

# NEWS RELEASE

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FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY P.M., JUNE 8, 1966

REMARKS -- VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, NEW YORK, JUNE 3, 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.

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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 <sup>perseverance</sup> 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.

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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, delusions, 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 exchanges, 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?

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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?

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."

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# HUMPHREY ASKS CHINA CONTACTS

Tells West Point Graduates  
the Isolation of Asian Red  
Nations Is Dangerous

By DOUGLAS ROBINSON

Special to The New York Times

WEST POINT, N. Y., June 8

—Vice President Humphrey pledged today that the United States would continue to try to widen its contacts with Communist China despite the "denunciation and hostility" provoked by such efforts.

The continued isolation of the Asian Communist states, he told the graduating class at the United States Military Academy, "breeds unreality, delusions and miscalculation."

"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," Mr. Humphrey said.

The address was viewed as part of recent efforts by the Johnson Administration to hold out the hope of a partial easing of relations with Communist China. So far the effort has not met with a favorable response.

The Vice President advised the 579 graduating cadets sitting under a broiling sun in West Point's Michie Stadium that the "peace and development of Asia will be high on our national agenda for the rest of the century."

## Cautions Hawks and Doves

At the same time, he warned that "our so-called hawks" must learn that "military power is not enough." They must come to the understanding, he said, that such power "can be wholly unavailing if not accompanied by political effort and by the credible promise to ordinary people of a better life."

As for the "so-called doves," Mr. Humphrey said, they must learn that "there is no substitute for force in the face of a determined enemy who resorts to terror, subversion, aggression, whether concealed or open."

On the subject of Vietnam, where 98 cadets have volunteered to serve after a few more months of training, Mr. Humphrey said that the "war against the aggressor and the war against misery and despair are fused as never before."

"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 our prospects and the prospects for free men throughout Asia will be bright indeed," the Vice President declared.

Mr. Humphrey urged that Americans devote themselves to learning more about Asian cul-

## CHINA CONTACTS

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ture and history, including the ability to speak and read Asian languages. We should also, he said, "learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for instant solutions to age-old problems."

In pledging continued American efforts to communicate with Communist China, the Vice President said that "efforts to break that isolation may, for the time being, provoke denunciation and hostility and we must expect that."

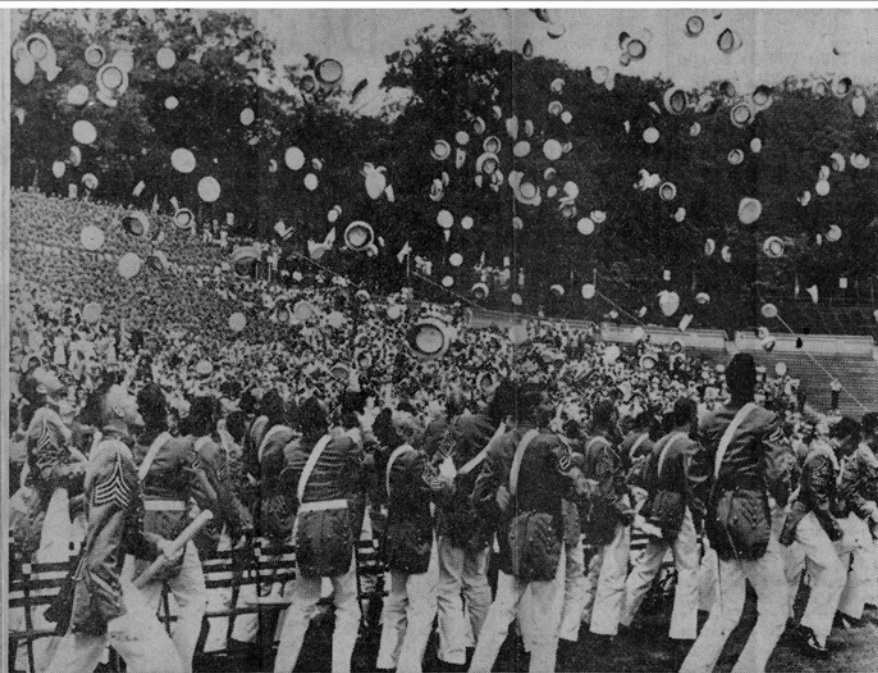
"But we shall persevere and explore means of communication and exchanges," he continued, "looking to the day when the leaders of Asian communism — as did their former colleagues in Europe — will come to recognize the self-destructiveness and the wastefulness of their present bellicose policies."

Following his address, Mr. Humphrey sat on the speaker's platform as each cadet came up to receive his diploma. Leading the long gray line was Wesley K. Clark of Little Rock, Ark., the No. 1 man in the class.

A tumultuous cheer arose from the Corps of Cadets and some 5,000 relatives and friends about an hour later when the lowest-ranking man in the class, Robert F. Michener of Claremont, N. H., walked across the platform.

Mr. Humphrey took Cadet Michener's diploma from Maj. Gen. Donald V. Bennett, the Superintendent of West Point, and handed it to the startled cadet. In return, young Michener presented the Vice President with his white hat.

A few minutes later, the air was filled with white hats as the class of 1966—the 168th to graduate from West Point since



Associated Press Wirephoto

ANNUAL RITUAL AT WEST POINT: Hats fly in traditional ending to the U.S. Military Academy graduation

its founding in 1802—was dismissed for the last time. Accelerated programs during wartime account for the fact that there have been more graduating classes than years since the Academy was founded.

The Vice President arrived here from New York at 9:30 A.M. aboard an Army helicopter. He was welcomed by General Bennett and given a 19-gun salute. He briefly inspected the honor guard and

then went directly to the stadium.

At the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Humphrey was presented with a saber by Cadet Norman E. Fretwell of Joplin,

Mo., the brigade commander of the Corps of Cadets. In his presentation, Cadet Fretwell told the Vice President that his class was "eager to assume its obligations to our country."