn that some American prisoners in Korea traded their heritage for the false promises of Communism. American parents may well be proud of the manner in which the majority of their sons fulfilled their responsibilities to their fellow men, to their country, and to their faith under the

trying conditions of Communist captivity. They resisted the inclination to profit personally from the misery, or at the expense of others. The vast majority of our soldiers never wavered in the face of Communist pressure.

However, the fact that even a few men gave in to Communism should be a matter of grave concern to all of us. The reason for their defection should concern us even more.

The press carried many bitter comments and articles about an alleged failure of the Armed Forces to prepare the young men of America for the conflict in Korea, but in truth the Army did its part to prepare them properly. Our troops regularly defeated the Reds in combat, despite the consistent numerical superiority of the enemy. This was the mission the Army was supposed to accomplish. It was accomplished in spite of the peculiar rules and conditions which limited our ability to bring our full potential into action. The Army had only a relatively short time to train the average youth in the techniques of fighting, and it did this. The Nation had twenty-odd years to develop in the same youth an unfaltering faith in American principles, and obviously had failed in those cases where men gave in to the enemy. The shortcomings of those men reflected whatever spiritual weaknesses there may be in our generation. Home, church, and school had failed somewhere along the line to make them real Americans.

Captured enemy documents and enemy propaganda broadcasts spell out in detail the scope of this failure. A number of estimates of the character of the American military man were prepared by the intelligence agencies of the Chinese Peoples Volunteer Army, and some of them fell into our hands. I would like to read you a paraphrased summary of these intelligence estimates:

Based on observation of American soldiers and officers captured in the war for the liberation of Korea from capitalist imperialist aggression, the following facts are evident:

- 1. The American soldier appears to have weak loyalties—to his family, his community, his country, his religion, and his fellow soldiers.
- 2. His concepts of right and wrong are often

hazy, and opportunism is not difficult for him.

- 3. By himself he feels insecure and inadequate; He underestimates his own worth and his own strength—and his ability to survive.
- 4. He is largely ignorant of social values, social tensions, and conflicts.
- 5. There is little knowledge or understanding (even among university graduates) of American political history and philosophy; the federal, state and community organizations; civil rights, freedoms, safeguards, checks and balances, and how these things all work.
- 6. He is exceedingly insular and provincial, with little or no idea of the problems and the aims of what he disdainfully describes as "foreigners" and their countries.
- 7. He has an unrealistic concept of America's eternal and *inherent*, rather than earned or proven, superiority and invincibility.
- 8. He fails to appreciate the meaning of, and the necessity for, military organization and discipline, his army's traditions and its mission, and its objectives.
- 9. Often he feels that his military service is a kind of hateful, unavoidable servitude to be tolerated briefly and then escaped from, or he is a "peacetime soldier" who sees it only as a soft and a safe job. Both these types resent hardships and sacrifice of any description, as if these were unreasonable and unfair to them personally.

This is what the Communists had to say about our men. It certainly is not complimentary, if taken at face value. We must make allowance for the fact that these estimates were used for propaganda purposes, and it is doubtful that the Communists themselves accepted them as being entirely accurate. But they are evidence of a lack of fortitude in some of our PW's, a lack which indicates inadequate indoctrination in American concepts and traditions.

THERE are people who excuse this lack of fortitude by saying that our captured soldiers were the victims of brainwashing. They also attempted to blame the military because certain few individuals succumbed to brainwashing—or they say that youth and inexperience made these men easy victims. How old must an American be to have a firmly developed faith in his country and what it stands for? Some of our men were brainwashed, but few people realize what brainwashing really is or how it is applied. Brainwashing is nothing more than an intensive educational system.

Brainwashing does not involve torturing prisoners into submission or driving them mad. Torture does not make converts to Communism. Brainwashing is indoctrination by constant repetition and the clever twisting together of facts and lies to produce desired beliefs. The Communists were too smart to waste their time on men who knew their country's heritage, the men with strong convictions in the essential rightness of their cause and a lively faith in God.

By close observation, the Communists ferreted out men of little moral fiber and with poor knowledge of their national heritage; and working on these weaknesses, the Reds hammered home the ideas which they wanted adopted and retained.

Significantly, no American with respect for his military mission, with a sense of loyalty to his fellows, and a sound religious faith was swayed by the propaganda. In general, the PW's who resisted Communist demands at the very outset were not badgered further and fared as well as those who gave in. The men who were weak in their faith and knowledge just did not have what it takes to say to the Reds, "This is wrong, and I won't take it!"

The quality of the individual soldier has never been more important than it is today. The complex instruments of modern war properly require men of the highest caliber and there is a greater need for the soldier to have higher technical ability, intelligence, and initiative. He must be prepared to master the technical aspects of new weapons; and he must also be prepared physically, mentally, and spiritually for the greater stresses of modern war.

The great strength of America, and certainly its strength in the future, rests in the hands of our youth. In spite of the widespread clamor over juvenile delinquency, think of the millions and millions of young people who never get into trouble at all! In general, our young people are properly brought up with respect to their moral and religious training. I do feel that we are failing to develop in them fully a realization of their obligation to their country, and I do believe that we have not given them a clear-cut idea of what this country stands for and what it means to them in terms of their rights, their privileges, and their responsibilities. Certainly they have no real understanding of the evil forces which are a threat to our American institutions. The real problem-and our greatest dangerlies in the fact that many perfectly honest, law-abiding young men enter military service without adequate motivation, and do not accept this service to their country as one of the privileges as well as one of the responsibilities of citizenship.

The Army must take its young men as they come.

The basic problem for the military is

much the same, whether the recruit enlists to make a career of the Regular Army, or enters through Selective Service. The first step is to train him to be a soldier. The second step is to have him serve as a soldier. These men train in an Army whose organization and doctrine have been proved in battle and with the finest equipment that our industry and science can provide.

We must achieve the highest possible state-of-combat readiness and in a very short time. To make the best use of this time, we must select only the essential training subjects. We constantly ask this question, "In the time available, will this subject better than some other prepare the soldier for success in combat?" We do not have time for the "nice-to-know" information. We have time only for the "need-to-know" facts. Instruction must be directly related to success in battle. This requires selectivity. We can cover only the most essential things as we turn out battle-winning teams.

**7** HEN we use up training time to cover subject matter which should have been adequately covered prior to the young man's entrance into the Army, we definitely compromise his training for combat. This means that less time is available for training which bears a direct relationship to fighting, living, and surviving on the modern battlefield. It is important that this be understood because the Army realizes that physical and technical proficiency alone does not make battle-winning teams. We recognize that moral and spiritual training is definitely related to success in combat and our men need moral and spiritual strength in abundance. We would, however, like to have our men come to us with that moral and spiritual strength properly developed from childhood by those primarily responsible.

Actually, the Army should be required

only to insure that our young men in service live, train, and play in wholesome surroundings and atmosphere. And it should be enough that they are required to adhere to the Army's customary high standards of personal and professional conduct. The Army realizes, however, that under present conditions this is not enough, and we feel that we must assume further responsibility.

Every unit has a chaplain. The soldier has unlimited opportunity to worship as he chooses, whatever his faith. Moreover, he is actively encouraged to attend services. I am proud to report that the Fourth Army during the past year has led the six continental armies in attendance at religious services. We have had an average attendance of over 75 men at each religious service, and the average attendance per chaplain per month stands close to one thousand, two hundred men.

The Army's Character Guidance Program impresses our men with the need for high personal standards. The program is a command responsibility at all levels, and the ability of a commander to co-ordinate successfully all the means at his disposal to encourage such high standards is officially considered a mark of efficiency.

Our Troop Information and Education Programs inform and educate the soldier on the problems facing America today. Soldiers are encouraged to complete or further their education, and the Army can take justifiable pride in the increasing number of soldiers who do so. For example, throughout the Fourth Army there are some five thousand, five hundred officers and men actively taking courses in civilian institutions of higher learning. On the other hand, I must also point out that some twelve thousand men in my command have only an eighth grade education or less. This is a matter of serious consequence, and we are doing everything possible to bring all

About the Author



Ever since he entered the Regular Army as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in 1923, after graduating the previous year from Norwich University, Lieutenant General White has had a distinguished career in the training of troops and as a combat commander. His name, it is said, "is synonymous with mobile warfare." With the Second Armored Division, the famed "Hell on Wheels" Division, he served in eight major campaigns in North Africa, Sicily, and Europe, successively as commander of a battalion, a regiment, and of the Division in 1945. After the War, as Commanding General of the U. S. Constabulary in Germany, he established the Non-Commissioned Officers Academy and the

Tank Training Center. In August 1952, he assumed command of the XU.S. Corps in Korea, and in September he became commander of the Fourth Army. He has received many decorations not only from his own government, but also from France, Belgium, Holland, Russia, the Philippines, and the Republic of Korea. This Armed Forces address was given before the Chamber of Commerce, Norman, May 20, 1955.

these people to at least an eighth grade level.

All this is fine, but we must keep it in its correct perspective. The Army's concern should be on becoming more military. It must become more intensely disciplined and more tightly organized. A high standard of discipline is essential to combat effectiveness. On today's atomic battlefield, where dispersion is the key to survival, leadership is required at the lowest echelon more than ever. Battle leadership can exist only where discipline results in immediate, unquestioning, automatic reaction to command and authority. Training must be tougher with more realism. Realistic training may cause more injuries in training, but as a result there will be far fewer casualties in combat. A leader at any level who fails to grasp the importance of absolute enforcement of all orders, directives, and instructions at all times, is doing his men the greatest disservice possible. He is laying the seeds for uncontrolled hysterical reaction in the first day of battle. Discipline cannot, like charm, be turned on or off to suit the occasion. It is evident that the time the Army can and should devote to further moral and spiritual development of its young soldiers must be consistent with its primary mission of turning out trained, battle-winning teams. Any time spent beyond that limit seriously impairs the accomplishment of that mission.

Properly, the Army should supplement—and then in a very minor way only—the instruction given by home, church, and school; but as long as this instruction is inadequate, the Army must do far more than supplement. This is an unwarranted burden. It is a task which cannot be accomplished in the short time available. Real moral and spiritual strength of the toughness we need to win over the Communists cannot be developed overnight; it has to be developed over the years and must commence at the very outset of a man's life.

Success or failure in turning out trained soldiers thus depends to a great extent on what you have done with our youth. The things that have happened in his own home, his school, and his church will determine whether or not he is amenable to discipline, receptive to instruction, and aware of his duty to serve his country.

You must develop in every youth, from childhood on, the feeling that the security, the well-being, and the happiness of his family and community are his responsibility. To achieve this, the family must once again really be the center of our society; and all our social institutions—schools, churches, civic organizations, welfare groups—must

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## AMERICA'S MOST CRITICAL DEFENSE FRONTIER

By COL. MORGAN GOODHART

It has been estimated that fewer than twenty well-placed thermonuclear bombs could paralyze, and perhaps decimate, much of the heavily populated northeastern United States. Such destruction would cause irreparable damage to the entire country. The key problem of United States security is to prevent such damage to the structure of the nation while maintaining unimpaired our ability to retaliate should such an attack occur.

I believe we all recognize that the United States, by very virtue of its position and activity as leader of the Free World, remains the principal target for Communist attack. The basis of our own national security, as well as that of the rest of the Free World, necessarily rests, therefore, upon American power. To the extent that the United States can adequately provide for its own air defense against nuclear and thermonuclear attack, to that extent, the United States adds to the security of the Free World as a whole; and likewise adds to the deterrent against Soviet aggression afforded by the American capability to make atomic retaliatory attacks.

Significant was the view expressed early in the postwar era by General Henry H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces in World War II, when he said, "If there is a third world war, the strategic center of it will be the North Pole." The basis for this view is the fact that the Arctic lies athwart the shortest flying distances, the great circle routes, between the two Super Powers. In fact, a glance at the polar map shows that the Arctic lies near the center of the great industrial and population centers of the world, all of them located in the Northern Hemisphere.

That the Soviet Union is likewise cognizant of the strategic and military importance of the Arctic in a future war, is borne out by numerous indications of Soviet military and economic activity in the Arctic region.

I believe that a critical examination of the position of the Soviet Union and the United States and Canada in the Arctic will show that the Arctic is indeed America's most critical defense frontier. Such an examination should reveal the extent to which these powers have responded to the challenge and to the opportunities afforded by the Arctic in the Air Age World. From such an analysis we may reasonably hope to draw some pertinent conclusions relevant to the air defense of the United States. COMPARISON OF THE SOVIET AND NORTH AMERICAN ARCTIC LAND AREAS: POPULATION

As to the "defense" value of the Arctic mainland and islands, two fundamentally opposed schools of thought exist, as shown by Mr. Viljhalmur Stefansson, the noted Arctic explorer and author. One view holds that northern lands are most valuable if they remain uninhabited, and are used as deserts which it would be difficult for an enemy to cross; the other maintains that the northern lands should be colonized so there may be resident populations which could supply food, housing and other aid to a military force. "In effect," he says, "we of North America are acting on the defense-by-desert theory, they of Eurasia on the defense-by-colonization theory." A comparison of population data, for 1950 and 1951, supports Stefansson's view. North of the Arctic Circle the Soviets have 500,000 people against our 10,000, and north of Anchorage, Alaska, 5,000,000 against our 100,000. "Most of Russia's northern cities are manufacturing centers as well as locations for air fields and other military establishments," asserts Stefansson. "In the sub-Arctic," he continues, "our continent has no city of even 50 thousand that is more northerly than Edmonton (Canada), which is about 53 and 1/2 degrees North Latitude." North of that latitude the Soviet Union has at least 50 cities of more than 50 thousand each. Moscow, for instance, is more than 150 miles farther north than Edmonton, and counts her population at more than 5 million.

On the one hand, these population data reflect an intensive Soviet development of resources and transportation in their Arctic regions; while, on the other hand, they possibility, and in view, further, of the present inadequacies of United States-Canadian air defense, the need to develop our capabilities to operate effectively in the Arctic is *imperative*. Time is of the essence—and to again quote Colonel Fletcher, "It may be later than we think." It is certain that *only* the fullest and most dedicated effort on the part of both military and scientifictechnological personnel will successfully off-set the problem posed by Soviet Russia's tremendous trans-Polar striking capabilities.

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subordinate personal interest for the good of the whole.

You must insure that our young men are not living in a vacuum aloof and oblivious to the great moral issues confronting us. Do not let them be too busy with their academic studies or too preoccupied with the ease of our current way of life to exercise their ability to think and to reason and to be aware of the inescapable fact that the actual survival of their country and their own freedom is at stake today. Make our youth constantly aware of the great efforts in behalf of freedom which have been undertaken by this country solely in the interest of freedom and which have been based primarily on our belief in the rights and the dignity of the individual human being.

We must endow our youth with an inextinguishable faith in God and an unquenchable love of freedom under God. As long as they harbor a burning determination to preserve their heritage of freedom, then no weapons-material or spiritualcan conquer them. We would like these young men to come to us with pride in service. We would like them to have been imbued with a sense of privilege, not of obligation. We would like them to come with the spirit of those hundreds of thousands of gallant men who, in each of our crises, saw the shape of things as they were, and stood up to them in defense of their faith.

The road ahead of America is very simple and very clear. It is whether our country will survive as a free nation or disappear.

We have the best weapons in the world, and the Army and other elements of the Armed Forces will do everything within their power to insure that this Nation does survive. The choice, however, does not lie entirely within the grasp of the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces are no stronger than the conviction and the understanding of those who create them, support them, and depend upon them for protection.

The real decision will not be made on

the field of battle. The decision will be made in our homes, our churches, and our schools where the weapons of the spirit are made. The weapons of faith and honor must be forged from the very outset at home and, if necessary, in the woodshed; they must be tempered and edged in the school and in the church. Without marked improvement in these fundamental weapons, our men will continue to succumb to Communist pressures, whenever and wherever they are exposed to them. A morally strong America will never be defeated.

If you will give us men, we will make them soldiers. The Democratic Whip . . .

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In a purely personal way, there is no question but that my new duties have made this the most satisfying year I have yet spent in Congress. As the conclusion of the current session draws near, I already find myself looking forward to the opening of a new session next year, and to the new experiences that I know lie ahead.



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