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REMARKS OF PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD

EAST-WEST CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

HONOLULU, HAWAII

SUNDAY - DECEMBER 7, 1975

- THANK YOU , DR. KLEINJANS
- GOV. ARIYOSHI (AIR-E-O-SHE)
- SENATOR FONG
- CONGRESSMAN MATSUNAGA
- DR. MATSUDA
- STUDENTS, FACULTY AND GUESTS

IT IS GOOD TO BE HOME. I HAVE JUST COMPLETED A SEVEN-
DAY TRIP TO THE STATE OF ALASKA, TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA, TO OUR GOOD FRIENDS, INDONESIA AND THE PHILIPPINES.
AND NOW I AM HAPPY TO RETURN TO OUR 50TH STATE, HAWAII.

THIS MORNING I REFLECTED ON THE PAST AT THE
SHRINE OF AMERICANS WHO DIED ON A SUNDAY MORNING 34
YEARS AGO. I CAME AWAY WITH A NEW SPIRIT OF
DEDICATION TO THE IDEALS THAT EMERGED FROM PEARL HARBOR
AND WORLD WAR TWO, DEDICATION TO AMERICA'S BIPARTISAN
POLICY OF PURSUING PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH, AND DEDICATION
TO A NEW FUTURE OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND COOPERATION WITH
ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE PACIFIC.

I SUBSCRIBE TO A PACIFIC DOCTRINE OF PEACE

WITH ALL ~~---~~ AND HOSTILITY TOWARD NONE. THE WAY

I WOULD LIKE TO REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR IS BY PRESERVING

THE POWER OF THE PAST TO BUILD THE FUTURE. LET US

JOIN WITH THE NEW AND OLD COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC IN

CREATING THE GREATEST OF CIVILIZATIONS ON THE SHORES OF

THE GREATEST OF OCEANS.

MY VISIT HERE TO THE EAST-WEST CENTER HOLDS

ANOTHER KIND OF MEANING. YOUR CENTER IS A CATALYST

OF AMERICA'S POSITIVE CONCERN FOR ASIA, ITS PEOPLES AND

ITS RICH DIVERSITY OF CULTURES. YOU ADVANCE OUR HOPE

THAT ASIA WILL GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF US. LAST

YEAR WE WERE PLEASED TO WELCOME NEARLY 54,000 ASIAN STUDENTS

TO THE UNITED STATES ~~---~~ WHILE THOUSANDS OF AMERICAN

STUDENTS WENT TO ASIAN COUNTRIES.

I APPLAUD YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO INTERNATIONAL
PARTNERSHIP IN EDUCATION. YOUR EFFORTS REPRESENT
AMERICA'S VISION OF AN OPEN WORLD OF UNDERSTANDING,
FREEDOM, AND PEACE.
IN HAWAII, THE CROSSROADS OF THE PACIFIC,
OUR PAST AND OUR FUTURE JOIN.

deeply

I WAS MOVED WHEN I VISITED JAPAN LAST YEAR,

AND WHEN I RECENTLY WELCOMED THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS

OF JAPAN TO AMERICA. THE GRACIOUS WELCOME I RECEIVED,

AND THE WARMTH OF THE WELCOME THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BESTOWED UPON THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPRESS, TESTIFY

TO THE GROWING FRIENDSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN OUR

COUNTRIES. THIS IS A TRIBUTE TO WHAT IS BEST IN MAN /---

HIS CAPACITY TO GROW FROM FEAR TO TRUST AND FROM A TRAGIC

PAST TO A HOPEFUL FUTURE. *a superb* IT IS AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT CAN

BE ACHIEVED IN HUMAN PROGRESS. IT INSPIRES OUR NEW

EFFORTS IN ASIA TO IMPROVE RELATIONSHIPS.

AMERICA, A NATION OF THE PACIFIC BASIN ---

HAS A VITAL STAKE IN ASIA, AND A RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE

A LEADING PART IN LESSENING TENSIONS, \ PREVENTING

HOSTILITIES, \ AND PRESERVING PEACE. WORLD STABILITY

AND OUR OWN SECURITY DEPEND UPON OUR ASIAN COMMITMENTS.

IN 1941, 34 YEARS AGO TODAY, WE WERE MILITARILY
UNPREPARED. OUR TRADE IN THE PACIFIC WAS LIMITED. WE
EXERCISED JURISDICTION OVER THE PHILIPPINES. WE WERE
PREOCCUPIED WITH WESTERN EUROPE. OUR INSTINCTS WERE
ISOLATIONIST.

WE HAVE TRANSCENDED THAT AGE. WE ARE NOW
THE WORLD'S STRONGEST NATION. OUR GREAT COMMERCIAL
INVOLVEMENT IN ASIA IS EXPANDING. WE LED THE WAY IN
CONFERRING INDEPENDENCE UPON THE PHILIPPINES. NOW WE ARE
WORKING OUT NEW ASSOCIATION ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE TRUST
TERRITORIES OF THE PACIFIC.

THE CENTER OF POLITICAL POWER IN THE UNITED STATES HAS SHIFTED

WESTWARD. OUR PACIFIC INTERESTS AND CONCERNS HAVE INCREASED.

WE HAVE EXCHANGED THE FREEDOM OF ACTION OF AN ISOLATIONIST

STATE FOR THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A GLOBAL POWER.

AS I RETURN FROM THIS TRIP TO THREE MAJOR ASIAN
COUNTRIES, I AM EVEN MORE AWARE OF OUR INTERESTS IN THIS
PART OF THE WORLD.

THE SECURITY CONCERNS OF GREAT WORLD POWERS

INTERSECT IN ASIA. THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION,

CHINA, AND JAPAN ARE PACIFIC POWERS. WESTERN EUROPE HAS

HISTORIC AND ECONOMIC TIES WITH ASIA. EQUILIBRIUM IN THE

PACIFIC IS ESSENTIAL TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO THE OTHER

COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC.

THE FIRST PREMISE OF A NEW PACIFIC DOCTRINE

IS THAT AMERICAN STRENGTH IS BASIC TO ANY STABLE BALANCE

OF POWER IN THE PACIFIC. WE MUST REACH BEYOND OUR

CONCERN FOR SECURITY. BUT WITHOUT SECURITY, THERE

CAN BE NEITHER PEACE NOR PROGRESS, THE PRESERVATION

OF THE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE OF OUR ASIAN FRIENDS

AND ALLIES REMAINS A PARAMOUNT OBJECTIVE OF AMERICAN

POLICY.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT FORCE ALONE IS INSUFFICIENT
TO ASSURE SECURITY. POPULAR LEGITIMACY AND SOCIAL
JUSTICE ARE VITAL PREREQUISITES OF RESISTANCE AGAINST
SUBVERSION OR AGGRESSION. NEVERTHELESS, WE OWE IT
TO OURSELVES, AND TO THOSE WHOSE INDEPENDENCE DEPENDS
UPON OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT, TO PRESERVE A FLEXIBLE AND
BALANCED POSITION OF STRENGTH THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC.

THE SECOND BASIC PREMISE ~~OF~~ A NEW PACIFIC

DOCTRINE IS THAT PARTNERSHIP WITH JAPAN IS A PILLAR OF

OUR STRATEGY. THERE IS NO RELATIONSHIP TO WHICH I

HAVE DEVOTED MORE ATTENTION. ~~NOR~~ IS THERE ANY GREATER

SUCCESS STORY IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICA'S EFFORTS TO

RELATE TO DISTANT CULTURES AND PEOPLES. THE JAPANESE-

AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP CAN BE A SOURCE OF PRIDE TO EVERY

AMERICAN AND TO EVERY JAPANESE. OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS

HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. THE RECENT EXCHANGE OF VISITS

SYMBOLIZES A BASIC POLITICAL PARTNERSHIP.

WE HAVE BEGUN TO DEVELOP WITH THE JAPANESE AND
OTHER ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES BETTER MEANS FOR
HARMONIZING ECONOMIC POLICIES. WE ARE JOINING WITH
JAPAN, OUR EUROPEAN FRIENDS, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THIS MONTH TO BEGIN SHAPING A
MORE EFFICIENT AND EQUITABLE PATTERN OF NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC
RELATIONS.

THE THIRD PREMISE OF A NEW PACIFIC DOCTRINE IS
THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA, THE STRENGTHENING OF OUR NEW TIES WITH THIS
GREAT NATION REPRESENTING NEARLY ONE QUARTER OF MANKIND.
THIS IS ANOTHER RECENT ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN
POLICY. IT TRANSCENDS 25 YEARS OF HOSTILITY.

I VISITED CHINA TO BUILD ON THE DIALOGUE STARTED
NEARLY FOUR YEARS AGO. MY WIDE-RANGING EXCHANGES WITH
THE LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA --- \ WITH
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG AND VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING \--
ENHANCED OUR UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S VIEWS AND
POLICIES. THERE WERE, \ AS EXPECTED, \ DIFFERENCES OF
PERSPECTIVE. OUR SOCIETIES, \ PHILOSOPHIES, \ AND
VARYING POSITIONS IN THE WORLD GIVE US DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS
OF OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL INTERESTS.

BUT WE DID FIND COMMON GROUND. WE REAFFIRMED
THAT WE SHARE VERY IMPORTANT AREAS OF CONCERN AND AGREEMENT.
THEY SAY AND WE SAY THAT THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA SHOULD BE
FREE TO DEVELOP IN A WORLD WHERE THERE IS MUTUAL RESPECT
FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ALL STATES;
WHERE PEOPLE ARE FREE FROM THE THREAT OF FOREIGN AGGRESSION;

WHERE THERE IS NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS

OF OTHERS; \ AND WHERE THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, \ MUTUAL

BENEFIT, \ AND COEXISTENCE SHAPE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A

PEACEFUL INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

WE SHARE OPPOSITION TO

ANY FORM OF HEGEMONY IN ASIA OR IN ANY OTHER PART OF

THE WORLD.

I REAFFIRMED THE DETERMINATION OF THE UNITED STATES
TO COMPLETE THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON THE BASIS OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE.

BOTH SIDES REGARDED OUR DISCUSSIONS AS SIGNIFICANT, USEFUL,
AND CONSTRUCTIVE. OUR RELATIONSHIP IS BECOMING A

PERMANENT FEATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL LANDSCAPE.

IT BENEFITS NOT ONLY OUR TWO PEOPLES BUT ALL PEOPLES OF THE
REGION AND THE ENTIRE WORLD.

A FOURTH PRINCIPLE OF OUR PACIFIC POLICY IS OUR

CONTINUING STAKE IN THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF SOUTHEAST

ASIA.

AFTER LEAVING CHINA, I VISITED INDONESIA AND
THE PHILIPPINES. INDONESIA, A NATION OF 140 MILLION PEOPLE,
IS ONE OF OUR IMPORTANT NEW FRIENDS AND A MAJOR COUNTRY OF
THE REGION. THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES IS ONE OF OUR
OLDEST ALLIES. OUR FRIENDSHIP DEMONSTRATES AMERICA'S
LONG-STANDING INTEREST IN ASIA.

I SPENT THREE DAYS IN JAKARTA AND MANILA, AND
WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE HAD TIME TO VISIT OUR FRIENDS IN
THAILAND, SINGAPORE, AND MALAYSIA. WE SHARE IMPORTANT
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS WITH THESE FIVE NATIONS,
WHO MAKE UP THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS.
AMERICANS WILL BE HEARING MUCH ABOUT THE ASEAN ORGANIZATION.

ALL ITS MEMBERS ARE FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES. THEIR TOTAL

POPULATION EQUALS OUR OWN. WHILE THEY ARE DEVELOPING

COUNTRIES, THEY POSSESS MANY ASSETS: VITAL PEOPLES:

ABUNDANT NATURAL RESOURCES: AND WELL-MANAGED AGRICULTURES.

THEY HAVE SKILLED LEADERS AND THE DETERMINATION TO DEVELOP

THEMSELVES AND SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS.

EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES PROTECTS ITS INDEPENDENCE
BY RELYING UPON ITS OWN NATIONAL RESILIENCE AND DIPLOMACY.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO ASSIST THEM. I LEARNED DURING MY

VISIT THAT OUR FRIENDS WANT US TO REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED

IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE REGION. WE INTEND TO DO SO.

WE RETAIN CLOSE AND VALUABLE TIES WITH OUR OLD FRIENDS
AND ALLIES IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC - AUSTRALIA AND NEW
ZEALAND.

A FIFTH TENET OF OUR NEW PACIFIC POLICY IS OUR BELIEF
THAT PEACE IN ASIA DEPENDS UPON A RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING
POLITICAL CONFLICTS.

IN KOREA, TENSION PERSISTS. WE HAVE CLOSE TIES WITH
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. AND WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO PEACE
AND SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA, AS THE PRESENCE OF OUR
FORCES THERE ATTESTS. RESPONDING TO HEIGHTENED TENSION LAST
SPRING, WE REAFFIRMED OUR SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

TODAY, THE UNITED STATES IS READY TO CONSIDER

CONSTRUCTIVE WAYS OF EASING TENSION ON THE PENINSULA.

BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST ANY MOVES WHICH ATTEMPT TO

EXCLUDE THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA FROM DISCUSSION OF ITS OWN

FUTURE.

IN INDOCHINA, THE HEALING EFFECTS OF TIME ARE REQUIRED.

OUR POLICIES TOWARD THE NEW REGIMES OF THE PENINSULA WILL BE

DETERMINED BY THEIR CONDUCT TOWARD US. WE ARE PREPARED TO

RECIPROCATE GESTURES OF GOOD WILL -- PARTICULARLY THE

RETURN OF THE REMAINS OF AMERICANS KILLED OR MISSING IN

ACTION OR INFORMATION ABOUT THEM. IF THEY EXHIBIT RESTRAINT

TOWARD THEIR NEIGHBORS AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACHES TO

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, WE WILL LOOK TO THE FUTURE RATHER

THAN TO THE PAST.

THE SIXTH POINT IN OUR NEW PACIFIC POLICY IS
THAT PEACE IN ASIA REQUIRES A STRUCTURE OF ECONOMIC
COOPERATION REFLECTING THE ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THE PEOPLES
IN THE REGION.

THE ASIAN-PACIFIC ECONOMY HAS RECENTLY ACHIEVED MORE
RAPID GROWTH THAN ANY OTHER REGION OF THE WORLD. OUR TRADE
WITH EAST ASIA NOW EXCEEDS OUR TRANSACTIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY. AMERICA'S JOBS, CURRENCY, AND RAW MATERIALS
DEPEND UPON ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE PACIFIC BASIN. OUR TRADE
WITH THE REGION IS NOW INCREASING BY MORE THAN 30 PER CENT
ANNUALLY --- REACHING \$46 BILLION LAST YEAR.

OUR ECONOMIES ARE INCREASINGLY INTERDEPENDENT AS COOPERATION
GROWS BETWEEN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE FIVE ASEAN COUNTRIES ARE MARKED

BY GROWING MATURITY, AND BY MORE MODEST AND MORE REALISTIC

EXPECTATIONS ON BOTH SIDES.

WE NO LONGER APPROACH

THEM AS DONOR TO DEPENDENT. THESE PROUD PEOPLES LOOK TO US

LESS FOR OUTRIGHT AID THAN FOR NEW TRADING OPPORTUNITIES AND

MORE EQUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF SCIENCE AND

TECHNOLOGY.

THERE IS ONE COMMON THEME WHICH WAS EXPRESSED
TO ME BY THE LEADERS OF EVERY ASIAN COUNTRY I VISITED,
THEY ALL ADVOCATE THE CONTINUITY OF STEADY AND RESPONSIBLE
AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. THEY SEEK SELF-RELIANCE IN THEIR
OWN FUTURE AND IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH US. OUR MILITARY
ASSISTANCE TO ALLIES AND FRIENDS IS A MODEST RESPONSIBILITY
BUT ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE FAR SURPASSES THE SMALL COST
INVOLVED. WE SERVE OUR HIGHEST NATIONAL INTERESTS BY
STRENGTHENING THEIR SELF-RELIANCE, THEIR RELATIONS WITH US,
THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH EACH OTHER, AND THEIR REGIONAL
SECURITY.

I EMPHASIZED TO EVERY LEADER I MET THAT THE UNITED STATES
IS A PACIFIC NATION. I PLEDGED THAT, AS PRESIDENT, I WILL
CONTINUE AMERICA'S ACTIVE CONCERN FOR ASIA AND OUR PRESENCE
IN THE ASIAN PACIFIC REGION.

ASIA IS ENTERING A NEW ERA. WE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A
NEW STRUCTURE OF STABILITY FOUNDED ON A BALANCE AMONG THE
MAJOR POWERS, STRONG TIES TO OUR ALLIES IN THE REGION, AN
EASING OF TENSIONS BETWEEN ADVERSARIES, THE SELF-RELIANCE AND
REGIONAL SOLIDARITY OF SMALLER NATIONS, AND EXPANDING
ECONOMIC TIES AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. THESE COMPONENTS
OF PEACE ARE ALREADY EVIDENT. OUR FOREIGN POLICY, IN RECENT
YEARS --- AND IN RECENT DAYS ENCOURAGES THEIR GROWTH.

IF WE REMAIN STEADFAST, HISTORIANS WILL LOOK

BACK AND VIEW THE 1970'S AS THE BEGINNING OF A PERIOD OF

PEACEFUL COOPERATION AND PROGRESS -- A TIME OF GROWING

COMMUNITY FOR ALL THE NATIONS TOUCHED BY THIS GREAT OCEAN.

HERE, IN THE PACIFIC CROSSROADS OF HAWAII, WE

ENVISION HOPE FOR A WIDER COMMUNITY OF MAN. WE SEE THE

PROMISE OF OUR UNIQUE REPUBLIC WHICH INCLUDES ALL THE WORLD'S

RACES. NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS EVER BEEN SO TRULY A FREE

MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY. HAWAII IS A SPLENDID SHOWCASE OF

AMERICA AND EXEMPLIFIES OUR DESTINY AS A PACIFIC NATION.

AMERICA'S PACIFIC HERITAGE EMERGED FROM THIS REMARKABLE
STATE. I AM PROUD TO VISIT HAWAII -- THE ISLAND STAR IN THE
AMERICAN FIRMAMENT WHICH RADIATES THE UNIVERSAL MAGIC OF
ALOHA.

- 42 -

LET THERE FLOW FROM HAWAII --- AND FROM ALL OF THE STATES
IN OUR UNION --- TO ALL PEOPLES, EAST AND WEST, A NEW SPIRIT
OF INTERCHANGE TO BUILD HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.

I THANK YOU.

END OF TEXT