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## Senate

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, as we approach a vote on the proposal to deploy the ABM, let us face with forthrightness the perilous state of the world and the threat which it poses to America. Let us also ponder what America must do to surmount and overcome this threat and preserve her freedom.

Two powerful nations, Russia and Red China, whose people are numbered by the hundreds of millions and whose armies are the largest on earth, are ruled by communism, which is bent upon extinguishing the lights of liberty throughout the earth and enslaving mankind.

If there be those who doubt the validity of this statement, let them observe the liberty-loving peoples of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania, who are held captive behind the Iron Curtain.

One of the countries ruled by communism, Russia, already possesses nuclear weapons of devastating power, and the other, Red China, is on the verge of acquiring them.

For these reasons, America will have to live in a world beset by perils as long as Russia and China harbor the communistic dream of world conquest. This being so, the crucial question of our generation is how can America meet and surmount the perils which confront her. I submit she must do three things.

First, America must keep her heart in courage.

Second, America must keep her heart in patience.

Third, America must lift up her hand in strength.

I shall not elaborate upon the proposition that America must keep her heart in courage. A wise commentator, the late Elmer Davis, said all that needs to be said on this subject when he declared that America "will remain the land of the free only so long as it is the home of the brave."

The perils which confront our country will exist as long as communism dreams of world conquest. Consequently, America must keep its heart in patience as well as in courage until communism relinquishes this dream.

It will not be easy for America to do this. We are an impatient people, who demand immediate solutions of our problems, no matter how difficult and enduring they may be. Besides, many of us are prone to ignore or rationalize unpleasant realities rather than to face them with forthrightness and fortitude. Moreover, the hunger for peace in our time, which sent Chamberlain to Munich and our world to its present unhappy state, still tempts multitudes to conjure up utopias and fantasies.

These weaknesses enhance the danger that our Nation may not heed the warning given it by Benjamin Franklin, the wisest of all Americans, when he said:

Let us beware of being lulled into a dangerous security.

If she is to avoid being lulled into a dangerous security and survive in freedom the perils which beset her, America must have the patient fortitude to face with forthrightness these unpleasant realities:

First. The day has not yet arrived when the nations of earth are willing to beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks.

Second. Even a peace-loving nation cannot live in peace unless it pleases its wicked neighbor.

Third. God grants freedom only to those who love it and have the hardihood to guard and defend it.

It is impossible to overmagnify the danger arising out of our proneness to rationalize rather than to face forthrightly unpleasant realities.

Nowadays some men in positions of authority rationalize in this fashion: War is irrational. Hence, it is not intelligent for us to think that the men in the Kremlin would precipitate a war in which Russia might be virtually destroyed.

It would be well for them to remember the rationalizations made by some Americans when Hitler was climbing to power in Germany. They rationalized then in this manner: It is not rational to think that the Germans would entrust an irrational man like Hitler with powers of leadership, or that an irrational man like Hitler would be so irrational as to pro-

voke a world war even if the Germans were so irrational as to entrust him with powers of leadership.

Despite these rationalizations, history records in letters of blood that those irrationalities came to pass and that in consequence the corpses of untold millions of men, women, and children were prematurely buried in untimely graves.

After all, it is not what Americans think, but what the men in the Kremlin and the men in Peking think which makes our world so insecure.

Despite the irrationality of war, mankind has expended a major part of his energy, his time, his treasure, and his blood in waging war. And although our country is a peace-loving nation, every generation of Americans has been compelled to go to war. Indeed, America has spent 33 years of its relatively short existence fighting eight wars and 619,553 Americans have died in wars during the past 52 years. It is worthy of note that thousands of those who have died in Korea and South Vietnam have been slain by bullets donated by Russia for that purpose to our enemies.

At the present moment, many persons in authority clamor against the proposal that we deploy an ABM system to protect our retaliatory missiles from destruction by Russian SS-9 missiles. They say, in substance, that unless we leave our retaliatory missiles unprotected, Russia will escalate its production of destructive weapons and refuse to negotiate an enforceable arms-limitation agreement with us.

Like other rationalizations, this rationalization refrains from recognizing unpleasant realities. It ignores the unpleasant reality that Russia has already accelerated its production of destructive weapons to such an extent that it has achieved virtual parity with us. It also ignores the unpleasant reality that since the end of the Second World War, American negotiators have met with Russian negotiators hundreds of times, and that Russia has refused to negotiate an enforceable arms-limitation agreement with us.

I became intrigued with this unpleasant reality, and addressed a communica-

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tion to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, putting to it this question: How many times since the end of the Second World War have representatives of the United States and representatives of Russia met together for the avowed purpose of negotiating a reasonable and enforceable arms limitation agreement?

I received from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency a letter to the effect that 1,534 meetings of this nature have taken place between American negotiators and Russian negotiators, since the end of the Second World War.

It takes a more optimistic man than I to believe that we are on the verge of reaching any agreement with Russia on these subjects after these 1,534 fruitless meetings.

Mr. President, I favor peace. Let us pray for peace, let us work for peace, let us negotiate for peace; but let us beware of being lulled into a dangerous security either by the stratagems of our potential enemies or our own rationalizations.

America must keep its heart in courage and patience. It must also be prepared at all times to lift up its hand in strength.

By this I mean that America must maintain sufficient military might to deter any aggression or to defeat any aggressor in case aggression comes.

It will not be easy to keep America militarily strong. This is true because our people may weary of the tremendous expense which an adequate national defense entails, and those in charge of our foreign policy may be beguiled into making an unrealistic and unenforceable arms agreement with those bent upon enslaving the world.

It is to be noted that already some persons in positions of authority insist on the curtailment of defense expenditures in order that our country may be able to finance welfare programs, some of which, I regret to say, are so designed or administered as to reward the indolent for their indolence.

Those who decry the high cost of an adequate national defense should remember that freedom is not free. It was purchased for us with a great price. If we wish to preserve its blessings for ourselves and our posterity, we must pay the cost of so doing, no matter how great it may be. When all is said, General MacArthur was right when he declared:

The inescapable price of liberty is an ability to preserve it from destruction.

The statement of General MacArthur is peculiarly applicable to the question of the deployment of an ABM system, because such system is designed to protect from destruction weapons on which our liberty may ultimately depend.

I claim no originality in asserting that if she is to survive our perilous age in freedom, America must keep her heart in courage and patience and lift up her hand in strength.

All history proclaims that this is the only way in which free men can keep their freedom in a perilous world.

When the German armies drove the valliant, but ill-trained, British force known as Kitchener's Mob back to the English Channel in the early days of the First World War and despair settled upon Britain, Rudyard Kipling enshrined this truth in one of the great poems of history—the poem entitled "For All We Have and Are"—which inspired the British people to forget their despair and carry on. Let me quote this poem:

For all we have and are,  
For all our children's fate,  
Stand up and take the war.  
The Hun is at the gate!  
Our world has passed away,  
In wantonness o'erthrown.  
There is nothing left to-day  
But steel and fire and stone!

Though all we knew depart,  
The old Commandments stand:—  
"In courage keep your heart,  
In strength lift up your hand."

Once more we hear the word  
That sickened earth of old:—  
"No law except the Sword  
Unsheathed and uncontrolled."  
Once more it knits mankind,  
Once more the nations go  
To meet and break and bind  
A crazed and driven foe.

Comfort, content, delight,  
The ages' slow-bought gain,  
They shrivelled in a night.  
Only ourselves remain  
To face the naked days  
In silent fortitude,  
Through perils and dismays  
Renewed and re-renewed.

Though all we knew depart,  
The old Commandments stand:—  
"In courage keep your heart,  
In strength lift up your hand."

No easy hope or lies  
Shall bring us to our goal,  
But iron sacrifice  
Of body, will, and soul.  
There is but one task for all—  
One life for each to give.  
What stands if Freedom fall?  
Who dies if England live?

America must keep her heart in courage and patience and lift up her hand in strength.

And the best testimony that the Senate can give concerning the willingness of America to keep her heart in courage and patience and to lift up her hand in strength is to vote in favor of the deployment of the ABM.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.