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- Thank you, "Gus" (Gus Hart is Chairman
Chicago Council of
Foreign Relations)
- John Rilly
- Senator Percy
- Congressman Anderson
- Governor Ogilvie
- Distinguished Guests
- Ladies and Gentlemen

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

FOREIGN RELATIONS SPEECH

FRIDAY - MARCH 12, 1976

I WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ANSWER YOUR
QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED
STATES.

FOUNDED SHORTLY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR,

YOUR ORGANIZATION RECOGNIZED MUCH EARLIER THAN MANY

AMERICANS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE

WHICH HAD BEEN THRUST UPON THIS COUNTRY BY THE COURSE

OF HISTORY.

FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY YOU HAVE
CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO GREATER UNDERSTANDING BY
OUR CITIZENS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES FACING THE
UNITED STATES. IN THE CRUCIAL YEARS OF THE THIRTIES
JUST BEFORE WORLD WAR II BROKE OUT IN EUROPE, ONE OF
YOUR FORMER COUNCIL PRESIDENTS, THE LATE GOVERNOR
STEVENSON, POINTEDLY STATED YOUR PURPOSE:

ONLY IF WE MAKE OURSELVES AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS
THAT CONFRONT THIS TORMENTED WORLD OF OURS CAN THE
FREEDOM AND PRIVILEGES WHICH WE HAVE COME TO TAKE FOR
GRANTED BE ASSURED TO THE FUTURE GENERATIONS YET UNBORN.

YEARS LATER, WHEN I WAS CAMPAIGNING ARDENTLY
FOR GENERAL EISENHOWER, AGAINST GOVERNOR STEVENSON,
I NEVER DREAMED THAT I WOULD BE QUOTING BOTH OF THEM
HERE IN CHICAGO TODAY.

BUT I CAN DO SO BECAUSE THE RECORD-BOOKS OF PUBLIC SERVICE
TO AMERICA / CLEARLY SHOW THAT, POLITICAL RIVALS THOUGH THEY
WERE, WHEN THE CHIPS WERE DOWN AND THE NATIONAL INTERESTS
OF THE UNITED STATES WERE AT STAKE, / BOTH PRESIDENT
EISENHOWER AND GOVERNOR STEVENSON WERE EFFECTIVE AND
DEDICATED CHAMPIONS OF OUR BIPARTISAN POST-WAR POLICY
OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER CLEARLY STATED OUR NATIONAL

PURPOSE IN THESE WORDS:

"WE SEEK PEACE, KNOWING THAT PEACE IS THE CLIMATE
OF FREEDOM. AND NOW, AS IN NO OTHER AGE, WE SEEK IT
BECAUSE WE HAVE BEEN WARNED, BY THE POWER OF MODERN
WEAPONS, THAT PEACE MAY BE THE ONLY CLIMATE POSSIBLE FOR
HUMAN LIFE ITSELF ...

"WE ARE CALLED TO MEET THE PRICE OF THIS PEACE. //

TO COUNTER THE THREAT OF THOSE WHO SEEK TO RULE BY FORCE, /

WE MUST PAY THE COSTS OF OUR OWN NEEDED MILITARY STRENGTH,

AND HELP TO BUILD THE SECURITY OF OTHERS. //

OUR POLICY OF PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH IS NOT

SOMETHING THAT I HAVE RECENTLY INVENTED. IT IS SOMETHING

WE FIRST FOUND IN OUR HISTORY BOOKS WHEN WE READ GEORGE

WASHINGTON'S WISE COUNSEL:

'TO BE PREPARED FOR WAR IS ONE OF THE MOST
EFFECTUAL MEANS OF PRESERVING PEACE.'

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH WAS AN ISSUE IN MY FIRST
POLITICAL CAMPAIGN, WHEN I FOLLOWED THE LATE SENATOR
ARTHUR VANDENBERG, MY FRIEND AND MENTOR FROM GRAND
RAPIDS, IN SUPPORTING NATO, THE MARSHALL PLAN AND AID
TO GREECE AND TURKEY.

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH WAS MY CONSISTENT GUIDE

IN THE 553 VOTES I CAST ON DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY

ISSUES WHILE A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

+ Foreign Aid

AS RANKING REPUBLICAN ON THE DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

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SUBCOMMITTEE, AND AS MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE.

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH HAS BEEN MY CONSTANT GOAL

AS YOUR PRESIDENT.

LET ME TELL YOU WHAT I MEAN BY PEACE THROUGH

STRENGTH, NOT WITH ELECTION YEAR RHETORIC, BUT BY THE

RECORD. LET ME DEFINE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY NOT

WITH WORDS, BUT WITH WHAT WE HAVE ACTUALLY DONE TO ADVANCE

PEACE IN THE WORLD AND MAINTAIN STRENGTH AT HOME.

IN MY VERY FIRST WORDS AFTER TAKING THE SOLEMN

OATH AS PRESIDENT, I PLEDGED AN UNINTERRUPTED AND SINCERE
SEARCH FOR PEACE.

I SAID: "AMERICA WILL REMAIN STRONG AND UNITED,
BUT ITS STRENGTH WILL REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE SAFETY AND
SANITY OF THE ENTIRE FAMILY OF MAN, AS WELL AS TO OUR OWN
PRECIOUS FREEDOM." —

ONE NEED ONLY REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR TO KNOW THAT
WEAKNESS INVITES WAR.

BUT NOW THAT AMERICANS ARE NO LONGER
FIGHTING ON ANY FRONT, THERE ARE MANY SINCERE --
BUT IN MY JUDGEMENT, SHORTSIGHTED PEOPLE -- WHO
BELIEVE THAT THE BILLIONS FOR DEFENSE COULD BE
BETTER SPENT FOR OTHER PROGRAMS.

I AM CONVINCED THAT ADEQUATE SPENDING FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE

IS AN INSURANCE POLICY / -- AN INSURANCE POLICY FOR PEACE

THAT WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE WITHOUT IN TODAY'S WORLD.

WE MUST HAVE THIS LIFE INSURANCE BECAUSE WE

FACE A POWERFUL ADVERSARY ARMED WITH DEADLY WEAPONS

WHOSE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES ARE FUNDAMENTALLY

DIFFERENT FROM OURS.

WE WILL WORK TO REDUCE CONFRONTATIONS AND

AVOID NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE. BUT WE MUST ALSO BE

PREPARED TO MEET CHALLENGES WHEREVER AND WHENEVER THEY

OCCUR.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.
HAVE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
IDEOLOGY. WE WILL NEVER CEASE THE DEFENSE OF THE
PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE STAND - FREEDOM, INDIVIDUAL
RIGHTS, AND OUR DEEP BELIEF THAT GOVERNMENT EXISTS TO
SERVE ITS CITIZENS.

OUR TASK IS A DUAL ONE: TO DEFEND AND PROMOTE
THE IDEALS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE / AND TO SEEK TO REDUCE,
WHEREVER POSSIBLE, THE TENSIONS AND CONFRONTATIONS
WHICH COULD LEAD TO NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. TO DO THIS,
WE MUST MAINTAIN A POSITION OF UNQUESTIONED STRENGTH.

THAT'S WHY, A FEW MONTHS AFTER BECOMING
PRESIDENT, I SENT CONGRESS THE HIGHEST PEACETIME BUDGET^{defense}
IN THE NATION'S HISTORY ~~—~~ MORE THAN \$104 BILLION.

REGRETTABLY, CONGRESS CUT OVER \$6 BILLION FROM
MY REQUEST.

THIS YEAR AGAIN I HAVE GONE TO THE CONGRESS WITH
ANOTHER RECORD DEFENSE REQUEST OF \$112.7 BILLION DOLLARS.

MY CURRENT DEFENSE BUDGET REQUESTS / BEFORE THE
CONGRESS / REFLECT MY DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN AMERICA'S
DEFENSES --- BOTH STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL -- AT THE
LEVELS OUR NATIONAL SECURITY REQUIRES. THEY INCLUDE
AN INCREASE IN REAL DOLLARS OF 7.4 BILLION DOLLARS TO BUY
NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS, CONTINUE TO IMPROVE THE READINESS
OF EXISTING FORCES AND TO INCREASE SELECTED FORCES, WHILE
TRIMMING OFF ALL THE FAT WE CAN FIND.

FUNDS ARE INCLUDED FOR 16 NEW SHIPS FOR OUR NAVY
AND CONTINUED MODERNIZATION OF THE FLEET INCLUDING NUCLEAR
POWERED SUBMARINES AND GUIDED MISSILE FRIGATES.

I WILL ASK FOR MORE IF A CURRENT STUDY SHOWS THE NAVY
NEEDS A FASTER BUILDUP.

WORK WILL CONTINUE ON THE TRIDENT SUBMARINE,
THE B-1 STRATEGIC BOMBER, CRUISE MISSILES AND BALLISTIC
MISSILES, A NEW COMBAT FIGHTER FOR THE NAVY AND AIR
FORCE, AND ADVANCED TANKS, AMPHIBIOUS AND INFANTRY
VEHICLES.

JUST AS I HAVE PERSISTENTLY WORKED TO MAINTAIN
ELEMENTS OF AMERICA'S STRENGTH, ^{*I have also*} ~~[SO HAVE I]~~ DILIGENTLY SOUGHT
PEACE THROUGH THAT STRENGTH.

THREE TIMES AS PRESIDENT I HAVE GONE TO EUROPE TO
REAFFIRM OUR NATO COMMITMENT WITH OUR WESTERN ALLIES, /
TO COORDINATE OUR ECONOMIC AND ENERGY POLICIES WITH THE
INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES, / AND TO IMPROVE OUR TRADE
AND CONTACTS WITH THE PEOPLES OF EASTERN EUROPE AND
REASSURE THEM OF THE BOND BETWEEN US.

I WENT TO EUROPE TO SAY TO THE LEADERS OF THE
WARSAW PACT NATIONS -- INDEED, TO THE LEADERS OF 33
EUROPEAN NATIONS, EAST AND WEST, / THAT THE DESCENDANTS
OF EUROPEANS IN AMERICA STILL LIVE BY THE PRINCIPLES SET
FORTH HERE 200 YEARS AGO, / THAT ALL MEN -- NOT JUST
AMERICANS, / BUT ALL MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE -- ARE
ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO LIFE,
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

I TOLD THEM PLAINLY / AND I AM PROUD

TO SAY IT AGAIN TODAY / THAT WE AMERICANS STILL

BELIEVE IN THESE PRINCIPLES / THAT THEY REMAIN THE

GUIDELINES OF OUR NATIONAL POLICY / AND THEY

CONTINUE TO GIVE HOPE TO MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO

LONG FOR LIBERTY IN EUROPE AND AROUND THE WORLD.

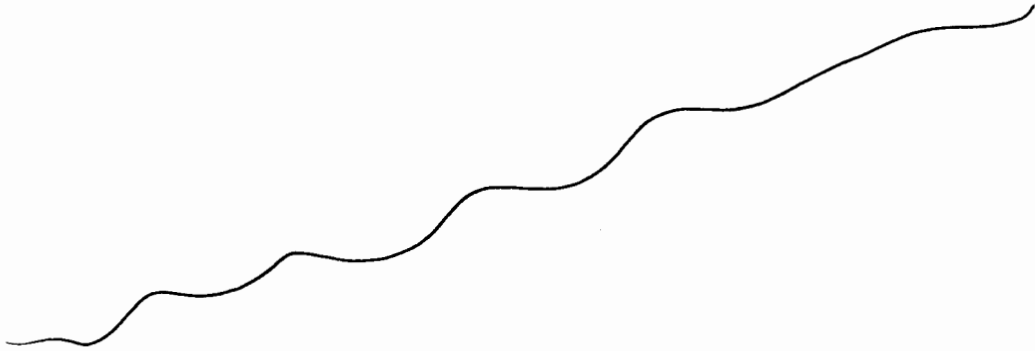
TWICE AS PRESIDENT I HAVE TRAVELLED TO ASIA,
TO STRENGTHEN OUR VITAL PARTNERSHIP WITH POSTWAR JAPAN
AND OUR OTHER FREE ALLIES AND TO FURTHER IMPROVE OUR
RELATIONS WITH MAINLAND CHINA, WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL TO
PEACEFUL PROGRESS UNDER MY PACIFIC DOCTRINE. I ALSO
MET IN VLADIVOSTOK WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV
WHERE WE REACHED PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT ON LIMITS TO THE
UNCONTROLLED STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS RACE BETWEEN THE
SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES.

AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE STILL NEGOTIATING THE DETAILS
OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT, AND I CANNOT SAY WHEN / OR EVEN
WHETHER / THIS WILL BE COMPLETED. BUT I CAN SAY THAT
EVER SINCE THE RUSSIANS SET OFF THEIR FIRST NUCLEAR
EXPLOSION IN 1949, EVERY PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
HAS BEEN TRYING TO SLOW DOWN OR STOP THIS DEADLY DUEL /
AND THIS IS THE CLOSEST WE HAVE EVER COME.

AND I WILL ALSO SAY WITHOUT HESITATION THAT
I WILL NEVER AGREE TO ANY SUCH TREATY OR SUBMIT IT TO THE
UNITED STATES SENATE FOR RATIFICATION UNLESS I AM TOTALLY
CONVINCED THAT IT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED
STATES AND OF PEACE IN THE WORLD.

IF WE DO GET A GOOD SALT II AGREEMENT, IT WILL
KEEP A LID ON STRATEGIC ARMS FOR THE NEXT SEVEN TO
TEN YEARS. IT WILL COMPEL THE RUSSIANS TO CUT BACK
ON THEIR CURRENT PLANS. TO FULLY VERIFY ANY SUCH
AGREEMENT, WE WILL HAVE TO MAINTAIN OUR UNITED STATES
INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY AS THE FINEST IN THE WORLD.

THAT IS WHY I HAVE ORDERED A BASIC REFORM TO
STRENGTHEN AND IMPROVE OUR FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS
AND AT THE SAME TIME STOP ANY FUTURE ABUSES OF THE RIGHTS
OF AMERICANS. BOTH THESE DUTIES ARE THE JOB AND THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
BUT I WILL NOT LET ANYBODY WRECK OUR WORLDWIDE INTELLIGENCE
CAPABILITY.



I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE IT'S TIME WE STOPPED
DOWN-GRADING AMERICA AND AMERICA'S INSTITUTIONS.

I HAVE FAITH IN THIS COUNTRY, IN THE GOODNESS OF ITS
PEOPLE AND THE RIGHTNESS OF ITS PURPOSES.

BECAUSE WE HAVE USED OUR GREAT STRENGTH
AND OUR GREAT ABUNDANCE TO HELP OTHERS, THE UNITED
STATES IS ABLE TO PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE AS PEACEMAKER
IN THE WORLD.

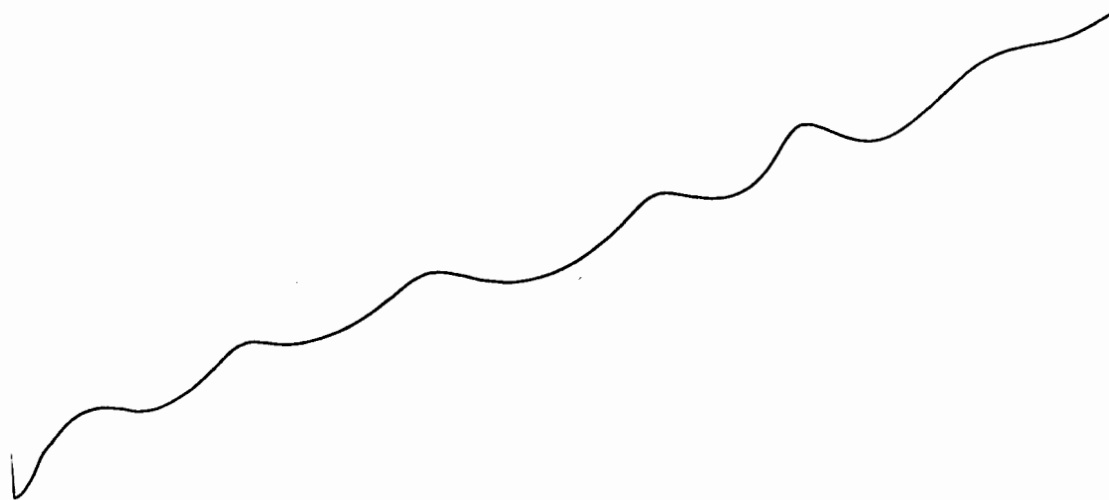
THE SINAI AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT
REACHED LAST SEPTEMBER IS WORKING WELL AND IS A MILESTONE
TOWARD A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WE ARE STRENGTHENING OUR OLD AND NEW FRIENDSHIPS
WITH THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA, AND I HAVE
WARNED CASTRO'S CUBA AND HIS SOVIET SPONSORS AGAINST
ANY FURTHER ARMED ADVENTURISM ON EITHER CONTINENT.

WE ARE STANDING UP AND SPEAKING OUT FOR OUR
PRINCIPLES IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO
SO. WE ARE PROMOTING OUR OVERSEAS TRADE AND HAVE
RESTORED A FAVORABLE BALANCE, / IN LARGE PART THROUGH
THE EFFORTS OF AMERICAN FARMERS WHOSE PRODUCTIVITY
IS ONE OF OUR NATION'S GREATEST STRENGTHS FOR PEACE.

PEACE AND STRENGTH ARE PART OF A SINGLE
POLICY, TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. SECRETARY OF
STATE KISSINGER AND [~~YOUR FELLOW ILLINOIS-AN,~~]
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RUMSFELD, ARE CARRYING OUT A
SINGLE UNITED STATES POLICY. A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS
APPEARS IN THIS WEEK'S U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT,
WHICH CONTAINS EXTENSIVE INTERVIEWS WITH BOTH
OF MY CABINET MEMBERS.

THEY WERE QUESTIONED SEPARATELY, AND NEITHER KNEW THE
OTHER'S ANSWERS. BUT THE POLICY THEY SET FORTH IS CLEARLY
AND COMPLETELY CONSISTENT. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT
RESPONSIBILITIES, BUT A SINGLE GOAL. THAT GOAL | --
PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH | - IS THE RIGHT POLICY FOR THIS
COUNTRY IN THE VERY DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS TIMES IN
WHICH WE LIVE.



LINCOLN TOLD TROUBLED AMERICANS OF HIS TIME

TO HAVE FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT. HE DID NOT

NEGLECT THE STRENGTH THAT MATERIAL MIGHT PROVIDES.

NOR CAN WE. BUT NEITHER MUST WE FORGET THE RIGHTNESS

OF WHAT WE STAND FOR IN THE WORLD.

WE STAND FOR FREEDOM -- BECAUSE FREEDOM
IS RIGHT•

WE STAND FOR PEACE -- BECAUSE PEACE IS RIGHT•

WE STAND FOR STRENGTH \- OUR NATIONAL STRENGTH
THAT MAKES BOTH PEACE AND FREEDOM SECURE \- FOR OURSELVES
AND FOR OTHERS -- BECAUSE THAT KIND OF STRENGTH IS RIGHT /
AND WILL CERTAINLY PREVAIL•

END OF TEXT