

**The original documents are located in Box 34, “6/6/76 - Remarks at the National Awards Dinner of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Cleveland, OH (Includes draft)” of the President’s Speeches and Statements: Reading Copies at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

REMARKS AT DINNER OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, CLEVELAND, OHIO  
SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1976

I AM HONORED, ONCE AGAIN, TO ADDRESS THE  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS AND TO BE WITH YOU  
WHO MAKE BROTHERHOOD MORE THAN A PHRASE.

YOU HAVE TONIGHT GIVEN YOUR HUMAN RELATIONS  
AWARD TO MY DEAR FRIEND, FRANCES BOLTON. I HAD THE  
PLEASURE TO SERVE IN THE CONGRESS WITH FRANCES FOR 20 YEARS  
AND KNOW FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE HOW MUCH SHE CONTRIBUTED  
TO HUMAN RELATIONS AS WELL AS TO OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS AND  
TO THE BETTERMENT OF HUMANITY.

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT YOU HAVE MADE A WOMAN

THE SOLE RECIPIENT OF YOUR AWARD. FRANCES BOLTON LIBERATED

HERSELF LONG BEFORE THE AGE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION.

SHE WAS THE FIRST WOMAN TO BE ELECTED TO THE CONGRESS FROM

OHIO; THE FIRST WOMAN MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS TO HEAD AN

OFFICIAL MISSION ABROAD; THE FIRST WOMAN TO BE APPOINTED

A CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATE TO THE UNITED NATIONS;

AND PERHAPS THE FIRST MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS, OF  
EITHER SEX, WHO RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF AFRICA AND  
THE MIDDLE EAST IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

JUST AS THE CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

RECOGNIZES THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF PEOPLE OF ALL RELIGIONS

AND RACES, FRANCES BOLTON VERY EARLY UNDERSTOOD THE

GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

OF THE WORLD.

FRANCES BOLTON NOT ONLY ADVOCATED EQUAL RIGHTS  
FOR WOMEN BUT DEMONSTRATED THROUGH HER LIFE'S WORK  
THE VITAL CONTRIBUTION BEING MADE BY DEDICATED AND GIFTED  
AMERICAN WOMEN●



I COMMEND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS

AND JEWS FOR ITS WORK. AMERICANS MAY DIFFER OVER SOLUTIONS

TO COMPLICATED HUMAN PROBLEMS. BUT VERY FEW WILL DIFFER

OVER OUR DEDICATION TO THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

UNDER THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

WE MUST CONTINUE TO ASSERT THE HIGHEST MORAL AND  
SPIRITUAL VALUES AT HOME, AS WELL AS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH  
ALL OTHER COUNTRIES.

YOU HAVE DONE MUCH TO FOSTER PEACE, HARMONY  
AND UNDERSTANDING, RECOGNIZING THAT THE FATE OF EVERY GROUP  
RELATES TO THE FATE OF EVERY OTHER GROUP. CLERGYMEN  
OF ALL FAITHS GUIDE US TO SEE EVERY INDIVIDUAL AS A CREATURE  
OF GOD.

IN OUR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, EVERY DAY MUST BE  
BROTHERHOOD DAY.

AMERICA HAS NO PLACE FOR THOSE WHO WOULD SET  
BROTHER AGAINST BROTHER, GROUP AGAINST GROUP, COUNTRY  
AGAINST COUNTRY. AMERICA DID NOT RISE TO THE HEIGHTS  
WE HAVE ACHIEVED BY CATERING TO FEAR AND PREJUDICE.  
WE SUCCEEDED THROUGH COURAGE, DECENCY, COMMON SENSE --  
AND THE COMPELLING KNOWLEDGE THAT WE ARE ALL EQUAL IN THE EYES  
OF THE SUPREME CREATOR.

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS EVOLVED THROUGH THE  
RECOGNITION OF OUR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND JUSTICE,  
TO SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL PEOPLES, AND THE DUTY OF THE  
STRONG TOWARDS THE WEAK, THE PROSPEROUS TOWARDS THE POOR.

WE CANNOT POLICE EVERY REMOTE CORNER OF THE EARTH  
NOR FILL EVERY EMPTY BOWL. BUT WE CAN BE AN IMMENSE  
INFLUENCE FOR GOOD, FOR JUSTICE, FOR REASON AND FOR PEACE  
IN THE WORLD.

THROUGH THE YEARS, WE SOMETIMES BECAME  
DISILLUSIONED. WE MADE SOME MISTAKES.

BUT WE NEVER ABANDONED JEFFERSON'S RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS  
OF MANKIND, NOR LINCOLN'S FAITH THAT RIGHT MAKES MIGHT,  
NOR EISENHOWER'S VIEW THAT FREEDOM IS INDIVISIBLE●

OUR FOREIGN POLICY TODAY REFLECTS THE PRINCIPLES THAT UNITE US  
AND MAKE US THE HOPE OF FREEDOM FOR OTHERS●

WE CONTINUE TO HONOR THE PRACTICAL COUNSEL

OF GEORGE WASHINGTON THAT THE BEST WAY TO PRESERVE PEACE

IS THROUGH STRENGTH●



MANY OF US RETURNED FROM WORLD WAR TWO DETERMINED  
TO BUILD A LASTING PEACE. WE WERE CONVINCED THIS COULD  
ONLY BE ACHIEVED IF THE UNITED STATES ASSUMED ITS FULL  
RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD. WE CONSIDERED  
THAT A VERY SMALL PRICE COMPARED TO THE SACRIFICES SOME OF  
OUR COMRADES MADE IN THE LAST GLOBAL CONFLICT.

I FIRST RAN FOR THE CONGRESS IN 1948

ADVOCATING STRENGTH, DETERMINATION AND RESPONSIBILITY IN

RESPONSE TO THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

WISELY CHOSE TO HELP REBUILD WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN FROM

THE WAR. FROM THIS EFFORT GREW THE FIRM ALLIANCES WE

ENJOY TODAY WITH GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.

I WAS AN EARLY ADVOCATE OF A BI-PARTISAN

FOREIGN POLICY. THAT REMAINS MY POSITION TODAY.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY MUST NEVER BE MADE  
BY AN ELITE ESTABLISHMENT NOR RESPOND TO THE FEARS OF A  
FRUSTRATED FEW. IT MUST REFLECT THE REAL PURPOSES OF THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE AND FOLLOW OUR FINEST INSTINCTS.

TODAY WE ARE WINNING IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A SAFE  
AND PEACEFUL WORLD. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE DAWN  
OF THE ATOMIC AGE, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION  
ARE CLOSE TO COMPLETING AN AGREEMENT LIMITING THE STRATEGIC  
THERMONUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

THE TWO SIDES AGREED LAST MONTH TO PERMIT ON-SITE OBSERVERS,  
UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, TO MONITOR COMPLIANCE  
WITH TREATIES LIMITING PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS.

AT VLADIVOSTOK, FOR THE FIRST TIME,

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV AND I AGREED TO EQUAL NUMBERS

OF MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND BOMBERS FOR THE SOVIET UNION

AND THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIETS HAD HELD OUT FOR YEARS

ON THE GROUNDS THAT THEIR DEFENSE NEEDS REQUIRED

THAT THEY HAVE MORE THAN OUR COUNTRY.

FURTHERMORE, THE EQUAL NUMBERS WE AGREED UPON  
WOULD REQUIRE THE SOVIETS TO DESTROY SOME OF THEIR EXISTING  
STRATEGIC SYSTEMS WHILE ALLOWING THE UNITED STATES TO COMPLETE  
OUR PRESENT PROGRAMS.

THAT WAS A GOOD DEAL FOR THE UNITED STATES AND

I AM PROUD OF IT!



IT IS A PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIBILITY TO HANDLE  
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE  
WAY. IT IS A PRESIDENT'S DUTY TO SEEK TO PREVENT A RUNAWAY  
THERMONUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND TO REDUCE THE RISK OF A GLOBAL  
HOLOCAUST.

WE ARE CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE  
THE NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES THAT FACE EACH OTHER ALL  
ACROSS CENTRAL EUROPE. AMERICAN AND SOVIET GROUND  
FORCES ARE POSITIONED FACE TO FACE, WITH THE CONSTANT  
DANGER OF A DIRECT CONFRONTATION.

PROGRESS IN THESE MUTUAL AND BALANCED REDUCTION

OF FORCES TALKS HAS BEEN SLOW, BUT WE WILL CONTINUE TO

SEEK AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL ENHANCE MILITARY STABILITY

IN EUROPE AT LOWER FORCE LEVELS.

WE WILL PERSEVERE IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS,

KEEPING OUR EYES OPEN AND GUARD UP. WITHIN THESE

GUIDELINES, WE WILL DO ALL THAT WE CAN TO SECURE A

DESIRABLE AGREEMENT.

WHENEVER I GET A GOOD AGREEMENT FOR A SAFER  
WORLD, YOU CAN BE SURE I WON'T PASS IT UP BECAUSE OF ANY  
ALLEGED POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OR POLITICAL DISADVANTAGE.  
TO ME, PEACE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN POLITICS.

LET'S LOOK AT SOME OF TODAY'S TROUBLE SPOTS.

REGRETTABLY, THE CONFLICT CONTINUES IN

? LEBANON. THE UNITED STATES IS CONTINUING A MODEST ROLE

IN HELPING THE PARTIES END THE FIGHTING AND REACH A POLITICAL

SOLUTION. WE ARE PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS LEBANON'S INDEPENDENCE,

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND NATIONAL UNITY AS AN ESSENTIAL

FACTOR IN MIDDLE EAST STABILITY.

WE FAVOR NEITHER THE PARTITION OF LEBANON NOR MILITARY  
INTERVENTION BY ANY OUTSIDE POWER.

THE MIDDLE EAST REMAINS THE WORLD'S MOST  
STRATEGIC DANGER ZONE. THE UNITED STATES HAS A MAJOR  
INTEREST IN A JUST AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION. IN 1973,  
THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND OIL EMBARGO DISRUPTED ECONOMIC  
LIFE, COST US A HALF-MILLION JOBS, STRAINED RELATIONS WITH  
OUR MAJOR ALLIES, AND BROUGHT OUR COUNTRY CLOSE TO  
CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.



BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES IS TRUSTED BY BOTH  
SIDES, MY ADMINISTRATION WAS ABLE TO BRING ABOUT  
NEGOTIATIONS THAT RESULTED IN AGREEMENTS MOVING THE REGION  
TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE.

LAST SEPTEMBER'S SINAI AGREEMENT BETWEEN EGYPT

AND ISRAEL DEMONSTRATED THE NEW POTENTIAL FOR PEACE●

I HAVE MET WITH MANY OF THE LEADERS OF THESE AND OTHER

MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO EXPLORE AVENUES FOR FURTHER

PROGRESS●

AMERICANS CAN TAKE PRIDE IN HELPING THE PEOPLES  
OF THE MIDDLE EAST ACHIEVE STEPS TOWARD A GOAL THAT WOULD  
HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE A FEW YEARS AGO.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY  
OF ISRAEL. THE COMMITMENT IS BASED UPON BASIC MORALITY  
AS WELL AS AMERICA'S ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST. AMERICA IS  
STILL THE REAL HOPE FOR FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE HOLY LAND, SO SACRED TO THREE MAJOR FAITHS, MUST  
FIND THE LOVE AND UNDERSTANDING ENVISIONED THERE FOR  
ALL HUMANITY. SO MUST EVERY OTHER LAND.

I, AND FIVE PREVIOUS PRESIDENTS, AN  
OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN  
PEOPLE HAVE SUPPORTED OUR TRADITIONAL AND SPECIAL  
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE OF ISRAEL. BOTH THE UNITED STATES  
AND ISRAEL ARE A HAVEN FOR PEOPLE FLEEING PERSECUTION.

BOTH FIND THEIR VITALITY IN THEIR FREE STATUS AS SELF-GOVERNING  
DEMOCRACIES -- DIFFERENTIATING THEM FROM MOST OTHER  
COUNTRIES IN TODAY'S WORLD●

AMERICA MUST AND WILL PURSUE FRIENDSHIP

WITH ALL PEOPLES. BUT THIS WILL NEVER BE DONE AT THE EXPENSE

OF ISRAEL. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THE PARTIES

TO THE DISPUTE WHO MUST MAKE THE PEACE AND LIVE WITH IT.

THE UNITED STATES WILL REMAIN THE ULTIMATE GUARANTOR

OF ISRAEL'S FREEDOM.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY REQUIRES NOT ONLY DETERMINATION

TO HELP RESOLVE REGIONAL TENSIONS, / NOT ONLY CONSTRUCTIVE

RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD, / BUT -- FIRST AND

FOREMOST, / OUR PARTNERSHIP WITH OUR ALLIES, / THE GREAT

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA,

AND JAPAN, / ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE BALANCE OF POWER

AS WELL AS TO THE WORLD'S ECONOMY.●



THIS IS WHY I WILL MEET THIS MONTH WITH THE LEADERS OF SIX  
MAJOR ALLIED NATIONS IN PUERTO RICO. WE WILL CONTINUE  
THE CONSULTATIONS THAT BEGAN LAST YEAR AT RAMBOUILLET.

WHEN I BECAME YOUR PRESIDENT 22 MONTHS AGO,  
I PROMISED ALL NATIONS, FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, AN UNINTERRUPTED  
AND SINCERE SEARCH FOR PEACE. I WILL NEITHER RETREAT  
NOR MARK TIME NOR SHORTEN MY STRIDE IN CONTINUING THAT  
SEARCH.

WE REMEMBER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAYING THAT

ONLY THE BRAVE ARE STRONG AND ONLY THE STRONG ARE FREE.

WE ALSO REMEMBER PRESIDENT KENNEDY INSISTING THAT WE MUST

NEVER NEGOTIATE FROM FEAR, BUT WE MUST NEVER FEAR TO

NEGOTIATE.

WHENEVER THE UNITED STATES HAS SERIOUS

DISAGREEMENTS WITH OTHER SOVEREIGN NATIONS, WE HAVE REALLY

ONLY TWO CHOICES -- TO FIGHT OR TO TALK. THE RATTLING

OF SABERS AND BOMBASTIC ORATORY ARE OUT OF DATE IN TODAY'S

WORLD.

I WILL MAKE NO THREATS I CANNOT CARRY OUT●

NOR WILL I IRRESPONSIBLY COMMIT OUR TROOPS ANYWHERE●

I WILL TAKE THE PATH OF PEACEFUL PERSUASION AND NEGOTIATION

AS LONG AS IT IS OPEN, WHETHER WE ARE DEALING WITH

SUPERPOWERS OR SMALL COUNTRIES●

AS PRESIDENT, I AM DETERMINED TO PREVENT  
WARS, NOT START THEM.

MY GOAL IS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN CENTRAL  
AMERICA AS WELL AS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

I INTEND TO GO ON DOING WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA AND  
WHAT IS RIGHT FOR ALL MANKIND.

TODAY WE COMMEMORATE THE 32nd ANNIVERSARY  
OF D-DAY. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS AVERTED WORLD  
WAR III. WE ARE AT PEACE. THERE ARE NO AMERICANS  
FIGHTING ON ANY BATTLEFIELD TONIGHT.

IN TODAY'S WORLD, THERE IS MORE CONTACT  
AMONG PEOPLES AND MORE COMMUNICATION AMONG GOVERNMENTS,  
A GREATER EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURE  
THAN EVER BEFORE IN HUMAN HISTORY●



THE UNITED STATES IS LEADING WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC  
RECOVERY. WE ARE PLEASED THAT OUR POLICIES ARE WORKING  
AND THAT THE LEVEL OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IS TODAY RISING  
ALMOST EVERYWHERE.

MY ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO GO ON WORKING

FOR A BETTER WORLD. WE HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO REASON

TO FEAR OUR ADVERSARIES AS LONG AS WE REMAIN STRONG

AND TRUE TO OUR PRINCIPLES. OUR SYSTEM HAS PROVEN

ITS SUPERIORITY IN EVERY WAY. WE MUST NEVER ABANDON

OUR VISION OR OUR SPIRITUAL VALUES.

YOUR WORK REINFORCES MY FAITH IN THE FUTURE

OF ALL HUMANITY. I AM PROUD TO BE YOUR PRESIDENT

AND TO SHARE THIS EVENING WITH YOU.

LET US HEED THE OLD TESTAMENT'S 34th PSALM

WHICH URGES HUMANITY TO "SEEK PEACE, AND PURSUE IT."

IN THE WORDS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, "LET US THEREFORE  
FOLLOW AFTER THE THINGS WHICH MAKE FOR PEACE."

AS WE MUST NEVER LOSE OUR VIGILANCE, NEITHER MUST  
WE EVER LOSE OUR VISION.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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END OF TEXT

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Susan -

After checking I found out that this was an early draft that was later worked into the Speech on Conference of Christians & Jews 6/6/76 ---

I think they should stay together.

Trudy

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS ON FOREIGN POLICY

I'm here today to talk about what is right about America and its foreign policy. I'm here to discuss with you the real issues that America faces in the world in its third century.

As I said in my first State of the Union message in January 1975:

"At no time in our peacetime history has the state of the Nation depended more heavily on the state of the world. And seldom, if ever, has the state of the world depended more heavily on the state of our Nation."

I spoke then at a time of trouble -- a time of division among Americans, of economic recession and energy shortage, of constitutional crisis and national self-doubt: Now we are in the

midst of gathering recovery -- in our unity, in our economy,  
in our self-confidence. Yet it has become increasingly obvious  
that the interconnection between peace, prosperity, and justice  
in the United States, and in the world, is a permanent fact of  
international relations. On <sup>this</sup> shrinking planet, our self-interest  
and our ideals compel us to use our vast power to help shape the  
world's future. This will be our responsibility for as far ahead  
as we can see.

In my travels across the country, I have found that the  
American people know that  
we cannot have security for ourselves without an effective American  
contribution to the global balance of power. They know that  
America cannot remain prosperous, and spread prosperity to  
more Americans, in a world which is deeply divided by confrontations

between rich and poor, producers and consumers, free-market economies and centrally-planned economies. They know that America cannot continue to exist as a just society by turning its eyes away from injustice elsewhere in the world.

The American people are ready to do their share.

They are tired of the abusive denigration of this country and the running down of our strengths that has poisoned the political debate. The American people know that this is a strong country and that this is a good country.

And in my meetings with world leaders, I have found that they are getting the message. Today our allies and friends



are strengthening their faith in our commitments; our potential adversaries should have no doubt about the risks of adventurism.

The American role in the world must be one that defends and advances American interests and values, but is sensitive to those of others; that maintains a balance between our commitments and the strength and will to carry them out. We have unmatched assets to do our job.

The foundation for our world role is American military strength. Throughout my career I have been a champion of a strong defense, which is essential to our own security and to international stability. At the same time, for the first time in a generation we are at peace. No American soldier is fighting on any battlefield anywhere in the world. And we are engaged in realistic negotiations with potential adversaries to reduce the

dangers of future confrontations and wars.

As a nation, we have pulled our economy back onto the road of prosperity and stable growth. Nothing else we do has such benefit not only for every American family but for millions of families around the world whose economic health depends in large measure on the vigor of the world economy.

Finally, we are at peace not only with others but with ourselves. In overcoming the doubts and dissension of the past, we are regaining our position as a vital moral force in the world. Now, as much as ever, America is a beacon of hope to all who yearn for freedom, well being and justice. America cannot police every remote corner of the earth nor fill every empty bowl. But if we are strong and proud, we can be an immense influence for

good, for justice, for reason, and for peace in the world.

Our Partners, The Industrial Democracies

America is strong and secure, not only because of our military and economic power, but also because of our alliances with the great industrial democracies of Western Europe, Canada, and Japan.

These alliances have never been stronger or more united than they are today. We have made major improvements in coordinating our collective defense, modernizing our forces and standardizing our weaponry. Our political consultation is closer than ever; it is based on a sense of shared responsibility and equality. Our unity is reflected in closely coordinated positions in negotiations with the East -- and in the whole new realm of economic challenges.

Most of the industrial democracies, like ourselves, are recovering from recession and inflation. This achievement has been vastly strengthened by making sure that our national policies are parallel and reinforce each other. In coordination we have dealt with the oil crisis; we have begun to reshape our financial institutions to the new global conditions; and we are embarked on common approaches to economic relations with the Communist countries and the developing world. This was the purpose of the ~~the~~ Summit meeting at Rambouillet last November, and it is the purpose of the follow-up meeting I have convened in Puerto Rico later this month. These meetings ensure close consultation among the major allies on both political and economic questions. There could be no greater symbol of the solidarity of the free industrial countries in a new period.

The real strength of the industrial democracies lies not so much in our power, but in our shared commitment to democracy, freedom and justice. Most of our friends and allies have passed through the same period of domestic testing that we have. Our solidarity gives us all confidence, and the health of democracy in all of Europe, and in all the world, is enhanced by the demonstrated vigor of the great democracies. This is one of America's foremost responsibilities.

#### Negotiation With The Communist Countries

The free world nations have in recent years moved forward in coordinated efforts to reduce tensions with our Communist adversaries. We begin this on the basis of our own unity and strength. But we value strength not for its own sake but for peace. We have this strength in full measure. We also have the maturity and self-confidence to seek a more secure and reliable relationship between East and West for the long-term future.

I believe it is a President's responsibility to manage the relationship between the superpowers in a realistic and constructive way. I believe it is a President's duty to seek to prevent a runaway nuclear arms race and to reduce the danger of nuclear holocaust.

We must resist, if challenged. We must make clear that adverturism cannot succeed and that restraint is the only rational course. We must maintain the balance of power, but we must seek to build on it a more stable relationship.

In face-to-face meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev I laid the groundwork for an agreement which would place an equal ceiling on the strategic arms competition and pave the way for reductions. Last month I signed the treaty controlling peaceful nuclear explosions, which provided for on-site inspection in the

Soviet Union for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. These agreements are in the interest of America, the Soviet Union, <sup>entire</sup> , and the/world. I will not hesitate to submit a good agreement to the Congress and the people regardless of any alleged political advantage or disadvantage. I will do it because it is right.

We are also seeking improved economic relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, not only to enhance our own prosperity, but to break down the barriers of their isolation and to develop a mutual stake in peaceful relations. The five-year grain agreement which we signed last December with the Soviet Union is an excellent example of how we further our own interests through hard bargaining, while at the same time creating incentives for the Soviets to cooperate responsibly in the

international economic order. Now, there can be no repetition  
radically  
of the 1972 grain deal, which/inflated prices for  
American consumers.

Finally, we continue the pursuit of justice in our relation-  
ships with the communist nations. We seek justice, not only in  
our relations with them, but within their societies. We cannot  
ignore either the deprivation of human rights in totalitarian  
societies, or the unreasonable limitation on the rights of whole  
nations to pursue their own interests. We accept no spheres  
of influence. And we confidently take up the challenge of  
ideological competition.

It is our free societies that are the beacon of hope to all  
those deprived of their basic human rights. We will continue  
to press for the right of emigration -- not by bluster but by  
diplomacy that produces results.



Asia

Our relations with the nations of Asia and the Pacific are of special historical concern to Americans. I visited Asia last December to underline the special importance of this region to our interests and the importance of America to the region. Three times in the last generation, American boys fought and died in Asian wars. If we can build more durable international relationships in Asia, we can prevent this from happening again.

Our traditional friendship with Japan has been reinforced in recent years and has never been more solid. We have established a permanent friendship which is a vital pillar of our foreign policy.

We have established a new and growing relationship with China after a generation of mutual isolation. Chinese-American

friendship is an historic new fact on the international scene. It is  
a valued relationship, and an important contribution to peace in  
Asia and the world.

International Peace and Stability

America has played an indispensable role in helping to ease tensions around the world in many areas of conflict. Since Teddy Roosevelt, it has been an American tradition. We do this not out of charity, but because of our own self-interest in a more stable and just world. Let me mention two crucial issues of today.

The road to peace in the Middle East is long and difficult, but we have made remarkable strides in the last two years. The American people can be tremendously proud of what our efforts have helped to accomplish.

We have an important stake in seeing a just and peaceful negotiated solution to this bitter conflict. In 1973 the Middle East war and oil crisis disrupted economic life, cost Americans half a million jobs, strained our relations with major allies, and brought us close to confrontation with the Soviet Union.

We are engaged in the Middle East because of our permanent moral commitment to the survival and security of the State of Israel.

In honoring this commitment we honor our own heritage, and our commitment to freedom itself. Israel is a sister democracy, a steadfast friend, and a determined defender of its own freedom.

America also has significant and growing friendships with the moderate nations of the Arab world. Many of them are long-standing friends of the United States; some are new friends but nonetheless important / friends.

Statesmanship on the part of both Arab and Israeli has brought us to an unprecedented and hopeful stage on the road to peace. As President of the United States, I will pursue this path, because it is right for all concerned.

The tragic conflict in Lebanon illustrates how volatile the region is. The United States will continue its careful role of helping the parties end the fighting and reach a political solution. We are providing

humanitarian assistance, in the American tradition. We strongly support Lebanon's independence, territorial integrity and national unity, as an essential factor in Middle East stability.

Southern Africa is another area of recent crisis. The short-sighted decision of the Congress to block simple financial assistance to local forces fighting Soviet arms and Cuban troops in Angola posed a serious threat of further adventurism, radicalism and bloodshed in Africa. Despite warnings of possible political risks at home, I sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa to arrest this trend, to assert America's interest in stability and racial peace in Africa. He declared America's policy -- favoring racial justice, representative rule, negotiated settlements, the freedom of Africa to solve Africa's problems without

military interference, and the world's interest in seeing Africa share in the world's economic prosperity.

This American policy was warmly welcomed. It has helped gain precious time for peaceful solutions. I consider it one of our most important initiatives.

#### The Industrial and the Developing Worlds

The problems of Africa related to one of the world's major issues -- relations between the more affluent nations of the northern hemisphere and the poorer nations of the southern hemisphere.

The United States and the other industrial democracies, who have the principal responsibility for the economic system, seek to have

the new developing nations participate constructively in it. We have the skills and resources that are needed for economic development. It is a striking sign of our success that the Communist countries have proven themselves irrelevant to the needs of development. It is the free economies that are productive and dynamic enough to maintain international leadership on all these issues -- food, trade, commodities, energy, and monetary problems. This will be a major topic of discussion among us at the Puerto Rico Summit.

We will not be pressured or blackmailed; we will not accept unrealistic proposals that satisfy the claims of rhetoric rather than people; and we expect our own views to be seriously considered. We insist that the problems of the new nations not be exploited by others. We offer all nations the opportunity to join with us in international efforts to expand world prosperity for the benefit of all.

We have many friends in the developing world -- in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America where Secretary Kissinger will visit next week to strengthen our cooperation. There is tremendous goodwill for America around the world, because of the role we have played as a force for good. And we will continue.

#### Challenges of the Future

*our Bicentennial year we celebrate our past. But it is also a moment*  
~~In this year, our 200th year, we are conscious not only of what~~  
*to aim to the future.*  
~~we have done but also of what remains to be done.~~ The quest for peace,



prosperity and justice will always be unfinished. The real issues of today are not always the issues that make headlines or attract the attention of campaigners. What are the real issues that the country will face over the next four years?

-- First, we are at peace; we must consolidate this peace for ourselves and our children. We must never forget the tremendous responsibility we bear as the world's strongest military and economic power. What we do -- or fail to do -- can often have decisive impact.

*Therefore I will continue to propose defense programs to the Congress that meet the requirements of our defense. We can no longer afford the trend of unthinking cutbacks -- in programs + reductions in expenditures on building adequate defenses.*

We have the physical strength to ensure peace and global stability. We must have the vision and courage to use that strength -- to resist aggression, or to build a better world for our children

to inherit. *We must conduct an imaginative, bold diplomacy, that exercises creative American leadership, instead of just reacting to events.*

-- We have embarked on the road of economic recovery.

We must move ahead on this road, strengthening <sup>our</sup> the economy, guarding

against inflation, and working with other nations to promote global economic expansion. Major changes have taken place in the economic system, with the emergence of new nations and the greater importance of the Communist countries and their economic problems. We must strengthen the world economy for these new conditions. These basic issues are one of the subjects we will begin to discuss at the Puerto Rico Economic Summit.

*I envisage further Economic Summits in the future. We will reach important agreements in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva. We will continue discussions with our major partners on monetary issues.*

-- Our alliances must be relevant to the concerns of a new era -- an era of economic issues, and an era of intensified negotiations with adversaries. We must maintain our unity in these positive endeavors as we maintained it in periods of threatening danger. This means cooperation on a more equal basis among allies; and a regular practice of close consultation.

*I will continue the practice of frequent meetings with my colleagues & leaders of our major allies in Europe, Canada, & Japan.*

-- Relations with our adversaries must be managed on a long-term basis. The Soviet Union will not go away just from shouting tough rhetoric at it. We have successfully maintained the balance of power, but where do we go from here? The answer is a carefully-planned, patient effort to negotiate solutions to problems, to try to mold coexistence into a lasting cooperation. There will be obstacles and disappointments. But if we believe in our own goals, we will persevere.

-- We have embarked on the path of halting and reversing the strategic arms spiral; we must continue with both vigilance and

perseverance until we have banned the horrors of nuclear war. I will seek an early conclusion of this round of the SALT negotiation. I will seek immediately thereafter to begin negotiation of reductions, and further sound measures of arms control in SALT III.

-- We must continue and develop our new relationship with China. China is a major country, a great country. It is a quarter

of mankind. No stable global peace can be built without its constructive

contribution. *The United States will maintain + develop this relationship. We will continue the process of normalization of our relations, as pledged by both sides in the Shanghai Communiqué.*

-- We have taken important steps towards helping resolve

the problems of the Middle East and Southern Africa. Peaceful solutions

may be more possible now than at any moment before -- or in the future.

We must consolidate these gains now, and help build lasting relationships

of peace and prosperity in these troubled areas. Regional conflicts

can pose wider dangers. The world community cannot let them fester

and explode. *The time is approaching when a major comprehensive effort can be made for a just and lasting negotiated peace. We will continue America's efforts to help resolve local conflicts, whether in Lebanon or Cyprus or elsewhere. And we are redoubling our efforts to combat the proliferation of nuclear weapons.*

we need now to deepen that process on the basis of mutual respect,

making it a fruitful vehicle for developing their economies and con-

tributing to the international economy. *America will continue to offer bold proposals in the economic dialogue with the developing countries, as we have done. Talks between producers + consumers of energy, between rich nations + poor, will continue, until cooperative solutions are reached to the common challenge of progress.*

And most importantly,

-- We are regaining our self-confidence and pride at home.

Our role abroad should be a continuing source of pride. We must

live our ideals, so that America will find true peace, prosperity and

justice at home and thus help to realize these dreams around the world. I intend to see that Congress & the Executive find a cooperative way of working together, so that essential national policies can go forward with full national unity behind them.

Let us heed the Old Testament's 34th Psalm, which urges us

all to "seek peace, and pursue it."

As we never cease our vigilance, let us never lost our vision

of what we want the world to be. That is ~~our~~<sup>the</sup> highest responsibility of a President.

This is a program for peace. I intend to make it a reality.