

Address By
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
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United States Military Academy
West Point, New York

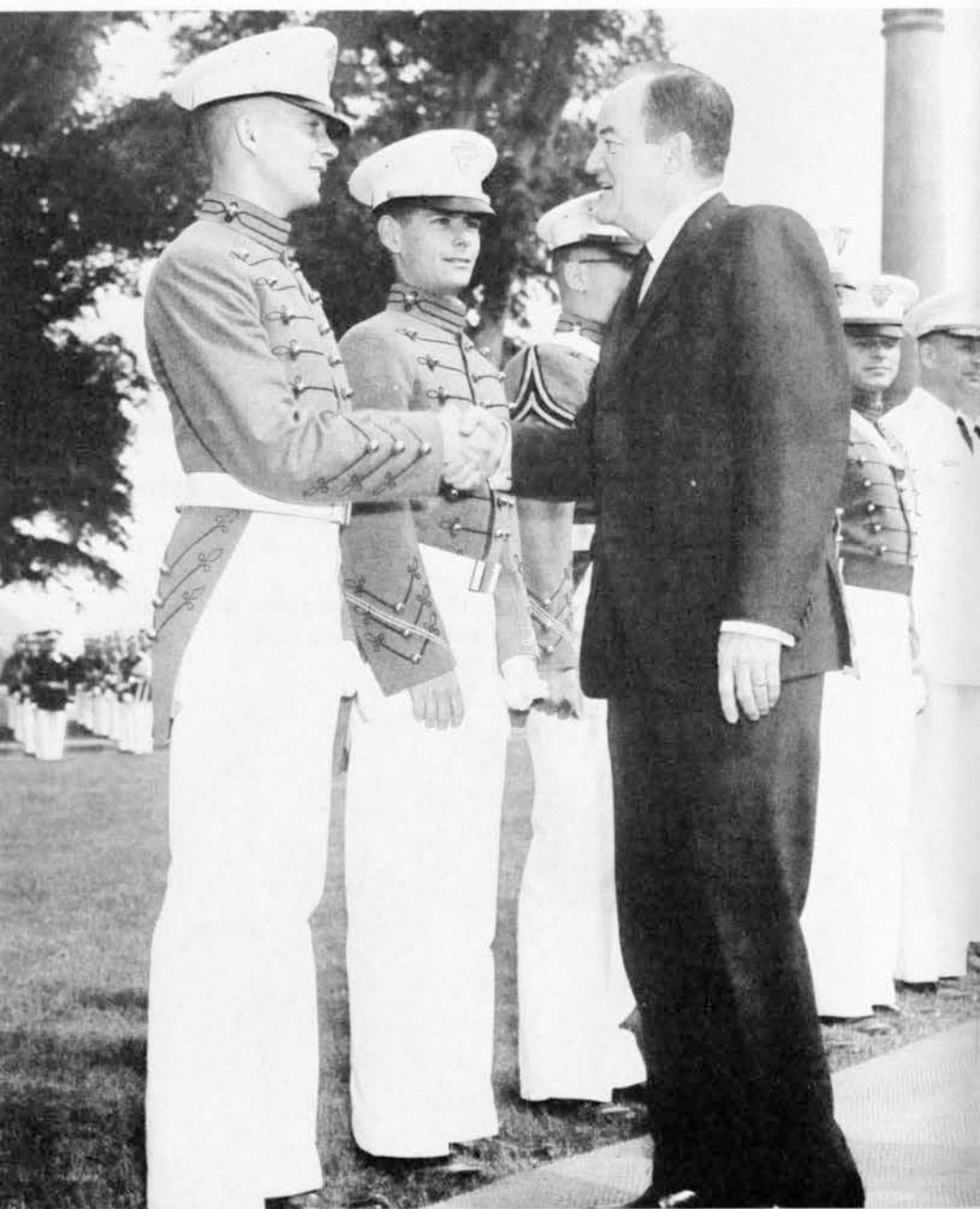
June 8, 1966



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"World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

"World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance."



"Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be said: 'These were the paths taken by wise men.'"

Gentlemen, I salute you. You have completed four years of rigorous training—of mind, of body, and of spirit. You have done well.

But I congratulate you even more on what lies ahead—for the lives of service to your country and to your fellowmen which you begin here today.

The demands on you will be great—greater than on any previous generation of the "Long Gray Line" that has passed proudly through this great institution.

Never before has your country been so deeply linked with every part of a rapidly shrinking and changing world.

Never before has the power available to men been so awesome.

Yet never before have men everywhere been so aware that power alone cannot solve their most urgent problems nor satisfy their deepest needs.

You are soldiers. There will be times when your courage, your coolness, and your command of the military arts will be required in full measure.

But you will have to be more—much more—than fighting men.

You will have to be builders.

You will have to be diplomats and psychologists, engineers and politicians, advisers, educators, and friends.

For in the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

Threats to Peace and Security

World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance.

We must learn that the simple solutions of times past will not meet the present-day challenges, and new forms of aggression, we face.

Our "doves" must learn that there are times when power must be used. They must learn that there is no substitute for force in the face of a determined enemy who resorts to terror, subversion and aggression, whether concealed or open.

Our "hawks" must learn that military power is not enough. They must learn, indeed, that it can be wholly unavailing if not accompanied by political effort and by the credible promise to ordinary people of a better life.

And all of us must learn to adapt our military planning and actions to the new conditions of subversive warfare—the so-called wars of national liberation.

We must learn to meet and defeat our enemy on all, not just one, of the battlefields. We must use the techniques of politics, of economic development, of information and social advancement—and of coordinating all these efforts in a rational and effective total effort.

Need for Perspective on Asia

We are linked to all parts of a complex and changing world. I want to turn now to one part—but a most important part—of that world. It is a part of the world that I know is much on your minds. I speak of Asia, and of America's role there.

In this Spring of 1966, we urgently need perspective on Asia—on its history and the history of our relationship. That perspective can give us guidelines for wise choices—and a solid base for realistic hopes.

I believe the ingredients of perspective can be found in the answers to three questions: Who and what is Asia? How did we get involved with Asia? And, finally, can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

* * *

Who and what is Asia?

Asia means people—more than half of mankind.

Asia means civilizations—venerable, inventive, artistic, and deeply rooted cultures.

Asia means religions—the great compassionate religious and ethical systems of Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Asia means problems—the age-old afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, disease, exploitation, and oppression.

And in the modern era—the past hundred years or so—Asia means revolution.

It was a revolution that was long in coming but inevitable once West met East with full force.

Revolution is seldom peaceful, never easy. For Asia the period of Western impact—and the transformation it produced—has been often turbulent, bitter, and humiliating.

Take three major ingredients of modern Western history—the spectacular rise of nationalism, capitalism, and science. Bring them to bear on proud older cultures, either through direct colonial rule—as in India, in Indonesia, or Indo-China—or through enclaves and spheres of influence—as in China.

Little wonder the effect would be disruptive on Asian societies, as well as sometimes constructive. Little wonder that the results would engender resistance and resentment among

Asian peoples toward the Westerner, as well as curiosity and sometimes friendship.

The Unfolding Struggles

And little wonder that the history of Asia in the modern era is the history of Asia's response to the West, an unfolding revolutionary process of which the end is by no means in sight.

It is a process that seeks first to expel the foreign colonial master, and has largely succeeded in doing so.

But independence is only a fragile beginning, not an end.

With independence comes the struggle for nationhood in the full sense of the word—the struggle to create national unity out of religious and linguistic and even geographic fragmentation . . . the struggle to create national power, in order to maintain stability within and to deter and resist any would-be aggressors without . . . and the struggle to create both wealth and justice, to create a society of expanding opportunities and hope.

The revolutionary process is turbulent and fraught with dangers: It contains the danger of unbridled competing nationalisms; the lure of false prophets and demagogues; the temptation of illusory short-cuts that lead to new tyranny; the passions aroused by unfulfilled expectations.

Tragic Results of Communism

Nearly fifty years ago a new specific danger was first added to this process: The doctrines of Marx and Lenin—offered as an explanation of Asia's past, a plan of action for Asia's present, and a blueprint for Asia's future.

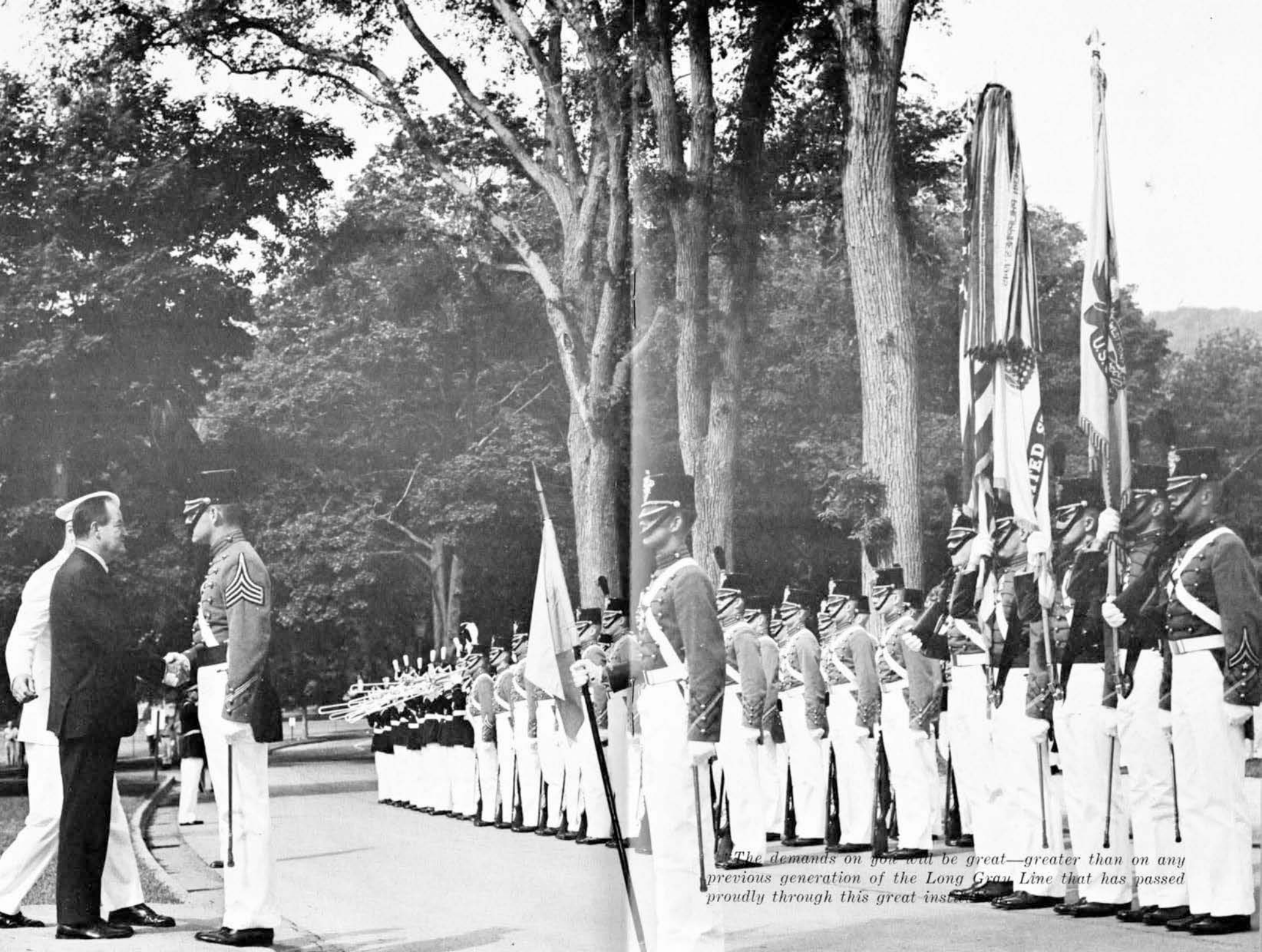
Though always a tiny minority, the agents of Marxism-Leninism were able in parts of wartime and post-war Asia to ride the tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism.

With perseverance and discipline, they produced an impact far beyond their numbers.

Today we see in mainland China the tragic result of one Asian revolution that lost its way—a revolution captured by a disciplined Communist minority.

The high price of that tragedy is, for the people of China, a life of isolation in the world's most rigidly totalitarian state, and, for the people of Asia, a profoundly disturbing neighbor.

Today we see in the Indo-China peninsula the tragic result of another Asian revolution that lost its way. The people of Vietnam, who have lived with violence for a quarter of a century, not only find half their country ceded to a Communist minority regime in Hanoi. At the same time they also face a



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determined effort by that regime to force South Vietnam under Communist rule.

* * *

Origins of Our Role in Asia

I come to my second question: How did we get involved with Asia?

The question may sound naive. Yet I frequently hear the statement from those who should know better that "America has no business in Asia."

In part this view stems from frustration in the face of Asia's complexity. How much easier to withdraw and let nature take its course.

But in part this view also stems from a misreading of history.

We are all in some degree both heirs and captives of history. And our involvement in Asia is no recent aberration but rather a rooted fact of history.

In one sense, of course, America is simply a something funny that happened to Columbus on his way to Asia.

In a deeper sense, we are and have been a Pacific power from the days of New England's clipper ships in the late 18th century.

Our traders and entrepreneurs soon were joined by our missionaries—not simply evangelists, but doctors and nurses, teachers, engineers and agricultural specialists. By the mid-19th century American ships had opened up Japan, and American citizens were leading participants in what became the greatest export of people and technology ever attempted from one civilization to another—much of it focused on China.

In the process, we became catalytic agents of transformation. In the process, too, we became unwitting participants in Asian history, and in revolution.

America's role in Asia today is a direct product of the century that preceded World War II and of the war itself.

For with the end of that war, the responsibilities of victory imposed on us a stabilizing role in Japan and Korea.

And with the beginning of the Cold War, the Communist victory in China, and the outbreak of the Korean War, American power was the only shield available to fragile and newly independent nations in non-Communist Asia.

This was not a role we had sought. This was not the peace for which we yearned.

Nor is it a role we seek to perpetuate today. But the peace still eludes us. For there are those in Asia who still pursue their objectives by aggression and subversion. And there are others who ask our help in meeting this threat.

* * *

Our Goals in Asia

I come to my final question: Can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

What, in simplest form are those goals?

First, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in their deterrence of and resistance to all forms of aggression.

Second, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in the great tasks of nation-building. We must lead other rich nations in the war on poverty, ignorance and disease in Asia.

Third, we seek to strengthen the forces of regional cooperation on the basis of Asian initiatives.

And finally, we seek and will continue to seek to build bridges, to keep open the doors of communication, to the Communist states of Asia, and in particular Communist China—just as we have to the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

The isolation of the Asian Communist states—however caused—breeds unreality, delusion, and miscalculation.

Efforts to break that isolation may, for the time being, provoke denunciation and hostility. But we shall persevere and explore means of communication and exchange, looking to the day when the leaders of Asian communism—as their former colleagues in Europe—will come to recognize the self-destructiveness and wastefulness of their present bellicose policies.

Prudence and reason, not the slogans of the past, will guide us as we try to reduce the unacceptable risks of ignorance and misunderstanding in a thermonuclear age.

Let me underline what we do not seek:

We do not seek alignment, except from those who choose it. We do not seek economic privilege. We do not seek territory or military bases. We do not seek to dominate or conquer.

Our objectives are best served by one result in Asia:

The emergence of nations dedicated to their own national independence, to the well-being of their people, and to the pursuit of peace.

I return now to my question: Can these objectives be achieved?

My answer is yes. But much depends on our actions as a nation, and on the understanding that prompts those actions.

Assets of Freedom

In the struggle for a peaceful, strong, and developing free Asia, our assets in the region are great.

In Japan, at one end of Asia's arc, we have a staunch friend, a highly developed nation, our second trading partner, an immense potential force for the development of Asia.

On the South Asian subcontinent, at the other end, we have close friends in India, the world's largest democracy, and in Pakistan. Both nations are dedicated to independence and bravely embarked on programs of development.

And in the Southwest Pacific, completing the triangle, are our friends in Australia and New Zealand who share our commitment to the future of Asia.

Elsewhere—in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia—we find nations committed in differing fashions to independence and development. We respect their commitment, and we respect their differences. We applaud their leadership.

The Challenge in Vietnam

But what of the states of former French Indo-China?

There, of course, is the present focal point of war and revolution in Asia. And there we are tested as never before. We face a situation of external aggression and subversion against a post-colonial nation that has never had the breathing space to develop its politics or its economy.

In South Vietnam, both defense and development—the war against the aggressor and the war against despair—are fused as never before. Vietnam challenges our courage, our ingenuity, and our ability to persevere.

If we can succeed there—if we can help sustain an independent South Vietnam, free to determine its own future—then our prospects, and the prospects for free men throughout Asia, will be bright indeed.

We know this. Our friends and allies know it. And our adversaries know it. That is why one small country looms so large today on everyone's map of Asia.

But Asia will not disappear with a Vietnam settlement. Nor will our objectives and responsibilities in Asia disappear.

The peace and development of Asia will be high on our national agenda for the rest of this century.

So will our relations with the nations of Asia—including our relations with mainland China.

President Johnson's address at Johns Hopkins University last year was an historic formulation of American purposes in Asia.

In that speech he said that our commitment to South Vietnam was firm, that our quest for peace would be unremitting, and that our continuing concern with the welfare of the peoples of Southeast Asia could be tested by Asians ready to initiate cooperative ventures of peaceful develop-

ment. The President pledged one billion dollars to projects that might be developed.

In that speech, too, President Johnson envisaged participation by North Vietnam in constructive social and economic arrangements once Hanoi had decided to stop the shooting. And last February, he again appealed to the "men of the north" to stop aggression and to join in helping fulfill the unsatisfied wants of the people of the region.

Termination of war alone would be a major contribution to the process of accelerated social and economic development in Asia.

Basic Needs in Asia

But there are other basic problems which face most of the countries in the area.

In Asia, incomes are low. Population growth is high. There is a shortage of capital. The need for investment is almost limitless. There is excessive dependence on a limited number of products for foreign exchange earnings.

These problems demand the attention of countries in the area as well as countries outside which are able to help.

But there is promising ferment in free Asia today—ferment that can lead to higher standards of performance on the part of individual countries and a greater sense of community among them.

War is always cruel. But the war in Vietnam should not obscure for us the fact that behind the smoke and uproar is the testing of an issue vital to all of Asia, and indeed the world.

Can independent, non-Communist states not only survive, but grow and flourish in face of Communist pressure?

In that confrontation, a review of free Asia's achievements should give us solid ground for hope.

Consider South Korea, where exports have increased by 500 per cent in the past three years. Consider Taiwan, which has been transformed from an aid-receiving to an aid-giving country and enjoys a rate of economic growth higher than even that of Japan. Consider Malaysia and Thailand, where ambitious development plans are being launched. Yes, consider Indonesia, where new leaders are determined to see that potentially rich country resume a responsible place in the world community.

All of these developments are striking evidence that, notwithstanding Communist boasts that they represent the wave of the future, the real achievements taking place within Asia have occurred in areas that rely upon independence, competition, and respect for national integrity as the bases for genuine and enduring social and economic progress.

Attitudes for America

As we Americans strive to deal with the immense problems—and the promise—of a vibrant, modernizing interdependent Asia in the years ahead, we will be called upon to show special qualities of mind and spirit and understanding as a nation.

We will have to learn far more about Asian history and Asian cultures than any of us now know. We need more than nodding acquaintance with the key critical issues that absorb the attention of Asians.

We will have to learn to speak and read Asian languages.

We will have to become more sensitive to the differences among Asian nations as well as their similarities.

We should also be sensitive to the pride, dignity and nationalism of Asian peoples and nations. Like most people, Asians prefer to rule themselves badly than to be well ruled by some foreigner. The same goes for advice and initiatives. Otherwise good ideas inevitably lose some of their appeal if carried through Asia in clearly foreign wrappings.

Asians prefer Asian initiatives, proposed by Asians. So do we.

No Quick Solutions

Finally, we must learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for quick solutions.

Asia's problems are extraordinarily complex and intractable; they will be with us for a long time to come, and we should force ourselves to practice some traditional Asian patience. It is patience—and perspective—that we will need in the years ahead.

For I have no doubt that we will meet, in Asia as in the rest of the world, time and again with disappointment, disillusionment, ingratitude and frustration.

Yet we must not be deterred.

It is our good fortune to be free citizens of the most prosperous and powerful nation in the history of the earth.

It is the prosperous who can most afford compassion and humility.

It is the powerful who can most afford patience and perspective.

Let us, then, not pursue policies—or judge ourselves—in consonance with the passion of the moment.

Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be said: "These were the paths taken by wise men."

Genl Bradley
Genl Abrams

General Bennett
congressman Dow

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY

WEST POINT, NEW YORK

JUNE 8, 1966

Gentlemen, I salute you, You have completed
four years of rigorous training -- of mind, ~~at~~ body,
and ~~of~~ spirit. You have done well.

But I congratulate you even more on what lies
ahead -- for the lives of service to your country and to
your fellowmen ~~which you begin here today~~.

The demands on you will be great -- greater than
on any previous generation of the "Long Gray Line" ~~that~~
~~has passed proudly through this great institution.~~

Never before has your country been so deeply linked
with every part of a rapidly shrinking and changing world.

Rev clergy

Graduating
class,
Ladies my
Fellow Americans

Never before has the power available to men been so awesome.

Yet, never before have men everywhere been so aware that power alone cannot solve their most urgent problems nor satisfy their deepest needs.

You are soldiers. There will be times when your courage, your coolness, and your command of the military arts will be required in full measure.

But you will have to be more -- much more -- than fighting men.

You will have to be builders.

You will have to be diplomats and psychologists, engineers and politicians, advisers, educators, and friends.

For, in the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance.

We must learn that the simple solutions of times past will not meet ^{the complexities of today} ~~the present day challenges~~ and new forms of aggression, we face ~~now and tomorrow~~.

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And all of us must learn to adapt our military planning and actions to the new conditions of subversive warfare -- the so-called wars of national liberation.

We must learn to ~~meet and defeat~~ ^{confront} our enemy on all, not just one, of the battlefields. We must use the techniques of politics, of economic development, of information and social advancement -- and of coordinating all these efforts in a rational and effective total effort.

We are linked to all parts of a complex and changing world. I want to turn now to one part ~~but a most~~ ^{of that world.} ~~important part~~ ^{of that world.} ~~It is a part of the world that I know is much on your minds.~~ I speak of Asia, and of America's role there.

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↳ Asia means problems -- the age-old afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, disease, exploitation, and oppression.

And in the modern era -- the past hundred years or so -- Asia means revolution.

It was a revolution that was long in coming but inevitable once West met East with full force.

Revolution is seldom peaceful, never easy. For Asia the period of Western impact ~~and the transformation~~ ~~it produced~~ has been often turbulent, bitter, and humiliating.

↳ Take three major ingredients of modern Western history -- the spectacular rise of nationalism, capitalism, and science. Bring them to bear on proud older cultures, either through direct colonial rule -- as in India, in Indonesia, or Indo-China -- or through enclaves and spheres of influence -- as in China.

Little wonder the effect would be disruptive on Asian societies, ~~as well as sometimes constructive.~~ Little wonder that the results would engender resistance and resentment among Asian peoples toward the Westerner, as well as curiosity and sometimes friendship.

And little wonder ~~that the history of Asia in the modern era is the history of Asia's response to the West~~ ^{that} ~~is~~ an unfolding revolutionary process of which the end is by no means in sight.

~~It is a process that~~ ^{It} seeks first to expel the foreign colonial master, and has largely succeeded in doing so.

But independence is only a fragile beginning, not an end.

With independence comes the struggle for nationhood in the full sense of the word -- the struggle to create national unity out of religious and linguistic and even geographic fragmentation . . . the struggle to create national power,

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~~in order~~ to maintain stability within and to deter and resist any would-be aggressors ^{from} without . . . and the struggle to create both wealth and justice, to create a society of expanding opportunities and hope.

↳ The revolutionary process is turbulent and fraught with dangers: It contains the danger of unbridled competing nationalisms; the lure of false prophets and demagogues; the temptation of illusory short-cuts that lead to new tyranny; the passions aroused by unfulfilled expectations.

↳ Nearly fifty years ago a new specific danger was ~~first~~ added to this process:— The doctrines of Marx and Lenin -- offered as an explanation of Asia's past; a plan of action for Asia's present; and a blueprint for Asia's future.

↳ Though always a tiny minority, the agents of Marxism-⁺ Leninism were able in parts of wartime and post-war Asia to ride the tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism.

With perseverance and discipline, they produced an impact far beyond their numbers.

Today we see in mainland China the tragic result of one Asian revolution that lost its way -- a revolution captured by a disciplined Communist minority.

The high price of that tragedy is, for the people of China, a life of isolation in the world's most rigidly totalitarian state; and, for the people of Asia, a profoundly disturbing neighbor.

Today we see in the Indo-China peninsula the tragic result of another Asian revolution that lost its way. The people of Vietnam, who have lived with violence for a quarter of a century, ~~not only~~ find half their country ceded to a Communist minority regime in Hanoi. At the same time they ~~also~~ face a determined effort by that ^{same} regime to force South Vietnam under Communist rule.

Now, I come to my second question: How did we get involved with Asia?

∠ The question may sound naive. Yet I frequently hear the statement from those who should know better that "America has no business in Asia."

∠ In part this view stems from frustration in the face of Asia's complexity. How much easier to withdraw and let nature take its course.

But in part, this view also stems from a misreading of history.

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~~In a deeper sense, we~~ are and have been a Pacific power from the days of New England's clipper ships in the late 18th century.

✓ Our traders and entrepreneurs soon were joined by our missionaries -- not simply evangelists, but doctors and nurses, teachers, engineers and agricultural specialists.

✓ By the mid-19th century American ships had opened up Japan, and American citizens were leading participants in what became the greatest export of people and technology ever attempted from one civilization to another -- much of it focused on China.

[In the process, we became catalytic agents of transformation. ~~In the process, too, we~~ became unwitting participants in Asian history, and in revolution.]

and ✓ America's role in Asia today is a direct product of the century that preceded World War II and of the war itself.

For ~~W~~ With the end of that war, the responsibilities of victory imposed on us a stabilizing role in ~~Japan and Korea~~ ^{the Pacific area}.

↳ And, with the beginning of the Cold War, the Communist victory in China, and the outbreak of the Korean War, American power was the only shield available to fragile and newly independent nations in non-Communist Asia.

↳ This was not a role we had sought. This was not the peace for which we yearned.

Nor is it a role we seek to perpetuate today. But the peace still eludes us. For there are those in Asia who still pursue their objectives by aggression and subversion. And there are ~~others~~ ^{those} who ask our help in meeting this threat.

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First, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in their deterrence of and resistance to all forms of aggression.

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Third, we seek to strengthen the forces of regional cooperation on the basis of Asian initiatives.

And finally, we seek and will continue to seek to build bridges, to keep open the doors of communication, to the Communist states of Asia, and in particular Communist China -- just as we have to the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

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be achieved?

↳ My answer is yes. But much depends on our actions
as a nation, and on the understanding that prompts those
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In the struggle for a peaceful, strong, and developing
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friend, a highly developed nation, ~~our second trading partner~~,
an immense potential force for the development of Asia.

↳ On the South Asian subcontinent, ~~at the other end~~,
we have close friends in India, the world's largest democracy,
and in Pakistan. Both nations are dedicated to independence and
bravely embarked on ^{vast} programs of development.

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are our friends in Australia and New Zealand who share our
commitment to the future of Asia.

Elsewhere -- in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Ceylon,
Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and ^{now} Indonesia --
we find nations committed in differing fashions to independence
and development. We respect their commitment, ~~and we~~
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∟ But what of the states of former French Indo-China?

~~There, of course,~~ ^{Here} is the present focal point of war and
revolution in Asia. And ^{Here} ~~there~~ we are tested as never before.

We face a situation of external aggression and subversion
against a post-colonial nation that has never had the breathing
space to develop its politics or its economy.

∟ In South Vietnam, both defense and development —
the war against the aggressor and the war against despair —
are fused as never before. ∟ Vietnam challenges our ^{military} courage,
^{Political} our ingenuity, and our ability to persevere.

If we can succeed there -- if we can help sustain an independent South Vietnam, free to determine its own future -- ~~then our prospects, and~~ ^{then} the prospects for free men throughout Asia, will be bright indeed.

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↳ But Asia will not disappear with a Vietnam settlement.

↳ Nor will our objectives and responsibilities in Asia disappear.

↳ The peace and development of Asia will be high on our national agenda for the rest of this century.

↳ ~~So will our relations with the nations of Asia -- including our relations with mainland China.~~

↳ President Johnson's address at Johns Hopkins University last year was an historic formulation of American purposes in Asia.

In that ~~speech~~ ^{He} said that our commitment to South Vietnam was firm; that our quest for peace would be unremitting, and that our continuing concern with the welfare of the peoples of Southeast Asia could be tested by Asians ready to initiate cooperative ventures of peaceful development. The President pledged ^{Generous} ~~1 billion dollars to~~ ^{american aid} ~~projects that might be developed.~~

In that ~~speech~~ ^{yes}, too, President Johnson ^{envisaged} ~~envisaged~~ participation by North Vietnam in constructive social and economic arrangements once Hanoi had decided to stop the ~~aggression~~ ^{shooting} ~~shooting~~ ^{SHOOTING!}. And last February, he again appealed to the "men of the north" to stop aggression and to join in helping fulfill the unsatisfied wants of the people of the region.

Termination of war alone would be a major contribution to the process of accelerated social and economic development in Asia. *America hates war. The only war we want to fight is against the ancient enemies of mankind - hunger, disease, and illiteracy.*

But there are other basic problems which face most of the countries in the area.

In Asia, incomes are low. Population growth is high. There is a shortage of capital. The need for investment is almost limitless. There is excessive dependence on a limited number of products for foreign exchange earnings.

These problems demand the attention of countries in the area as well as countries outside which are able to help.

~~But~~ there is promising ferment in free Asia today - a

Keep ferment that can lead to higher standards of performance on the part of individual countries and a greater sense of community among them. - *but Asia needs peace*

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Can independent, non-Communist states not only survive, but grow and flourish in face of Communist pressure?

↳ In that confrontation, a review of free Asia's achievements should give us solid ground for hope.

Consider South Korea, where exports have increased by 500 per cent in the past three years. ↳ Consider Taiwan, which has been transformed from an aid-receiving to an aid-giving country and enjoys a rate of economic growth higher than even that of Japan. ↳ Consider Malaysia and Thailand, where ambitious development plans are being launched. ↳ Yes, consider Indonesia, where new leaders are determined to see that potentially rich country resume a responsible place in the world community.

↳ ~~yes~~ consider the Philippines, where new leadership strengthens democratic institutions and inspires social and economic progress.

All of these developments are striking evidence that, notwithstanding Communist boasts that they represent the wave of the future, the real achievements taking place within Asia have occurred in areas that rely upon independence, competition, and respect for national integrity as the bases for genuine and enduring social and economic progress.

∠ As we Americans strive to deal with the immense problems -- and the promise -- of a vibrant, modernizing interdependent Asia in the years ahead, we will be called upon to show special qualities of mind and spirit and understanding, ~~as a nation.~~

∠ We will have to learn far more about Asian history and Asian cultures than any of us now know. ∠ We ^{shall} need more than nodding acquaintance with the key critical issues that absorb the attention of Asians.

∟ We will have to learn to speak and read Asian languages.

∟ We will have to become more sensitive to the differences among Asian nations as well as their similarities.

∟ We should ~~also~~ be sensitive to the pride, dignity and nationalism of Asian peoples and nations. ∟ Like most people, Asians prefer to rule themselves ^{even if} badly than to be well ruled by some foreigner. ~~The same goes for advice and initiatives.~~

~~Even that~~ ^{may} Otherwise good ideas ~~inevitably~~ lose some of their appeal if ~~carried through Asia in clearly foreign wrappings.~~

∟ Asians prefer Asian initiatives, proposed by Asians. So do we.

and, Finally, we must learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for quick solutions.

∟ Asia's problems are extraordinarily complex and intractable; they will be with us for a long time to come, and we ~~should force~~ ^{must discipline} ourselves to practice some traditional Asian patience.

Preserving
It is patience -- and perspective -- that we will need in the years ahead.

For I have no doubt that we will meet, in Asia as in the rest of the world, time and again ~~with~~ disappointment, disillusionment, ingratitude and frustration.

Yet we must not be deterred. *We must not falter.*

It is our good fortune to be ~~free~~ citizens of the most prosperous and powerful nation in the ~~history of the~~ *world* ~~earth~~.

It is the prosperous who can most afford compassion and humility.

It is the powerful who can most afford patience and perspective.

Let us ~~then~~, not pursue policies -- or judge ourselves -- in consonance with the passion of the moment.

Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be said: "These were the paths taken by wise men."

Ted

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK

JUNE 8, 1966

Gentlemen, I salute you. You have completed four years of rigorous training -- of mind, of body, and of spirit. You have done well.

But I congratulate you even more on what lies ahead -- for the lives of service to your country and to your fellowmen which you begin here today.

The demands on you will be great -- greater than on any previous generation of the "Long Gray Line" that has passed proudly through this great institution.

Never before has your country been so deeply linked with every part of a rapidly shrinking and changing world.

Never before has the power available to men been so awesome.

Yet never before have men everywhere been so aware that power alone cannot solve their most urgent problems nor satisfy their deepest needs.

You are soldiers. There will be times when your courage, your coolness, and your command of the military arts will be required in full measure.

But you will have to be more -- much more -- than fighting men.

You will have to be builders.

You will have to be diplomats and psychologists, engineers and politicians, advisers, educators, and friends.

For in the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance.

We must learn that the simple solutions of times past will not meet the present-day challenges, and new forms of aggression, we face.

Our "doves" must learn that there are times when power must be used. They must learn that there is no substitute for force in the face of a determined enemy who resorts to terror, subversion and aggression, whether concealed or open.

Our "hawks" must learn that military power is not enough. They must learn, indeed, that it can be wholly unavailing if not accompanied by political effort and by the credible promise to ordinary people of a better life.

And all of us must learn to adapt our military planning and actions to the new conditions of subversive warfare -- the so-called wars of national liberation.

We must learn to meet and defeat our enemy on all, not just one, of the battlefields. We must use the techniques of politics, of economic development, of information and social advancement -- and of coordinating all these efforts in a rational and effective total effort.

We are linked to all parts of a complex and changing world. I want to turn now to one part -- but a most important part -- of that world. It is a part of the world that I know is much on your minds. I speak of Asia, and of America's role there.

In this Spring of 1966, we urgently need perspective on Asia -- on its history and the history of our relationship. That perspective can give us guidelines for wise choices -- and a solid base for realistic hopes.

I believe the ingredients of perspective can be found in the answers to three questions: Who and what is Asia? How did we get involved with Asia? And, finally, can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

Who and what is Asia?

Asia means people -- more than half of mankind.

Asia means civilizations -- venerable, inventive, artistic, and deeply rooted cultures.

Asia means religions -- the great compassionate religious and ethical systems of Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Asia means problems -- the age-old afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, disease, exploitation, and oppression.

And in the modern era -- the past hundred years or so -- Asia means revolution.

It was a revolution that was long in coming but inevitable once West met East with full force.

Revolution is seldom peaceful, never easy. For Asia the period of Western impact -- and the transformation it produced -- has been often turbulent, bitter, and humiliating.

Take three major ingredients of modern Western history -- the spectacular rise of nationalism, capitalism, and science. Bring them to bear on proud older cultures, either through direct colonial rule -- as in India, in Indonesia, or Indo-China -- or through enclaves and spheres of influence -- as in China.

Little wonder the effect would be disruptive on Asian societies, as well as sometimes constructive. Little wonder that the results would engender resistance and resentment among Asian peoples toward the Westerner, as well as curiosity and sometimes friendship.

And little wonder that the history of Asia in the modern era is the history of Asia's response to the West, an unfolding revolutionary process of which the end is by no means in sight.

It is a process that seeks first to expel the foreign colonial master, and has largely succeeded in doing so.

But independence is only a fragile beginning, not an end.

With independence comes the struggle for nationhood in the full sense of the word -- the struggle to create national unity out of religious and linguistic and even geographic fragmentation . . . the struggle to create national power, in order to maintain stability within and to deter and resist any would-be aggressors without . . . and the struggle to create both wealth and justice, to create a society of expanding opportunities and hope.

The revolutionary process is turbulent and fraught with dangers: It contains the danger of unbridled competing nationalisms; the lure of false prophets and demagogues; the temptation of illusory short-cuts that lead to new tyranny; the passions aroused by unfulfilled expectations.

Nearly fifty years ago a new specific danger was first added to this process: The doctrines of Marx and Lenin -- offered as an explanation of Asia's past, a plan of action for Asia's present, and a blueprint for Asia's future.

Though always a tiny minority, the agents of Marxism-Leninism were able in parts of wartime and post-war Asia to ride the tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism.

With perseverance and discipline, they produced an impact far beyond their numbers.

✓ Today we see in mainland China the tragic result of one Asian revolution that lost its way -- a revolution captured by a disciplined Communist minority.

| The high price of that tragedy is, for the people of China, a life of isolation in the world's most rigidly totalitarian state, and, for the people of Asia, a profoundly disturbing neighbor.

Today we see in the Indo-China peninsula the tragic result of another Asian revolution that lost its way. The people of Vietnam, who have lived with violence for a quarter of a century, not only find half their country ceded to a Communist minority regime in Hanoi. At the same time they also face a determined effort by that regime to force South Vietnam under Communist rule.

I come to my second question: How did we get involved with Asia?

The question may sound naive. Yet I frequently hear the statement from those who should know better that "America has no business in Asia."

In part this view stems from frustration in the face of Asia's complexity. How much easier to withdraw and let nature take its course.

But in part this view also stems from a misreading of history.

✓ We are all in some degree both heirs and captives of history. And our involvement in Asia is no recent aberration but rather a rooted fact of history.

In one sense, of course, America is simply a something funny that happened to Columbus on his way to Asia.

In a deeper sense, we are and have been a Pacific power from the days of New England's clipper ships in the late 18th century.

Our traders and entrepreneurs soon were joined by our missionaries -- not simply evangelists, but doctors and nurses, teachers, engineers and agricultural specialists. By the mid-19th century American ships had opened up Japan, and American citizens were leading participants in what became the greatest export of people and technology ever attempted from one civilization to another -- much of it focused on China.

In the process, we became catalytic agents of transformation. In the process, too, we became unwitting participants in Asian history, and in revolution.

America's role in Asia today is a direct product of the century that preceded World War II and of the war itself.

For with the end of that war, the responsibilities of victory imposed on us a stabilizing role in Japan and Korea.

And with the beginning of the Cold War, the Communist victory in China, and the outbreak of the Korean War, American power was the only shield available to fragile and newly independent nations in non-Communist Asia.

This was not a role we had sought. This was not the peace for which we yearned.

Nor is it a role we seek to perpetuate today. But the peace still eludes us. For there are those in Asia who still pursue their objectives by aggression and subversion. And there are others who ask our help in meeting this threat.

I come to my final question: Can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

What, in simplest form are those goals?

First, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in their deterrence of and resistance to all forms of aggression.

Second, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in the great tasks of nation-building. We must lead other rich nations in the war on poverty, ignorance and disease in Asia.

Third, we seek to strengthen the forces of regional cooperation on the basis of Asian initiatives.

And finally, we seek and will continue to seek to build bridges, to keep open the doors of communication, to the Communist states of Asia, and in particular Communist China -- just as we have to the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

The isolation of the Asian Communist states -- however caused -- breeds unreality, delusion, and miscalculation.

Efforts to break that isolation may, for the time being, provoke denunciation and hostility. But we shall persevere and explore means of communication and exchange, looking to the day when the leaders of Asian communism -- as their former colleagues in Europe -- will come to recognize the self-destructiveness and wastefulness of their present bellicose policies.

Prudence and reason, not the slogans of the past, will guide us as we try to reduce the unacceptable risks of ignorance and misunderstanding in a thermonuclear age.

Let me underline what we do not seek:

We do not seek alignment, except from those who choose it. We do not seek economic privilege. We do not seek territory or military bases. We do not seek to dominate or to conquer.

Our objectives are best served by one result in Asia:

The emergence of nations dedicated to their own national independence, to the well-being of their people, and to the pursuit of peace.

I return now to my question: Can these objectives be achieved?

My answer is yes. But much depends on our actions as a nation, and on the understanding that prompts those actions.

In the struggle for a peaceful, strong, and developing free Asia, our assets in the region are great.

In Japan, at one end of Asia's arc, we have a staunch friend, a highly developed nation, our second trading partner, an immense potential force for the development of Asia.

On the South Asian subcontinent, at the other end, we have close friends in India, the world's largest democracy, and in Pakistan. Both nations are dedicated to independence and bravely embarked on programs of development.

And in the Southwest Pacific, completing the triangle, are our friends in Australia and New Zealand who share our commitment to the future of Asia.

Elsewhere -- in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia -- we find nations committed in differing fashions to independence and development. We respect their commitment, and we respect their differences. We applaud their leadership.

But what of the states of former French Indo-China?

There, of course, is the present focal point of war and revolution in Asia. And there we are tested as never before. We face a situation of external aggression and subversion against a post-colonial nation that has never had the breathing space to develop its politics or its economy.

In South Vietnam, both defense and development -- the war against the aggressor and the war against despair -- are fused as never before. Vietnam challenges our courage, our ingenuity, and our ability to persevere.

If we can succeed there -- if we can help sustain an independent South Vietnam, free to determine its own future -- then our prospects, and the prospects for free men throughout Asia, will be bright indeed.

We know this. Our friends and allies know it. And our adversaries know it. That is why one small country looms so large today on everyone's map of Asia.

But Asia will not disappear with a Vietnam settlement.

Nor will our objectives and responsibilities in Asia disappear.

✓ The peace and development of Asia will be high on our national agenda for the rest of this century.

So will our relations with the nations of Asia -- including our relations with mainland China.

President Johnson's address at Johns Hopkins University last year was an historic formulation of American purposes in Asia.

In that speech he said that our commitment to South Vietnam was firm, that our quest for peace would be unremitting, and that our continuing concern with the welfare of the peoples of Southeast Asia could be tested by Asians ready to initiate cooperative ventures of peaceful development. The President pledged 1 billion dollars to projects that might be developed.

In that speech, too, President Johnson envisaged participation by North Vietnam in constructive social and economic arrangements once Hanoi had decided to stop the shooting. And last February, he again appealed to the "men of the north" to stop aggression and to join in helping fulfill the unsatisfied wants of the people of the region.

Termination of war alone would be a major contribution to the process of accelerated social and economic development in Asia.

But there are other basic problems which face most of the countries in the area.

In Asia, incomes are low. Population growth is high. There is a shortage of capital. The need for investment is almost limitless. There is excessive dependence on a limited number of products for foreign exchange earnings.

These problems demand the attention of countries in the area as well as countries outside which are able to help.

But there is promising ferment in free Asia today -- ferment that can lead to higher standards of performance on the part of individual countries and a greater sense of community among them.

War is always cruel. But the war in Vietnam should not obscure for us the fact that behind the smoke and uproar is the testing of an issue vital to all of Asia, and indeed the world.

Can independent, non-Communist states not only survive, but grow and flourish in face of Communist pressure?

In that confrontation, a review of free Asia's achievements should give us solid ground for hope.

Consider South Korea, where exports have increased by 500 per cent in the past three years. Consider Taiwan, which has been transformed from an aid-receiving to an aid-giving country and enjoys a rate of economic growth higher than even that of Japan. Consider Malaysia and Thailand, where ambitious development plans are being launched. Yes, consider Indonesia, where new leaders are determined to see that potentially rich country resume a responsible place in the world community.

All of these developments are striking evidence that, notwithstanding Communist boasts that they represent the wave of the future, the real achievements taking place within Asia have occurred in areas that rely upon independence, competition, and respect for national integrity as the bases for genuine and enduring social and economic progress.

As we Americans strive to deal with the immense problems -- and the promise -- of a vibrant, modernizing interdependent Asia in the years ahead, we will be called upon to show special qualities of mind and spirit and understanding as a nation.

We will have to learn far more about Asian history and Asian cultures than any of us now know. We need more than nodding acquaintance with the key critical issues that absorb the attention of Asians.

We will have to learn to speak and read Asian languages.

We will have to become more sensitive to the differences among Asian nations as well as their similarities.

We should also be sensitive to the pride, dignity and nationalism of Asian peoples and nations. Like most people, Asians prefer to rule themselves badly than to be well ruled by some foreigner. The same goes for advice and initiatives. Otherwise good ideas inevitably lose some of their appeal if carried through Asia in clearly foreign wrappings.

Asians prefer Asian initiatives, proposed by Asians. So do we.

✓ Finally, we must learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for quick solutions.

Asia's problems are extraordinarily complex and intractable; they will be with us for a long time to come, and we should force ourselves to practice some traditional Asian patience.

✓ | It is patience -- and perspective -- that we will need
in the years ahead.

For I have no doubt that we will meet, in Asia as in the
rest of the world, time and again with disappointment,
disillusionment, ingratitude and frustration.

Yet we must not be deterred.

It is our good fortune to be free citizens of the most
prosperous and powerful nation in the history of the earth.

✓ | It is the prosperous who can most afford compassion and
humility.

✓ | It is the powerful who can most afford patience and
perspective.

Let us, then, not pursue policies -- or judge ourselves --
in consonance with the passion of the moment.

Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of
history, it can be said: "These were the paths taken by
wise men."

#

[Transcript]

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

6/23/66

Ruth:

Col Fisher, West Point, mailed the tape and the transcript (25 copies) to Norman Sherman by name on June 9. He is sending me another copy of the transcript just in case we cannot locate others, and has a copy of the tape in case we need to have that duplicated. (I asked him to hold up on the latter until he heard from us.)

Ashton



MA10

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK 10996
INFORMATION OFFICE

SP FILE: JUNE 8, 1966
WEST POINT

23 JUNE 1966

COLONEL HERBERT L. BECKINGTON
MILITARY AIDE TO THE VICE PRESIDENT
ROOM 176, EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

DEAR COLONEL BECKINGTON:

INCLOSED IS A COPY OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
ON JUNE 8 AS GIVEN.

WE MAILED 25 COPIES, PLUS A TAPE RECORDING OF THE ACTUAL
SPEECH, TO MR. SHERMAN ON JUNE 9. MISS GALLAGHER SAID SHE
WOULD BEGIN A SEARCH FOR THESE BUT REQUESTED AN ADDITIONAL
COPY OF THE TRANSCRIPT, JUST IN CASE.

IF THE TAPE RECORDING CANNOT BE LOCATED, WE CAN HAVE
ANOTHER COPY MADE AND FORWARDED TO YOU.

WITH BEST WISHES FROM WEST POINT.

SINCERELY,

Emil Fisher, Jr.

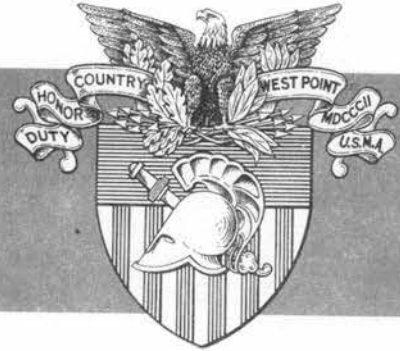
EMIL FISHER, JR.
LIEUTENANT COLONEL, ARMOR
INFORMATION OFFICER (ASST)

INCL
A/S

NEWS RELEASE

INFORMATION OFFICE
UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY
WEST POINT, NEW YORK 10996

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(Area Code 914)



REMARKS -- AS GIVEN

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY,
WEST POINT, NEW YORK, JUNE 8, 1966

Thank you General Bennett, General Abrams, my esteemed friend and great American General Bradley, Congressman Dow, Reverend Clergy and above all the members of this Graduating Class of 1966 of the United States Military Academy -- my fellow Americans.

Gentlemen, I salute you. You have completed four years of rigorous training -- training of mind, body, and spirit -- and your nation knows that you have done well.

But I congratulate you even more on what lies ahead -- for the lives of service to your country and to your fellowmen.

The demands on you will be great -- greater than any previous generation of the "Long Gray Line" that has passed proudly through this great institution.

Never before has your country been so deeply linked with every part of a rapidly shrinking and changing world.

Never before has the power available to men been so awesome.

Yet never before have men everywhere been so aware that power, power alone cannot solve their most urgent problems nor satisfy
(MORE)

their deepest needs.

You are soldiers. Proud of your country and the uniform that you wear. And, there will be times when your courage and your coolness, and your command of the military arts will be required in full measure.

But you will have to be more -- much more -- than fighting men.

You will have to be builders, great citizens.

You will have to be diplomats and psychologists, engineers and politicians, advisers, educators, and friends.

In the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance.

Therefore, we must learn that the simple solutions of times past will not meet the complexities of today.

Our so-called "doves," an inadequate word but often used, must learn that there are times when power must be used. They must learn that there is no substitute for force in the face of a determined enemy who resists or resort to terror, subversion, aggression, whether concealed or opened.

And, our so-called "hawks," again an inadequate word, must learn that military power alone is not enough. They must learn that military power can be wholly unavailing if not accompanied by political effort and by the credible promise to the ordinary people of a better life.

And all of us must learn to adapt our military planning and actions, and indeed our political planning^{and}/actions, to the new conditions of subversive warfare -- the so-called wars of national liberation.

We must learn to confront our enemy on all, not just one, of the many battlefields. We must use the techniques of politics, of economic development, of information, of education and social betterment -- and of coordinating all these efforts in a rational and effective total -- total effort.

I say these things because we are linked to all parts of a complex and changing world. Now I want to turn to one part of that world, a big part. And I speak of Asia, and America's role there.

In this summer of 1966, we urgently need perspective on Asia -- and that perspective can give us guidelines for wise choices -- and a solid base for realistic hopes.

I believe that the ingredients of perspective can be found in the answers to these questions: who and what is Asia; how did we get involved with Asia; and, finally, can we achieve sensible goals in Asia? I am confident that these questions are very much in your minds.

Well, now, who and what is Asia?

Asia means people -- more than half of mankind.

Asia means civilizations -- venerable, inventive, artistic, and deeply rooted cultures.

Asia means religions -- the great compassionate religious and ethical systems of Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Asia means problems -- the age-old afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, disease, exploitation, and oppression.

And in the modern era -- the past one hundred years or so -- Asia means revolution.

It was a revolution that was long in coming but indeed inevitable once West met East with full force.

And, revolution is seldom peaceful, and never easy. For Asia the period of Western impact has often been turbulent, bitter, and humiliating.

Take three major ingredients of modern Western history, our history -- the spectacular rise of nationalism, capitalism, and science. Bring them to bear on the proud old cultures, either through direct colonial rule -- as in India, in Indonesia, or Indo-China -- or through enclaves and spheres of influence -- as in China.

Little wonder the effect would be disruptive on Asian societies, as well as sometimes constructive. And little wonder that the results would engender resistance and resentment among Asian peoples towards the Westerner, as well as curiosity and sometimes friendship.

And little wonder that Asia's response to the West is an

unfolding revolutionary process of which the end is by no means in sight.

That process seeks first to expel for once and for all the foreign colonial master, and has largely succeeded in doing so.

But independence is only a fragile beginning and not an end.

With independence comes the struggle for nationhood in the full sense of the word -- the struggle to create national unity out of religious and linguistic and even geographic fragmentation . . . the struggle to create national power, the struggle to maintain stability within and to deter and resist any would-be aggressors from without . . . and the struggle to create both wealth and justice, to create a society of expanding opportunities and hope.

The revolutionary process, as you know, is turbulent and it's fraught with horrible dangers: it contains the danger of unbridled competing nationalism, the lure of false prophets and demagogues, the temptation of illusory short-cuts that lead to new tyranny, the passions aroused by unfulfilled expectations.

Nearly fifty years ago a new specific danger was added to this process, the doctrines of Marx and Lenin -- offered as an explanation of Asia's past, a plan of action for Asia's present, and a blueprint for Asia's future.

Though always, and I repeat always, a tiny minority, the agents of Marxist-Leninism were able in parts of wartime and post-war Asia to ride the tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism.

With perseverance and discipline, they produced an impact far beyond their numbers.

Today we see in mainland China the tragic result of one Asian revolution that lost its way -- a revolution captured by a disciplined Communist minority.

The high price of that tragedy is, for the people of China, a life of isolation in the world's most rigidly totalitarian state, and, for the people of all Asia, a profoundly disturbing and at times dangerous neighbor.

Today we see in the Indo-China peninsula the tragic result of another Asian revolution that lost its way. The people of Vietnam, who have lived with violence for a quarter of a century, in colonial rule for a century, find half their country ceded to a Communist minority regime in Hanoi. At the same time they face a determined effort by that same regime to force South Vietnam under Communist rule.

Now I come to my second question: How did we ever get involved in Asia?

Well, the question may seem naive. Yet I frequently hear the statement from those who should know better that "America has no business in Asia."

In part this stems from frustration in the face of Asia's complexity. How much easier it is to withdraw and let so-called nature take its course.

But in part this also stems from the misreading of history.

We are all in some degree both heirs and captives of history. And our involvement in Asia is no recent aberration but rather a rooted fact of history.

We are there and have been a Pacific power from the days of the New England clipper ships in the late 18th century.

Our traders and entrepreneurs soon were joined by our missionaries -- and not simply evangelists, but doctors and nurses, and teachers and engineers, and businessmen and agricultural specialists. By the mid-19th century American ships had opened up Japan, and American citizens were leading participants in what became the greatest export of people and technology ever attempted from one civilization to another -- and much of it was focused upon China.

In the process, we became catalytic agents of transformation. We became unwitting participants in Asian history, in fact in Asian revolution.

And America's role in Asia today is a direct product in part of the century that preceded World War II and war itself.

With the end of that war, the responsibilities of victory imposed on us a stabilizing role in the entire Pacific area.

And with the beginning of the Cold War, the Communist victory and takeover in China, and the outbreak of the Korean War, American power was the only shield available to fragile and newly independent nations in non-Communist Asia.

This is the history of ^{our} involvement. This was not, however, the role that we had sought. This was not the peace for which we had yearned.

Nor is it a role that we seek to perpetuate today. But the peace still eludes us. There are those in Asia who still pursue their objectives by force, by aggression, and subversion. And there are those who ask our help in meeting this threat.

Now I come to my final question and one for the future and for you: Can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

Now, what, in the simplest forms, are those goals?

Well, first we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in their deterrence of and resistance to all forms of aggression.

Second, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in the great tasks of nation-building. This means that we must lead other rich nations in the war on poverty, ignorance and disease in Asia. Because where there is constant want there is no peace.

Third, we seek to strengthen the forces of regional cooperation on the basis of Asian initiatives.

And finally, we seek and will continue to seek to build bridges, to keep open the doors of communication, to the Communist states of Asia, and in particular Communist China -- just as we have to the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

The isolation of Asian Communist states -- however caused -- breeds unreality, delusions, and miscalculation.

Efforts to break that isolation may, for the time being, provoke denunciation and hostility. We must expect it. But we shall persevere and explore means of communication and exchanges, looking to the day when the leaders of Asian communism -- as with their former colleagues in Europe -- will come to recognize the self-destructiveness and the wastefulness of their present bellicose policies.

Prudence and reason, not the slogans of the past, will guide us as we try to reduce the unacceptable risks, the unacceptable risks, I repeat, of ignorance and misunderstanding in a thermo-nuclear age.

Now let me underline what we do not seek: We do not seek alignment, except from those who choose it. We do not seek economic privilege. We do not seek territory or military bases. We do not seek to dominate or to conquer.

Our objectives, this nation's objectives, are best served by one result in Asia: The emergence of nations dedicated to their own national independence, to the well-being of their own people, and to the sincere pursuit of peace.

I now return to my question: Can these objectives be achieved?

And my answer is yes. But much depends on our actions as a nation, on your understanding that prompts those actions.

In the struggle for a peaceful, strong, and developing free Asia, our assets in that region are great.

In Japan, we have a staunch friend and a highly developed nation, an immense potential force for the development of Asia.

On the South Asian subcontinent, we have close friends in India, the world's largest democracy, and in Pakistan. Both nations are dedicated to independence and bravely embarked on vast programs of development.

In the southwest Pacific, we have our friends in Australia and New Zealand who share with us our commitment to the future of free Asia.

Elsewhere -- in Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines, Ceylon and Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and now Indonesia -- we find

nations committed in differing fashions to independence and development. We respect their commitment. We respect their differences. We applaud their initiative and their leadership.

But what of the states of the former French Indo-China?

Here is the present focal point of war and revolution in Asia. And here we are tested as never before. We face a situation of external aggression and subversion against a post-colonial nation that has never had the breathing space to develop its politics or its economy.

In South Vietnam, both defense and development -- the war against the aggressor and the war against misery and despair -- are fused as never ^{before,} /one and inseparable. Vietnam, my fellow ^{military} Americans, challenges our/courage, our political ingenuity, and our ability and willingness to persevere.

If we can succeed there -- if we can help sustain an independent South Vietnam, free to determine its own future -- even in its rather disruptive and confusing way, then the prospects for free men throughout Asia, will be bright indeed.

Now we know this. Our friends and allies know it. And our adversaries know it too. And that is why one small country looms so large today on everybody's map of Asia.

But mark my words, Asia will not disappear even with a Vietnam settlement.

Nor will our objectives and responsibilities in Asia disappear.

The peace and the development of Asia will be high on our national agenda, on your lifetime agenda, for the rest of this century.

President Johnson's address at Johns Hopkins University last year was a historic formulation of American purposes in Asia.

He said that our commitment in South Vietnam was firm, that our quest for peace would be unrelenting, that our continuing concern with the welfare of the peoples of Southeast Asia could be tested by Asians ready to initiate cooperative ventures of peaceful development. The President pledged generous American aid.

Yes, he envisaged participation by North Vietnam in constructive social and economic arrangements once Hanoi had decided to stop the shooting. And last February, he again appealed to the "men of the north" to stop their aggression and to join mankind in helping ^{to} fulfill the unsatisfied wants of the millions of people of that region.

Termination of war alone would be a major contribution to the process of accelerated social and economic development in Asia. It is still true, my fellow Americans, America hates war and the only war that we want to fight, now as in the past, and in the future, is a war against the ancient enemies of mankind that plague us in vast areas of the world. Hunger and poverty, disease and illiteracy -- those are the enemies.

There is a promising ferment, however, in Asia today -- a ferment that can lead to higher standards of performance on the part of individual countries and a great sense of community among them.

But Asia desperately needs peace. The question remains; can independent, non-Communist states not only survive in this kind of a world but grow and flourish in the face of Communist pressure?

In that confrontation, a review of free Asia's achievements should give us solid ground for hope.

Consider South Korea, where exports have increased by 500 per cent in the past three years. Consider Taiwan, which has been transformed from an aid-receiving to an aid-giving country and enjoys a rate of economic growth higher than that even of Japan. Consider Malaysia and Thailand, where ambitious development plans are being launched. Consider the Philippines where new leadership strengthens democratic institution and inspires social and economic progress. Yes my fellow Americans, consider Indonesia, where new leaders are determined to see that potentially rich country resume a responsible place in the world community.

I say that all of these developments are striking evidence that, notwithstanding Communist propaganda and boasts that they represent the wave of the future, that the real wave of the future, the real achievements taking place within Asia have occurred in areas that rely upon freedom and independence, competition and the respect for national integrity as the true basis for genuine and enduring social and economic progress.

therefore,

As we Americans/strive to deal with these immense problems -- and the promise -- of a vibrant, modernizing interdependent Asia in the years ahead, we will be called upon to show special qualities of mind and spirit and understanding.

We will have to learn far more about Asian history and Asian cultures than any of us now know. We shall need more than a nodding acquaintance with the key critical issues that absorb the attention of Asians.

We will have to learn to speak and read Asian languages.

We will have to become more sensitive to the differences among Asian nations as well as their similarities.

And we should be sensitive to the pride, the dignity and the nationalism of Asian peoples and nations. Like most people, Asians prefer to rule themselves, even if badly, than to be well ruled by some foreigner.

Asians/^{prefer} Asian initiatives. So do we.

Finally, we must learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for instant solutions to age-old problems.

Asia's problems are extraordinarily complex and intractable; and they will be with us for a long time to come. We must discipline ourselves to practice some traditional Asian patience.

It is persevering patience -- and perspective -- that we will need in the years ahead.

And I have no doubt that we will meet, in Asia as in the rest of the world, time and again disappointment, disillusionment, Yankee go home, ingratitude and frustration.

But we must not be deterred. We must not falter.

It is our good fortune to be citizens of the most prosperous and powerful nation in the world. With that good fortune comes responsibility and duty.

It is the prosperous who can most afford compassion and humility.

It is the powerful who most can afford patience and perspective.

To be firm, without being belligerent; to be strong, without being bellicose, these must be our standards.

Let us, then, not pursue policies -- or judge ourselves -- in consonance with the passion of the moment.

But rather let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be written: "These were the paths taken by wise men."

My congratulations to this class.

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