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ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE DEAN RUSK,
SECRETARY OF STATE,
SALUTE TO ROY WILKINS,
AT THE FREEDOM HOUSE DINNER,
WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, NEW YORK,
TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 1967

I am here tonight to salute a soldier of freedom and peace, Roy Wilkins, and to bring him a message from the President of the United States.

I count it a privilege to be in the company of this audience and to join with Freedom House in doing honor to this most valuable and valued American citizen.

In these times few have done as much as he to help us bring to a fuller reality the ideals to which we have been for so long committed.

My intense interest in what Roy Wilkins has done is twofold: as a citizen and as a public official. But my interest as a citizen is the more fundamental. When I think of the progress in the cause of equal rights and racial justice in the past decade -- with awareness of how much still remains to be done -- the thing that is most important is not the image which our nation projects to the world but the reality which America achieves for itself.

The primary reason we must press forward in furthering equal rights, in guaranteeing equal opportunity for all citizens, and in removing the blight of discrimination against any citizen due to race or religion -- the primary reason for doing these things is not to improve other peoples' opinion of the United States, not to make things easier for the State Department in our relations with the rest of the world. It is to redeem our own pledges to ourselves.

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As we do that, then all we need by way of image is added unto us -- and this is an important asset in the conduct of foreign policy.

This is why the Secretary of State is a beneficiary of the unceasing work which this audience and Freedom House and the man it is honoring are doing in the cause of equal rights and I speak with diplomatic understatement when I say that Roy Wilkins' work in the cause of human rights and racial justice has made the task of the Secretary of State lighter than it otherwise would have been.

In the broadest and truest sense freedom is the central issue in the world struggle in which we are engaged. But the United States cannot successfully promote the cause of freedom and government by the consent of the governed in the world if we do not cherish and fully practice freedom at home, and demonstrate that no citizen shall be denied his right to give -- or to withhold -- his consent through the ballot.

I am not suggesting and would not wish to leave the impression that racial discrimination is unique to the United States. Everyone in this audience knows that such is not the truth -- far from it. Discrimination because of race, color, religion, national or even tribal origin is to be found in many countries.

Why, then, is the focus of world interest and questioning so glaringly fixed upon us? The paramount reason is that the United States is widely regarded as the home and exemplar of democracy and the leader of the struggle for freedom, for human rights, for human dignity. We are expected to be the model, and I am grateful and proud that we are. No higher compliment could be paid us. Inevitably, understandably, with good motives and bad, our failures to live up to our proclaimed ideals are noted with pain by our friends and distorted with pleasure by our enemies.

I do not advocate that we repair our failures -- as we are rightly doing and must not cease doing -- just to disarm our adversaries. But

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I do not want to minimize how persistently Communist propaganda seizes upon nearly every racial incident and exploits it.

In their efforts to enhance their influence among the non-white peoples and to try to alienate them from us, the Communists clearly regard racial discrimination in the United States as one of their most usable assets.

There is a touch of irony in the fact that more recently one part of the Communist world has been hurling allegations of racism at another part of the Communist world; that is, Peking has been charging that racism is inevitable in the Soviet revisionist system and that events in Russia expose the hypocrisy of Soviet claims to ideological leadership anywhere in the world.

Propaganda exploiting racial discrimination in the United States would have damaged our international position more than it has but for several factors. One is that non-white students have encountered sharp racial prejudice in Soviet bloc countries and in Red China.

Another reason is that it has been our national policy strongly to support the liquidation of the old empires and to welcome with open arms the rise of the former colonial peoples to "the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them." Indeed, we led the procession after the Second World War by granting independence to the Philippines. And we have given technical, educational, and financial help to these new countries in making economic, social, and political progress.

Our national policy has rejected the arrogant notion that only the white race is entitled to freedom and capable of operating democratic forms of government. And American blood has been shed to assist non-white peoples to preserve their independence and freedom.

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We have also made emphatically clear our opposition to racial discrimination in other countries.

But the most telling response to the propaganda of our adversaries has been the loyalty of non-white Americans to the United States and its institutions. Despite the disabilities they have suffered they have, with rare exceptions indeed, preserved their faith in American democracy and in the determination of the great majority of our people to wipe the stain of unequal treatment from the face of the nation. And they have proved their devotion by bearing their full share of the painful costs of defending the United States and the Free World, thus "to secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

We would not be enjoying the respect and goodwill from most countries that we have today had we not been making vigorous efforts and visible progress in removing discriminatory laws and practices, and in advancing closer to full equality of rights and the opportunity to exercise those rights.

Today most of the world is aware that the pain of racial tensions in the United States comes not from neglecting racial problems but from attempting to redress wrongs.

Today most of the world is aware that every arm of the Federal Government has spoken and acted in behalf of racial justice -- the Judicial Branch, the Executive Branch in word and deed, and the Congress in extending far-reaching new Federal protections against discrimination. Most State Governments have been doing the same thing. And, as I read the elections of 1964 and 1966, I believe that the overwhelming majority of the American people support what has been done and will continue to support what remains to be done.

Some may think of the power of the United States as overwhelmingly military. Some may view our fabulous economic productivity as our most valuable

valuable possession. But I believe that we in this audience know that our greatest strength lies in those vibrant revolutionary ideas which were and are the premise and the promise of the Declaration of Independence, The Constitution and the Bill of Rights -- ideas about government by the consent of the governed and the unalienable rights of man. These are the most potent political force in the world today, and I believe that those who wish to live by them deserve the help and encouragement of the United States. These ideas are the heart of the humane creed which we share with many others; they are the notions which give us allies, declared and undeclared, throughout the world.

Have no doubt about it; the rest of the world is closely watching this struggle for full equality of rights and equal access to the political, economic, educational and cultural opportunities to make those rights meaningful.

But this, let me repeat, is not the main reason why we must complete the task -- a task which Abraham Lincoln began.

Lincoln is a world-wide symbol of freedom and democracy. But the United States must be more than a symbol: it must be the living reality of freedom because that is the America we believe in and are determined to achieve. For our own good and for the good of all peoples who would be free, we must make our country an unblemished gleaming example of democracy, of human rights, of fraternal goodwill.

Yesterday was the time to complete the task, but today is not too late. It is fortunate for the welfare of our nation that Freedom House and this audience are doing what they are doing tonight -- helping to kindle new fires under those who might tend to stop before the job has been completed.

Every person on this rostrum and in this audience could testify from personal knowledge to the deep dedication, wisdom, and self-abnegation

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with which Roy Wilkins has put his cause and ours above all else. But tonight I bring the appreciative testimony of the President of the United States. As all of us who see much of him know, no one could be more completely resolved than Lyndon Johnson to eradicate discriminations, whether due to race, color, religion, or economic or social status, and to assure full equality of rights and opportunity to every citizen of this great Republic.

I read from the letterhead of the White House:

"Since 1943, the Freedom Award has honored champions in the struggle for human rights at home and in the support of free societies and institutions abroad.

"This year's recipient is a unique American whose contributions transcend the boundaries of both time and territory.

"Under his vigorous guidance, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has grown in size and influence. It has waged an effective and tenacious battle to help our country set a true course on the path of liberty and of justice. And the seal of Roy Wilkins on all these efforts has become the symbol of promise and of fulfillment for millions of Americans.

"Unflinching in freedom's progress, unyielding to momentary shifts of public fashion, uncompromising in the defense of human righteousness, Roy Wilkins is one of the true leaders, not only of our time, but of all time. He has truly 'counseled wisely, guided firmly, withstood the storms of many seasons in the struggle for human rights.'

"May God continue to assist him in his mission, and may America continue to reap rich harvests from his achievements.

Lyndon B. Johnson"

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Dean Rusk: On the Presidency

These remarks by former Secretary of State Dean Rusk are excerpted from a conversation he held last month with Georgia broadcasters at the University of Georgia's School of Journalism. The conversations were broadcast by WSB in Atlanta; this is the second of two articles derived from the broadcast. Mr. Rusk is now Professor of International Law at the University of Georgia.

He Assesses Styles Of Truman, Ike, JFK, LBJ and Nixon

I don't anticipate in the next decade or two that we would have anything that could be called a world government operating in any sense like, say, the Federal Government in Washington inside the United States. I do think, however, that a great many things can be done short of that.

I would hope, for example, that both sides could draw back from contentious issues like Berlin and the Middle East, and ask themselves the question: What are these common interests that we might have regardless of our problems and quarrels and ideological differences? And I think if we started from the concept of the family of man, Homo Sapiens, a species living on this planet, that we could find some common interests simply because we're both human beings.

For example, wheat rusts don't select their targets on a basis of politics. Epidemics don't bother about national or ideological frontiers. We both have an interest in weather reporting. We both have an interest in the avoidance of nuclear war. We both have an interest in the protection of the environment.

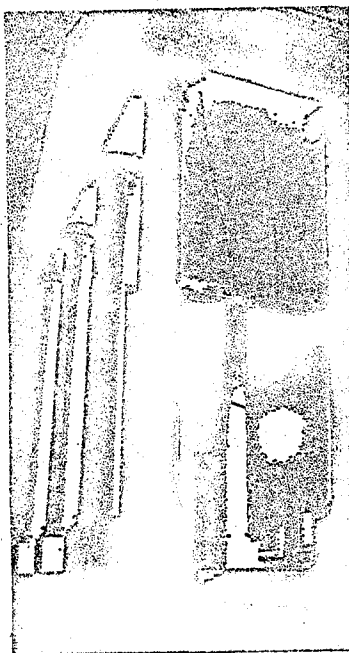
So I think there are a good many things which we can do jointly in the interest of both sides which may over time lay a restraining hand upon some of these more violent and controversial political issues.

The United Nations is an utterly indispensable organization. One of the problems is that much of its work gets very little attention. General agreement, serenity, a successful negotiation are not news. It takes a little blood and controversy to get public attention. That's a long story and I don't want to get into that, but the truth of the matter is that the overwhelming majority of international frontiers are peaceful. The overwhelming majority of treaties are complied with. The overwhelming majority of disputes are settled by peaceful means.

Now, despite the fact that this does not appear in newspapers and TV news programs, there's an enormous amount of unseen work in international cooperation going on all the time. The United Nations and its specialized agencies play a major role in that

day-to-day work of the world. Someday we may find a way to bring that to public attention more effectively.

Back in 1952 when President Eisenhower was elected, a newsman asked Senator John Sherman Cooper whether he thought there would be major changes in American foreign policy when President Eisenhower became President. And he said, no, I don't think so, because in general the foreign policy of the United States de-



The New York Times

pends upon the kind of people we are and the nature of the world environment in which we live. And those two things don't change very much simply because we elect a new President.

Now it is true that each incoming administration wants to not only to be different but appear to be different than the one which preceded it. And you hear a good deal of talk about that. But nevertheless there are more elements of continuity than elements of change in American foreign policy regardless of which party is in the White House or which party controls the Congress. A thousand cables a day go out of the Department of State on every working day and about 990 of those cables have little to do with who's President.

President Johnson knew that he

was not going to be able to wind up the war in Vietnam before he left office. And so he left President Nixon all of the options open to him. We had a military position in South Vietnam that could not be overrun by North Vietnam. We had the Paris peace talks established as a point of contact between the two sides for any political discussion. And we had already gone pretty far in building up and equipping the South Vietnamese forces.

President Nixon could make his choice since he was assuming the responsibility at the behest of the American people for making those decisions. Now he's elected to make certain decisions, and I think all of us want to wish him well in the outcome.

But in general I would simply say that foreign policy doesn't change a great deal simply with the election of new Presidents even though sometimes . . . Well, let me confess one thing. The Alliance for Progress, for example, really was started by Milton Eisenhower in the closing days of the Eisenhower Administration. President Kennedy took up the idea, gave it a new name, and articulated it brilliantly to the nations of this hemisphere. But the essential idea of the Alliance for Progress was not a new invention. So there are elements of continuity that cut across an Administration.

I've tried to avoid the role of a grandstand quarterback trying to give gratuitous advice to my successors. After all, the American people decided they wanted some other people there and they don't want to hear from me.

Each President will develop his own style of operations. And I think that's entirely appropriate and fitting because it's an awesome and lonely job and each man ought to make himself as comfortable as possible in it. Because there's very little comfort in it.

Presidents Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson tended to rely pretty heavily upon those officers of Government who helped them carry the public and in effect constitutional and statutory responsibilities of office.

President Kennedy was much freer to circulate around among a lot of people who may or may not have carried responsibility and share some responsibility with them in a somewhat informal kind of fashion. Now President Kennedy was an incandescent man. He set us all on fire. He was a great man with whom to work. But he did not have a strong sense of organization in the way in which he conducted his own office. I think the others were much more systematic in the way they approached it. I think, in that regard, Mr. Nixon is somewhat more like President Eisenhower.