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THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
 TO BE DELIVERED AT THE  
 EAST - WEST CENTER  
 UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

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 am now pleased to visit 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 II, 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.

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. 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.

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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.

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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.

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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 percent 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.

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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.

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.

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