

Address by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
Before
Edward R. Murrow
Center of Public Diplomacy
Medford, Massachusetts
December 6, 1965



“Ed Murrow understood, as well as any man in our century, the responsibility—and the power for good—of modern mass communication. He understood the relationship of that power to our open society.”



When President Johnson awarded Ed Murrow the Medal of Freedom—the highest civilian decoration this nation has to bestow—the President’s words summed up his career:

“A pioneer in education through mass communications, he has brought to all his endeavors the conviction that truth and personal integrity are the ultimate persuaders of men and nations.”

Truth . . . and personal integrity.

That was the legacy of Edward R. Murrow.

The man whom we honor today would approve of the educational innovation we inaugurate here: The Center of Public Diplomacy.

The Center’s Purpose

He would approve of the concept of the Center: to bring together professors, foreign correspondents, government officials, and graduate students for a probing exchange of views on the uses of public diplomacy.

He would approve of the Center being located amidst the great universities of the Boston area.

He would approve of the Center being here at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy—the first graduate school of international relations established in the United States.

His only objection would be to the fact that the Center has been named after himself.

For Ed Murrow was one of the most selfless celebrities of our generation. In both broadcasting and government—two public professions in which there is no surplus of modesty—he remained to the end a totally unpretentious person, modest, and even shy.

He was idolized by his fellow broadcasters and at one point something close to a Murrow cult began to emerge. When a network official felt it was going a bit too far, and announced that he was forming a “Murrow Isn’t God Club,” Ed promptly wrote to him, and applied for a charter membership.

Courage and Principle

Edward R. Murrow was a man, too, of courage and principle.

On one occasion, when a fellow broadcaster was attacked by a group of super-patriots, the man suddenly found himself on one of TV's infamous blacklists. Murrow promptly gave the man 7,500 dollars to hire attorney Louis Nizer and initiate the libel suit that eventually cleared his name. "I'm not making a personal loan to you," said Murrow. "I am investing this money in America."

Great Reporter

But if there is any special way that Ed Murrow would want to be remembered it would be expressed by the simple word: reporter.

Though he never would have admitted it, he virtually created radio and television reporting as we know it today.

Who can forget the drama of that solemn dateline: "This . . . is London?"

For when he said: "This . . . is London"—it suddenly *was* London.

It was the real London—and he had suddenly taken us there . . . out into the noisy terror of the streets, and down into the quiet fear of the bomb shelters.

We no longer simply *heard* about the war from our radios. We were made spectators at the scene. When he stood on a London rooftop during a Nazi raid, and said: "The English die with great dignity," it became more than merely news. We stood there on that rooftop with him, and we sensed that dignity.

Ed Murrow's war-time broadcasts were a whole new dimension in news reporting.

It was a dimension he was to broaden all during the rest of his life.

The Scene of the Action

He often said in later years that broadcasting—both in radio and television—was essentially a *transportation* medium. It was not meant merely to inform. It was meant to carry the audience to the scene itself.

That is why Ed Murrow risked his life in 25 bombing missions over Germany. That is why he sailed up the English Channel in a minesweeper. That is why he stood in the horror of Buchenwald on the very day it was liberated.

For to Ed Murrow, to *report* . . . meant to be *there*.

To us now in 1965—all this may seem routine and obvious.

But Edward R. Murrow, as much as any single man in his time, made it all possible. As a mourning colleague put it at the time of his death, "He was an original and we shall not see his like again."

Communicator to the World

President Kennedy's appointment of Ed Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency was widely applauded.

A few people were surprised that Edward R. Murrow should turn his back on all the gold and glamour of Madison Avenue and take on the headaches of a much maligned and misunderstood government agency. But they did not know Ed Murrow.

He had been asked by the President to serve—and believing that the public interest must come first, he was ready to serve. "Besides," as he told a friend later. "I had been criticizing bureaucrats all my adult life, and it was my turn to try."

The fact is that he had been in public life ever since he was graduated from college, as a pioneer in that new and powerful establishment that has been aptly called "the fourth branch of government"—the American press.

The appointment was a brilliant one. Ed Murrow understood, as well as any man in our century, the responsibility—and the power for good—of modern mass communication. He understood the relationship of that power to our open society.

The Open Society

He knew that the United States, as any open society, is a house with transparent walls. He knew that people who live in an open society should tell the truth about themselves.

In an open society as ours, the first principle of our public morality is that truth should be told.

As Lincoln once said:

" . . . falsehood, especially if you have got a poor memory, is the worst enemy a fellow can have."

Propaganda, to be effective, must be believed. To be believed, it must be credible. To be credible, it must be true. If it is not, in the end it will not stand up.

The evil genius Joseph Goebbels taught us unfounded propaganda can be effective only if the big lie is so bold and monstrous as to appear uninventable. In an open socie-



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ty, people are incapable of believing that anyone could be capable of such perversity. A propagandist such as Goebbels can enjoy temporary triumphs—in a totalitarian society. In a free society, the shallowness of his creed will be exposed.

Today, the whole world can see what is going on in this global goldfish bowl that is the United States. We have a candid free press. And American magazines, films, and television shows, for better or worse, go virtually everywhere overseas.

In this kind of open society, it is futile for a government to put out false propaganda. There are too many non-governmental sources of information available to refute it.

The public official's words, as well as his actions, are inescapably subject to the searing scrutiny of the reporter, the pundit and the scholar.

An Age of Travel

This includes the scrutiny of hundreds of foreign correspondents who are reporting back to their own nations every day. It includes the scrutiny of 80,000 foreign students, all of whom are writing home and most of whom will eventually be going home, to tell family and friends what America is really like.

Three and a half million American tourists go abroad every year. A million American military personnel and their dependents are stationed around the world. Over 30,000 American missionaries are scattered around the globe.

The Chorus of American Voices

Each of these Americans becomes a kind of individual USIA to every person he meets overseas.

There is, then, not just one official Voice of America coming out of Washington. There is a whole, gigantic Chorus of Voices of America—a chorus of literally millions—who carry the story of the United States abroad. But this chorus is not under the baton of any minister of propaganda. Each American tells his own story—reflecting his own understanding of America.

The diversity of American life is represented in the picture presented to the world.

Citizen Diplomats

But in an era where diplomacy is practiced by private individuals as well as government officials, new responsibilities arise for all.

For the businessman who conducts negotiations abroad with foreign governments; for the scholar or writer lecturing in foreign lands; for the artist or scientist attending international festivals or conferences, there is an obligation to know one's country, to give an objective analysis, to be an effective advocate. (And, might I add, to do this, we must know major languages of the world, which our educational system must be equipped to teach).

Ed Murrow excelled as a reporter because he knew the world which he was reporting. If the citizen diplomat is to excel he must know his country and the world he is addressing.

As one who understood the effect of the communications revolution on diplomacy in our time, Edward R. Murrow would rejoice that "public diplomacy" will now be the object of continuing study and reflection by serious students and scholars.

If four decades of public diplomacy have disappointed those who saw in Woodrow Wilson's "open diplomacy" the solution to all international disputes, it remains today—far more so than in Wilson's time—an important part of international relations.

America's Responsibilities

In the United States two decades of world leadership have enhanced its importance. The exposure of Americans to foreign affairs has multiplied dramatically. Our military and political commitments around the world, our participation in hundreds of international organizations, the expansion of the Foreign Service, the development of the foreign aid agency and the Peace Corps have placed more Americans in a diplomatic role than was conceivable twenty years ago.

The enlargement of our foreign affairs machinery has been accompanied by a vastly enlarged public market for information on foreign affairs.

The result is that scholars and businessmen, labor leaders and foundation executives—and the average American citizen, too—are more deeply concerned and more vocal on international affairs than ever before.

Advocacy or Dissent

As recent events have shown, American citizens today do not restrict their foreign affairs concerns to detached criticism of governmental action. They initiate public programs and public protests favoring one course of action or deriding another. They advocate freely and they dissent freely.

For those of us in government, John Stuart Mill's advice is as valid today as when uttered a century ago:

"We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still."

And, thus, we must prize both advocacy and dissent.

Without the right of dissent, the free debate essential to an enlightened consensus is impossible.

Congress' Participation

Oftentimes the views of the American people will be expressed through the Congress, which can exercise great influence on the conduct of foreign relations—through resolutions and speeches as well as through the power of confirmation and of controlling expenditures. In conducting affairs of state at an important international conference, an American Secretary of State may find that a Congressional resolution or a Senate committee investigation may determine the setting for action far more than any decision taken by the President of the United States. Congressional participation in diplomacy is now well-accepted. But what precise role it is best suited to play remains a disputed issue—one which will merit the attention of scholars of this center of public diplomacy.

For my part, I do not fear the encroachments of Congress on the conduct of diplomacy. It is possible that during the first half of the century there did occur in Western societies a "functional derangement between the governed and the governors," an assumption by popular legislatures of powers they were ill-equipped to exercise in the field of international affairs.

Today under our Presidential system an American President has the authority and the power he needs to determine the course of foreign policy.

Modern communications technology has aided what the Constitution intended—that the President take the lead in formulating and executing foreign policy. Strong Presidential leadership—combined with independent Congressional initiatives—is what is needed in the age of public diplomacy.

When this is present—as it is today—there need be little fear of excessive Congressional intervention.

And public diplomacy, however important it is destined to become, is not likely to supersede private diplomacy.

The Communications Revolution

But the importance of public diplomacy has been enhanced by the communications revolution of our time. This has provided us with an electronic means of multiplying the human mind. We can today literally reach out and communicate—simultaneously—with millions of other minds.

One simple invention—the transistor radio—may have had more psychological impact on the world than any other single invention in the past century.

For the transistor radio—which in this country we still regard as a kind of toy—has suddenly become an immensely significant political instrument.

People everywhere today—on the plains and paddies of Asia; on the rolling grasslands of Africa; on the high slopes of the Andes—everywhere in our shrunken world, people are now within earshot of a transistor radio.

What is more, most of these people today, in the nearly 50 new nations that have erupted onto the political scene since the end of World War II, have the franchise. Their village views are backed up by their village votes.

These people in the remote villages of the world may not be literate in the traditional sense. But they *are* politically conscious. They are in touch. They know what is going on. And they will help shape the future of mankind.

Through their village radios, they can now pick and choose from the world's political opinions.

What is true of the village transistor radio of today will be true of the village television set of tomorrow. Television is already in more than 90 countries of the world. It is now the fastest growing medium of communication on earth.

What does all this really mean?

It means that the communications explosion has vastly enlarged the role of public diplomacy. This is the instrument the Edward R. Murrow Center is going to study.

Fulfilling Great Dreams

May it always be an instrument, in our country, for truth. May it always be an instrument used for man's betterment and emancipation.

In the words of Ed Murrow:

"If truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: We share your dreams."



President Wessell
Speaker McCormick
Sen. Saltonstall
Gov Volpe

Dean Gullion
Mrs Murrow
+ Son Casey Murrow

~~Saturday~~
REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

EDWARD R. MURROW CENTER OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS

DECEMBER 6, 1965

Geo Carver
Tufts School
Fletcher School of
Law & Diplomacy

Member of the
Board of Visitors

member of
Advisory
Council
Mr Ed. Bernays

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Gov Volpe
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Residence

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Advisory Council to Guide work
of the Center.

Henry Brandon - *Sundays Times*
Erwin Canham - *Christian Science Monitor*
William Bill Lawrence - *ABC*
Paul Porter -
James Riston
Eric Severid
Howard K Smith
Don Wilson
Walter Surrey

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↳ The diversity of American life is represented in the picture presented to the world. ^{Each American} This is the Freedom, ^{Discovers America.} The Variety ~~of~~ which we speak.

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[Transcript]

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The Bernays Foundation Lecture Series

Vice President Hubert Humphrey
Human Aspects of International Relations:
The Role of Government

December 6, 1965

The Edward R. Murrow Center
of
The Fletcher School

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Mr. Chairman, President Wessel, Speaker McCormack, Senator Saltonstall, Governor Volpe, and my greetings to a special young friend who couldn't be with us, Senator Kennedy. Dean Gullion, and to Mrs. Murrow and her son Casey a very warm and personal greeting not only from the Vice President but I am sure I speak for every person in this audience, a special greeting to you. Members of the Board of Visitors and members of the Advisory Council too, of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy...

Governor Volpe, may I first of all thank you for your warm greetings, and may I also thank you for the pledge you have made here publicly this afternoon. I've been trying to get a residence down in Washington, but you've assured me of a permanent residence in Massachusetts. I know that your hospitality is only exceeded by your sincerity--between the Speaker and myself, we'll hold you to it.

What a wonderful privilege it is to come to this great campus, this great university which has had such a significant place in American academic, cultural and intellectual life as well as the public life of this nation. This is my first visit to this university and to this particular community. And I must say that I have already been overwhelmed and much impressed, and I hope that at some later date I might come to visit once again.

I was singularly honored to be asked to deliver this message on the occasion of the dedication of the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy. Mr. Ed Bernays is an old friend, and I am so pleased once again to see him and to know that he is in charge, so to speak, of the lecture series. All I can say is you're bound to have good lectures, at least after a bad start.

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When President Johnson awarded Ed Murrow the medal of freedom, which is the highest civilian decoration that this nation has to bestow the President's words in just one short paragraph summed up that remarkable career. He said this of Ed Murrow: "A pioneer in education, through mass communications, he has brought to all his endeavors a conviction that truth and personal integrity are the ultimate persuaders of men and nations."

Yes, truth and personal integrity. These are truly the weapons of free men. And truth and personal integrity, this was the legacy of Edward R. Murrow, and those great attributes of character and conviction stand as his eternal monument to himself and to his nation.

I am sure that when we honor today Ed Murrow that he would approve the educational innovation we are to inaugurate here, this Center of Public Diplomacy. He would approve, and I know he did approve the concept of this Center: to bring together professors, and foreign correspondents and Government officials, and graduate students for a probing and often provocative exchange of views on the uses of public diplomacy and he would approve of this Center being located amidst the great universities of the Boston area, this Athens, so to speak, of our times. He would approve of the Center being here in the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, the first graduate school of international relations established in the United States.

But I think he would register an objection. His only objection would be to the fact that the Center has been named after himself, for Ed Murrow was one of the most selfless celebrities of our generation. In both broadcasting and Government, two public professions in which there is no surplus of modesty, I might add, he remained to the end, a totally unpretentious person, modest and even shy. He was idolized by his fellow broadcasters and a host of other citizens,

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and at one point something close to a Murrow cult began to emerge, at which point a network official felt it was getting a little bit out of hand and going too far and announced that he was forming a Murrow Isn't God Club, and at which point, Ed promptly wrote to him and applied for a charter membership.

Edward R. Murrow was a man of great courage and principle. And as I said just a few moments ago as we unveiled the plaque for the dedication of this Center, one of the truly great privileges of my life was the opportunity to share in his friendship, to be enriched by the touch of his personality, and just to know that I knew him and to be able to say so.

On one occasion, when a fellow broadcaster was attacked by a group of super-patriots, the broadcaster suddenly found himself on television's infamous black list. Ed Murrow promptly gave the man \$7,500 to hire an attorney and a very good one by the name of Louie Nizer and initiate the libel suit that eventually cleared his name. "I'm not making a personal loan to you," said Murrow, "I'm investing this money in America." Now this is what I call putting principle into action, rather than a philosophical discussion of the merits of principle and integrity.

But if there is any special way that Ed Murrow would want to be remembered, I think it would be expressed by one very simple, yet profound word, reporter. Though he never would have admitted it, he virtually created radio and television reporting as we know it today. Who can forget the drama of that solemn dateline, "This is London." At least, those of my generation will never forget it.

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For when he said "This is London" it suddenly was London, and it was the real London, and he had suddenly taken us there, out into the noisy terror of the streets, down into the quiet fears of the bomb shelters. We no longer simply heard about the war from our radios, we were made spectators at the scene. And when he stood on a London rooftop during the Nazi raid as he did often and said, "The English die with great dignity," it became more than merely news, it was history, and it was glory, and we stood there too on that rooftop with him, and we sensed that dignity and we were the better for it. Ed Murrow's wartime broadcasts were a whole new dimension in news reporting. It was a dimension he was to broaden all during the rest of that interesting and rich life.

He often said during later years that broadcasting, both in radio and television, was essentially a transportation medium. It was not merely meant to inform as we ordinarily think of media. It was meant to carry the audience to the scene itself so that you were a spectator at that event. So, this is why Ed Murrow risked his life in twenty-five bombing missions over Germany. This is why he sailed up the English channel in a mine sweeper, and this is why he stood in the horror of Buchenwald on the very day it was liberated--he was there! For to Ed Murrow, to report meant to be there.

Yet to us now in 1965, all of this may seem routine and rather obvious. Yet I think it needs to be reemphasized because there are times that we hear about things when the person was not there, nor were you. But Ed Murrow as much as any single man in his time made it possible for media to be a medium of transportation. As a mourning colleague put it at the time of his death, "He was an original and we shall not see his like again."

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Now, President Kennedy's appointment of Ed Murrow as the Director of the United States Information Agency was a master stroke in the Public Service of this country and it was widely applauded. A few people were surprised that Edward R. Murrow should turn his back on all the gold and all the glamour of Madison Avenue and take on the headaches of a much maligned and much misunderstood government agency, the United States Information Agency, but they did not know our Ed Murrow. He had been asked by his President to serve, and believing that the public interest must come first, which is the hallmark of a good citizen, he was ready and willing to serve. Besides, as he told a friend later on, "I have been criticizing bureaucrats all my life and it was my turn to try." By the way, that's a mighty good remedy for criticism of bureaucrats.

The fact is that Ed Murrow had never been out of public life. He had been in public life ever since he graduated from college. And as a pioneer in that new and powerful establishment that has been aptly called the fourth branch of government, the American press or news media, he was in public life.

The appointment was a brilliant one. Ed Murrow understood the responsibility and power for good of modern mass communications, and he understood the relationship of that power to our open society. He knew that the United States, as an open society, is a house with transparent walls, and he knew that people who lived in an open society should tell the truth about themselves. In an open society such as ours the first principle of public morality is that the truth should be known,

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and the truth should be told. I think Lincoln gave us a good rationalization for that principle of truth when he once said, "Falsehood, especially if you have a poor memory, is the worst enemy a fellow can have."

The word propaganda has many meanings, but to us the word propaganda should be synonymous with information and education. And propaganda to be effective must be believed and to be believed in an open society, it must be credible. To be credible, it must be true. If it is not, in the end it just will not stand up.

Now that evil genius, Joseph Goebbels, taught us unfounded propaganda can be effective only if the lie is so big and so bold and so monstrous as to appear uninventable. In an open society people are incapable of believing that anyone could be capable of such perversity. I guess this is one of the reasons why Goebbels even had some effectiveness in open society. No one could believe that anyone could be just that evil.

The propagandist such as Goebbels, can and did enjoy temporary triumphs in a closed totalitarian society. In a free society the shallowness of his creed, will be exposed and was. Now today the whole world can see what is going on in this goldfish bowl. Indeed, in this global goldfish bowl that is the United States, we have a most candid and free press, and American magazines, films, documentaries, and television shows, for better or for worse, go virtually everywhere here and overseas.

In this kind of an open society, it is futile for the government to even try to put out false propaganda. There are too many non-government sources available to repudiate it. And oh, how someone

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likes to catch the government just a little bit short. It's an old American pastime, and one by the way, in which there's a great deal of expertise. People have learned much about it.

The public official's words as well as his actions are inescapably subject to the searing scrutiny of hundreds of foreign correspondents who are reporting back to their own nations every day, and it includes the scrutiny of eighty-thousand plus foreign students and more every year, all of whom are writing home, and most of whom will eventually be going home, telling families and friends what America is really like. Then there are three and a half million American tourists who go abroad every year. There's a million or more American military personnel and their dependents that are stationed around the world and over thirty thousand American missionaries are scattered around the world and everybody that came from America likes to talk, and they do.

Each of these Americans, however, becomes a kind of individual USIA officer and foreign service officer to every person that he meets overseas. There is, then, not just one "Voice" of America coming out of Washington. There is a whole gigantic chorus of "Voices" of America coming from every part of America, a chorus of literally millions who carry the story of the United States everywhere in this world. But this chorus is not under the baton of any minister of propaganda, thank goodness. Each American tells his own story in his own way, reflecting his own understanding of America.

Each American makes his own discovery of America, and in his own manner revels in the opportunity to tell what he has learned and discovered. I think it was Gunnar Myrdal who once said, "If you want to

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find out anything about America, if you want to find out anything about what's wrong about it, just ask somebody, they'll tell you. And sometimes you don't even need to ask.

The diversity of American life, which is in a very real sense the richness of our life, is the varied picture presented to the world. To some, this is disturbing, disconcerting; that is, to those who have that well-organized mentality that leads them to believe they're right and everybody else is wrong. But I say that diversity and variety, this is freedom, and it is of the very variety and freedom that we speak of and that we say we cherish.

But in an era where diplomacy is practiced by private individuals as well as government officials, private agencies as well as public agencies, new responsibilities arise for everyone of us, particularly when our nation has such a burden of leadership. For the businessman who conducts negotiations abroad, with foreign government or with foreign enterprises, for the scholar or the writer lecturing in foreign lands, for the artist or the scientist attending international conferences or festivals, there are some obligations along with rights. There is the obligation first to know one's country; to give an objective analysis, and in what you do, to be an effective advocate of truth.

In fact, many of our great universities and institutions of elementary and secondary education could do much to make us more effective in public diplomacy by their emphasis on the current world in which we live and the languages so that we could better communicate.

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Now, Ed Murrow excelled as a reporter because he knew the world which he was reporting and he knew the America from whence he came, every bit of it, not only its geography but its spirit, its history, its prospects, its future, and I think its soul--he sensed it. If that citizen-diplomat is therefore to do his job, and if he is to excel, he must know his country--all of it--the people, the economics, the cultural background, the history, the past, and the promise of the future, and he must know the world that he is addressing.

Earlier today I was privileged to meet the professor of Asian studies at this university. I am a refugee from a classroom myself. I always mention this somewhere in my speeches to universities, particularly in the presence of the Board of Visitors and in the presence of the deans and the President of the university for one simple reason: my present pursuit has a rather precarious future, and one can never be too sure about tenure or seniority. I should like to have President Wessell and Dean Gullion know that I am a teacher of a sorts. And with just a little brush-up, I think I could fit in very well, just in case...

I'm not sure that applause means I ought to quit and start teaching or whether you just wanted to give me comfort and reassurance.

But that as it may, to know this world, it seems to me, is to at least have an opportunity to know of the world as it is. I spoke the other day to the Conference of Southern Universities and Colleges in Richmond and I mentioned that in our own most recent publications relating to earth sciences that the chapter on Mars is already obsolete, ever since Mariner IV.

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, Its hard to keep up. I don't say you have to know about Mars, but it doesn't hurt. There is a rapidly changing world of science and technology and politics and one needs to know that world, and regretably, how few Americans know the world. We're very good in Western Europe, most of us, and I think our line of learning, our frontier of learning, stops there. And yet, this world today is two-thirds non-Caucasian, most of it beyond the confines and the sphere of influence of America and Western Europe. And all too few of us, from our university students to faculty alike know of Asia and of Africa and Latin America where the destiny of mankind may be decided.

Ed Murrow understood this. And as one who understood the effect of the communications revolution on diplomacy in our times, I believe that he would rejoice that public diplomacy will now be the object of continuing study and reflection by serious students and scholars, and he would rejoice this very minute to know that this great university, this Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, is going to bend its efforts toward a better understanding of public diplomacy. If four decades of public diplomacy have disappointed those who saw in Woodrow Wilson's open diplomacy the solution of all international disputes, it remains today, far more than in Woodrow Wilson's time, an important part of international relations. In the United States two decades of world leadership have enhanced its importance.

The exposure of Americans to foreign affairs has multiplied dramatically. Our military and political commitments around the world, our participation in hundreds of international organizations, the expansion of our foreign service, the development of our information

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service, the development of the foreign aid agency, the peace corps have placed more Americans in diplomatic roles than was ever conceivable twenty years ago. I sometimes wonder if we had been able to assimilate into our thinking and our practice of politics the tremendous change that has taken place.

The enlargement of our foreign affairs machinery has been accompanied by a vastly enlarged public market for information on foreign affairs. I think that every person in public office knows that the one subject that holds his audience above all when he is out as a congressman or a senator or a governor or any public official, is his remarks on foreign affairs. Knowledgeable or not knowledgeable, nevertheless, people are interested. The result is that scholars and businessmen, labor leaders, agriculturalists, foundation executives and the average American citizen, too, are deeply concerned and more vocal on international affairs than ever before.

It is no longer just the business of a few. As recent events have shown, American citizens today do not restrict their foreign affairs concerns to esoteric detached criticisms of governmental action. They initiate public programs and public protests favoring one course of action or deriding another. They advocate freely and dissent freely. I saw just a few little placards even as I entered this gymnasium. One of them said "Eat at Joe's" which I would say lent a bit of a capitalistic touch to our protest movements. But I call to the attention of my colleagues in government some wise and prudent words of the great philosopher and political scientist, John Stuart Mills, whose advice

is as valid today as when he uttered it a century ago. Here's what John Stuart Mills had to say: "We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion, and if we were, stifling it would be an evil still."

I believe that is the most succinct, concise, defense of protest and dissent that one could learn, or understand, or read. And thus, we must prize both advocacy and dissent.

I'm one that happens to believe that as you protect the right of dissent, you have no obligation to fall dead in your advocacy. There is room for both. And when I see a few who are able to attract so much attention by their protest I wonder what would be the result if many, the great many in the majority, would show as much initiative in their advocacy. But without the right of dissent and free debate, the refiner's fire of thought and ideals essential to an enlightened consensus is impossible. So let us never in our frenzy and passion and emotionalism deny the right to be different, to protest, to disagree.

Often times the views of the American people will be expressed through more formalized channels, through their congress, which can exercise great influence and does exercise great influence on the conduct of foreign relations, through resolutions, through speeches, as well as through the power of confirmation and the control over expenditures. In conducting affairs of State at an important international conference, the American Secretary of State or a representative of the President may find that a Congressional resolution or a Senate Committee report or investigation or a House Resolution may determine the setting for action far more than any decision taken by the President of the United States.

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Congressional participation in diplomacy is now well accepted, but what the precise role it is best suited to play remains a disputed issue. And I believe this is one that will merit the attention of scholars of this Center of public diplomacy. The role of Congress is important in foreign policy and the role of Congress in national security because, my fellow Americans, I do not believe that this is entirely the prerogative of the executive branch. The responsibility for the conduct of foreign policy rests with the President and his officers but the formulation of foreign policy has relevancy to the citizenry and to the institutions of this Republic. And what that relationship is needs to be clearly defined and marked. Guide lines, yes, and standards need to be designed and I am hopeful, accepted, and this will be one of the opportunities this great Center of Public Diplomacy will have.

Now for my part I do not fear the encroachment of Congress on the matter of our diplomacy, either its formulation, or its conduct. It is possible that during the first part of the century there did occur in Western societies a functional rearrangement between the governed and the governors, an assumption by popular legislators of powers they were ill-equipped to exercise in the conduct of international affairs. Today, under our Presidential system, an American President has the authority and power, tremendous power, great authority, all that he needs to determine the course of our foreign policy. Modern communications technology has aided what the Constitution intended, that the President take the lead in formulating and executing foreign policy. Strong Presidential leadership, combined with independent Congressional initiative, is what is needed in the age of public diplomacy.

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When this is present as it is today and as it needs to be in the days ahead, there need be little fear of excessive Congressional intervention or even of excessive executive domination. And public diplomacy, however important it is destined to become, is never likely to supersede private diplomacy.

There is a role for each, but the importance of public diplomacy has been enhanced by the facts of our times--the fact that this world is a smaller world every day due to communication; the fact that there is no place to hide; the fact that whatever happens any place, anywhere, affects people every place, everywhere. The communications revolution of our time has made us one family, one world, smaller, smaller in terms of its relative size to the individual. Now this has provided us, this great communications revolution, with an electronic means of multiplying the human mind. We can today literally reach out and communicate simultaneously with millions of other minds. I saw only yesterday in our press how the computer is being used to expedite reading and the assimilation of what you read--to be able, in a sense, to almost give a stereophonic type of listening; to eliminate words and vowels and consonants that mean very little; and to increase the speed of reading and the assimilation of thought by a hundred percent.

Electronics--but surely we know what electronics mean! Even as this very minute as two astronauts as I speak to you are communicating all over the world by means of electronics. One simple invention, the transistor radio, which by the way had a recent try-out in the blackout here in the Northeast. That one simple invention, the transistor radio, may have had more psychological impact on the world than any single invention in the past century. For the transistor radio, which in

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this country we still regard as a kind of toy, seeing how small we could make them, rather than how effective, has suddenly become an immensely significant political instrument. The enemies of freedom understand this-- oh, how they understand it! May I say in the presence of my colleagues in Congress, may we understand it. Because no nation which produces as much electronics equipment as ours has done so little with it in the world. Here we are at the very center of electronic development, right here in this very area of America. But I think it is fair to say that our international communications is not what it ought to be and it can be vastly improved. Transistors, not merely to broadcast, but to receive--couldn't help but think the other night when the black-out took place how many people depended on electrical power to have the radio tell them when there was an emergency. How do you receive that message? We're short of Indians and there just aren't enough smoke signals.

This indeed has become a political instrument to the twentieth century, the transistor. People everywhere--on the plains and paddys of Asia, on the rolling grasslands of Africa, on the high slopes of the Andes, everywhere in our shrunken world--people are now in an earshot of the transistor radio. Moscow knows it, Peking knows it, Prague knows it, Hanoi knows it, and I for one have become a little fed-up to hear time after time that you can always hear Radio Moscow or that you can hear Radio Prague or Radio Cario or Radio this or Radio that. And I have been around this world enough to know that the simplest, most illiterate Indian in the Andes has been provided by some forces in this world, some ideological forces, with an instrument

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of reception. What is more, most of these people today and nearly fifty new nations that have erupted on to the political scene since World War II have the franchise. We believe in the right to vote. Some people say you believe in it, and we'll tell them how to vote. The village views are backed up by their village votes.

These people in the remote villages of the world may not be literate in the traditional sense. I doubt whether they would be able to pass some of the literacy tests, but they are politically conscious--they can hear, and listen, and they do. They are in touch. They know what is going on, and they will help shape the future of mankind. Through their village radios, they can now pick and choose from the world's public opinions. I want our word to be heard too. I want them to have real freedom of choice and I want to be sure that nothing is spared in providing this opportunity for information, for education.

What is true of that village transistor radio of today will be true of the village television set of tomorrow. We have more television in this United States of America, in our one country, than all the rest of the world put together, and I want to say that it's about time we started to share some of it. The Chinese say one picture is worth a thousand words. Are we going to wait for them to have the picture, or are we going to do something about it? This isn't just a matter of government, it is a matter of America. Believing in freedom, believing in variety, believing in diversity, believing in education, believing in the refiners' fire of cross-examination, we seek the truth.

I submit that the electronics age ought to be put to work., and not only made available at Christmas time for a market. Television is

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already in more than ninety countries of the world. It is in its infancy there. It is now the fastest growing medium of communications on earth. What does all of this mean? It means that the communications explosion, what Ed Murrow said, a form of transportation, has vastly enlarged the role of public diplomacy. And this is the very instrument the Edward R. Murrow Center is designed to study. And we look forward in Government to the consul and to the advice, and yes, to the prodding of this Center.

Now may this instrument of communication, this great instrument of the transportation of ideas, be an instrument for truth, for integrity, and may it always be an instrument used for man's betterment and emancipation. And it can be if we will it to be.

Ed Murrow gave for us today his own benediction and his own private message to each. And I close with these words which summarize his life, "If truth must be our guide, then dreams must be our goal." To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant now stirring that is so much of the world, we shall say, "We share your dreams."



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