I am honored by your invitation to participate in this ceremony. It is clear that Governor Daniel and his handsome family have been taken to your hearts, and I'm happy to have a part in such a festive occasion. Governor Daniel's abilities promise a most successful administration. The Guam government, under his leadership, I know will achieve greater prosperity and development of this beautiful island and its people. I'd like at this time to read publicly Secretary Udall's greeting to him.

My remarks today will be brief and directed to what I consider the essence of Guam's present situation—namely, your hopes and aspirations for the future and the attitude of the rest of the United States toward them. This requires that we consider soberly and fundamentally what Guam means in the world situation.

In this age of mass media, suggestion and symbolism shortcut and short circuit the communication of ideas. The slogan and the symbol are the thing. We accept that "Luckies taste better" without inquiring "Better than what?" The world lives and acts on the basis of symbols and the feelings they generate among the people of our globe. To us of the West, Hungary and Korea conjure up definite reactions as to the methods and morals of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Undoubtedly, Berlin constitutes for them an irritating symbol of our resistance to their goals, just as Sputnik and Gagarin depict their scientific accomplishments.

In this world of mental pictures and resulting stimuli, Guam too is a symbol. Just so are the Virgin Islands and American Samoa symbols. Therein lies a heavy responsibility for you of Guam.

Guam's progress from an outpost of European colonialism to the threshold of complete self-government to us is a symbol of our national maturity. We know that the United States has never been a colonial power, even though it has not always done the best possible job. Our performance in this area of the world—Guam and the Trust Territory, for which you serve as headquarters—now endure the scrutiny of the whole world—the free, the uncommitted and the enslaved. The Government of the United States cannot be a neutral in the drama of advancement in this area. We will be judged according to success or failure in achieving the self-sufficiency so essential to true freedom.

You will remember that the inauguration of President Kennedy marked an innovation among such ceremonies by having the arts represented in the person of our recognized but uncrowned poet laureate, Robert Frost. That truly great and
always amazing octogenarian had composed a dedicatory poem for the occasion which, because of sun glare and breeze, he was unable to read in its entirety. I consider it a great pity that the world could not have heard that poem from the author's lips. His great wisdom and gentle wit touched penetratingly upon practically every major development in our national history.

Of our self-conscious and uncertain approach to territorial matters, Mr. Frost had this to say:

We see how seriously the races swarm  
In their attempts at sovereignty and form  
They are our wards we think to some extent  
For the time being and with their consent  
To teach them how Democracy is meant.

But then he goes on to emphasize that it was our example that led to much of the worldwide demand for freedom, and the resulting din of change that disturbs the present world:

"New order of the ages" did they say?  
If it looks none too orderly today,  
'Tis a confusion it was ours to start  
So in it have to take courageous part.

And so it is. The declaration of human rights and dignity which keynoted our own rebellion against 18th century colonial policies has become our most favorable export item. Jefferson is a hero to the Egyptian, the Congolese, the Indonesian and the Pakistani alike. Can he be any less for the Guamanian, the Marshallese or the Samoan?

We have been the exponents of freedom--the authors of its modern doctrine. There is a vast difference between 1776 and 1961, however: what had to come from rebellion in arms against George III will never require that sacrifice in alien lands where we have been sovereign. We do take "courageous part" in the confused world of today. We recognize and discharge the obligation for positive action to prepare our fellow citizens and dependent peoples for their rightful place in whatever governmental structure we mutually devise. The process is a truly mutual one.

You earned citizenship in the cauldron of war, and I know you willingly assume a front-line role equivalent to your wartime experience in resisting the effort to depict the United States as a colonialist power.

Your Governor was appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the United States Senate. Just as he is not a subordinate official in the Department of the Interior, so also the government and the people of Guam do not have a passive or subordinate position in this affirmative effort.

I pledge to you that as the position of Guam in the United States system is discussed in symbolic terms in the United Nations, you will be consulted and kept informed to the full extent that the Department of the Interior can arrange for it.
It may well be that in this process of consultation you will be able to make a significant, even decisive contribution to preserve the anti-colonialist reputation of the United States.

As communications and travel improve, you have moved close to the geographic center of American democracy, just as your Organic Act brought you closer to our ideological bosom. The poet has said "America is promises." Its promises have been fulfilled at an ever-accelerating pace—not only for mainlanders, but for the Philippines and Hawaii and Alaska and Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands and Guam and, most recently, Samoa. Each, to the extent of its capacity and in accordance with its preferences, has achieved or moved toward the promise of self-government. That promise is still open. There are no arbitrary limits on your choices for the political future.

Guam is the symbol of our future in the world community. Our reputation and esteem among the underdeveloped, uncommitted and inexperienced nations will depend upon the portrait painted here of the opportunities available under the American system. The portrait will depend upon the understanding and assistance we extend in your efforts to build an economy, a society and a political structure which will permit a truly free choice among the alternatives which our flexible system offers.

Guam is the symbol of the hopes of all of the Micronesian peoples. What we do here will signify to them what they may become as their institutions develop. While our relationships are different and must continue so under the terms of the United Nations Trusteeship arrangement, there is one area where the situation is exactly the same. That is the freedom on the part of the people to determine the course and direction of their own political future. Our system has accommodated and assisted independence in the Philippines, commonwealth status in Puerto Rico, statehood in Hawaii and Alaska. There is no indication that we have reached the end of our resourcefulness. Whatever your ultimate goals, we will work with you to achieve them—we will never knowingly create obstructions to those aspirations.

Obviously these are not decisions we can make today or even next year—each of the alternative I have mentioned has practical prerequisites which must be met—but as experience has demonstrated in other areas, they are well within your reach if you would really have them.

The task right now is to get on with the work at hand. Many lessons are yet to be learned within the framework of territorial experience. You greet today an appointive Governor. No matter how capable, sympathetic or helpful he may prove, he is not your elected choice. You have no voice in the passage of national legislation affecting your land and its people. Some of you at least do not regard the Organic Act as the perfect charter for current operation even under your present territorial status. Let us not be timid about securing changes whenever the majority is agreed that change is needed.
These are challenges that we can meet right now. Let us use Guam as the laboratory in which we can develop the instruments of a democratic government constructed to promote the society you want to create, or to preserve, in Guam. In so doing you serve not only your own interests but by your example those of the other Pacific Islands. Your success will demonstrate to the world that free institutions serve the ultimate goals of free men.

I place upon you, therefore, a heavy burden in the struggle of the free world for the survival of those institutions which permit me to speak with you today—not as a superior authority, but as a partner in the process of advancing our mutual interests.

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