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ADDRESS BY
PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS
APRIL 10, 1975
ON FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, distinguished guests and
my very dear friends:

~~When I met with you~~^I in January to report on the State
of the Union, I concentrated on two subjects which were uppermost
in the minds of the American people ^{urgently comprehensive} - the recovery of our ~~domestic~~
^{comprehensive} economy and a ~~specific~~ program to make the United States independent
of foreign sources of energy.

I thank the Congress for the action it has taken thus far in
response to my economic recommendations. I look forward to your
early approval of ^{a national} ~~my~~ comprehensive energy program to meet our
^{country's} ~~nation's~~ long-range and emergency needs.

Tonight it is my purpose to review our relations with the
rest of the world, in the spirit of candor and consultation which
I have sought to maintain with my former colleagues and with



Truman

IKK

JFK

LBJ

RN

our countrymen from the time I took office. It is the first priority of my Presidency to sustain and strengthen the mutual trust and respect which must exist among Americans and their government if we are to deal successfully with the challenges confronting us at home and abroad.

The leadership of the United States of America, since the end of World War II, has sustained and advanced the security, well-being and freedom of millions of human beings beside^s ourselves. Despite some mistakes and some setbacks, the United States has made peace a real prospect for us and for all nations.

I know firsthand that Congress has been a full partner in the development and support of the American foreign policy which five Presidents before me have carried forward, with changes of course but not of destination.

The course which our country chooses in the world today has never been of greater significance -- for ourselves as

all national
 a nation and for the future of ~~the international community~~.

solid
 We build from a ~~strong~~ foundation.

Our alliances with the great industrial democracies in Europe, North America and Japan remain strong, with a greater degree of consultation and equity than ever before.

With the Soviet Union we have moved across a broad ~~front~~ *spectrum* toward a more stable, if still competitive ~~and adversary~~ relationship.

We have begun to control the spiral of strategic nuclear armaments.

historic
 After two decades of mutual estrangement we have achieved an opening with the People's Republic of China.

-- often
 In the best American tradition we have committed with striking success our influence and good offices to help contain conflicts and settle disputes in many regions of the world. We have, for example, helped the parties of the Middle East take the first steps toward living with one another in peace.

We have opened a new dialogue with Latin America looking toward a healthier hemispheric partnership.

We have exercised international leadership on the great new issues of interdependence, such as energy, food and environment.

The American people can be proud of what their nation has achieved and helped others to accomplish.

But we have, from time to time suffered setbacks and disappointments in foreign policy. Sometimes events were uncontrollable; sometimes we imposed difficulties upon ourselves.

We live in a time of testing and a time of change. Our world -- a world of economic uncertainty, political unrest, and threats to the peace -- does not allow us the luxury of abdication or domestic discord.

[Some 200 years ago a great American revolutionary, Samuel Adams, spoke words that can guide us now. He said

(Better quote)

"the necessity of the times, more than ever, calls for our



utmost circumspection, deliberation, fortitude and perseverance."

Those same qualities must guide us today. Our purpose is not to point the finger of blame; but to build upon our many successes; to repair damage where we find it; to recover our balance; to move ahead as a united people. ^{TP} Tonight is a time for straight talk among friends about where we stand, and where we're going.

Indochina

A vast human tragedy has befallen our friends in Vietnam

and Cambodia.

I shall not talk of only 3 obligations arising from legal document
~~Too often we talk of commitments as if they were lifeless~~

Who can forget

legal documents. ~~I need not recall~~ the enormous sacrifices in blood,

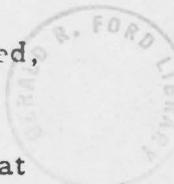
dedication and treasure that we made in Vietnam. ^{*} [Five American

Presidents have engaged the United States in Indochina.] Millions of our

^{short} served, thousands died, and many more were wounded, imprisoned,

or lost. Over \$150 billion were ~~appropriated~~ for the conduct of that

** Under five Presidents, ^{and 7 Congresses} the U.S. has been engaged in Indochina.*



convention

war by the Congress of the United States. And after years of effort,

we negotiated a settlement which made it possible for us to remove

our forces [with honor] and bring home our prisoners, [and for our South

The terms of accord to

?

enabled us

Vietnamese ally, with our material and moral support, to maintain its

security and rebuild after two decades of war.

The chances for an ~~enduring~~ peace after the last

American fighting man left Vietnam in 1973 rested on two publicly

stated premises: ^{*} First, that if necessary the United States would

help sustain the terms of the Paris Accords ^{it negotiated} we signed two years ago

and second, that the United States would provide adequate economic

and military assistance to South Vietnam. *

The North Vietnamese, from the moment they signed the

Paris Peace Accords, systematically violated the cease-fire and

* Add HAK

*first violation of the Accords by the
N/V*



other provisions of the agreement. Flagrantly disregarding the
ban on infiltration of troops into the South, they increased ^{Commitment} ~~their~~

forces to the unprecedented level of 350,000. In direct violation of
the agreement, they sent in the most modern equipment in massive
amounts. Meanwhile, they continued to receive large quantities
of supplies and arms from their friends.

In the face of this situation, the United States -- torn as it
was by the emotions of a decade of war -- was unable to respond.

We ~~had~~ deprived ourselves by law of the ability to enforce the
agreement -- thus giving North Vietnam assurance that it could
violate that agreement with impunity. Next we reduced our economic

and arms aid to South Vietnam. (Finally we signalled our increasing
reluctance to give ^{any} support to ~~a~~ ^{the} ~~nation~~ ^{people} struggling for its ^{Survival} ~~independence~~) ?

Encouraged by these developments, the North Vietnamese
in recent months began sending even their reserve divisions



into South Vietnam. Eighteen Divisions, virtually their entire
army, are now in the ^{Vietnam} South. The Government of South Vietnam,
uncertain of further American assistance, hastily ordered a
strategic withdrawal to more defensible positions. This ex-
tremely difficult maneuver, decided upon without consultations,
was badly managed, ^{hampereed by floods of refugees} and led to panic. The results are pain-
fully obvious and profoundly moving.

In my first public comment on this tragic development,
I called for a new sense of national unity and purpose. I
said I would not engage in recriminations or attempts to
assess blame, ~~nor should any of us in times like these~~

In the same spirit I welcomed the statement of the
distinguished Majority Leader of the United States Senate
earlier this week that:



"It is time for the Congress and the President to work together
in the area of foreign as well as domestic policy."

Let us start afresh.

I am here to work with the Congress. In the conduct
of foreign affairs, Presidential initiative and Presidential
ability to act swiftly in emergencies are essential to our
national interest. [Our forefathers learned this painful lesson
in our nation's infancy under the Articles of Confederation; it
was one of the primary reasons for the writing of the
Constitution and the creation of the office of President.]

omit

With respect to North Vietnam, I call upon Hanoi -- and ask the Congress to join me in this call -- to cease military operations immediately and to honor the terms of the ^{Paris}~~cease fire~~ agreement. The United States is urgently requesting the signatories of the Paris Conference to meet their obligation to use their influence to halt the fighting and enforce the 1973 Accords. Diplomatic notes to this effect have been sent to all members of the Paris Conference, including the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The situation in South Vietnam and Cambodia has reached a critical phase requiring immediate and positive decisions by this government -- ~~and I have made mine.~~

The options before us are few, and time is short.

On the one hand, the United States could do nothing; ^{never} let the government of South Vietnam save itself and what is left of its territory if it can, let those South Vietnamese civilians who have worked with us for a decade,

→
COLUMN

and their families

and their families, save their lives if they can; in short, shut our eyes and wash our hands of the whole matter -- if we can. Or,

on the other hand, I could ask Congress for authority to enforce

the Paris Accords with our troops and our tanks and our aircraft

and our artillery, and to carry the war to the enemy.

There are two narrower options. First, stick with my January request that the Congress appropriate \$300,000,000 for military assistance for South Vietnam and seek additional funds for economic and humanitarian purposes. ^{TP} Or, increase my requests for both emergency military and humanitarian assistance to levels which by best estimates might enable the South Vietnamese to halt the ^{to slow the onrush} onrushing aggression, ^{stabilize and sit} permit the chance of a negotiated political settlement between the North and South Vietnamese, and, if the very worst were to happen, at least allow the orderly evacuation of Americans and ^{endangered} threatened South Vietnamese to places of safety. [ALTT'S notes]

Let me now share with the Congress and the American people my conclusions:

I have received a full report from General Weyand, whom I sent to Vietnam to assess the situation, ~~for me~~. He advises that the current military situation is critical, but that South Vietnam is continuing to defend itself with the resources available. However, he



feels that if there is to be any chance of success for their defense

plan, South Vietnam needs urgently an additional ~~\$722~~ million in *specific*

military assistance from the United States.

I must, of course, consider the safety of some 6,000 Americans

who remain in ^{South} Vietnam, and of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese

employees of the United States Government, of news agencies,

Second:

A stabilization of the military situation ^{of} ~~would provide~~ the best opportunity for a political ^{solution} ~~negotiation~~



whose lives

of contractors and businesses for many years who with their

in danger

dependents, are ~~already known to be marked for massacre by the~~

there are 10's of thousands of the
North Vietnamese. ~~Also on the purge lists are~~ South Vietnamese

~~intellectuals, professors and teachers, editors and opinion leaders~~

who have supported the South Vietnamese cause and the alliance

with the United States, to whom we have a profound moral obligation.

It has been said that the United States is overextended;

that we have too many commitments too far from home; that we must

re-examine what our truly vital interests are and shape our strategy

to conform to them. I find no fault with this as theory, but in the

~~we must deal with reality and~~

real world such a course ^{must} ~~can~~ only be pursued carefully and in close

coordination with solid progress toward overall reduction in

worldwide tensions.

in the real world we also must deal with reality

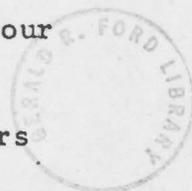
~~But~~ we cannot in the meantime abandon our friends while our

adversaries support and encourage theirs. We cannot dismantle our

defenses, our diplomacy or our intelligence capability while others

increase and strengthen theirs.

more to 19



I am also mindful of

~~These considerations bear heavily on~~ our posture towards

the rest of the world, and particularly on our future relations with the free nations of Asia. These nations must not think for a minute that the United States is pulling out on them or intends to abandon them to ~~internal subversion or external~~ aggression.

I have therefore concluded that the national interests of the United States and the cause of world stability require that we continue to give both military and humanitarian assistance to the South Vietnamese ~~government~~.

Assistance to South Vietnam at this stage must be swift and adequate. Drift and indecision invite far deeper disaster. The sums I had requested before the major North Vietnamese



NOW

offensive and the sudden South Vietnamese retreat are obviously

~~would be worse~~

inadequate. Half-hearted action ~~would be worse~~ than none. We

must act together and decisively.

appropriate without delay

I am asking the Congress to approve the ~~sum~~ of \$722 million for

an initial sum of 250m

emergency military assistance and \$ _____ for economic and

humanitarian aid for South Vietnam.

I also ask Congress to modify its restriction on the use of

U.S. military forces in Southeast Asia for the limited purposes

of protecting American lives by ensuring their evacuation, if this

should become necessary, along with Vietnamese to whom we have

an obligation and whose lives may be endangered.

add HAK

See Bank

TT - President

V/K - Roubin



1. Request law changes

A. American evac.

B. SN evac

if the worst comes to
past.

I hope that this authority will never ~~need~~ be used, but if it is
needed there will be no time for debate. ^{Congress in} ~~as Capital Hill.~~

Because of the urgency of the situation, I am asking the Congress
to complete action on these measures not later than April 19. <

In Cambodia the situation is ~~equally~~ tragic. The United States
and the Cambodian Government have each made major efforts -- over a
long period and through many channels -- to end that conflict. But
because of their military successes, steady external support, and
American legislative restrictions, the Communist side has shown no
interest in negotiation, compromise, or a political solution.

And yet, for the past three months the beleaguered people
of Phnom Penh have fought on, hoping against hope that the United
States would not desert them, but instead provide the arms and
ammunition they so badly need.

~~Several days ago~~ I ^{have} received a moving letter from the ^{new} Acting

President of Cambodia who succeeded Lon Nol.

"Dear Mr. President," he wrote. "As the American Congress reconvenes to reconsider your urgent request for supplemental assistance for the Khmer Republic, I appeal to you to convey to the American legislators our plea not to deny these vital resources to us, if a non-military solution is to emerge from this tragic 5 year old conflict."

"To find a peaceful end to the conflict we need time.

I do not know how much time, but we all fully realize that the agony of the Khmer people cannot and must not go on much longer.

However, for the immediate future, we need the rice to feed the hungry and the ammunition and weapons to defend ourselves against those who want to impose their will by force of arms.

A denial by the American people of the means for us to carry on will leave us no alternative but inevitably abandoning our

search for a solution which will give our citizens some freedom of choice as to their future. For a number of years now the Cambodian people have placed their trust in America. I cannot believe that this confidence was misplaced and that suddenly America will deny us the means which might give us a chance to find an acceptable solution to our conflict."

This letter speaks for itself. I renew on a most urgent basis my January request for food and ammunition for the brave Cambodians. You have only a matter of days. Otherwise, it will be too late.

Members of the Congress, my fellow Americans, this moment of tragedy for Indochina is a time of trial for us. It is a time for national resolve.

INSERT PG 14

Let us put an end to self-inflicted wounds. Let us remember that our national unity is a most priceless asset.

Let us deny our adversaries the satisfaction of using Vietnam

[once again] to pit American against American. ~~Let us be~~

~~neither hawks nor doves, but Eagles that soar high in strength~~

~~and courage~~

Above all,

~~Above all,~~ let us keep events in Southeast Asia in their

proper perspective. The security and progress of hundreds of

millions everywhere depend importantly on us.

At this moment, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, this

nation must present to the world a united front.

Let no potential adversary believe that our difficulties

or our debates mean a slackening of our national will.

*The security & progress of
100 million & increasing
depend crucially on us.*



We will stand by our friends.

We will honor our commitments.

We will uphold our country's principles.

The American people know that our strength and authority have helped prevent a third World War for more than a generation.

We will not shrink from this duty in the decades ahead.

Let me now review with you the basic elements of our foreign policy, speaking candidly about our strengths and our difficulties.

We must first of all face the fact that what has happened in Indochina has ~~seriously~~ disquieted many of our friends, especially in Asia. ~~We must deal with this situation by working out new relationships, in which we make no commitments we cannot keep, but we keep what -~~
Add statement to start
~~ever commitments we make.~~ To this end, I will be meeting over the next few months with ~~the~~ leaders of Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, and other Asian countries.

We must demonstrate by our actions our steadfastness.



A key country in this respect is Japan. We consider our Security Treaty with Japan the cornerstone of stability in the vast reaches of Asia and the Pacific. Our relations are crucial to our mutual ^{well being} prosperity. My warm welcome in Japan last November vividly symbolized for both our peoples the friendship and solidarity of this extraordinary partnership. Together we are working energetically on the international multilateral agenda -- in trade, energy and food.

We will continue the process of strengthening our friendship, mutual security and prosperity ~~when I meet with Prime Minister Miki within the next few months.~~ I look forward with very special pleasure to welcoming the Emperor when he visits the United States later this year.

Bill Kovac



Our relations with Western Europe have never been stronger.

There are no peoples with whom America's destiny has been more closely linked. There are no peoples whose friendship and cooperation are more needed for the future. For none of the members of the Atlantic community can be secure, none can prosper, none can progress unless all do so together. More than ever, these times demand our close collaboration in order ~~to~~:

^{To}
-- maintain the ~~sure~~ anchor of our common security in

this time of international riptides;

^{To}
-- work together on the promising negotiations with our

potential adversaries;



To

-- pool our vision and our energies on the great new

economic challenges that face us.

In addition to this traditional agenda, there are new problems,

involving energy, raw materials, and the environment.

The Atlantic nations ^{are (face) ed by} confront many and complex negotiations

and decisions. It is time to take stock, to consult ^{on future} ~~concert~~ our actions, to

affirm once again our cohesion and our common destiny. I therefore

~~Expect my colleagues~~ ^{Join with}

~~call upon my colleagues~~; the other leaders of the Atlantic Alliance,

^{in very near future}

to come together at a Western Summit, ~~in the near future~~ for a

reaffirmation of principle, policy and progress. I ~~am hopeful that~~

~~we can use the NATO ministerial meeting at the end of May for~~

this occasion.

[Handwritten signature]



Before this NATO meeting, I earnestly ask Congress to weigh

the broader consequences of ~~past~~ [↓] actions on the complex Greek and Turkish

dispute situation
[conflict] over Cyprus. Our foreign policy cannot be simply a collection of

special economic or ethnic or ideological interests. There must be a

concern for the overall design of our international actions. To achieve

~~this overall~~ design for peace and to assure that our individual acts have

coherence, the Executive must have flexibility in the conduct of ~~our~~ foreign

policy.

United States military assistance to an old and faithful ally --

Turkey -- has been cut off by action of the Congress. This has imposed an

embargo on military purchases by Turkey, extending even to items already

paid for -- an unprecedented act against a friend. These moves, I know,

were sincerely intended to influence Turkey in the Cyprus negotiations.

deeply
I share the concern of many of ~~our~~ citizens for the immense human



suffering on Cyprus. I sympathize with the new democratic government in Greece and we are trying to help them bring about equitable solutions to the problems which exist between Greece and Turkey. But the result of the Congressional action has been to block progress toward reconciliation, thereby prolonging the suffering on Cyprus; to complicate our ability to promote negotiations; and to enhance the danger of a broader conflict.



Long Standing
- 27 -

[Our relationship with Turkey is not simply a favor to Turkey;]

it is a clear and essential mutual interest. Turkey lies on the rim of the Soviet Union and at the gates to the Middle East. It is vital to the security of the eastern Mediterranean, the southern flank of Western Europe and the collective security of the Western Alliance.

military
Our U.S. bases in Turkey are critical to the defense of NATO and to ~~our own security.~~
our own security as they are

I therefore call upon the Congress to lift ~~immediately~~ the American arms embargo against our Turkish ally by passing the bipartisan Mansfield-Scott Bill, now before the Senate. Only this will enable us to work with Greece and Turkey to resolve the differences between our two allies. I accept -- and indeed welcome -- the bill's requirement for monthly reports to the Congress on progress toward a Cyprus settlement. But ~~I must caution~~ that unless *with dispatch* this is done in ~~the weeks~~ ahead, forces may be set in motion within



*Put the same
time!*

and between the two nations which could not be reversed. To
and indicate our historic friendship
strengthen the democratic government of Greece, we are actively

discussing a program of economic and military assistance. We will
shortly be submitting specific requests to the Congress.

A vital element of our foreign policy is our relationship
with the developing countries -- in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

These countries must know that America is a true and concerned
friend, reliable in word and deed.

As evidence of this friendship, I urge the Congress to reconsider
one provision of the 1974 Trade Act which has had an unfortunate and
unintended impact on our relations with Latin America, *where* (with which)
we have such long ties of friendship and cooperation. Under this
legislation all members of OPEC were excluded from our generalized



system of trade preferences. This punished two old South American friends, Ecuador and Venezuela, as well as other OPEC nations such as Nigeria and Indonesia none of which participated in last year's oil embargo. This exclusion has seriously complicated our new dialogue with our friends in this hemisphere.

I therefore endorse the amendments which have been introduced in the Congress to correct this ^{and other inequities} inequity by providing Executive authority to waive those restrictions of the Trade Act that ^{are not} ~~discriminate~~ against ^{compatible with our national interest} ~~our traditional friends~~.

The interests of America as well as our allies are vitally affected by what happens in the Middle East. So long as the state of tension continues, it threatens military crisis, the weakening of our alliances, the stability of the world economy, and confrontation among the nuclear superpowers. These are intolerable risks.



Because we are in the unique position of being able to deal with all the parties, we have at their request been engaged for the past year and a half in a peacemaking effort unparalleled in the history of the region.

on the road to peace

Our policy has brought remarkable successes. Last year two major disengagement agreements were negotiated and



implemented with our help. For the first time in 30 years a process of negotiation on the basic political issues was begun -- and is continuing.

Unfortunately, the latest efforts to reach a further interim agreement between Israel and Egypt have been suspended. The issues dividing the parties are vital to them and not amenable to easy or quick solutions.

IDENT
However, the United States will not be discouraged. [The momentum toward peace that has been achieved over the last 18 months must and will be maintained. The active role of the United States must and will be continued. The drift toward war must and will be prevented.]

I pledge the United States to a major effort for peace in the Middle East -- an effort which I know has the solid support of the American people and their Congress. We are now examining how best to proceed. We have agreed in principle to reconvene the Geneva conference. We are prepared to explore other forums. The United States ^{will} ~~is prepared to~~ move ahead on whatever course looks most promising, either towards an overall settlement or interim agreements, should the parties desire them.

We will not, ~~(in any event)~~ accept stagnation or a stalemate, with all its attendant risks to peace and prosperity and our relations in and outside of the region.

The national interest -- and national security -- require as well that we reduce the dangers of war. We shall strive to do so by continuing to improve relations with potential adversaries.

The United States and the Soviet Union share an interest in lessening tensions and building a more stable relationship. During this process we have never had any illusions. We know that we are dealing with a nation that reflects different principles and is our competitor in many parts of the globe. Through a combination of firmness and flexibility, the United States has in recent years laid the basis of a more reliable relationship based on mutual interest and mutual restraint. But we cannot expect the Soviet Union to

U.S.

show restraint in the face of weakness or irresolution. As long as I am President, America will maintain its strength, its alliances, and its principles -- as a prerequisite to a more peaceful planet. As long as I am President, we will not permit detente to become a license to fish in troubled waters. Detente must be a two-way street.

Central to U.S. - Soviet relations today is the critical negotiation to control strategic nuclear weapons. We hope to turn the Vladivostok agreements into a final agreement this year at the time of the General Secretary's visit to the United States. This would for the first time put a ceiling on the strategic arms race. It would mark a turning point in postwar history and a crucial step in lifting from mankind the threat of nuclear war.

Our use of trade and economic sanctions as weapons to compel the internal conduct of other nations must also be seriously reexamined. However well-intentioned the goals, the fact is that some of our recent actions in the economic

field have been self-defeating. They are not achieving the objectives of

intended by
the Congress. And they have damaged our foreign policy.

The Trade Act of 1974 prohibits most-favored nation

treatment, credit and investment guarantees and commercial agree-

ments with the Soviet Union, so long as ^{there} ~~the~~ emigration policies of

~~the USSR~~ ^{OUR} fail to meet certain specified criteria. The Soviet Union

~~has rejected a trading relationship based on such legislation; it~~ has

therefore refused to put into effect the important 1972 trade agreement

between our two countries.

As a result ~~other nations~~, particularly ~~Western Europe~~ and

Japan have stepped into the breach. They have extended credits exceeding

\$8 billion in the last six months. These are economic opportunities --

jobs and business -- which could have gone to Americans.

There should be no illusions about the nature of the Soviet
system -- but there should also be no illusions about how to deal

~~Additional~~
Devotion
- 35 -

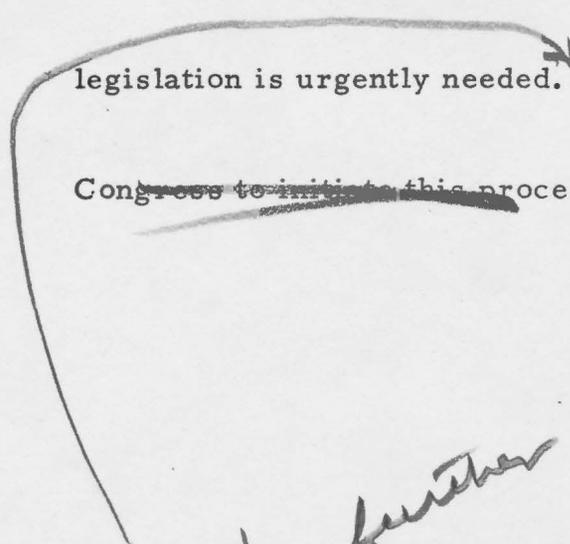
with it. Our belief in the right of peoples of the world freely
to emigrate has been well demonstrated. This legislation,
however, not only harmed our relations with the Soviet Union but
seriously complicated the prospects of those seeking to emigrate.

The favorable trend, aided by our quiet diplomacy, by which
emigration increased from 400 in 1968 to over 33,000 in 1973,

has been seriously set back. ~~To remedy this tragedy,~~ remedial

legislation is urgently needed. I stand ready to ~~meet~~ ^{work} with the

~~Congress to initiate this process.~~



to further ~~the~~ ^{our} ~~goals.~~ national interests.



With the People's Republic of China we are firmly fixed on the course set forth in the Shanghai Communique. Stability in Asia and the world require our constructive ~~communication~~ ^{relations} with one-fourth of the human race. After two decades of mutual isolation and hostility, we have in recent years built a promising foundation. ~~Certainly we will encounter some difficulties along the way.~~ Deep differences in our philosophies and social systems will endure. But so should our mutual long-term interests and the goals to which our countries have jointly subscribed in Shanghai.

I will visit China later this year for ~~the second time and my first time as President,~~ to reaffirm these interests and to accelerate the improvement in our relations.

New Challenges

The issues I have discussed are the most pressing on the traditional agenda of foreign policy. But a hallmark of our time is a vast new agenda of issues in an interdependent world. The United States -- with its economic power, its technology, its zest for new horizons -- is the



acknowledged world leader in dealing with many of these challenges.

If this is a moment of uncertainty in the world, it is even more a moment of rare opportunity:

-- We are summoned to meet one of man's most basic challenges --

hunger. At the World Food Conference last November in Rome, the United States outlined a comprehensive program to close the ominous gap between population growth and food production over the long-term.

Our technological skill and our enormous productive capacity are crucial ^{for} to any hope in the world of accomplishing this task.

~~arrangements a new~~
-- The old economic order -- in trade, finance, and raw

materials -- is changing, and American leadership is needed in the creation of new institutions and practices for worldwide prosperity and progress.

-- The world's oceans, with their immense resources and strategic importance, must become areas of cooperation rather than conflict. American policy is directed to that end.



-- Technology must be harnessed to the service of mankind while protecting the environment. This too is an arena for American leadership.

-- The interests and aspirations of the developed and developing nations must be reconciled in a manner that is both realistic and humane. This is our goal in this new era.

One of the finest success stories in our foreign policy is our cooperative effort with other major energy-consuming nations. In little more than a year, together with our partners, we have created the International Energy Agency; we have negotiated an emergency sharing arrangement which helps to reduce the dangers of an embargo; we have created institutions of financial solidarity; we have launched major international conservation efforts; and we have developed a massive program for the development of alternative sources of energy.

But the fate of all of these programs depends crucially



on what we do at home. *[* Every month that passes brings us *]*

closer to the day ~~when we will be dependent on imported energy~~

for 50% of our requirements -- and vulnerable in our most

strategic economic resource. A new embargo, ~~under conditions,~~

~~of even greater dependence on OPEC oil,~~ would have a devastating

impact on jobs, industrial expansion, and inflation at home. Our

economy

~~policies~~ cannot be left to the mercy of decisions over which we

have no control.

here at home

If we do not act now, the expected economic upturn/will
~~rapidly erase the effects of our reduced demand of the past year.~~
gains of
domestic
A strong energy program is an urgent, top-priority national need.

I call upon the Congress to act.

~~to make us immune to foreign pressures.~~

Underlying any successful foreign policy is the strength and

credibility of our defense posture.

We are strong and we are ready. We intend to remain so.

Go to last sentence pg 40 →



Improvement of relations with adversaries does not mean any relaxation of our national vigilance. On the contrary, it is the firm maintenance of both strength and vigilance that makes possible steady progress toward a safer and more peaceful world.

The national security budget I have submitted is the minimum ~~amount~~ the United States needs in this critical hour. The Congress should review it carefully. But it is my considered judgment that any significant reduction would endanger our national security and thus jeopardize the peace.

Let no ally doubt our determination to maintain a defense second to none. Let no adversary be tempted to test our readiness or our resolve.

In a world where information is power, a vital element of our national security lies in our intelligence services.



They are as essential to our nation's security in peace as in war.

Americans can be grateful for the ^{largely unsung} important contributions and
~~achievements~~ of the intelligence services of this nation.

~~largely unsung~~

It is entirely proper that this system be subject to
Congressional review. But a sensationalized public debate
~~would be~~
over legitimate intelligence activities is a disservice to this
nation and a threat to our intelligence system. It ties our
^{while}
hands where our potential enemies operate with secrecy, skill
and vast resources. Any investigation must be conducted with
maximum discretion and dispatch, ^{to avoid} ~~lest this process dismantle~~ ^{credibility}
~~or demoralize~~ a vital national institution.

As Congress oversees intelligence activities it must
organize itself to do so in a responsible way. It has been



traditional for the Executive to consult with the Congress through specially-protected procedures that safeguard essential secrets. But recently those procedures have been altered in a way that makes the protection of vital information next to impossible. I will work with the leaders of the House and Senate to devise procedures which will meet the needs of the Congress for review and the needs of the nation for an effective intelligence service.

History is testing us today. We cannot afford indecision, disunity or disarray in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

It is my profound conviction that America must no longer hamstring itself on questions of national security.

You and I can resolve here and now that this nation shall move ahead with wisdom, assurance, and national unity.

The world looks to us for the vigor and vision that we have demonstrated so often before at great moments in our history.

~~This I believe:~~

-- I see a confident America, secure in its strength and values -- and determined to maintain both.

-- I see a conciliatory America, extending its hand to allies and adversaries alike, forming bonds of cooperation to deal with the vast problems facing us all.

-- I see a compassionate America, its heart reaching out to orphans, to refugees and to our fellow human beings afflicted by war and tyranny and hunger.

As President, entrusted by the Constitution with primary responsibility for the conduct of our foreign affairs, I renew the pledge I made last August: To work cooperatively with



the Congress.

I ask that the Congress help to keep America's word good throughout the world. We are one nation, one government, and we must have one foreign policy.

The spirit of America is good -- and strong. Let us be proud of what we have done and of what we can do. This is my faith, and it gives me courage.

The Congress and the President, each of us share a responsibility to the nation and to the American people.

Together let us show the world what we are made of.

