

WELCOMING ADDRESS

18 August 1961

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NOTICE

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INDUSTRIAL COLLEGE OF THE ARMED FORCES

Washington, D. C.

WELCOMING ADDRESS

18 August 1961

ADMIRAL ROSE: General Houseman, General Wilson, members of the Staff and Faculty, Gentlemen of the Class of 1962.

I am addressing you this morning in the role of a host welcoming his guests--which is a little anomalous to begin with, since I myself have been on the premises only a short while. Coming to the Industrial College is almost as new an experience to me as it is to most of you gentlemen. Perhaps I should have taken my place among you and let General Houseman or one of the other old hands do the welcoming honors and tell us what we have to look forward to during the coming year.

Yet, after all, I have been aboard for a few weeks and in that time have managed to learn a lot about the Industrial College. So let me, for the moment at least, assume my institutional role and, on behalf of the College, extend to the incoming student class a most cordial welcome. We are going to see a lot of each other during the next 10 months, and I intend to do all I can to make our relationship mutually pleasant and profitable. In this connection, Mrs. Rose and I want to get to know all of you, and your wives, just as soon as we can. At the moment we are under a slight handicap, since we have not yet moved into our quarters here on the post, and will not be able to do so for several weeks. Just as soon as we are settled, we will start asking you in, in small groups, so that we may have a chance to meet you informally. Meanwhile, we look forward to seeing you on the 25th.

Let me mention at this point one of our important extracurricular activities here at the College. As you may have heard, we have an intense but friendly rivalry with The National War College in athletics. We compete with them in four sports--softball, golf, tennis, and bowling. Not too many bones get broken, but the competition is keen. The climax of the whole season comes in October, when we play off the "Little World Series" in softball. The Industrial College at present holds the trophies for both softball and bowling. This year let's try to make a clean sweep and pick up all four. You will hear more about all this a little later from our faculty athletic director, Captain Clay Harrold.

Now, on a more serious note, let me speak for a while about your purpose in coming to the College. You are about to embark on a course of study which I am sure you will look back upon in later

years as one of the highlights of your professional career, whether you come from the military or the civilian side of Government. Your selection to spend almost a year in this academic environment as a student, free from administrative responsibilities, is recognition of your capabilities and professional promise. Your assignment here imposes a very substantial cost upon the taxpayer--a cost measured not only in terms of your salary and the expense of operating the College, but also the immeasurable cost involved in the loss of your services for one year from important operational duties.

Obviously the Government expects to make up this loss in the long run, through the broadened capabilities and perspectives you can gain from a year of study and reflection here at the College. But this will not happen automatically. It is up to you. Your assignment to the Industrial College places upon you a responsibility and an obligation--to take full advantage of the extraordinary opportunity now open to you to enhance your potential for further service to your country.

Most of you are professional officers of the Armed Forces, representing the three service departments in approximately equal numbers. Perhaps I should qualify that statement. There are six Marines among you, and they will, I suppose, overwhelm all the rest by sheer weight of numbers. You also include a substantial contingent of civilians, professional career employees of various Government departments.

Now, none of you, I daresay, has spent his career thus far in a single-service or single-agency vacuum. All of us have had opportunities to associate with officers of other services and with civilians in various areas of specialization. I, for example, come to the College directly from an interesting assignment as military adviser to the U. S. Ambassador to NATO, headquartered in Paris, which brought me in daily contact with just about every kind of American representative, civilian and military, that we maintain overseas--not to mention, of course, many officers and civilians representing our European allies. I am sure most of you have had similar associations outside your own service or agency.

Nevertheless, each of us reflects to some degree an outlook derived from long association with officers of our own service or with colleagues in a particular agency. The professional soldier, airman, naval officer, Marine, or civilian public servant each has his own special heritage and traditions. Each of you is proud of this heritage and considers it as something special and superior. I am certainly proud of the traditions of the naval service, in which I was brought up,

and I hope that the varied types of duty I have had in the Navy will enable me to bring to the College an outlook that will be beneficial. Each of us is proud of what he has done, and is bound to be especially interested in matters related to his own experiences. This may produce certain prejudices, and certainly will color our views.

Now, I see nothing wrong or harmful in this. On the contrary, I can see a real possibility of harm in suppressing or bottling up differences--particularly those that run deep and are not so much a matter of opinion as of feeling and outlook. Much better, I believe, to bring them out into the open. Don't be ashamed to stand up for your own loyalties, but at the same time respect those of the other fellow. After all, people are different--and, as the French say, *vive la différence!*

One very important thing, we all have in common--we are professionals. Each of us professes, in the academic sense, a special competence in a certain broad field of activity and thought--a competence that consists of special skills, special understanding and perception, special habits of thought, acquired through rigorous study, training, and experience. As professionals, we all aspire to excellence in our respective fields of endeavor, and we all try to live according to a code of conduct and of ideals which is part of the heritage of the profession in which we have been reared. The soldier, the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher, the public servant--each belongs to an old and honored profession, with its own code of ethics and its own standards of excellence. Who can say that one is better than another?

In about three weeks you will all doff your uniforms, and for the remainder of the school year, except on special occasions, you will all study and work together in civilian attire. In the light of what I have just said, I hope you will appreciate the reasons for this. We don't want you, in your committees and discussion sections and bull sessions, to be constantly reminded that the fellow with whom you may be hotly arguing about the Berlin crisis happens to be your senior, or your junior, or to belong to another service or department. We do want you to become acquainted with his particular point of view, his convictions, what he has learned from his own experience, especially if that experience is radically different from yours--and to learn these things you do not need to consider the color of his suit or the number of his stripes.

One of the really basic ideas we will try to impress upon you in your studies here is that national security is an undertaking in which civilians and the military must work together as a team. If I may take a few liberties with Clemenceau's famous remark, national security

is too big and important to entrust to either the civilians or the military--alone. It must be a joint enterprise. I have worked with and for civilians for most of my professional career, and I have learned that we in the military services have no monopoly of the virtues we sometime think of as peculiarly military--devotion to duty, willingness to accept responsibility, capacity to make decisions, fighting spirit, love of country. On the other side of the coin, not the least of the blessings we can offer the civilian students here is the opportunity to study at close range that fabled monster, that Jabberwock of the Pentagon, the "military mind." I think you will find it not so very different from the civilian mind as you have been led to believe. I think you will find that the military mind can be just as logical, deliberate, inquisitive, flexible--even subtle--as the civilian mind, and that it is fully as capable of discriminating judgment and weighing of contrary views before arriving at a decision.

So much for the military, and the civilian, mind. Whichever kind you may happen to have, I promise you it will get plenty of exercise during the next 10 months. Our Director of Instruction, Dr. Reichley, will explain to you a little later precisely how we plan to exercise it, and the kind of intellectual nourishment we intend to feed it. But now, I would like to talk to you about the Industrial College, its mission, and its relation to our Nation's security.

In coming to the Industrial College, you have reached the highest level of the military educational system of the United States. No more comprehensive, authoritative, or advanced course of studies in the field of national security is offered by any other educational institution anywhere. In this auditorium you will be addressed by leading experts, thinkers, and writers on many specialized aspects of national security, by high officials, commanders, and advisers in our Government who formulate and implement national security policy, by distinguished foreign observers of the influence of our policies abroad. You will pursue a carefully charted course of study, refined and tempered over the years, and reflecting the latest thinking and information in the national security field. You will benefit by the guidance of an experienced faculty consisting of highly qualified officers representing all the services and a rich background of varied military experience, and also a number of professional civilian specialists in the fields of general economics, industry, manpower, government, and international relations.

What justifies the great expenditure of money and effort required to carry out this unique educational program?

The justification, I believe, lies in the need this College is designed to fill. The Industrial College is, in fact, a very important

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part of our Nation's total response to the perils of our times. Small though it is, it wields great power--the power to mould the attitudes and thinking of men who, during the next decade, may help to guide the destinies of our Nation. It may well be that this audience does not contain a future President, Secretary of Defense, Chief of Naval Operations, or NATO Supreme Commander. But it is a statistical certainty that some of you, at some future date, will have to make decisions or give advice which could, directly or indirectly, affect the lives of millions of people. It is terribly important, therefore, for us and the rest of the world, that the intellectual influences we expose you to here should be of such a character as to enhance your ability to meet, with wisdom and confidence, whatever challenge you may later have to face.

Our educational program has been framed, therefore, to reflect the scope and diversity of the whole problem of national security in today's world. This problem goes much deeper than the military or even the cold war threat, with which you are all generally familiar and with which some of you, no doubt, have been deeply involved. Our security problems today are rooted in the revolutionary character of our times. We hear a lot about revolution and revolutions, in these days of rapid reporting of events. Journalists, script writers, and editorialists fling the word about so indiscriminately, with such a variety of meanings, that for the ordinary reader it has ceased to convey any very precise meaning at all. But basically, revolution is change--fundamental change, rapid change, usually violent change. Genuine revolutions, therefore, have been rare, because fundamental change seldom comes about overnight, and rapid change seldom runs deep. The great ups and downs of history--the rise and fall of great civilizations, empires, religions, and philosophies--these evolutionary changes took a long, long time to happen. And because they happened so gradually, only the very wise and the very perceptive were even aware that they were taking place. For many centuries after the disintegration of the Roman Empire, people clung to the ancient forms, titles, and rituals, believing they stood for something real that still existed.

The kind of change that ordinary people are aware of, usually, is the violence and drama that they can see--a palace revolution in Bagdad, a new constitution in France, a new economic program in Communist China, a war. People who live through such events are likely to regard them as revolutionary, and journalists and historians are rather prone, after the event, to wrap up a package of them and call it a revolution. But usually the so-called revolution proves to be ephemeral. Comes the restoration, and life goes on much the same as

before. Eventually historians discover that its real significance lay in reflecting fundamental and gradual changes in modes of thinking and living, going on quietly far beneath the surface of events. What is labeled a revolution is frequently a symbol, and an expression, of something that is already underway.

It seems to me--though I am sure many of you might disagree--that our own American Revolution almost two centuries ago fell in this category. It was primarily a political revolution, which altered the form of our Government, but did not, in itself, fundamentally change the character of our society. What our revolution did do was to create the political framework within which the characteristic features of our democratic society and the American way of life could take form and mature during the generations that followed. I would venture to say that, until the present century, only two peoples in modern history have experienced revolution in a really fundamental sense--the French at the end of the 18th century, and the Japanese shortly after the middle of the 19th. Each of these peoples, in its own way and within a single lifetime, pulled up the roots of feudalism and laid the political and economic groundwork for the emergence of a free modern society. This was both fundamental change and rapid change.

But what is happening in this century, in our own lifetime, is, it seems to me, something bigger and more far-reaching. Since the end of the First World War, and especially since the Second, we have been living through a period of revolutionary change that has penetrated to the very roots of society and has touched, in one way or another, almost every country in the world. The internal structures and relationships of human societies are being transformed. Many old and hitherto stable societies--in China, in Southeast Asia, in the Near and Middle East--have undergone political upheavals and disruption of centuries-old social organizations. In Latin America a hundred-year-old habit of superficial though sometimes violent political change which seldom caused even a ripple on the surface of a stable and lethargic social order has been disrupted. What has happened and is happening in Latin America is a series of revolutionary upheavals which not merely replace military juntas by other military juntas, but tear apart the very fabric of society. The latest and most violent of these upheavals has occurred almost on our own borders, in Cuba. Throughout vast areas of the world, industrialization, modern agricultural methods, modern engineering, modern medicine, and elementary education have altered the way of life of millions of people. Old colonial empires and political alignments have vanished in the furnace of global war and new national aspirations. The population of the world is almost literally exploding into new dimensions, placing immense pressures on the very means of

subsistence at a time when millions of people are no longer content merely to exist but desperately want a better way of life. In Algeria, in China, in Southeast Asia, in parts of Black Africa, and in many other areas now undergoing social revolution the stark fact that must be faced and dealt with is that the people are not merely failing to improve their standards of living, but are actually sinking more and more deeply into poverty, starvation, and despair.

In dramatic contrast, in the more advanced countries, the conditions of material existence are being rapidly transformed by radical discoveries in the realm of pure and applied science and technology. These discoveries have given us new sources of power, new methods of communication and movement--even into outer space--new methods of curing disease and alleviating human suffering, a myriad of comforts and luxuries unknown to our parents, and, of course, appalling new devices for wiping out human life and destroying the things that man has created. In most of the advanced countries of Europe, the British Commonwealth, and this hemisphere, the impact of these developments has been absorbed by the established political and social structure with little or no violence--though in some countries, including some of our own allies, one can sense an underlying malaise and instability beneath the surface of political turmoil or the enforced tranquillity of an authoritarian regime.

In our own country, the processes of change have been orderly, for the most part. But change has been fundamental, nevertheless. If you don't believe me, think back--those of you who belong to my generation--to the predepression years, and try to remember how things looked then (and I am not speaking of superficial things like the absence of television or cinemascope). I am thinking of such things as the distribution of wealth, the emergence of new industries, the relations between government and business, the growth of organized labor, the immense and even embarrassing increase in agricultural productivity, the expansion of urban population into great metropolitan agglomerations, the emergence of suburban and ex-urban living, and the transformation of the average American's knowledge of and attitude toward world affairs.

These changes in our own country have, for the most part, had the effect of increasing our general well-being and our national strength. They do not threaten our security. But they are part of our national security problem in another very important sense. Hungry and desperate people in the underdeveloped areas will not indefinitely accept hunger and despair as their normal lot. As the gulf between our conditions of living and theirs grows wider and wider, through the

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progressive improvement of ours and the deterioration of theirs, their resentment and anger against those who have what they do not have will inevitably become more and more intense. Hungry and desperate people are likely, not merely to be indifferent to our security and interests, but to be actively hostile to us. This situation, of course, plays directly into the hands of our enemies, who, by a combination of propaganda, promises, and concrete assistance, can make the poverty-stricken peoples of the world into willing and eager tools of their hostile designs against us.

Since World War II the march of Communist imperialism and political subversion has brought the total population of countries lying within the Communist orbit, including Soviet Russia itself, to almost 1 billion people. Within this vast empire, dominated by Soviet Russia and Communist China, the aspirations of peoples for political, economic, and religious freedom have been ruthlessly suppressed, wherever they could not be manipulated and exploited to serve the purposes of the dictators in Moscow and Peking. Puppet Communist regimes, supported by Soviet or Chinese bayonets, either on the spot or in the background, have been imposed on formerly independent nations. Everywhere the media of public communications, political activity, and artistic and intellectual expression have been rigidly and cynically controlled in the interests of the ruling regimes.

How have the Communists brought this about? Not primarily by the use of naked force, except in the countries occupied at the end of World War II, although force has been used without stint or hesitation, where other means failed, both to install and to reinstate pro-Communist regimes--for example, in North Viet Nam, in Tibet, in Laos, in Hungary. Otherwise the techniques have varied. For desperate, hungry, and ignorant people, as I have indicated, the doctrine and promises of communism have proved a potent instrument of subversion. It matters little that the Communist doctrines of the dominant role of material forces in history and of the inherently exploitive character of capitalism are demonstrably false--or that the promise of the inevitable doom of capitalism and the emergence of a classless society is a prediction and nothing more, not susceptible to proof. For the hungry and the ignorant are more than willing to believe that they are exploited by capitalists, and respond readily to the vision of a state of affairs in which their oppressors will be overthrown and they will never go hungry again.

For these peoples, too, Soviet Russia and even Communist China appear as shining examples of how a resurgent have-not society, surrounded by hostile capitalist and imperialist powers, can, through the

gospel of communism, pull itself up by its bootstraps, telescope the normal processes of economic growth into a few years or a generation, and achieve the millennium. There is, of course, a glaring contrast between this shining vision of Soviet and Chinese development, as projected by Communist propaganda, and the grim reality of conditions in those societies. It is not too surprising, perhaps, that Soviet Russia, which has in fact achieved a remarkable economic growth since the war, should be able to project such an image of itself--although it is difficult for me to imagine a country in which the ideal of a classless society is receding more rapidly than in the complex and ordered structure of class privilege that exists in Russia today. But what is really remarkable is that Communist China has in recent years won immense prestige in such faraway places as north and west Africa and Cuba as the great exemplar of rapid social progress under communism--Communist China, which we know has ruthlessly reduced the bulk of its teeming population to starvation and is frantically striving to arrest the social disintegration resulting from the collapse of its reckless experiment in communal organization.

In addition to the blandishments of Communist propaganda and the spectacle of Soviet and Chinese achievements, an expansionist and militant communism has made potent use of economic weapons. With surplus goods and capital squeezed from their controlled economies, both the major Communist powers have launched limited, but highly effective programs of economic aid in a few selected countries, in order to offset the goodwill we have earned in these countries by our own much more extensive long-range programs. They have made additional points for themselves by effective programs of technical assistance. They do not always act under the guise of friendship. A tested technique is to suddenly cut off a source of supply, or a market, from a country that has come to depend upon it. Economic pressures, penetration, and subversion are all weapons in the Communist cold war arsenal.

What I have been describing, in a very sketchy way, are some of the many facets of the continuing nonmilitary threat to our national security. In its many forms this threat is designed to isolate us in the world by progressively alienating our friends, transforming potential friends or indifferent neutrals into active enemies, and sapping our own economic strength and moral resolution here at home--leaving us, in the end, without the means or the will to resist whatever terms the Communist powers wish to impose upon us.

You come to the Industrial College at an exciting time, when the cold war seems to be entering a new and critical phase. Last spring's

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Communist successes in Laos, a stepped-up campaign of aggression and subversion in South Viet Nam, an attempted Communist comeback in the Congo, our own late lamented fiasco in Cuba, the imminent drive to bring Communist China into the United Nations, the sabotaging of disarmament talks, the second Soviet manned space flight--all these are diversionary and supporting attacks. The main offensive, of course, centers in Berlin, where Mr. Khrushchev has announced his intention of turning over Soviet rights as an occupying power to the East German regime. This very week we have all seen the first step in that direction, with the closing of the border in East Berlin, choking off the flood of west-bound German refugees through that city. Truly, this is an extraordinary situation. When a regime becomes so unpopular that it must surround itself with barbed wire, booby traps, and armed guards, and now deploys armored divisions inside and around a great city, merely to prevent its own discontented citizenry from abandoning homes and possessions in order to flee from conditions they find intolerable--then, gentlemen, I submit, that regime stands naked before the whole world as a self-confessed failure. Consider the humiliation and embarrassment such a regime must inflict upon its protectors. One may well wonder how long the Soviet leaders will continue to condone a state of affairs within their prize satellite that makes mockery of all the pretensions of communism.

But meanwhile, largely because the Soviet leaders are humiliated and embarrassed and communism is on trial before the world, we have a crisis on our hands. Against this threat, the West now appears to be closing ranks--although De Gaulle's recent defiance of the U.N. and the Arab world in Tunisia has not helped our moral posture. On the brighter side, Great Britain's announced intention of joining the European Common Market heralds, we may hope, a growing economic collaboration between the contending "Sixes and Sevens" which should smooth the path toward eventual political unity in Western Europe. I think we can expect, too, a tightening of the bonds of NATO during the coming months, while the measures recently instituted by President Kennedy, modest though they are, will certainly improve our defensive posture and readiness to meet an emergency. Incidentally, this limited rearmament program now underway--and as the head of an educational institution this gives me some satisfaction--this rearmament program will provide the Industrial College its first opportunity in several years to observe the processes involved in a substantial raising of force levels, expanded production of conventional weaponry, intensified military training programs, and a limited manpower mobilization. All in all, despite our natural anxiety and personal involvement in the situation, I feel we are fortunate in being able to observe this absorbing drama from this particular vantage point. Let us make the most of it.

One final word about the studies you will undertake here at the Industrial College. Ranging over the whole spectrum of national security problems as it does, our course is broader than it is deep, although in some of your committee projects, as well as in your individual research, you will examine certain problem areas in considerable depth. Generally speaking, however, our program is designed to provide a broad foundation of general information and an awareness of the salient trends and problems of national security, on which you can build later as your interests and your responsibilities indicate. Our mission is education in the broadest sense, rather than preparation for the performance of any specific job or avenue of career advancement. We also hope to sharpen and develop whatever creative, imaginative, and analytical qualities of mind you may possess, and to prepare you psychologically and intellectually for progressively higher responsibilities.

Incidentally, your performance here will not be graded in the ordinary sense. Nor do we evaluate students against each other, or post a list periodically to indicate how each student stands in the class. The only official evaluation which we make of you as a student is a descriptive characterization of such qualities as aptitude, attitude, performance, and participation in the program and activities of the College. In order to arrive at this evaluation, we strive to develop a close relationship between you and the faculty. Let me urge you to make the most of this opportunity to get acquainted with the faculty members with whom you will be thrown in contact. They can guide you in many ways, and help to make your stay here both pleasant and profitable.

I am sure you all realize that your experience at the Industrial College can be stimulating and rewarding to the extent that you apply yourself to your studies, with energy, enthusiasm, and an attitude of openminded inquiry. It goes without saying, too, that if you do this you will return to your several departments and services better equipped to turn in superior performances of duty. You owe no less to yourself, to your Government, and to your country. Since your study here should greatly enhance your ability to realize your own potential, it can lead to selection for advancement, though you should remember, too, that the mere fact of graduation from this College (or from any other, for that matter) will in itself neither add to nor detract from your chances for promotion. What you do with your opportunity here and after you leave will, in the long run, determine what happens to you. You can rest assured that your selection to come here was a compliment to you. It means that you are doing well in your service and that you are regarded as a very likely prospect for advancement. But I must repeat--

the stamp "graduated" on your record is not enough in itself. It is what you do with what you get here after you leave that counts.

Thank you all--and, once again, as one newcomer to others, a cordial welcome!

(25 August 1961--275)en:dm