



of the humanitarian motives that may have guided its administration. It will stand to the everlasting credit of former Governor Bill Daniel that his determination converted Guam into a civilian community that could aspire to a healthy and prosperous economy, independent of the Federal military budget.

But to convert aspiration into realization can be a most difficult task. It is especially so for Guam for all of the reasons that have been cataloged so often before--distance from raw materials and markets, relative scarcity of basic resources, wage levels commensurate with a reasonably high standard of living. Yet these deficit factors must be off-set by such advantages as you have if Guam is to develop a self-sufficient, independent economy. And such an economy must be developed if these graduates are to be fully utilized and are to be retained on the island. You have not trained them to see them migrate to Hawaii, the mainland, or elsewhere--although that is their privilege if they wish. Guam needs their skills, their disciplined intellect and their enthusiasm and we--all of us--must concentrate on creating the opportunities that will keep them here.

Despite the minus quantities that have hampered this effort in the past, there is no need for pessimism. Our economic studies, recently completed, revealed numerous opportunities for economic development and specified in some detail the requirements involved. Above all, they emphasized the need for education and training to prepare this generation of Guamanian youth to perform the jobs that already exist or will come into being. In a very major sense, therefore, tonight's ceremony represents a significant step in the direction of the very economic and social goals we seek.

This community does not owe these graduates a living, but it most certainly does owe them the opportunity to make their own. In this connection it is wholly appropriate to call upon the established business community to do its part in expanding the base of Guam's economic life. One of the unknowns in this formula is the capital required for expansion into the known business and industrial opportunities already identified. Some of it, undoubtedly, must come from the outside, especially the large outlays required for major industrial developments. But much of it exists right here on the island--or in the ownership of island residents.

The time is past when Guam's economy can be a purely extractive one. Modest fortunes have been made here since 1945. No one begrudges the successful entrepreneurs who cared to take a chance on Guam and labored hard to make it pay off. But we can and do call on them to reassert their confidence in the island's economic future. The finest graduation present these graduates could receive is the reinvestment of past profits in jobs for their future. A viable, independent civilian economy requires a massive cooperative effort among government, managerial imagination and the venture capital that already exists.

It would be a sad result indeed if the economic opportunities that exist here were to be left to off-island exploitation. Yet, by opening the

territory to free entry and egress, that possibility is open. It is up to you to decide whether Guam shall be developed by Guamanians whatever their origin or left to others.

More and more it is clear that your economic horizons need not and should not stop at your shores. You are at the hub and constitute the trade and transportation center of a vast island complex for which the United States bears a heavy burden of responsibility. The Trust Territory is showing the first signs of restless awakening to the modern political and economic world. We cannot predict with certainty what its ultimate choices will be, but the day of choice is hastening upon us at an accelerated pace. And its eyes are upon Guam for the lessons it needs to achieve the goals of economic self-sufficiency and self-government in the political sphere.

Among all the imponderables that exist, there is one anchor of certainty. That is that the economic future of Guam and the Trust Territory is a single complex. Each can and must complement and supplement the other. Reckless and short-sighted competition cannot help either area in the long run. The example you set will determine whether the people of Micronesia accept or reject our traditions of democratic capitalism or adopt some other system that makes constructive cooperation impossible. Guam needs the products of a prosperous Trust Territory, especially when they can replace expensive imports. The Trust Territory constitutes a vast market for the products that you can produce and the goods that pass through Guam.

Of even greater importance is the example you can furnish in the realm of democratic self-government. It took Guam half a century to acquire an Organic Act and it was twenty-five years between the first petition for United States citizenship and its final realization. The prospects are now excellent, however, that the right to elect your own Governor will be achieved in a small fraction of that time--hopefully this year, but certainly in this decade. Other objectives still lie ahead: representation in Congress and participation in national elections.

How and when these things will come about is not evident to us at the moment. In large measure that will depend on how well Guam as a community manages its local affairs with the tools of self-government already or soon to be placed in its hands by the Congress. With every graduating class that emerges from this college you become better prepared to maintain the record of high achievement you have already made in this field.

Thus the College of Guam is an important instrumentality in earning for the community all of the incidents of a fully democratic society. It is more than that because the hospitality you have extended to students of the Trust Territory has done perhaps more than any other single effort to lay a firm foundation of democratic ideology throughout the Pacific Islands which are so critical to our total security.

I now foresee this College as performing an even greater service to the American ideal. Guam has served the United States in many ways--as advance base for the defense of our nation, by sending your sons and daughters to the service of the country and as a cultural bridge between America and the Orient. Now, as the western-most center of intellectual effort in our tradition, you have the opportunity, indeed, the responsibility, of seeking the rational basis upon which we as a people and a nation can achieve peace and cooperation with your Pacific neighbors.

A few days ago, the President of the United States addressed himself to the responsibility of exercising power in a troubled world. In another academic community of the nation, President Johnson told a Princeton audience that the question of whether democracy can do the job is presented to this generation in a new context.

"It has to do", he said, "with the obligations of power in the world for a society that strives, despite its worst flaws, to be just and humane. Like almost every issue we face, this is one in which scholars and public officials have an irrevocable stake."

Then the President set forth with great cogency the central core of the problem in exercising power in a manner consistent with our democratic ideals. He said:

"The exercise of power in this century has meant for the United States not arrogance but agony. We have used our power not willingly and recklessly but reluctantly and with restraint."

It is this facet of America that we must understand and that we must interpret to the rest of the world: that restraint must not be construed as weakness; that our commitment to justice and humanity involves no surrender to aggression or subversion.

You are uniquely equipped to perform this function, geographically, ethnically, culturally and now--through the facilities and staff of this college--intellectually. Your demonstrated loyalty to American ideals must now include the function of interpretation--interpretation of the United States and its approach to Pacific and Far Eastern problems, for the peoples of the Pacific, and interpretation of that part of the world to the United States.

Those of us of Anglo-European heritage often do not understand Pacific cultures, or indeed non-European cultures generally. We assume--perhaps it is a major cultural blind spot--that all societies have made the transition from primitive agrarian to modern technological and industrial life through the same evolution which is our history. For us, it was a process of at least three centuries. Yet the essential truth is that many,

if not most, of these societies have not experienced that long transition. At best, more than half of the world's peoples have sprung from a subsistence level to modern industrialism in the short span of fifty or sixty years-- a significant portion of them in the even shorter period since World War II.

Underlying that basic assumption is a very large number of subsidiary ones. For example, we tend to take it for granted that people in the less developed areas will be patient with gradual change. We forget that they may not have an understanding or reverence for the capitalistic system which has served us so well. We conclude that they will react to the same things which stimulate people to excellence in our own culture. To the extent that these assumptions are in error, we misunderstand and are misunderstood. Impatience, frustration, discouragement and hostility are the inevitable consequences.

This erosion of morale and spirit cannot continue if the ideals of our free society are to prevail. A fundamental reexamination of our assumptions about others is a painful process to all of us and a psychologically abhorrent one to many.

I do not for a moment abandon or open to serious doubt the political and social philosophy which are the foundation and paving stones on the road to world peace and human justice. But we should learn not to be shocked or chagrined when people of other cultures seem to prefer their own scale of values or to reject ours.

Guam is the closest part of American soil to the troubled land of Viet Nam and many of you are contributing daily to our effort there. The President and the American people have demonstrated great sympathy for the Vietnamese people. The task we have undertaken is the highly complex one of providing sympathetic assistance in a threefold crusade to turn back Communist aggression, triumph over social misery and develop the basis for a functioning representative democracy. To the extent that cultural bars prevent us from fully understanding those whom we would help or make other peoples doubt our altruistic motives, that effort is penalized and made more difficult.

America can accommodate to these differences only as we understand, and no amount of understanding on our part can make others appreciate our particular motivations or objectives. We need more than anything else an interpreter who can analyze our relationships with other cultures in an objective way.

The College of Guam will continue to perform the function for which it and any college is originally created, to prepare Guam's youth for life in a modern, complex world--economically, intellectually and spiritually. In the short span of fourteen years this institution has matured and with maturity comes responsibility. Guam can, as your first civilian

Governor, Carlton Skinner so hopefully predicted, become the intellectual and cultural crossroads of the Pacific. But that status must be earned through sound scholarship, imaginative research and an informed dialogue. You can earn that reputation in no more constructive way than in representing us in the Pacific: first by holding out the hand of friendship and cooperation and providing both assistance and example to the Trust Territory, and second by exploiting your unique position in making the American ideal understood throughout the area.

We have ultimate faith in Guam's economic and political future. We congratulate the members of this class who will, tomorrow, take up their duties in making that expression of faith a reality.

Mr. President, I express again my sincere gratitude for the honor you have paid me. I am even more grateful for having been made a member of this Class of 1966 and I pledge myself to full cooperation in all of its efforts to construct a prosperous Guam within a strong American framework.

X X X X X