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Editors: Following is the text, except for opening personal remarks, of the commencement address, "America in a Changing World," to be delivered by William B. Saxbe, ambassador to India, in Ohio Stadium, Columbus, to some 5,100 spring quarter graduates of Ohio State University. Mr. Saxbe will receive the honorary degree, Doctor of Laws (LL.D.).

The address text is for release at:

10 A.M. (EDT) Friday, June 13, 1975.

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I wish to salute and congratulate you graduates, I include in this salutation your parents, wives, husbands, yes, - and children, who have played a role in your being candidates for a degree here today. For many of you it has not been an easy four years of idleness. It has meant hard work and dedication, part-time jobs and borrowed money. For families it has meant denial of desired freedom and material enjoyment. This is indeed a day of celebration and commencement.

Commencement of a new life and, for many, a new role. You are beginning this new life at a time when all our values are being questioned. A great skepticism is sweeping the world. And our own United States, once so confident and sure

of itself, is uncertain and hesitant. We're not sure just how we got ourselves into the present situation, but we do know that we don't like it. We can hardly believe that a new depression is upon us but the experts assure us it is true. We see that our world position is deteriorating, that the old alliances are falling apart and that our very intentions are suspect.

With the pressures of jobs, marriages, house-hunting, relocation and a change of friends and obligations, it may seem to you unfair that the older generation has dumped upon you a burden of economic upheaval and a world in crisis.

But it is not my purpose here today to present you with a laundry list of evils and shortcomings. Sure the energy crisis should have been foreseen. Sure we overextended our influence, our credit and our energies. One of the hardest things for me to realize in my foreign mission is that in most of the nations of the world we are not even considered a friendly nation. And after all that money and all those lives, we say, "and what about our good intentions and warm friendly feelings." Well, if the road to hell is paved with good intentions, we have certainly paved our share of this highway.

But America and its people have never been quitters and I'm sure they aren't now. But we must give up the comfortable assumption that there are simplistic answers to all complicated problems.

We must give up the attitude that we can solve our domestic and foreign problems with a lick and a promise ... that our governing bodies can be allowed to postpone or avoid going to the mat with tough problems.

Probably the most difficult task I faced as Attorney General of the United States was in trying to get the courts, the juries and the citizenry to realize that we can't get on top of a crime spree "out-of-control" in this country without getting tough on lawbreakers. Good intentions just won't do it.

Our economic situation is indeed desperate, but do we meet it head on? No, of course not. We refused to tax ourselves to pay for the things we wanted from our government during the good times and thereby created runaway inflation that undermined our dollar. We still run away from reality and believe without reason that we can stabilize our currency with what appears to be a one hundred billion dollar annual deficit.

Where did we lose our grip on reality? Was it because we wanted to believe things that were just not true? Was it because our political office-seekers could only get elected by telling us half-truths and then voting that way to perpetuate themselves in office? Was it because we were so engrossed in our work, our families, our recreation and diversions that we didn't care what happened to our country and our dollar? Well, I suppose it is a combination of all of these things, but I feel in my bones that you and the people of this country are not going to be either so trusting, or so patient in the future. I also believe that the people of this country are a lot tougher and more willing to face reality than the media or the politicians give them credit for. It's our jobs, our homes, our dollars that are at stake and no office-holder should be allowed to feed us baloney just to keep his job.

If we want a change in our system of government in this country it should be a change by popular decision not one that insidiously creeps in through cracks caused by neglect.

And must we forever be picking ourselves to pieces? I am continually asked by our friends in foreign nations (and we do have some) why we seem bent on destroying ourselves. Like a hypochondriac who is continually discovering ailments we pick, pick, pick without a single voice being raised to point out what or who is good.

We are a nation formed from a hundred nationalities, tribes and countries. We conquered a wilderness and in less than two hundred years developed the highest standard of living the world has ever known. And it was not just a materialistic orgy, as some people would have you believe. We have pushed back the frontiers of ignorance and ill health, not just for the rich and powerful but for all people. And we have not been selfish with our achievements or our wealth. In every humanitarian effort in the world we are the principal

contributor. Our science and technology are exported to every applicant.

Why then our dejection and dismay with the current crisis? Our desire to be liked and admired is probably our weakest point. We desire approbation, approval and thanks from those we try to help. Perhaps it is not unreasonable that we do, but there just isn't enough of it in this world to go around.

Southeast Asia today is our most horrible example. Nowhere have good intentions resulted in such calamitous destruction, bloodshed and grief -- for us, and for a suffering people in a remote and backward country who now in their agony appear to be turning against us. Nor is this attitude only found in Vietnam. Everyday the resentment, yes and actual hate, is evidenced in the country where I am privileged to serve. More and more developing nations look upon us, not as a friendly nation, but as a developed country that gives but not enough.

Perhaps our misdirection resulted from the success of that Marshall Plan in Europe. It worked and it worked fast. We confused the zeal and enterprise of Western Europe with our own humanitarianism and generosity. We believed that such plans would work any place in the world. We exported planners and dollars to remote countries without established social orders or any conception of free enterprise and it was in many areas a total loss. More than that, it became a liability, because when it didn't work or when we could no longer afford it, we were blamed for the failure.

There was also more than a little bit of arrogance and presumption in our cavalier handling of some of these programs. In Vietnam it was a "you don't know how to handle this situation, we'll do it" that compounded our troubles. We turned loose our planners on everyone. Now the chickens have come home to roost.

Hear the candid and impartial appraisal of a respected Asian leader, the Prime Minister of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew,

and I quote:

"The Nixon doctrine announced in Guam in 1969, that America will materially help those who are ready to help themselves, died with Watergate. Everyone knew that no American soldier would ever fight a Guerilla in Asia after the Paris Agreement of January 1973 allowed them to disengage with honor. An era has come to an end. America was the dominant power in South-East Asia for thirty years since the end of World War II. Once America acknowledged that she could no longer intervene in South-East Asia, it is fair to assume that the contest for influence over the peoples in the region will be mainly between the mainland Chinese and the Soviet Union. Both of whom openly avow their duty is to help Communists everywhere and to promote revolution."

We have not only failed to develop democracy in the region but we have abandoned those who were with us to an accelerating slide into totalitarianism.

Were we wrong to make the effort? I think not, but I do believe that we were over-optimistic, over-generous and unknowledgeable. The most glowing fire we lighted was not the sense of enterprise that we exported but that which we exhibit here in America.

I receive a new sense of confidence in our country and our system every time I walk into one of our consular offices at one of our embassies or consulates overseas, and see the mass of humanity seeking that prized American visa, the important requisite in the passage to the United States. They sit patiently but their personal message is frantic. "Help us get to America, where we can have freedom and hope. Hope to better ourselves and our families, to escape from poverty and degradation." They want to work, they don't want a hand-out. America means opportunity and the chance to take a chance.

The greatest contribution that you or any of us can make toward preserving freedom and hope in this world is not in

exporting this attitude but in keeping it alive in this country. A strong America is a beacon to the entire world, and a promise that mankind is destined for a better role than to be driven like cattle and to be forever dominated by an all-powerful government. Our Constitution stands for the principle that governments are established for the benefit of the citizens. The other philosophy is the siren's song that is gaining greater and greater acceptance in the world today. But an examination of the countries who have accepted this autocratic principle, based upon a promise to do away with poverty, demonstrates instead the fact that rather than conquering poverty, they have managed only to spread it around. If a human ant hill is what their equality means, then we don't want that brand.

An American college degree means to the world that you didn't get it by cheating, by bribery or by political influence. You worked for it and it was not a painless process. It is a journeyman's certificate that permits you to go anywhere in our great country. To bite off just as much as you feel you can chew. To compete freely and openly with your peers and to achieve success or failure on your own merits, without fear or intimidation. This is the dream that the people of every other land hope for but rarely achieve.

Your obligation is to keep this dream alive. Not by carping and sniggering attacks on the weaknesses and failures of the past but by active participation in government and society so that such mistakes are corrected and don't happen again. A retreat into submissive tolerance will only serve to further the goals of those who want to do your thinking and acting for you.

1976 will mark the Two Hundredth Anniversary of our Republic. I believe it will also mark a watershed in our approach to world leadership. We can choose to turn inward and isolationist or we can rejoice in our freedom, recognize our weaknesses and failures and with new resolve undertake the herculean task of rebuilding our personal courage, our national confidence, our patriotism, and our country.

We are a great people and America is a great country. Let no one sell us short, right now, in this stadium alone there is probably enough talent, if properly applied, to solve most of our irksome problems. All over America, the class of "75" is moving from study to action. The world should not underestimate its resolve.