

Secretary Dean Rusk at Erskine College

SPEECH
 OF

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 24, 1967

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Erskine College at Due West, S.C., in my congressional district, was fortunate to have Secretary of State Dean Rusk deliver the inaugural address when Dr. Joseph Wightman became president on April 29. This day was one of the greatest in the history of Erskine and indeed in the history of South Carolina.

Erskine is the only Associate Reformed Presbyterian College in the world and is a truly magnificent example of higher education in a beautiful setting of yesterday, molding intellect and character to meet the needs of tomorrow.

Our own great distinguished colleague in this Congress, the Honorable Tom Gettys and his lovely wife, Mary Phillips Gettys, are graduates of this outstanding institution.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the Congress, to the academic community, and to all of our people the superb and timely address of Secretary Rusk:

ADDRESS BY HON. DEAN RUSK AT ERSKINE COLLEGE, DUE WEST, S.C., APRIL 29, 1967

MODERATOR. Friends of Erskine College, our guest speaker has honored President Wightman, Erskine College and the state of South Carolina by his presence today. We are grateful to him for taking this time from his busy schedule. Secretary Rusk is a native of Georgia and he was graduated from Davidson College, where he majored in Political Science and played on the basketball team.

Dr. Graham Martin, who is with us today, now President of Davidson College, was a classmate of Secretary Rusk. Erskine played basketball twice while Secretary Rusk was on the team. Several who played on the Erskine team, including one of our own Board members, Evan Reed, are with us today. I might add that Erskine won the game in 1930 (laughter and applause) by a score of 32 to 27. Secretary Rusk was high scorer, with 13 points. (Applause.)

To be fair, and because he follows me later, I must say that Davidson won the 1931 game by a score of 37 to 23.

Winning a Rhodes scholarship, he studied philosophy, politics and economics at St. Johns College, Oxford, from 1931 to 1934. While at Oxford, he wrote an essay which was awarded the Cecil Peace Prize. Dr. Wightman also attended Oxford and graduated from Oxford in 1938. It was at Oxford that Secretary Rusk and Dr. Wightman had the same tutor, Dr. William Conrad Costin. Secretary Rusk is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and his keen interest in education is evidenced by the fact that he has been awarded honorary doctoral degrees by 13 colleges and universities.

As you will observe, he scored 13 points against us, and he has 13 honorary degrees, but Erskine will break this tie today. (Laughter.)

Secretary Rusk has devoted his life to public service. Accomplishment of his long period of unselfish service, as an educator, soldier, and statesman are well known. His manner, patience and tact in the pursuit of world peace are appreciated by all. It is my distinct honor to present the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State. (Applause.)

Secretary of State DEAN RUSK. Mr. Watts, President Wightman, members and distinguished guests of the scholarly community of Erskine College—it is a very great pleasure indeed for me to be here for the inauguration of Joseph Wightman as your next President. I would gladly yield my time to the Choralists, if they would let me. (Laughter.) But I want to thank you for the warm welcome that you have given me on this campus and in this community. There are moments when that is especially appreciated by a Secretary of State. (Laughter.)

Some time ago I was on my way to a large university to make a speech, and about 30 minutes out of the airport the control tower sent me a message, saying, there are a thousand people here to meet you, Mr. Secretary. Well I wasn't born yesterday, so I sent a message back saying, if there are a thousand people there to meet the Secretary of State, they obviously are carrying signs. What do the signs say? (Laughter.)

In a few moments came back the message, we've had a re-count, there are only 50—come on in, the natives are friendly. (Laughter.) I'm very happy to be here on this platform, with three very distinguished members of your congressional delegation in Washington, who spend so much labor there for you and for your nation. Senator Thurmond, and your own Congressman Dorn from this District; your own Congressman Gettys, distinguished alumnus of this college. I'm happy to be at Erskine. I've had many ties with Erskine College over the years, through family and friends, and once in a while on a basketball court. I take some satisfaction that my lifetime record against Erskine is 1 and 1. That should lead to some harmony here today.

But in any event, Davidson and Erskine have learned a good deal over the years about how to lose sporting events gracefully. That's why we call it character building. (Laughter.) But to be at Erskine at a time in which you are inaugurating Joseph Wightman is a very special pleasure indeed. He and I just missed each other at St. Johns College, Oxford. In the Oxford parlance, I "went down" the year he "came up." I've been trying to think of some suitable lesson to draw from that particular expression, but I haven't been able to find one that would be of advantage to me. (Laughter.)

But W. C. Costin, that remarkable tutor, and later President of St. Johns, sent me the warmest message about how happy he was that Dr. Wightman will be the President of Erskine College, and I will put that message, along with the other memos of this occasion—mementos of this occasion—in the record. Today I'm not going to read a speech to you. I want to talk for a few minutes, very personally, and very informally, chiefly to the young people, as though we were sitting around in groups of 10 or 12 in a faculty living room somewhere to give, you some impressions about how your Secretary of State looks at the world these days, and what he thinks about it, and what your concerns and our concerns are, and ought to be, and what they may be in the future.

I would urge you first to know that for as long as you live, we shall be in a period of breathtaking change. If a young person would ask me today, for what must I be prepared—in all honesty I would have to say, for whatever comes. And where better to learn the basic ideas for whatever comes, than in a Liberal Arts college like Erskine College. How can I illustrate that change?

In 1946 when the architects of the United Nations were instructed by the UN to build a new headquarters, they told them to prepare for 60 members, but for a possible expansion to 75. Last fall they admitted the 122nd member, to the United Nations. During each calendar year there are elections or changes of government in at least 50 of the

countries with whom we have relations. And most of those have some bearing upon the relations between those countries and the United States. Indeed my staff tells me that I have now lived through 58 coup d'etats somewhere in the world, and I want you to know that CIA did not cause any one of them. (Laughter.)

We send out 1,000 cables a day from our Department, all over the world. I presume to think that most of you would agree with most of them, if you had a chance to see them, and most of them indeed are public—public information. But there is going to be dramatic change. That means that we must know how to organize our thoughts about this tempestuous world. General Omar Bradley, a very wise man, said some years ago that the time has come for us to chart our course by the distant stars, and not by the lights of each passing ship. And so, given the certainty of change, we need to seek, to understand, those central ideas which give some order in the midst of tumult. Further than that, what United States itself shall do will be one of the organizing factors on the world scene. With so much power, so much influence, what we do makes a difference to almost everyone else.

It is necessary therefore for use to be reasonably predictable, to stay steady on course, so that not only our friends, but our potential adversaries will be able to know something about what our conduct will be. Because if we should act fitfully, without purpose, without reason, the world situation could deteriorate into chaos and violent chaos very quickly. And again, where better to look for those great central themes of policy than in a college like Erskine. Today I shall mention two of them. The first, governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. If you think that is trite, take care—and try to improve upon it, by the way. Because this simple notion, which was derived by Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues out of at least 2,000 years of discourse on the political nature of man, serves as a scarlet thread of policy for a nation like ours, where the people rather believe that this proposition is true. It is why we have welcomed so many new nations into the community of nations, as the colonial systems have yielded up these nationally independent units. It's why we are concerned as people, about what goes on at times behind the respective curtains. It is why we are much more intimate with democracy than we are with dictatorships in our foreign relations, why we are so deeply concerned if there are still tasks to be done, to give the great promises of our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution to all of our citizens here at home.

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. I have frequently said to incoming ambassadors, coming into Washington to represent their countries, that if they want to know how to predict with reasonable accuracy the attitudes of the American people toward a great variety of events in the course of a year, just to keep their eyes on that rather simple proposition. Second—and I want to dwell on this for a few minutes—the necessity for the organization of a durable peace. At least half of my listeners today can no longer remember World War II. And fewer than that can remember the events which led up to World War II. One of my concerns is that, as we put more time between that struggle and our day, the great central question of 1945 will slip into the background and we shall be negligent and careless about it, because that great central question was, the organization of a durable peace.

The lessons drawn from that war are written into Article I of the United Nations Charter. And I would hope that many of you would take a little extra time to read over once again, that Article I, but this time a

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little more carefully, a little more prayerfully, with full recognition of what it is you're reading. It says that if we must organize peace, we must suppress acts of aggression and breaches of the peace, that we must settle our disputes by peaceful means, that we must extend the privileges of self-determination to men right around the globe, and that we must cooperate across national frontiers, to get on with the great humanitarian tasks of mankind.

I would invite our young people to a discourse between generations on this subject of organizing a durable peace, an honest, sober, penetrating, searching discourse, marked with mutual respect on both sides, because I'm quite sure that we older people have things which we ought to be forgetting, old passions and old prejudices, old scars which we have not permitted to heal, old suspicions which stand in the way of taking some risks for peace. And on that, you younger people must help those of us who have more years. On the other side, some of you younger people have the problem of trying to learn about the living reality in those things which you've had no chance to remember. And on that, some of us who are older perhaps can be of some help to you in that discourse.

As a father of college students, I'm perfectly aware of the fact that it's a little obnoxious for us to say to young people that we too once were young. (Laughter.) But that was only yesterday, and if you smile patiently today, tomorrow you'll know what I mean. But if you wonder why some of us show a certain passion about this notion of organizing a durable peace, bear with me just for a moment, for a recollection of another student period, and another student generation. I was in the Oxford Union, as an undergraduate on that evening in 1933, when the Oxford Union passed a motion saying, this house will not fight for king and country. The man who moved that motion was the philosopher C. E. M. Joad—brilliant, witty, eloquent—he carried the day. Six years later C. E. M. Joad put out a statement to those same young people, in effect saying, sorry chaps, this fellow Hitler is different—get out there and fight. And he did not add, and without the arms and without the training, and without the prevention which I and others who felt like me, in the Western world, prevented their having.

And we had the same spokesmen in this country, who helped to prevent the governments of that day from taking the steps to prevent World War II. And so that generation went into World War II, and there were tens of millions of lives lost, and Article I of the United Nations Charter was bought with those lives. So when I hear today, it's too far away—it's not our business, or when I hear, well if he takes one more bite perhaps he'll be satisfied; or if I hear, well, we've been rude to him, so let's help him to feel better by letting him have a little country or two—these were the same things that another generation of students heard. And therefore don't ask me to look upon these as the "new" ideas of the Sixties. They are the old and discredited ideas for which a frightful price was paid. But in any event all this has passed, so let's put that aside—that is not necessarily a guide for the future.

But I want you to understand why some of us who are not quite so young still have some of the passion of youth on certain subjects. But the other important reason to read Article I has to do with the future—your future, your home and your community, your ability to raise a family. If I could say one thing today which I hope you'll never forget—and I shall say it as quietly as I can, and still be heard—we shall not have the chance to draw the lessons from World War III. There won't be enough left. Therefore, Article I of the United Nations Charter may well be our last clear chance to organize peace on this earth if

men are to inhabit this planet together. Therefore I hope that all of us can agree that organizing a durable peace is the central question for mankind, and then let us if we shall, and we must, let us differ if we will, about how to do it—how to get there, but let us not be contemptuous of the question, unless we wish to be frivolous about the survival of the human race.

Now this is why we have to think seriously about the commitments which we undertake, this is why a failure on our part to meet a commitment may very likely open the doors to that very catastrophe which we must at all costs somehow prevent. It's not just one little country, it's not just one rather distant part of the world—it is the central question as to whether nations will insist upon living under law, or whether those who would seize their neighbors by force will have a chance to let their appetites grow upon the feeding, gather their momentum, and impose upon us all a catastrophe when it is too late to prevent it.

I spoke earlier about the power and influence of the United States. I hope you will not underestimate our capacity to do what is necessary, not only for our own interests, but for the peace of the world. There are burdens to be borne, and American people have borne these burdens with a gallantry and a faith, and a hope in this postwar period, in a way that is almost unexampled in history. Our Gross National Product is equal to that of all of the NATO countries and Japan combined—twice that of the Soviet Union, and the gap is continuing to widen—ten times that of Mainland China, out of which they have to meet the needs of some 700 million people, a Gross National Product ten times that of all of Latin America. We can afford to do what has to be done, and we can afford to do it cheerfully. Don't sell your country short as to its purposes, its motives, its aspirations, and at this point I would like to ask our friends from other countries, to forgive just a little presumption, and let Americans talk among Americans just for a moment.

Lord Acton once remarked that power tends to corrupt and absolute power tends to corrupt absolutely. The American people came out of World War II, with unbelievable power—physical power. That power has since been multiplied many fold—many, many fold—frail human beings, and that means us all, now hold in our hand power which if used would create effects which the mind of man cannot comprehend. And those who are responsible for keeping this beast in its cage are thankful at the end of every day for one more day in which the cage holds tight. But the presumption is this—I don't myself believe that that fantastic power has corrupted the American people. I believe that the purposes of this nation in world affairs are relatively simple, and relatively decent. We would like to organize that peace. We would like to establish the rule of law in international affairs. We would like to join hands to help relieve the great burdens of misery and poverty and disease from those who are just beginning to enter the scientific and technical age. We would like to see political systems which do not involve the knock on the door at midnight, a system in which individuals and families can live with some knowledge of what the tomorrow will bring, with some assurance that they too will have a chance to draw the best out of the past and build upon it to create an even better future.

These are rather simple things, which are shared by the ordinary men and women of our country with the ordinary men and women in every other country that I know about, including those behind the Curtains. That is why we can be grateful that there are signs that there is greater prudence in the world than we once thought possible, why there is a growing recognition of the

need to join hands to get our common tasks done, including those common tasks which affect the daily lives of ordinary men and women throughout the world. A growing recognition that the use of massive force is an irrational act for governments to perform. Many signs that the community of man is beginning to lay its hand upon the exercise of raw power—that we're not there yet, and we have not reached the possibility of a period of prudence by giving away Azerbaijan, in 1946, or the eastern provinces of Turkey, or by yielding Greece to the guerrillas, or by abandoning Berlin to the blockade, or by forgetting about South Korea, or the Philippines or Malaya, or the Congo, or by welcoming the missiles into Cuba as good neighbors. It has been a long and difficult, and upon occasion, a bloody path to a point where the prospect for peace looks a little better than it might have looked some time ago. But there is still something to be done. It is a tragedy that once again, after all that has happened since 1945, young Americans must hazard all that they have if we are to organize that durable peace. I assure you we shall leave no possible avenue to peace unexplored—through our own effort, through the effort of at least half the governments of the world, through diligently attempting to bring that peace about, directly or indirectly—singly or in groups—publicly or privately. But let us be careful about opening those gates to brute force if man is to survive.

Dr. Wightman, Erskine College has selected well, in asking you to be its President. We ask a great deal of those who become presidents of our fine colleges and universities, a great deal of devotion, and dedication, selfless service, the best of one's mind can bring to bear, the loftiest concepts which one's spirit can bring to the task, and interminable toil in the daily affairs of making any fine institution work well. My congratulations to the faculty and students of Erskine on your appointment—my respect to you for your readiness to take on so great and so challenging a job. Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

B. C. J. J.
Bent on Repeating Mistakes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 25, 1967

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this body will soon consider the bill to extend the life of the Export-Import Bank and to expand its lending authority. I commend to my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the San Gabriel Valley Daily Tribune on May 11, 1967, entitled "Bent on Repeating Mistakes." We might all heed its warning lest the young men of this country once again become victims of our turning the other cheek.

[From the San Gabriel Valley Daily Tribune, May 11, 1967]

BENT ON REPEATING MISTAKES

Many Americans came to regret pre-war shipments of scrap metal to Japan. It was returned to us as shrapnel that tore away the limbs and ripped the bodies of American soldiers.

Yet, today it seems that we are intent on repeating past mistakes.

In a desire to increase trade with Russia, certain U.S. businessmen seemingly put

profit before patriotism. They're willing to supply goods and tools to bolster Russia's industrial capacity, and in so doing free Russia to concentrate its efforts on military and space projects. It doesn't make sense.

Congressman Glenard Lipscomb very aptly stated the case for his constituents in the San Gabriel Valley and all Americans recently on the floor of the House of Representatives.

He charged that export of U.S.-made tools to help the Fiat Company of Italy start an automobile plant in Russia will aid the Viet Cong.

It is expected that export of the tools will be financed by the U.S. Export-Import Bank in an amount up to \$50 million.

By providing the Fiat firm with the tools, the U.S. will free Russia from having to divert manpower for facilities from its military and space projects.

We agree with the congressman that it seems inconceivable that it could be seriously proposed that the United States at this time should assist in any way in building up the automotive industry in the Soviet Union—for products of existing Soviet automotive factories can be found in trouble spots throughout the world. They haul Communist soldiers, ammunition, weapons and food in Southeast Asia.

Just as Hitler's war machine was dependent on rubber and gasoline to keep in operation, Communist forces in Vietnam need trucks to keep bringing war supplies from Russia and China.

The claims, statements and conjectures that the Fiat deal is in the interest of the U.S. makes us gag. Who will be the real gainers if U.S. capital and U.S. know-how is used to tool up an automobile assembly plant for Russia? You know who!

We sincerely hope that Congressman Lipscomb's fellow members of the House were listening and that Americans understand the implication that this offer to cooperate and help Russia is being done at the expense of America in general—and the fighting men in Vietnam in particular.

For, if the Fiat deal goes through, it will be soldiers in Vietnam who will be hit by mortars that might possibly never have reached the war zone if Russia had to use its resources and manpower to build the tools for the Fiat's automobile plant.

the experience, the knowledge, the know-how to express himself to contemporary America. Accordingly, it is my privilege to bring to the attention of my colleagues one of the finest addresses I have ever had the opportunity to hear:

THE IDEA OF AMELIORATION

(Address by James G. Morton, Special Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Commerce, to the National Account Marketing Association, at Atlantic City, N.J., on May 4, 1967)

It is a pleasure to be with you today at this important national conference.

It is always stimulating to meet with America's marketing men, for you are in the front lines of the dynamic competition that makes our economic system thrive.

You are not only where the action is, you make it happen. And the whole country benefits.

It is in the marketing profession most of all that one finds the prevailing currents of optimism and positivism that invigorate our national spirit and spur us on to new attainments.

Optimism has been the object of considerable cynicism in literature and no less in certain quarters of our society today. But I am for it.

I believe it is one of the qualities that makes our country great. Had the Continental soldier at Valley Forge not been an optimist there would not be an America as we know it today.

Optimism is the mother of enthusiasm; and enthusiasm is the motive force of progress. Nobody knows better than the salesman that nothing succeeds like success. And the salesman does not wait for success; he contrives it.

The greatest success story of the century is being acted out on the vast stage of the American economy. The marketing man is taking a starring role.

At the outset of the sixties our marketing men had a vision of the future and they seized it. The unprecedented growth we have enjoyed during the past six years could not have been achieved without the creative efforts of our marketing men to expand demand for our tremendous outpouring of goods and services.

But the accomplishments of the past are dwarfed by the prospects of the future.

Department of Commerce economists have been working with the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on a projection of the economy in 1975. Using the 1965 figures they created a model of the economy a decade ahead.

The projections were based on two major assumptions: that we will maintain a 4 percent annual rate of real GNP growth and that the rate of unemployment will be maintained at 4 percent or lower.

This assumed growth rate is better than the 3.7 percent from 1950 to 1965 but it is not unreasonable considering the dominant factors that contribute to faster growth. These include education and the acquiring of more skills by a larger proportion of our population.

Other key factors, of course, will be population growth and expansion of our labor force.

The joint study indicates that if we have balanced growth and prices increase only moderately the current dollar GNP in 1975 will soar to \$1,200 billion—a trillion, two hundred billion.

This dazzling prospect is within our reach; and it is clear that the marketing man will have a vital part in materializing it through creative selling.

Selling is far more than a tool or a technique; it is a state of mind. It is the creature of confidence and courage and determination

and a positive way of viewing one's role in society.

As the challenges of our time rise up before us I hope you will see your role in broadened dimensions; for your country needs your ability and your optimism and your positive thinking.

It needs your ability to interpret America, not only to the world but to those here at home who have a blurred vision of the meaning and purpose of this republic.

It needs your positive views—and your positive voice.

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven," Ecclesiastes tells us. "A time to keep silent and a time to speak."

With all the din and discord we hear on our street corners and in our parks and on the campus today it seems this is, indeed, a time to speak.

We hear the incantations against America and the rebellious outbursts against society.

We hear our country castigated for "immorality" as we strive to preserve freedom in Vietnam.

We hear the prophets of the New Left rail against the United States and heap abuse and vilification on our President.

We hear the protests of the modern day Nihilists who believe in nothing and have nothing to suggest.

We witness the desecration of the flag that has always stood for freedom no less than for America.

Each of us and the least of us has the right to say what we think in this democracy and no one would have it otherwise. But in this dialogue of democracy it seems to me the truly significant facts about our country and its great and continuing contributions to human progress are being overlooked.

If we are to preserve a balanced perspective, more of us are going to have to make our voices heard on *what's right about America*. This is a time not to keep silent but to speak.

It is a plain truth that at no other time or place have so many enjoyed so fully the blessings and the benefits of freedom and opportunity as in America today.

In this imperfect world we have not yet arrived at Utopia but it is a fact we have achieved the world's highest living standard and are nearer than any nation has ever been to the conquest of poverty, ignorance, and squalor.

We are waging—and we are winning—the war on poverty.

The poor remain with us, and perhaps some always shall, but millions of Americans have climbed out of poverty since we began a massive attack on the Nation's economic and social ills. The number of poor decreased by 7,400,000 in the first half of this decade.

And we must bear in mind that the definition of poverty in this country would describe a comparative state of well-being in less fortunate regions of the earth.

While every citizen may not yet enjoy the fullest advantage to attain his potential, nowhere else in this world does a man or woman have a better chance in life than in America.

Through a whole series of new measures costing billions we are constantly widening the opportunities for learning and earning and fulfilling one's capabilities in a free society.

Never more than today have the strength and wisdom of our country and the conscience and concerns of our people been so completely committed to the heritage of progress that is the story of America.

Alexis de Tocqueville described that heritage in this way:

"America is a land of wonders, in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement. The idea of novelty is indissolubly connected with the idea of amelioration. No natural boundary

The Idea of Amelioration

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 25, 1967

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in June Mr. James Morton will leave Federal service after 5½ years as special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce. Through these 5 years, Jim Morton has been an inspiration to those who have worked with him in their common interests of furthering the mission of the Department of Commerce.

Throughout his career as a much decorated combat parachute officer in the 82d Airborne Division in the European theater of operations, his varied career in the publishing industry as an executive with the largest newspaper chain in America and as an outstanding adviser to top management in many varied industries has given Jim Morton

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seems to be set to the efforts of man; and in his eyes what is not yet done is only that he has not yet attempted to do."

The idea of amelioration has lost none of its magic and power as a force for progress in the more than a century that has passed since de Tocqueville visited America.

Indeed, it exerts a more profound influence than ever in propelling our Nation to new achievements in science and technology, in invention, in industrial growth, in medicine, education, and social betterment.

The idea of amelioration is embodied in the girders and the mortar and the brick of the new America that is being built on the solid foundations laid by the founders.

It is at the very heart of the philosophy of President Johnson and, as I believe, the philosophy of most Americans today.

It is forcefully expressed in the President's goal of equal educational opportunity so that, in his words, "our classrooms will be open to every American boy and girl" and "every child is guaranteed all the education he or she can take."

The President called on the Congress to provide the programs for four major tasks:

To bring better education to millions of the disadvantaged youths who need it most.

To put the best educational equipment and ideas and innovations within reach of all students.

To advance the technology of teaching and the training of teachers.

To provide incentives for those who wish to learn at every stage along the road of learning.

The 89th Congress, in a series of enactments that strengthened the school foundations in every community of the land, imparted new vigor and meaning to the idea of amelioration.

"We are now embarked," the President said, "on another venture to put the American dream to work in meeting the demands of the new day. Once again we must start where men who would improve their society have always known they must begin—with an educational system restudied, reinforced, and revitalized."

In the extension of justice and civil rights, America has taken giant strides. The most significant and far-reaching legislation in the century since the Fourteenth Amendment has been enacted to ensure equal rights and equal opportunity for our Negro citizens.

I need not catalogue the laws passed these last three years. We have hauled down the barriers to the voting booth, to public accommodations, to the classroom, to housing, to the pursuit of opportunity, and to equal justice under the law.

It is an irony that the greatest breakthroughs in the history of civil liberties in America should be accompanied by the manifest dissatisfactions.

Perhaps the frustrations are a symptom of our times when great expectations overshadow great accomplishments. But the accomplishments are there.

It is a fact the century of suppression and denial is behind us and the new day is here. Not only have the barriers been swept aside, but positive and vigorous actions have been taken to improve the economic lot of the Negro through expanded educational advantages and equal opportunities in employment.

To widen economic opportunities for Negroes has been a continuing concern of the Department of Commerce in my years as an official. Encouraging headway has been made in many directions.

While we can and do chafe at the pace of progress in many of our national endeavors, one can take great satisfaction in the knowledge that no country has done so much to enlarge the substance and meaning of human existence as the United States.

To be sanguine about our great capabilities for the future one need only consider the

performance of the American economy in the 1960's.

The vitality of the free enterprise system, functioning under enlightened public policies, has proved the decisive factor in improving the condition of life for Americans.

April was the 74th month of an expansion that has buoyed the entire Nation to a new plateau of material well-being and, with it, social improvement.

In this remarkable period of growth and prosperity following the recession low of 1960 and early '61:

Gross national product has increased more than 50 percent to the towering peak of \$764.3 billion (annual rate) in the first quarter of 1967.

Industrial production is up more than 50 percent.

Personal income has soared more than \$200 billion to a record level of well over \$600 billion, again an increase of more than 50 percent.

Average earnings of factory workers are up more than 27 percent.

Farm income increased nearly 22 percent.

Corporate profits after taxes have climbed nearly 100 percent, rising from \$24.4 billion in the first quarter of 1961 to \$48.1 billion in the fourth quarter of 1966.

Nearly 9,000,000 new jobs were created for American workers during this period and unemployment was cut in half, dropping from 7.1 percent in May of 1961 to 3.6 percent of the civilian labor force today.

Unemployment of married males has declined to little more than 2 percent with the result that nearly all who want to work and are able to work can find work.

Other than in scattered areas where chronic situations exist, we have achieved impressive success in ridding our Nation of depression and unemployment with their mutilating effect on the human spirit.

The economic gains of the Sixties have been broadly shared by the American people—the worker, the businessman, the farmer, the investor, and the professionals.

More Americans are better clothed, better fed, and better housed than ever before. And the strength of the American economy has provided the underpinning for broad social gains. Health and welfare benefits have been extended to millions of our older citizens.

This is the America—the dynamic society of free men striving to enhance the substance and meaning of life—that we can point to in measuring our path of progress.

And it is an outward-looking America, dedicated not to the pursuit of comfort but the cause of freedom and peace and progress as the world moves towards century Twenty-One.

The idea of amelioration which de Tocqueville described as our burning drive we extend to all the world's peoples.

Our foreign policy extends to all mankind our hope and determination to attain a rational, peaceful, and progressive world.

This was the aim of the Marshall Plan instituted by the United States twenty years ago to help rebuild a devastated Europe, a plan of recovery I might add in which we invited Poland and Czechoslovakia to participate. And the door was open to the Soviet Union.

In the succeeding years we have provided more than 100 billion dollars in aid and economic assistance to countries that shared our desire to ameliorate the estate of man.

In this same period American business has invested some \$50 billion in world-wide enterprises that have stimulated economic development and widened employment opportunities in more than a hundred nations.

American business and industry and skills are energetically engaged in building and planning and trading and developing around the globe. The sun never sets on the American businessman or engineer, nor on the Peace Corps worker or the government technician.

No less than in our massive aid programs over the past two decades, nor our technical assistance across the underdeveloped world, nor our support of the aspirations of emerging nations to grow and prosper—no less than any of these, our willingness to commit our finest young men to fight for freedom where necessary has been an American investment in hope for the future of mankind.

That is the path of faith and courage that America and its sons are following in Vietnam today.

There was never a time when we could be prouder of our young men in uniform. How unjust it is to label as "hawks" those who support them and the principles for which they fight and die—that a nation might live in freedom from terror and aggression.

It is a cruel deception to describe as "hawks" those who are in reality no less dedicated to the pursuit of peace than those proclaimed as "doves."

It is time we put to rest these misleading and unfair terms that come from dusty history books on the period before the Civil War. They are mischievous misnomers that have no application in truth today.

The ways to peace are many but the lessons of history tell us that firmness, not irresolution, holds the best hope for stability and order in the world.

The people of South Vietnam have been coerced, tortured, terrorized, mutilated, and murdered in a brutal and deliberate design of aggression. Where does aggression end? Any veteran can tell the demonstrator—it ends where it is stopped. It will not be stopped by removing the obstacles to its path.

There are some who suggest the people of Vietnam are not ready for democracy, that they should be cast to the devouring tides.

The schizophrenic belief that freedom is precious in one part of the world but doesn't matter in another has set in motion a weird variety of isolationism that, in effect, says one can be half safe.

It seems to me that to deny one nationality's right of self determination while granting another's is a form of racism.

The American people will never buy the notion that democracy won't work in Vietnam. We heard the same arguments about the Republic of Korea not so many years ago.

More than eleven million Koreans exercised their voting rights yesterday. Better than 80 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls in a powerful demonstration of democracy at work.

Our faith and our hopes in Korea have been justified by the fresh footprints on the path of freedom and progress. We can hope for no less in Vietnam.

Almost a quarter of a century ago, in the closing days of World War II, a great president spoke the following words:

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the world community."

In the speech that he never gave—prepared for delivery the day after his death 22 years ago—President Roosevelt further expanded on this American creed for the Twentieth Century:

"More than an end to war," he wrote, "we want an end to the beginnings of all wars."

For the past quarter century, under both Republican and Democratic Administrations, America has pursued policies based both in the idealism and the practical wisdom contained in these words. We have pursued them with our treasure and our genius and, with heavy hearts, in some times and at some places with the lives of American men.

That is why brave men today fight and die alongside the South Vietnamese