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WEATHER FORECAST FOR
SOUTH BEND, INDIANA
SUNDAY - MAY 22, 1977

HOT AND HUMID. TEMPERATURES IN MID 80'S.
50 PERCENT CHANCE OF THUNDERSTORMS.
**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**WASHINGTON**

**ADDRESS AT NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY**

**SUNDAY - MAY 22, 1977**

From: Tim Kraft

**SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1977 - SUMMARY SCHEDULE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:15 p.m.</td>
<td>Helicopter departs South Grounds for Andrews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:35 p.m.</td>
<td>Air Force One departs Andrews AFB en route Michiana Regional Airport, South Bend, Indiana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Flying Time: 1 hr. 30 mins.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Time Change: -1 hour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:05 p.m.</td>
<td>Arrive Michiana Regional Airport, South Bend. Motorcade (15 minutes driving time) to Athletic and Convocation Center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:37 p.m.</td>
<td>Arrive Athletic and Convocation Center.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PERSONAL TIME: 8 minutes (for robing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:45 p.m.</td>
<td>Father Hesburgh escorts you to Room 120 for photograph with Honorary Degree recipients.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Commencement exercises begin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:35 p.m.</td>
<td>Notre Dame Commencement Address. LIVE LOCAL TELEVISION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:40 p.m.</td>
<td>Depart via motorcade en route Michiana Regional Airport. (Driving Time: 15 mins.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:55 p.m.</td>
<td>Arrive Michiana Regional Airport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Air Force One departs en route Andrews AFB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:20 p.m.</td>
<td>Arrive Andrews AFB. Board helicopter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:40 p.m.</td>
<td>Arrive South Grounds.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Honorable Jimmy Carter
President of the United States
Commencement Speaker
Doctor of Laws

Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker, U.S. House of Reps.
Doctor of Laws

Dr. Arthur F. Burns
Chairman, Federal Reserve Board
Doctor of Laws

Mr. Reginald H. Jones
Chairman of the Board
General Electric Company
Doctor of Engineering

Dr. Robert H. Ebert
Dean, Harvard Medical School
Doctor of Science

Dr. Percy A. Pierre
Assistant Secretary of the Army
University Trustee
Doctor of Engineering

Dr. Catherine B. Cleary
Chairman of the Board
First Wisconsin Trust Company
Doctor of Laws

Professor Philip B. Kurland
The University of Chicago
Doctor of Laws

Professor Jean-Baptiste Duroselle
The Sorbonne
Doctor of Laws

Most Reverend Donal Lamont
Bishop of Umtali, Rhodesia
Doctor of Laws

His Eminence Stephen Cardinal Kim
Seoul, Korea
Doctor of Laws

Most Reverend Jean Jadot
Apostolic Delegate to the U.S.
Doctor of Laws
WASHINGTON, D.C. DEPARTURE/SOUTH BEND, INDIANA ARRIVAL

12:15 p.m. EDT
You board helicopter on South Grounds and depart en route Andrews AFB.

12:30 p.m.
Arrive Andrews AFB. Board Air Force One.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED DEPARTURE

12:35 p.m.
Air Force One departs Andrews AFB en route Michiana Regional Airport, South Bend, Indiana.

(Flying Time: 1 hr. 30 mins.)
(Time Change: - 1 hour)

PRESIDENTIAL GUESTS

Speaker of the House Thomas (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.)
Ambassador and Mrs. Mike Mansfield
Mr. and Mrs. Nordy (Joanne) Hoffman

1:05 p.m. EST
Air Force One arrives Michiana Regional Airport.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CROWD SITUATION

You will be met by:

Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.)
Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.)
Mr. Larry Conrad, Secretary of State (D-Ind.)
Mayor Peter Nemeth
Father Ted Hesburgh, President, Notre Dame University
Mr. Edmund Stephan, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Notre Dame
Mr. Bob McKinney, Early Carter Supporter
Ms. Patty Evans, Indiana Democratic
Vice Chairperson
Mr. Ikey Baldoni, Third District
Democratic Chairman
Mr. Joe Doran, St. Joseph County
Democratic Chairman
Ms. Isabell Price, Third District
Democratic Vice-Chairperson
Ms. Freda Noble, St. Joseph County
Democratic Chairperson
Mr. Ken Sharp, Chairman, Indiana
Labor Coalition
Mr. Phil Crone, Chairman, St. Joseph
County UAW-CAP Council
Mr. Bill Schreiber, Campaign Worker

Greeting the crowd along the way,
you proceed to the motorcade for
boarding. Father Hesburgh and
Ed Stephan will accompany you.

1:20 p.m.

Motorcade departs Michiana Regional
Airport en route Athletic and
Convocation Center, Notre Dame
University.
(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

1:35 p.m.

Motorcade arrives Athletic and
Convocation Center.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You will be met by:
Mr. John Plouff, Managing Director
of the Athletic and
Convocation Center
Mr. James Gibbons, Director of Special
Projects
5.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, proceed to Room C-127 for robing.


1:37 p.m.

Arrive Room C-127.

PERSONAL TIME: 8 minutes

1:45 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, depart Room C-127 en route Room 129.

1:46 p.m.

Arrive Room 129 for photograph session with Father Hesburgh, Edmund Stephan and Honorary Degree recipients.

1:50 p.m.

OFFICIAL PHOTO COVERAGE

Platform party departs Room 129 en route Auditorium.

1:55 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, depart Room 129 en route Notre Dame University Auditorium.

1:59 p.m.

You arrive offstage area and pause.

2:00 p.m.

Escorted by Father Hesburgh, you proceed to dais and take your seat.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 12,000

Program begins.
2:00 p.m.  
Father Burtchaell convenes the convocation.

SPECIAL NOTE: It is traditional during the commencement exercises for some of the graduates, particularly from the School of Engineering, to set off firecrackers.

2:03 p.m.
Conferring of the Honorary Degrees begins.

You will not be the first to receive your degree; the sequence is determined by academic protocol. Dr. Burns will receive his degree; then you.

Father Burtchaell will read a citation, at the end of which you, Father Hesburgh and Edmund Stephan all three rise and step forward.

As you rise, you should remove your hat and leave it on the seat, and hand the doctoral hood from your arm to Mr. Stephan.

Father Hesburgh will then hand you the Honorary Degree and shake hands with you. Simultaneously, while Father Hesburgh is shaking hands, Mr. Stephan will place the doctoral hood over your head and onto your shoulders.

You then turn to the audience and after an acknowledgement of applause, the three of you return to your seats. You redon your hat.
2:30 p.m. Introduction of Valedictory Address.
2:40 p.m. Award and Prize Winners announced.
2:50 p.m. Doctor of Philosophy degrees conferred.
3:10 p.m. All other degree candidates presented and degrees conferred.
3:25 p.m. Presentation of Award.
3:30 p.m. Introduction of you by Father Hesburgh.
3:35 p.m. PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS. (You should remove your hat for your remarks.)
FULL PRESS COVERAGE LIVE LOCAL TELEVISION
4:00 p.m. Remarks conclude. You take your seat.
4:30 p.m. Program concludes.
Escorted by Father Hesburgh, you depart dais en route offstage area for disrobing and then proceed to motorcade for boarding.
4:40 p.m. Motorcade departs Notre Dame University Athletic and Convocation Center en route Michiana Regional Airport.
4:55 p.m. Motorcade arrives Michiana Regional Airport.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE CLOSED DEPARTURE
Board Air Force One.
5:00 p.m. Air Force One departs Michiana Regional Airport en route Andrews AFB.
(Flying Time: 1 hr. 20 mins.)
(Time Change: +1 hour)
PRESIDENTIAL GUESTS
Speaker of the House Thomas (Tip) O'Neill
Ambassador and Mrs. Mike Mansfield
Mr. and Mrs. Nordy (Joanne) Hoffman
Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.)

Air Force One arrives
Andrews AFB.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

Board helicopter and depart en route the South Grounds.

Arrive South Grounds.

# # # # #
SOUTH BEND AIRPORT RECEPTION COMMITTEE
Key Personalities

CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH
--will want to talk to the President about the arsenal in Milan, Tenn.
--will want to discuss regional appointments

CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS

LOCAL (SOUTH BEND) DIGNITARIES

MAYOR PETER NEMETH
--Mayor, City of South Bend
--33 years old
--Lawyer
--Elected 1975 by a landslide after defeating incumbent Democrat
--Sought candidate Carter's support for a downtown Mall in South Bend
--Moderate to conservative
--Re-election 1979 and will probably be re-elected. No opposition has surfaced
--Citizen's type

FATHER THEODORE HESBURGH
--President, Notre Dame University
--Former Chairman, United States Commission on Civil Rights
--Chairman, Overseas Development Council
--Chairman, Rockefeller Foundation
--Holder of Medal of Freedom
-- Former Member, President Ford's Clemency Board
--Holds more than 50 honorary degrees

EDMUND STEPHANS
--Chairman, Board of Trustees, Notre Dame University
--Chicago Attorney
--Notre Dame Alumnus
LOCAL PARTY OFFICIALS

IDEAL BALDONI (IDEY)
--3rd District Democratic Chairperson
--Close to John Brademas
--Portage Township Assessor

ISABELLE PRICE
--3rd District Democratic Vice-Chairperson
--Concord Township Assessor
--Wife of Elkhart County Democratic Chairperson

JOE DORAN
--St. Joseph County Democratic Chairperson
--St. Joseph County Clerk
--Doran's brother is Regional Postmaster General for Chicago
--Retired fireman
--Daughter ran unsuccessfully to be a Carter delegate

FREDA G. NOBLE
--St. Joseph County Democratic Vice-Chairperson
--Retired from various public jobs
--Longtime party activist

STATE PARTY OFFICIAL

PATTY EVANS
--State Party Vice Chairperson
--Indiana Carter Steering Committee
--Wineograd Commission

STATE ELECTED OFFICIAL

LARRY CONRAD
--Secretary of State (highest ranking Democrat elected)
--Democratic nominee for Governor - beaten by biggest margin in Indiana history
--Was close to Bayh
EARLY CARTER SUPPORTERS

BILL SCHRIEBER
--Earliest Carter supporter in Indiana
--President stayed with Schrieber during the primaries
--Interested in an appointment to the International Joint Commission, State Department

BOB MCKINNEY
--Early Carter supporter
--Carter delegate
--Indianapolis attorney
--Chairman, Carter Primary Campaign
--Chairman, Carter General Election Steering Committee
--Speculation that he will be named Chairman of Home Loan Bank Board.
This appointment is under fire from grass roots community groups

Note: May have a problem in coming.

NATIONAL FINANCE COUNCIL

MORRIS KATZ
--Handbag manufacturer
--Raised money in General Election
--Has committed to raising $50,000 for the DNC
--Main fundraiser and close personal friend of Birch Bayh
--Jewish

Note: May have a problem in coming.

LABOR LEADERS

KEN SHARP
--President, Indiana CWA
--Carter delegate and early supporter
--Prominent and powerful member of the Indian Labor Coalition
--Chairman, Indiana Labor Coalition

PHIL CRONE
--Chairperson, St. Joseph UAW CAP Council
--Strong and vigorous worker for Carter in primary and general election
--Carter delegate
POLITICAL OVERVIEW
(Tim Davis - DNC)

The State Party in Indiana suffers from a lack of statewide leadership. Bill Trisler, State Party Chair, has been unable to unify the various county and district organizations into a functioning statewide political organization. The party has an outstanding debt of $22,000.

Eight of the eleven House members are Democrats. The political organizations that emerge in response to their candidacies are the greatest strengths of the Democratic Party in Indiana.

The State Legislature will be meeting in special session starting May 23rd. At issue is the state budget and provisions of the legislation controlling the property taxation power of local units of government. The Democrats control only the Senate.

In 1978 the three state Democratic officeholders (Conrad, New, Curry) are unable to run for third terms and must either switch with one another or not run. The Republicans have appropriated $1.3 million to targeted state legislative races to gain control of the Senate in anticipation of reapportionment in 1979. They have also targeted several Congressional races: Phil Sharp in the 10th; Dave Evans in the 6th; Floyd Fithian in the 2nd; and Dave Cornwell in the 8th.

John Brademas from the 3rd Congressional District was elected to a tenth term in 1976 receiving 57% of the vote. He faces re-election in 1978.

Birch Bayh will face re-election in 1980. Bayh can expect to face Governor Bowen in that race. Bayh does not have an ongoing political organization in the state. He has alienated members of the Indiana congressional delegation by failing to consult with them on federal appointments. Bayh's politics are perceived as being too liberal for the state. He is being told to begin campaigning now or he will not be re-elected.

There are several key issues in South Bend:

Japanese Television Sets - CTS in Elkhart manufactures Zenith component parts. Controversy centers on "unfair" import practices by the Japanese.

Recreational Vehicles - South Bend is the home of several Recreational Vehicle manufacturers and is concerned about the availability of gasoline.
Mass Transit Buses - Controversy concerns the DOT promulgated "interim procurement policy" for transit buses and its effect on a local manufacturer in Mishawaka.

An Indiana issue is the atomic plant near Gary. The Interior Department announced Thursday it will not try to stop the nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore. Various environmental groups have strongly protested the building of the plant.

The city of South Bend is a Democratic stronghold and last year elected Peter Nemeth as Mayor by an overwhelming vote. The City Council is controlled by Democrats with a 7 to 2 margin. South Bend was also the site for the "ethnic purity" statement by candidate Carter during the Primaries.

The Notre Dame commencement marks the 25th anniversary of Father Hesburgh's Presidency. There is only one issue that has galvanized student interest and that is world hunger. Hundreds of students have fasted on Wednesday nights and donated the proceeds to various international committees.

There will be an additional 2000 people watching the commencement ceremonies on closed circuit television.

Reaction to the President personally and to his administration has been favorable. In a state where most of the media is conservative, President Carter has been getting high marks. One potential problem is the "Gas Guzzler's Tax." However, on the issue of a balanced budget, the President has won overwhelming approval.
KEY POLITICAL ISSUES IN INDIANA AND THE 3RD C.D.

There are four key political issues of importance to the voters in Indiana:

1. Japanese Television Sets

Elkhart County is the home of CTS Corporation which manufactures components for Zenith Color Television sets. CTS, along with Zenith and the UAW, has fought the "unfair" import practice by Japanese electronic manufacturers.

2. Recreational Vehicles

Elkhart is a major manufacturing center of campers and is edgy about the President's energy proposals' effect on their industry. Their concern is about the availability of gas and Schlesinger's statement which singled out campers as inefficient users of gasoline.

3. Mass Transit Bus

AM General Corporation, American Motors, manufacturing municipal transit buses in Mishawaka, has run into increasing difficulty with DOT's "interim procurement policy" on buses. DOT says cities purchasing buses can choose between "current design buses" built by AMC or "advance design buses" (ADB) which are produced only by GM and Flxible. Congressman Brademas et al. are concerned that since the Federal Government supplies 80% of the purchase funds most cities will opt for the higher cost ADB and maintain ADB should have to compete on a "value for value" basis.

4. Indiana A-Plant

The Interior Department will not try to stop construction of a nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Park, Secretary Andus announced on Thursday.

The Interior Department has been under pressure from Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D-Ind), Chairman of Interior's Appropriations Subcommittee, and environmentalists to go to court to stop the plant's construction.
CURRENT POLITICAL RACES

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICES - 1978

In 1978, the three State Democratic officeholders (Conrad, New and Curry) are unable to run for third terms and must either switch with each other or not run.

U. S. CONGRESSIONAL - 1978

Republicans have targeted: Phil Sharp in the 10th, Dave Evans in the 6th, Floyd Fithian in the 2nd, and Dave Cornwell in the 8th. The House Democratic Campaign Committee agrees that these are marginal districts.

John Brademas will face re-election in 1978. The following are election returns in the three 3rd D.C. counties in past 4 general elections. Brademas was elected to a tenth term in Congress in 1976 receiving 57% of the vote in the third district.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>St. Joseph Co.</th>
<th>Elkhart Co.</th>
<th>LaPorte Co.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>45.6% (Kelly)</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>53.1 (Sprague)</td>
<td>57.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>60.4</td>
<td>47.6 (Brademas)</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>68.0</td>
<td>58.6 (Brademas)</td>
<td>59.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STATE LEGISLATIVE - 1979

The Republicans have appropriated $1.3 million to targeted races. Their intent is to gain control of the Senate in anticipation of reapportionment in 1979.

U. S. SENATE - 1980

Birch Bayh is up for re-election. Governor Otis Bowen, Republican incumbent, at this time seems to be the logical opponent. (Bayh is currently in some disfavor with the Indiana Congressional Delegation in that they feel he has excluded them from taking an active part in federal appointments.)

LEGISLATURE

A special session of the Indiana Legislature has been called for May 23 to consider the State Budget and provisions of legislation controlling the
property taxation power of local units of government. The Legislature failed to finish their business in the legally allotted Legislative Schedule.

**VOTER REACTION TO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION**

The President has basically been getting good ratings even from the conservative Indiana media. Problem areas have been: Universal Voter Registration (potential for fraud), and the UAW's negative reaction to the "Gas Guzzler Tax."

**STATE PARTY**

The State Party in Indiana suffers from a lack of leadership, money, and does not present a functioning statewide political organization. Congressional candidates' organizations seem to pre-empt ongoing party organization. The party strength lies in the Congressional delegation with 8 of 11 members Democratic.

**SOUTH BEND AND NOTRE DAME**

South Bend is a Democratic stronghold with Poles, Hungarians and Blacks making up the backbone of the Democratic vote. Mayor Peter J. Nemeth was elected by an overwhelming vote and the City Council is controlled by Democrats with a 7 to 2 margin.

The President has been in South Bend twice in 1976 - in April at the time of the "ethnic purity" statement and in October following the debates and Ford's statement on Eastern Europe.

Notre Dame's Commencement marks the 25th Anniversary of Father Hesburgh's Presidency of Notre Dame. The only campus-wide issue has been world hunger and hundreds of students have fasted each Wednesday and donated the proceeds to international committees.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Frank Press
SUBJECT: Talking points with Father Hesburgh on his role with the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development

-- This is a major UN activity to see how to meet the technical needs and demands of the developing nations, in ways that the developed countries' industrial, labor, educational, and other sectors can accept and endorse.

-- Conference will be held in 1979 at a site not yet determined. (US has offered to host the conference)

-- Father Hesburgh will serve as head of the US delegation to the conference. He will help select delegation and plan the general approach to the policy problems.

-- The national discussion and preparation are bound to be as important as the final conference itself.

-- Hesburgh should feel free to assemble his own advisors, drawn broadly from industrial, labor, technological and financial communities. DOS support staff is being assembled.

-- Hesburgh can travel as much or as little as he wishes. He can tailor his involvement to suit his interests. State-appointed Coordinator (Ambassador Jean Wilkowski) and staff can assume much of the routine representational burden.

-- This memo has been cleared with State Department, which will serve as the lead agency for the conference preparation.
STATE AND LOCAL STATISTICAL SUMMARY

UNEMPLOYMENT (Seasonally adjusted)

SOUTH BEND

APRIL
1977 : 4.5%
1976 : 5.6%
1975 : 8.9%
1974 : 5.3%

JANUARY
1977 : 5.6%

INDIANA

APRIL
1977 : 5.0%
1976 : 6.5%
1975 : 9.9%
1974 : 5.4%

JANUARY
1977 : 5.2%

VOTING AND REGISTRATION

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

Carter : 49,157
Ford : 50,358

REGISTRATION

Democrats : 65,992
Republicans: 28,747
Independents: 37,523

DEMOGRAPHY

County Population 242,000
So. Bend Population 125,000
Black 15%
Foreign Stock 20%
(mostly Polish and Hungarian)

Mishawaka Population 36,000
Foreign Stock 17%
(mostly Belgian and Italian)

ECONOMIC BASE

Manufacturing
Bendix Corporation (brake and steering, energy control and aerospace plants)
AM General Corporation (builds postal trucks, army vehicles and mass transit buses)
Northern Indiana Public Service Company has spent an estimated $80 million since 1970 on preparations for a nuclear power plant (Bailly Plant) at the western edge of Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, near Chicago in the Gary-Hammond area of Indiana. The plant, for which excavation is complete and pilings are now being driven, would augment the electric power generating facilities at the company's existing coal-fired plant on the same site. It has been hotly contested by environmentalists, who went to court several years ago to challenge the old Atomic Energy Commission's decision to license the facility, citing its location in a sensitive area.

In 1976, after the case had reached the Supreme Court, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals held that the license was valid. In its opinion, the appellate court noted that Interior had not seen fit to intervene on the environmentalist side although the National Lakeshore would be affected. Interior's formal opposition to the nuclear plant had been limited to testimony at the pre-licensing and administrative appeal stages.

At the prodding of Congressman Sidney Yates, chairman of the Interior Appropriations Subcommittee, former Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe wrote to the chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission last June 23 asking reconsideration of the license to build the nuclear plant, but NRC rejected the request, and work began on excavation. The National Park Service began monitoring the environmental effects of the plans and work.

Chairman Yates early this year asked Secretary Andrus to review Interior's position, and on Thursday, May 19 the Secretary sent Yates the attached letter and opinion by Interior Solicitor Krulitz. In effect, it says that:
1. There is no substantial new evidence which would justify Interior—at this time—to go back to NRC, the courts or the Congress to try to halt the nuclear power plant.

2. There are some serious problems involved in the operation of the present, coal-fired power plant, principally seepage from its huge fly-ash settling pond which is killing trees and other vegetation within the National Lakeshore.

3. Interior is pressing the company to resolve this problem promptly and will be ready to go to court soon unless the seepage problem is resolved.

4. Other legislation and court action may still be advisable at some future time to protect the Lakeshore.
Interior Won't Attempt To Halt Indiana A-Plant

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Interior Department will not try to stop construction of a nuclear power plant next to the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, Secretary Cecil D. Andrus said yesterday.

The nuclear project has been opposed by former Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe, who said it would pollute the air and water of the lakeshore, one of the few urban parks in the nation. However, Kleppe did not file suit to stop its construction.

Andrus told a group of reporters yesterday, "We would have been better off if the plant had not been licensed. But the company has spent $80 million. Until there is new evidence, we do not feel we can ask for a rehearing" before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Andrus has been under pressure from Rep. Sidney H. Yates (D-Ind.), chairman of Interior's appropriations subcommittee, to go to more aggressive than my predecessor in protecting public parks from adjacent nuclear plants.

The $705 million plant is supported by its sponsor, the Northern Indiana Public Service Co., which says it is needed to provide electricity. It is opposed by environmentalists, by the city of Gary, Ind., and by the state of Illinois. They contend it would damage the park and endanger visitors.

The utility has just completed excavation for the plant on a site next to Lake Michigan, between the Bethlehem Steel complex and the park.

The park, an 8,500-acre expanse of beaches, sand dunes and marshes, is in the middle of an industrial area. It is heavily used by residents of Gary, five miles away, and Chicago, 30 miles away.

In answer to a question yesterday, Andrus said, "Frankly, I have been a proponent of nuclear power. The very first reactor was built in Idaho where Andrus was governor. I've been around it most of my life, and I don't have a fear of it."

Andrus has been under considerable pressure from Rep. Sidney H. Yates (D-Ind.), chairman of Interior's appropriations subcommittee, to stop the plant's construction. Yates said yesterday Andrus' decision was "unfortunate" and that the plant "interferes with the public's right to have the lakeshore for its enjoyment and use."

Opponents of the project, led by a Chicago group called Businessmen for the Public Interest, had pinned their hopes on the Interior Department after a federal court refused to revoke the plant's license last year.

They maintained that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago virtually invited the Interior Department to oppose the project by pointing out that it could not deny the license when the department was not involved in the suit.

Kleppe's response was a sharply worded letter to Marcus A. Rowden, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The site of plant is "most inappropriate...and does not make sense ecologically or aesthetically," Kleppe wrote, pointing out that interior had opposed it since 1972.

The public would be restricted from using the park within a mile and a half of the reactor, Kleppe said, because of the possibility of a "catastrophic accident and discharge of radioactive wastes."

The 450-foot-high cooling towers would create an "unacceptable...visual impact and aesthetic intrusion" as well as acid air pollution from the combination of vapor with the plume of a nearby coal-fired plant, Kleppe said.

The company is already engaged in a dispute with interior because ponds to store ash next to its coal plant seep into the park. Andrus said the utility has 90 days to clean up the ponds.

A utility spokesman said the park will be protected from any adverse effects by a 300- to 500-foot "greenbelt buffer zone" around the nuclear plant.

Andrus said, "In the future, where we have the opportunity, we will be more aggressive than my predecessor in protecting public parks from adjacent nuclear plants."

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Opponents of the project, led by a Chicago group called Businessmen for the Public Interest, had pinned their hopes on the Interior Department after a federal court refused to revoke the plant's license last year.

They maintained that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago virtually invited the Interior Department to oppose the project by pointing out that it could not deny the license when the department was not involved in the suit.

Kleppe's response was a sharply worded letter to Marcus A. Rowden, chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The site of plant is "most inappropriate...and does not make sense ecologically or aesthetically," Kleppe wrote, pointing out that interior had opposed it since 1972.

The public would be restricted from using the park within a mile and a half of the reactor, Kleppe said, because of the possibility of a "catastrophic accident and discharge of radioactive wastes."

The 450-foot-high cooling towers would create an "unacceptable...visual impact and aesthetic intrusion" as well as acid air pollution from the combination of vapor with the plume of a nearby coal-fired plant, Kleppe said.

The company is already engaged in a dispute with interior because ponds to store ash next to its coal plant seep into the park. Andrus said the utility has 90 days to clean up the ponds.

A utility spokesman said the park will be protected from any adverse effects by a 300- to 500-foot "greenbelt buffer zone" around the nuclear plant.

Andrus said, "In the future, where we have the opportunity, we will be more aggressive than my predecessor in protecting public parks from adjacent nuclear plants."

The nuclear project had been opposed by former Secretary Thomas S. Kleppe, who said it would pollute the air and water of the lakeshore, one of the few urban parks in the nation. However, Kleppe did not file suit to stop its construction.

Andrus told a group of reporters yesterday, "We would have been better off if the plant had not been licensed. But the company has spent $80 million. Until there is new evidence, we do not feel we can ask for a rehearing" before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Andrus has been under pressure from Rep. Sidney H. Yates (D-Ind.), chairman of Interior's appropriations subcommittee, to go to more aggressive than my predecessor in protecting public parks from adjacent nuclear plants.

The $705 million plant is supported by its sponsor, the Northern Indiana Public Service Co., which says it is needed to provide electricity. It is opposed by environmentalists, by the city of Gary, Ind., and by the state of Illinois. They contend it would damage the park and endanger visitors.

The utility has just completed excavation for the plant on a site next to Lake Michigan, between the Bethlehem Steel complex and the park.

The park, an 8,500-acre expanse of beaches, sand dunes and marshes, is in the middle of an industrial area. It is heavily used by residents of Gary, five miles away, and Chicago, 30 miles away.

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Jim:

Thought you might want to see the speech as finally edited by the President for delivery.

Also, you may want to type in the couple of words from the next page at the bottom on the right-hand page, as the President did this time, on future speeches.

Rick

PLEASE RETURN THE ORIGINAL OF THE SPEECH TO ME AFTER YOU'VE FINISHED WITH IT.
In the 25 years that Father Hesburgh has been president of this university, Notre Dame has matured into an institution with a worldwide reputation for academic excellence.

And increasingly during that same quarter century, both Father Hesburgh and Notre Dame have participated energetically and responsibly in the world of which they are a part.

I would have liked to mention all of Father Hesburgh's major accomplishments -- but the list is much too long.

So I'll have to confine myself to his achievements in just one area -- an area that concerns us both greatly. That is human rights.

In his 25 years as president of Notre Dame, Father Hesburgh has spoken more consistently and effectively in
support of the rights of [human beings] than any American
I can think of.

He has been a courageous leader in the fight for full
human rights for all Americans for many years.

His interest in the Notre Dame Center for Civil Rights
has never wavered since its founding in 1973, and he played
an important role in broadening the scope of the Center's
work to include [international human rights]--as shown in
last month's conference here on human rights and American
foreign policy.

Father Hesburgh and Notre Dame have demonstrated that
concern again today by the selection of Bishop Donal Lamont,
Paul Cardinal Arns, and Stephen Cardinal Kim to receive
honorary degrees. In their fight for human [freedoms] in Rhodesia,
Brazil and South Korea, these three religious leaders typify
all that is best in their countries and in their church. I
am honored to join you in recognizing their sacrifice and personal sacrifice. 
dedication in a cause we all share.
Last week I spoke in California about the domestic agenda for our nation. Our challenge in the next few years is to provide more efficiently for the needs of our people, to demonstrate -- against the dark faith of the times -- that our government can be both competent and humane.

I want to speak today about our foreign agenda and about the strands that connect our actions overseas with our essential character as a nation.

I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on our fundamental values, and that uses power and influence for humane purposes. We can also have a foreign policy that the American people both support -- and understand.
I have a quiet confidence in our own system. Because we know democracy works, we can reject the arguments of those rulers who deny human rights to their people. I am confident that democracy's example will be compelling, and so we seek to bring that example closer to those who are not yet convinced. We are confident of our own strength, and so we are not tempted to employ improper tactics at home -- or abroad. We are confident that democratic methods are the most effective, and so we are not tempted to employ improper reduction in the nuclear arms race.
We are confident of the good sense of our own people, and so we let them share the process of making foreign policy decisions. We can thus speak with the voices of 215 million, not just of a handful.

Democracy's great recent successes -- in India, Portugal, Greece, Spain and the rest of Western Europe -- show that our confidence is not misplaced.

For too many years we have been willing to adopt the flawed principles and tactics of our adversaries, sometimes abandoning our values for theirs.

We fought fire with fire, never thinking that fire is better fought with water.

This approach failed -- with Vietnam the best example of its intellectual and moral poverty.

But through failure we have found our way back to our own principles and values, and we have regained our lost confidence.
I intend to discuss our foreign policy with
the Congress and with the public, debating its premises.

We have suffered in the past when we acted without
seeking domestic consensus. We have suffered when our
leaders underestimated the ability and beneficial
influence of the American people in shaping and
consummating proper international programs. With this
public understanding and support, the President can
speak with a strong and sure voice.

We are a democracy, and our foreign policy will
succeed only if we act like one.

By the standards of history, our nation's
two hundred years are brief. We rise to world eminence
and are brief, still.

A recent event. It dates from 1945, when Europe and the old international order had been
dominated by Europe both lay in ruins. Before then,
Before World War II, we were largely on the periphery of world affairs. Since 1945, when the United States entered the war, America was largely on the periphery of world affairs. Countries in Europe, and the world order that centered on it, both lay in ruins, we have inescapably been at the center.

We helped to build concrete testaments to our faith and purpose -- the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other institutions. This international system has endured and worked well for a quarter of a century.

Our policy during this period was guided by two principles: a belief that Soviet expansion must be contained, and the corresponding belief in the importance of an almost exclusive alliance among non-Communist nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

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That system could not last forever unchanged. Historical trends have weakened its foundation. The unifying threat of conflict with the Soviet Union has become less intensive -- even though the competition has become more extensive.

The Vietnamese war produced a profound moral crisis, sapping worldwide faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of the industrial democracy to provide sustained wellbeing for its citizens, a crisis made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders.

It is a familiar truth that the world today is in the midst of the most profound and rapid transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation the daily lives and the aspiration of most human beings have been transformed. Colonialism has declined;
has become more widespread; aspirations are higher. and a new sense of national identity exists in almost one hundred new countries. As more people have been freed from traditional constraints, more have become determined to achieve social justice.

The world is still divided by ideological disputes, dominated by regional conflicts, and threatened by the danger that we will not resolve the differences of race and wealth without violence or without drawing in the major military powers. We can no longer separate the traditional issues of war and peace from the new global questions of justice, equity, and human rights.

It is a new world -- but America should not fear it. It is a new world -- and we should help to shape it. It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy -- a policy based on constant decency in its values, and on optimism in its historical vision.
We can no longer have a policy just for the industrial nations as the foundation of global stability, but we must respond to the new reality of a politically awakening world.

We can no longer expect that 150 nations of the world will follow the dictates of the powerful, but we must continue -- confidently -- our efforts to inspire, and to persuade, and to lead.

Our policy must reflect our belief that the world can hope for more than simple survival -- and our belief that democracy, human dignity and freedom are man's fundamental spiritual requirements.

Our policy must be designed to shape an international system that will last longer than secret deals.
We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation. Our policy must be open and candid, constructive, global involvement, resting on these five cardinal premises:

First, our policy should reflect our people's support and advance respect for basic commitment to the cause of human rights. Next, our policy should be based on close cooperation among the industrial democracies of Europe, North America, and Japan -- because we share the same values and because together we can help to shape a more decent world.

Third, based on a strong defense capability, our policy must seek to improve relations with the Soviet Union and with China in ways that are both more comprehensive and more reciprocal. Even if we cannot heal...
ideological divisions, we must reach accommodations that
reduce the risk of war.

Also, our policy must reach out to the developing
countries to alleviate suffering and to reduce the chasm
between the world's rich and poor.

Finally, our policy must encourage all countries
to rise above narrow national interests and work together
to solve such formidable global problems as the threat
of nuclear war, racial hatred, the arms race, environmental
damage, hunger and disease.

Since last January we have begun to define and
to set in motion a foreign policy based on these premises --
and I have tried to make these premises clear to the
American people. Let me review what we have been doing
and discuss what we intend to do.
First, we have reaffirmed America's commitment to human rights as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy. In ancestry, religion, color, place of origin and cultural background, we Americans are as diverse a nation as the world has ever known. No common mystique of blood or soil unites us. What draws us together, perhaps more than anything else, is a belief in certain basic human rights. We want the world to know that our nation stands for financial prosperity, more than material consumption.

This does not mean that we can conduct our foreign policy by rigid moral maxims. We live in a world that is imperfect and will always be imperfect -- a world that is complex and will always be complex. I understand fully the limits of moral suasion. I have no illusion that changes will come easily or soon. But I also believe that it is a mistake to undervalue the
power of words and of the ideas that words embody.

In our own history that power has ranged from Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" to Martin Luther King, Jr's. "I Have a Dream."

In the life of the Human spirit, words are action -- than many of us may realize who live in much more countries where freedom of expression is taken for granted.

The leaders of totalitarian countries understand this very well. The proof is that action words are precisely the for which dissidents in those countries are being persecuted.

Nonetheless, we can already see dramatic worldwide advances in the protection of the individual from the arbitrary power of the state. To ignore this trend would be to lose influence and moral authority in the world. To lead it will be to regain the moral stature we once had.
All people will benefit from these advances. From free and open competition comes creative change -- in politics, commerce, science, and the arts. From control comes conformity and despair.

The great democracies are not free because they are strong and prosperous. I believe they are strong and prosperous because they are free.

Second, we have moved deliberately to reinforce the bonds among our democracies. In our recent meetings in London we agreed to widen our economic cooperation; to promote more free trade; to strengthen the world's monetary system; to seek ways of avoiding nuclear proliferation; and we prepared constructive proposals for the forthcoming meetings on North-South problems of poverty, development, and global well-being; and we agreed on joint efforts to reinforce and modernize our common defense.
Even more important, all of us reaffirmed our basic optimism in the future of the democratic system. Our spirit of confidence is spreading. Together, our democracies can help to shape the wider architecture of global cooperation -- and the London meeting was a successful step toward this goal.

Third, we have moved to engage the Soviet Union in a joint effort to halt the strategic arms race. That race is not only politically dangerous, it is morally deplorable. We must put an end to it.

I know it will not be easy to reach agreements. The issues are extraordinarily complex, and American and Soviet interests, perceptions, and aspirations vary. We need to be both patient and prudent.

Our goal is to be fair to both sides, to produce reciprocal stability, parity, and security. We desire for a freeze on further modernization and continuing
substantial reductions of strategic weapons, in sincere

We want a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, a

prohibition against chemical warfare, no attack capability

against space satellites in the demilitarized Indian Ocean.

I hope that we can take joint steps with all

nations towards eliminating nuclear weapons completely

from our arsenals of death. We will persist.

I believe in detente with the Soviet Union. To

me it means progress towards peace. But that progress

must be both comprehensive and reciprocal. We cannot

have accommodation in one part of the world and the

aggravation of conflicts in another.

Nor should the effects of detente be limited to

our two countries alone. We hope the Soviet leaders will

join us in efforts to stop the spread of nuclear explosives

and to reduce sales of conventional arms. We hope to
persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force -- as with the Cuban military intervention in Angola.

Cooperation also implies obligation. We hope that the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence.

Fourth, we are taking deliberate steps to improve the chances of lasting peace in the Middle East. We have done this in two ways: Through wide-ranging consultations with the leaders of the countries involved, we have found some areas of agreement and some movement towards consensus. The negotiations must continue.
Through my public comments, I have also tried to suggest a more flexible framework for the discussion of the three key issues which have so far been intractable: the nature of a comprehensive peace, the relationship between security and borders, and the issue of the Palestinian homeland.

The historic friendship between the United States and Israel is not dependent on domestic politics in either nation; it is derived from our common respect for our common search for permanent peace. With that relationship as the foundation stone, we will continue to persist in our ongoing efforts to promote a settlement which all of us need. Our policy will not be affected by changes in leadership in any of the countries in the Middle East. Therefore, we expect Israel's neighbors to continue to be bound by

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UN Resolutions 242 and 338, which they have previously accepted.

This may still be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well.

Fifth, we are attempting, even at the risk of some friction with our friends, to reduce the danger of nuclear proliferation and the worldwide spread of conventional arms.

At the recent Summit there was general agreement that proliferation of explosives from reprocessing of nuclear wastes is a serious issue. We have now set in...
motion an international effort to determine the best
cways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful use,
while reducing the risks that will be diverted to
the making of explosives.

—military purposes.

We have also completed a comprehensive review
of our own policy on arms transfers. We will, as a matter
of national policy, seek to reduce the annual dollar
volume of arms sales to restrict the transfer of
advanced weaponry, and to reduce the extent of our
coco-production arrangements with foreign states. Just
as important, we are trying to get other nations to
join us in this effort.

* * * *

All of this is just the beginning. But it is a
beginning aimed towards a clear goal: to create a
wider framework of international cooperation suited to
the new historical circumstances.
We will cooperate more closely with the newly influential countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. We need their friendship and cooperation in a common effort as the structure of world power changes.

More than 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that our nation could not exist half slave and half free. We know that a peaceful world cannot long exist one-third rich and two-thirds hungry.

Most nations share our faith that, in the long-run, expanded and equitable trade will best help developing countries to help themselves. But the problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy and repression are here now.

The Western democracies, the OPEC nations, and even the developed countries can cooperate through existing international institutions in providing...
more effective aid. This is an excellent alternative to war.

We have a special need for cooperation and consultation with other nations in this hemisphere. We do not need another slogan; although these are our close friends and neighbors, our links with them are the same links of equality that we have with the rest of the world. We will be dealing with them as part of a new worldwide mosaic of global, regional and bilateral relations.

It is important that we make progress toward normalizing relations with the People's Republic of China. We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global policy, and China as a key force for global peace. We wish to cooperate closely with the creative Chinese people on the
problems that confront all mankind. We hope to find a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties that still separate us.

Finally, let me say that we are committed to the peaceful resolution of the Southern African conflict. We believe that the time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order, recognizing that in a democratic system the rights of the minority must also be protected. There is no room left for racism or colonialism in this world. We hope that these changes will be peaceful. But to be peaceful, these changes must be prompt. The United States is determined to work together with our European Allies and the concerned African states to shape a congenial international framework for the rapid and progressive transformation of Southern African society and to help protect it from unwarranted outside interference.
Let me conclude:

Our policy is based on an historical vision of America's role;

It is derived from a larger view of global change;

It is rooted in our moral values;

It is reinforced by our material wealth and by our military power;

It is designed to serve mankind;

And it is a policy that I hope will make you proud to be American.
Last week I spoke in California about the domestic agenda for our nation. Our challenge in the next few years is to provide more efficiently for the needs of our people, to demonstrate -- against the dark faith of the times -- that our government can be both competent and humane.

I want to speak today about our foreign agenda, and about the strands that connect our actions overseas with our essential character as a nation.

I believe we can have a foreign policy that is democratic, that is based on our fundamental values, that uses power for humane ends and influence. Also I believe we can have a foreign policy that the American people both support -- and understand.

I intend to resist the temptation merely to proclaim a foreign policy, based on secret premises, rather than to openly discuss it with the Congress and with the public, debating its premises. To succumb to such a temptation may help a President in the short run; but as the years go by our country inevitably pays the price. We have suffered in the past when we acted without seeking domestic consensus. We have underestimated the ability of the American people to believe that the cause of "national security" would not be taken in vain.

That is why I have been determined to speak openly on our foreign policy, for Preservation Purposes.

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foreign policy, to expose its premises to scrutiny and debate --
even at the risk of controversy.

In the long-run, this is the only way we can negotiate
successfully and make plausible commitments overseas. If we
were a dictatorship, a president could rule by fiat. We are a
democracy, and our foreign policy will succeed only if we act like one.

* * * *

By the standards of history, our nation's two hundred years
are brief; our rise to world eminence is an even more recent
event. Before World War II, we were largely on the periphery of
world affairs. Since 1945, when the countries in Europe, and the
world order that centered on it, both lay in ruins, we have inescapably
been at the center.

Our policy during this period was guided by two principles:

- a belief that Soviet aggression must be contained, and the corre-
  - sponding belief in the importance of an almost exclusive
  - alliance among non-Communist nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

We helped to build concrete testaments to our faith and purpose--
the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the
World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other institutions.
The international system we shaped helped us to avoid war with the
Soviet Union and to expand prosperity around the world. It endured
and worked well for a quarter of a century.
That system could not last forever, historical change has weakened its foundations. The unifying threat of conflict with the Soviet Union has become less intensive -- even though the competition has become more extensive. The Vietnamese war produced a profound world-wide moral crisis, sapping public faith in our policy. The economic strains of the 1970's have weakened public confidence in the capacity of the industrial democracy to provide sustained wellbeing for its citizens, creating even a crisis made more grave by the historical pessimism of some of our leaders.

It is a familiar truth -- but a truth so fundamental that it needs restatement -- that the world today is in the midst of the most profound and rapid transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation the daily lives and the aspirations of most human beings have been transformed. Colonialism has gone; literacy has become more widespread; there are better health services and a new sense of national identity in the some one hundred new states. As more of mankind have been freed from traditional constraints, more have become determined to achieve social justice.

The world is still divided by ideological disputes, dominated by regional conflicts, and threatened by the danger that we will not resolve the struggle between black and white in Southern Africa.
without violence or without drawing in the major powers. We can no longer separate the traditional issues of war and peace from the new global questions of justice, equity, and human rights.

It is a new world -- but America should not fear it. It is a new world -- and we should help to shape it. It is a new world that calls for a new American foreign policy -- a policy based on decency in its values, and on optimism in its historical vision.

We can no longer have a policy just for the industrial nations, although they are the foundation of global stability, but one which responds to the new reality of the politically awakened world.

We can no longer expect that the nations of the world will follow our dictation, though we remain powerful, but we must continue -- confidently -- our efforts to inspire, to compromise, and to persuade, and to lead.

Our policy can no longer be limited to questions of peace and war, though ultimately they surpass all others. It must also address itself to questions of poverty, human dignity, and managing the global resources on which we all depend.

Our policy must reflect our belief that the world can hope for more than simple survival -- and our belief that democracy, human dignity and freedom are man's fundamental spiritual requirements.

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Our policy must be designed to shape an international system that will last longer than deals. We cannot make this kind of policy by manipulation. We can only do it by candidly letting the rest of the world know what we stand for and by showing that we are willing to take each painstaking step toward completion of a system within which all of us, in this unruly and often unjust world, can resolve our differences.

Our policy must be one of constructive global engagement, resting on these five cardinal premises:

First, our policy should reflect our people's basic commitment to the cause of human rights.

Second, our policy should be based on close cooperation among the industrial democracies of Europe, North America, and Japan -- because we share the same values and because together we can help to shape a more decent world.

Third, our policy must seek to improve relations with the Soviet Union in ways that are both more comprehensive and more reciprocal. Even if we cannot end the ideological division of mankind, we must reach accommodation that reduces the risk of war.

Fourth, our policy must reach out to the developing nations and help shape international arrangements to reduce the divisions between the world's rich and poor.
Fifth, our policy must encourage all countries to transcend their narrow national interests and work together to solve such formidable global problems as nuclear proliferation, the arms race, environmental damage, and inadequate nutrition and health care.

Since last January we have sought consistently to define and to set in motion a foreign policy based on these premises -- and I have tried to make these premises clear to the American people. Let me review what we have been doing and discuss what we intend to do.

First, we have reaffirmed America's basic commitment to human rights. In ancestry, religion, color, place of origin and cultural background, we Americans are as diverse a nation as the world has ever known. No mystique of blood or soil unites us. What draws us together, perhaps more than anything else, is a belief in certain basic human rights. In making a due regard for these rights an important part of our country's foreign policy, I have been trying, very simply, to ensure that our behavior in the world is consistent with the best that is in us as a people. In our hearts, we want the world to know that Americans know our nation stands for more than material consumption.

An emphasis on human rights does not mean that we can conduct our foreign policy by rigidly applying moral maxims. We live in...
a world that is imperfect and will always be imperfect -- a
world that is complex and will always be complex.

We can only do our best. We will consider all aspects of our
foreign policy in the light of human rights. We will take action
where action is appropriate, in terms of aid programs, for example --
though I would caution that our policymakers must be entrusted
with the flexibility that alone can make this kind of action effective.
We will apply pressure privately when we think it will produce
better results. And of course, we will continue to express our own
belief in human rights and commitment to them. I understand fully
the limits of moral suasion. I have no illusion that changes will
come easily or soon. But I also believe that it is a mistake to
undervalue the power of words and particularly of the ideas that
words embody. In our own history that power has ranged from
Thomas Paine's "Common Sense" to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s
"I Have a Dream."

In the life of the human spirit, words are action -- much
more so than many of us who live in countries where freedom
of expression is taken for granted may realize.
The leaders of totalitarian and authoritarian countries understand this very well. The proof is that words are precisely the section for which dissidents in those countries are being persecuted in the first place.

Nonetheless, I am quite convinced that in this century we will see dramatic worldwide advances in the protection of the individual from the arbitrary power of the state. I believe this trend has already begun. To ignore the trend would be to lose influence and moral authority in the world. To lead it will be to regain the moral stature we once had.

All countries will benefit from these advances. From free and open competition comes creative change -- in politics, commerce, science, and the arts. From control comes conformity and despair.

The great democracies are not free because they are rich enough to afford the luxury of freedom. I believe they are strong and prosperous because they are free, since democracy is the most productive way to manage human affairs.

Second, we have moved deliberately to reinforce the bonds among our democracies. I recently attended the 7-Nation Summit in London, followed by a larger NATO Summit meeting.

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In our recent meetings, we agreed to take steps to widen our economic cooperation; we agreed on the need to promote more free trade; we undertook to strengthen the world's monetary system; we committed ourselves to seek ways of avoiding nuclear proliferation; and we prepared constructive proposals for the forthcoming meetings on North-South problems of poverty, development, and global well-being.

Even more important, we reaffirmed together our basic optimism in the future of the democratic system. I believe the spirit of confidence is spreading. Together, our democracies can shape the wider architecture of global cooperation — and the London meeting was a successful step toward this goal.

Third, we have moved to engage the Soviet Union in a joint effort to halt the strategic arms race. That race is as politically dangerous as it is morally indecent. We must put an end to it.

I know it will not be easy to reach agreements. The strategic issues are extraordinarily complex, as I have learned in many hours of study. American and Soviet interests, perceptions, and aspirations vary. We need to be both patient and prudent.

Our goal is to be fair to both sides, to produce reciprocal stability, parity, and security. I will make no agreement that jeopardizes our security.

Our desire for strategic reductions and for a freeze on further modernization of strategic weapons is sincere. We want a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing, a prohibition against chemical warfare, no attack capability against space satellites, a demilitarized Indian Ocean,
I hope that before too long we can begin to take joint steps with all nations completely towards eliminating nuclear weapons from our arsenals of death.

We will persist, with the Soviet claim.

I believe in detente. To me it means progress towards peace.

But that progress must be both comprehensive and reciprocal. We cannot have accommodation in one part of the world and the aggravation of conflicts in another. We cannot accept a double standard under which our insistence on human rights is treated as unwarranted intervention, while those who encourage violence, and undermine peace efforts -- as in Southern Africa -- claim merely to be exercising a legitimate historical right.

Nor should the effects of detente be limited to our two countries alone. We hope the Soviet leaders will join us in efforts to stop the explosive spread of nuclear weapons and to control sales of conventional arms. We hope to agree on rules limiting intervention by either power -- or its proxy -- in the internal affairs of other countries as well. We hope to persuade the Soviet Union that one country cannot impose its own social system upon another, either through direct military intervention or through the use of a client state's military force -- as with the Cuban military intervention in Angola.
Cooperation also implies obligation. If the Soviet Union wants continued access to Western food, technology and credits, it should be willing to give something in return. It should, for example, stabilize its purchases and hold stocks of its own rather than disrupt world price stability by massive purchases when its own harvests fall short. It must also be willing to provide essential information on its harvest, stocks, and food needs, so that we can create an orderly and predictable food market. We also hope that the Soviet Union will join in playing a larger role in aiding the developing world, for common aid efforts will help us build a bridge of mutual confidence.

Fourth, we have taken deliberate steps to improve the chances of lasting peace in the Middle East. We have done this in two ways:

Through wideranging consultations with the leaders of the countries involved, we have found some areas of agreement and some movement towards consensus. Although wide areas of disagreement remain, we believe progress has been made. The negotiations must continue.

Through my public comments, I have also tried to suggest a more flexible framework for the discussion of the three key issues which have so far been intractable: the nature of peace, the relationship between security and borders, and the issue of the Palestinian homeland.
I do not intend to impose a settlement. I only want to help the parties involved think more flexibly about the larger issues. This may be the most propitious time for a genuine settlement since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict. To let this opportunity pass, could mean disaster, not only for the Middle East, but perhaps for the international political and economic order as well.

Fifth, we have attempted, even at the risk of some friction, with our friends, to contain the two basic threats to global peace: nuclear proliferation and the worldwide spread of arms. There was an attempt to contain the two basic threats to global peace: nuclear proliferation and the worldwide spread of arms.

At the recent Summit we sought and obtained general agreement that proliferation is a serious issue. We recognize that other nations need nuclear energy for their economic well-being, but we must also avoid short-range decisions for which our children and grandchildren will have to pay. We have set in motion an international effort to determine the best ways of harnessing nuclear energy for peaceful use, while reducing the risks that it will be diverted to military purposes.

We have also completed a comprehensive review of our own policy on arms transfers. From now on, we will, as a matter of national arms sales policy, seek to reduce the annual dollar volume of our commitments to transfer arms, to restrict the transfer of advanced weaponry, and to reduce the extent of our co-production arrangements with foreign nations. Just as important, we are trying to get other states to join us in this effort.

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All of this is just the beginning. But it is a beginning aimed
towards a clear goal: to create a wider framework of international
cooperation suited to the new historical circumstances.

Much remains to be done, and we will concentrate on other issues
too in the months ahead.

The basis of this framework will be the bond between Japan,
North America, and Europe. But we cannot neglect the newly in-
fluential countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia. We need
to cooperate more closely with such nations, both directly and through
International institutions. As the structure of world power changes,
our relations must be adapted accordingly.

More than a 100 years ago, Abraham Lincoln said that our nation
could not exist half slave and half free. In our soul we know that --
morally, militarily, economically -- our world cannot long exist
one-third rich and two-thirds poor.

Most of the developing world shares our faith that, in the long-run,
expanded trade will best help them help themselves. But the long-run
is too far off, and the problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and
world trade inequities are here now.

This is an excellent alternative to war.
We can provide immediate help, and at the same time improve the prospects, for worldwide prosperity, by strengthening the institutional bonds that link the developing nations' fate with our own -- through the Global Development Program which I have proposed, and through additional cooperation between such bodies as the OECD, the IMF, OPEC, and others as well. The United States recognizes that the rich states have both a moral and a political obligation to do more to promote stable growth in the developing countries.

Not long ago, I also spoke of our relations with Latin America, which my wife, Rosalyn, will soon visit. At that time, I stressed that although the time is past for new labels to describe our relations in this hemisphere, we do not need another slogan for Latin America and her neighbors. Latin American nations are our close friends, and the links we hope to build with them are links that we build with the rest of the world. We will be dealing with them as we deal with all other nations as part of a new worldwide mosaic of global, regional and bilateral relations. It is important that in the months ahead, we make progress in normalizing our relations with the People's Republic of China. We see the American-Chinese relationship as a central element of our global
policy, and China as a key force for global peace. We believe there is but one China. We wish to cooperate closely with the creative Chinese people on the problems that confront all mankind. We hope to find a formula which can bridge some of the difficulties that still separate us.

Finally, let me say that we are committed to the peaceful resolution of the Southern African conflict. We believe that the time has come for the principle of majority rule to be the basis for political order. There is no room left for racism or colonialism in this world. We hope that change to majority rule will be peaceful — and we are prepared to assist that change. But to be peaceful, that change must be prompt. The United States is determined to promote together with our European Allies, the United Kingdom and the concerned African states. In so doing, we are pursuing a new policy for Africa — a policy which we have designed on the basis of principle and not expediency. In keeping with this policy, we are also prepared to shape a congenial international framework for the progressive transformation of the South African society to assist that process and to help protect it from outside interference, provided such progressive transformation is meaningful and responsive.

* * * * *

Let me conclude:
Our policy is based on an historical vision of America's role;
It is derived from a larger view of global change;
It is rooted in our moral values;
It is reinforced by our material wealth and by our military power;
It is designed to serve mankind;
And it is a policy that I hope will make you proud to be American.
Send to Jim F. Clark.

[Signature]
IN HIS 25 YEARS AS PRESIDENT OF NOTRE DAME, FATHER HESBURGH HAS SPOKEN MORE CONSISTENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN SUPPORT OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS THAN ANY AMERICAN I KNOW.

HIS INTEREST IN THE NOTRE DAME CENTER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS HAS NEVER WAVERED, AND HE PLAYED AN IMPORTANT
ROLE IN BROADENING THE SCOPE OF THE CENTER'S WORK TO INCLUDE ALL PEOPLE -- AS SHOWN IN LAST MONTH'S CONFERENCE HERE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

THAT CONCERN HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED AGAIN TODAY BY THE SELECTION OF BISHOP DONAL LAMONT, PAUL CARDINAL ARNS, AND STEPHEN CARDINAL KIM TO RECEIVE HONORARY DEGREES. IN THEIR FIGHT FOR HUMAN FREEDOMS IN RHODESIA, BRAZIL AND SOUTH KOREA, THESE THREE RELIGIOUS LEADERS TYPIFY ALL THAT IS BEST IN THEIR COUNTRIES AND IN THEIR CHURCH. I AM HONORED TO JOIN
YOU IN RECOGNIZING THEIR DEDICATION AND PERSONAL SACRIFICE.

(Story about Bed on Fire)

LAST WEEK I SPOKE IN CALIFORNIA ABOUT THE DOMESTIC AGENDA FOR OUR NATION. OUR CHALLENGE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS IS TO PROVIDE MORE EFFICIENTLY FOR THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE, TO DEMONSTRATE -- AGAINST THE DARK FAITH OF THE TIMES -- THAT OUR GOVERNMENT CAN BE BOTH COMPETENT AND HUMANE.

I WANT TO SPEAK TODAY ABOUT THE STRANDS THAT CONNECT OUR ACTIONS OVERSEAS WITH
OVERSEAS WITH OUR ESSENTIAL CHARACTER AS A NATION.

I BELIEVE WE CAN HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY THAT IS DEMOCRATIC, THAT IS BASED ON OUR FUNDAMENTAL VALUES, AND THAT USES POWER AND INFLUENCE FOR HUMANE PURPOSES. WE CAN ALSO HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BOTH SUPPORT -- AND UNDERSTAND.

I HAVE A QUIET CONFIDENCE IN OUR OWN POLITICAL SYSTEM.

BECAUSE WE KNOW DEMOCRACY WORKS.
WE CAN REJECT THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE
RULERS WHO DENY HUMAN RIGHTS TO THEIR PEOPLE.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT DEMOCRACY'S EXAMPLE WILL BE COMPELLING, AND SO WE SEEK TO BRING THAT EXAMPLE CLOSER TO THOSE FROM WHOM WE HAVE BEEN SEPARATED AND WHO ARE NOT YET CONVINCED.

WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT DEMOCRATIC METHODS ARE THE MOST EFFECTIVE, AND SO WE ARE NOT TEMPTED TO EMPLOY IMPROPER TACTICS AT HOME -- OR ABROAD.

WE ARE CONFIDENT OF OUR OWN STRENGTH, SO WE CAN SEEK SUBSTANTIAL MUTUAL REACTIONS.
MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

WE ARE CONFIDENT OF THE GOOD SENSE OF OUR OWN PEOPLE, AND SO WE LET THEM SHARE THE PROCESS OF MAKING FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. WE CAN THUS SPEAK WITH THE VOICES OF 215 MILLION, NOT JUST OF A HANDFUL.

DEMOCRACY'S GREAT RECENT SUCCESSES -- IN INDIA, PORTUGAL, GREECE, SPAIN -- SHOW THAT OUR CONFIDENCE IS NOT MISPLACED.

BEING CONFIDENT OF OUR OWN FUTURE, WE ARE NOW FREE OF THAT
INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL POVERTY.

BUT THROUGH FAILURE WE HAVE FOUND OUR WAY BACK TO OUR OWN PRINCIPLES AND VALUES, AND WE HAVE REGAINED OUR LOST CONFIDENCE.

BY THE MEASURE OF HISTORY, OUR NATION'S TWO HUNDRED YEARS ARE BRIEF; AND OUR RISE TO WORLD EMINENCE IS BRIEFER STILL. IT DATES FROM 1945, WHEN EUROPE AND THE OLD INTERNATIONAL ORDER BOTH LAY IN RUINS. BEFORE THEN, AMERICA WAS LARGELY ON THE PERIPHERY OF WORLD AFFAIRS. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE INESCAPABLY BEEN AT THE CENTER.
NATIONS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.

THAT SYSTEM COULD NOT LAST FOREVER UNCHANGED. HISTORICAL TRENDS HAVE WEAKENED ITS FOUNDATION. THE UNIFYING THREAT OF CONFLICT WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAS BECOME LESS INTENSIVE -- EVEN THOUGH THE COMPETITION HAS BECOME MORE EXTENSIVE.

THE VIETNAMESE WAR PRODUCED A PROFOUND MORAL CRISIS, SAPPING WORLDWIDE FAITH IN OUR POLICY. THE ECONOMIC STRAINS OF THE 1970'S HAVE WEAKENED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE CAPACITY OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY TO PROVIDE SUSTAINED WELLBEING FOR ITS
A crisis of confidence made even more grave by the covert pessimism of some of our leaders.

It is a familiar truth that the world today is in the midst of the most profound and rapid transformation in its entire history. In less than a generation the daily lives and the aspirations of most human beings have been transformed. Colonialism has nearly gone; a new sense of national identity exists in almost one hundred new countries; knowledge has become more widespread; aspirations are higher. As more people have been

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FREED FROM TRADITIONAL CONSTRAINTS, MORE HAVE BECOME DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL JUSTICE.

THE WORLD IS STILL DIVIDED BY IDEOLOGICAL DISPUTES, DOMINATED BY REGIONAL CONFLICTS, AND THREATENED BY THE DANGER THAT WE WILL NOT RESOLVE THE DIFFERENCES OF RACE AND WEALTH WITHOUT VIOLENCE OR WITHOUT DRAWING INTO COMBAT THE MAJOR MILITARY POWERS. WE CAN NO LONGER SEPARATE THE TRADITIONAL ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE FROM THE NEW GLOBAL QUESTIONS OF JUSTICE, EQUITY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.
IT IS A NEW WORLD -- BUT AMERICA SHOULD NOT FEAR IT. IT IS A NEW WORLD -- AND WE SHOULD HELP TO SHAPE IT. IT IS A NEW WORLD THAT CALLS FOR A NEW AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY -- A POLICY BASED ON CONSTANT DECENCY IN ITS VALUES, AND ON OPTIMISM IN ITS HISTORICAL VISION.

WE CAN NO LONGER HAVE A POLICY SOLELY FOR THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS AS THE FOUNDATION OF GLOBAL STABILITY, BUT WE MUST RESPOND TO THE NEW REALITY OF A POLITICALLY AWAKENING WORLD.

WE CAN NO LONGER EXPECT THAT THE OTHER 150 NATIONS WILL FOLLOW
THE DICTATES OF THE POWERFUL, BUT WE MUST CONTINUE -- CONFIDENTLY -- OUR EFFORTS TO INSPIRE, AND TO PERSUADE, AND TO LEAD.

OUR POLICY MUST REFLECT OUR BELIEF THAT THE WORLD CAN HOPE FOR MORE THAN SIMPLE SURVIVAL -- AND OUR BELIEF THAT DIGNITY AND FREEDOM ARE MAN'S FUNDAMENTAL SPIRITUAL REQUIREMENTS.

OUR POLICY MUST SHAPE AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM THAT WILL LAST LONGER THAN SECRET DEALS.

WE CANNOT MAKE THIS KIND OF
POLICY BY MANIPULATION. OUR POLICY MUST BE OPEN AND CANDID; IT MUST BE ONE OF CONSTRUCTIVE GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT, RESTING ON THESE FIVE CARDINAL PREMISES:

FIRST, OUR POLICY SHOULD REFLECT OUR PEOPLE’S BASIC COMMITMENT TO PROMOTE THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

NEXT, OUR POLICY SHOULD BE BASED ON CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF THE WORLD -- BECAUSE WE SHARE THE SAME VALUES AND BECAUSE TOGETHER WE CAN HELP TO SHAPE A MORE DECENT LIFE FOR ALL.
ON STRONG DEFENSE CAPABILITY, OUR POLICY MUST ALSO SEEK TO IMPROVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WITH CHINA IN WAYS THAT ARE BOTH MORE COMPREHENSIVE AND MORE RECIPROCAL. EVEN IF WE CANNOT HEAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS, WE MUST REACH ACCOMMODATIONS THAT REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR.

ALSO, OUR POLICY MUST REACH OUT TO THE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO ALCATE SUFFERING AND TO REDUCE THE CHASM BETWEEN THE WORLD'S RICH AND POOR.

Finally, our policy must encourage all countries to rise above
NARROW NATIONAL INTERESTS AND WORK TOGETHER TO SOLVE SUCH FORMIDABLE GLOBAL PROBLEMS AS THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, RACIAL HATRED, THE ARMS RACE, ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE, HUNGER AND DISEASE.

SINCE LAST JANUARY WE HAVE BEGUN TO DEFINE AND TO SET IN MOTION A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON THESE PREMISES -- AND I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE THESE PREMISES CLEAR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. LET ME REVIEW WHAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING AND DISCUSS WHAT WE INTEND TO DO.
FIRST, WE HAVE REAFFIRMED AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IN ANCESTRY, RELIGION, COLOR, PLACE OF ORIGIN AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND, WE AMERICANS ARE AS DIVERSE A NATION AS THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN. NO COMMON MYSTIQUE OF BLOOD OR SOIL UNITES US. WHAT DRAWS US TOGETHER, PERHAPS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, IS A BELIEF IN HUMAN FREEDOM. WE WANT THE WORLD TO KNOW THAT OUR NATION STANDS FOR MORE THAN FINANCIAL PROSPERITY.

THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE CAN CONDUCT OUR FOREIGN POLICY BY RIGID
MORAL MAXIMS. WE LIVE IN A WORLD THAT IS IMPERFECT AND WILL ALWAYS BE IMPERFECT -- A WORLD THAT IS COMPLEX AND WILL ALWAYS BE COMPLEX.

I UNDERSTAND FULLY THE LIMITS OF MORAL SUASION. I HAVE NO ILLUSION THAT CHANGES WILL COME EASILY OR SOON. BUT I ALSO BELIEVE THAT IT IS A MISTAKE TO UNDERVALUE THE POWER OF WORDS AND OF THE IDEAS THAT WORDS EMBODY. IN OUR OWN HISTORY THAT POWER HAS RANGED FROM THOMAS PAINE'S "COMMON SENSE" TO MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S "I HAVE A DREAM."
IN THE LIFE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT, WORDS ARE ACTION -- MUCH MORE SO THAN MANY OF US MAY REALIZE WHO LIVE IN COUNTRIES WHERE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

THE LEADERS OF TOTALITARIAN COUNTRIES UNDERSTAND THIS VERY WELL. THE PROOF IS THAT WORDS ARE PRECISELY THE ACTION FOR WHICH DISSIDENTS IN THOSE COUNTRIES ARE BEING PERSECUTED.

NONETHELESS, WE CAN ALREADY SEE DRAMATIC WORLDWIDE ADVANCES IN THE PROTECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL FROM THE ARBITRARY POWER OF THE STATE.
FOR US TO IGNORE THIS TREND WOULD BE TO LOSE INFLUENCE AND MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE WORLD. TO LEAD IT WILL BE TO REGAIN THE MORAL STATURE WE ONCE HAD.

ALL PEOPLE WILL BENEFIT FROM THESE ADVANCES. FROM FREE AND OPEN COMPETITION COMES CREATIVE CHANGE -- IN POLITICS, COMMERCE, SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS. FROM CONTROL COMES CONFORMITY AND DESPAIR.

THE GREAT DEMOCRACIES ARE NOT FREE BECAUSE THEY ARE STRONG AND PROSPEROUS. I BELIEVE THEY ARE STRONG AND PROSPEROUS BECAUSE THEY ARE FREE.
SECOND, WE HAVE MOVED DELIBERATELY TO REINFORCE THE BONDS AMONG OUR DEMOCRACIES. IN OUR RECENT MEETINGS IN LONDON WE AGREED TO WIDEN OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION; TO PROMOTE FREE TRADE; TO STRENGTHEN THE WORLD'S MONETARY SYSTEM; TO SEEK WAYS OF AVOIDING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION; WE PREPARED CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS ON NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, DEVELOPMENT, AND GLOBAL WELL-BEING; AND WE AGREED ON JOINT EFFORTS TO REINFORCE AND MODERNIZE OUR COMMON DEFENSE.

EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, ALL OF US REAFFIRMED OUR BASIC OPTIMISM IN
THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM.
OUR SPIRIT OF CONFIDENCE IS SPREADING.
TOGETHER, OUR DEMOCRACIES CAN HELP TO
SHAPE THE WIDER ARCHITECTURE OF
GLOBAL COOPERATION. AND THE LONDON
MEETING WAS A SUCCESSFUL STEP TOWARD
THIS GOAL.

THIRD, WE HAVE MOVED TO ENGAGE
THE SOVIEJT UNION IN A JOINT EFFORT
TO HALT THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE.
THAT RACE IS NOT ONLY DANGEROUS, IT
IS MORALLY DEPLORABLE. WE MUST PUT
AN END TO IT.

I KNOW IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO
REACH AGREEMENTS. THE ISSUES ARE

Our goal is
EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLEX, AND AMERICAN AND SOVIET INTERESTS, PERCEPTIONS, AND ASPIRATIONS VARY. WE NEED TO BE BOTH PATIENT AND PRUDENT.

OUR GOAL IS TO BE FAIR TO BOTH SIDES, TO PRODUCE RECIPROCAL STABILITY, PARITY, AND SECURITY. WE DESIRE A FREEZE ON FURTHER MODERNIZATION AND CONTINUING SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS. WE WANT A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING, A PROHIBITION AGAINST CHEMICAL WARFARE, NO ATTACK CAPABILITY AGAINST SPACE SATELLITES, AND ARMS LIMITATIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.
I hope that we can take joint steps with all nations towards eliminating nuclear weapons completely from our arsenals of death. We will persist.

I believe in detente with the Soviet Union. To me it means progress towards peace. [But that progress must be both comprehensive and reciprocal.] [We cannot have accommodation in one part of the world and the aggravation of conflicts in another.]

But [nor should] the effects of detente should not be limited to our two countries alone.
WE HOPE THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL JOIN US IN EFFORTS TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES AND TO REDUCE SALES OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS. WE HOPE TO PERSUADE THE SOVIET UNION THAT ONE COUNTRY CANNOT IMPOSE ITS OWN SOCIAL SYSTEM UPON ANOTHER, EITHER THROUGH DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION OR THROUGH THE USE OF A CLIENT STATE'S MILITARY FORCE -- AS WITH THE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA.

COOPERATION ALSO IMPLIES OBLIGATION. WE HOPE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL JOIN IN PLAYING A LARGER ROLE IN AIDING THE DEVELOPING WORLD, FOR COMMON AID EFFORTS WILL HELP US
BUILD A BRIDGE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

FOURTH, WE ARE TAKING DELIBERATE STEPS TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES OF LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THROUGH WIDE-RANGING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED, WE HAVE FOUND SOME AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND SOME MOVEMENT TOWARDS CONSENSUS. THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST CONTINUE.

THROUGH MY PUBLIC COMMENTS, I HAVE ALSO TRIED TO SUGGEST A MORE FLEXIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THE THREE KEY ISSUES WHICH HAVE

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THE HISTORIC FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL IS NOT DEPENDENT ON DOMESTIC POLITICS IN EITHER NATION; IT IS DERIVED FROM OUR COMMON RESPECT FOR HUMAN FREEDOM AND FROM OUR COMMON SEARCH FOR PERMANENT PEACE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT WHICH ALL OF US NEED. OUR OWN POLICY WILL NOT BE AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN LEADERSHIP
IN ANY OF THE COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THEREFORE, WE EXPECT ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS TO CONTINUE TO BE BOUND BY U.N. RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, WHICH THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED.

THIS MAY BE THE MOST PROPITIOUS TIME FOR A GENUINE SETTLEMENT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. TO LET THIS OPPORTUNITY PASS COULD MEAN DISASTER, NOT ONLY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT PERHAPS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORDER AS WELL.

FIFTH, WE ARE ATTEMPTING, EVEN AT THE RISK OF SOME FRICTION WITH OUR FRIENDS
OUR FRIENDS, TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE WORLD-WIDE SPREAD OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS.

AT THE RECENT SUMMIT THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT PROLIFERATION OF EXPLOSIVES FROM REPROCESSED NUCLEAR WASTES IS A SERIOUS ISSUE. WE HAVE NOW SET IN MOTION AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO DETERMINE THE BEST WAYS OF HARNESING NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL USE, WHILE REDUCING THE RISKS THAT ITS PRODUCTS WILL BE DIVERTED TO THE MAKING OF EXPLOSIVES.
WE HAVE ALSO COMPLETED A COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF OUR OWN POLICY ON ARMS TRANSFERS. COMPETITION IN ARMS SALES IS INIMICAL TO PEACE AND DESTRUCTIVE OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE POORER COUNTRIES. WE WILL, AS A MATTER OF NATIONAL POLICY, SEEK TO REDUCE THE ANNUAL DOLLAR VOLUME OF ARMS SALES, TO RESTRICT THE TRANSFER OF ADVANCED WEAPONRY, AND TO REDUCE THE EXTENT OF OUR CO-PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS WITH FOREIGN STATES. JUST AS IMPORTANT, WE ARE TRYING TO GET OTHER NATIONS TO JOIN US IN THIS EFFORT.

ALL OF THIS IS JUST THE BEGINNING.
BUT IT IS A BEGINNING AIMED TOWARDS A CLEAR GOAL: TO CREATE A WIDER FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION SUITED TO THE NEW HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES.

WE WILL COOPERATE MORE CLOSELY WITH THE NEWLY INFLUENTIAL COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, AND ASIA. WE NEED THEIR FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION IN A COMMON EFFORT AS THE STRUCTURE OF WORLD POWER CHANGES.

MORE THAN 100 YEARS AGO, ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID THAT OUR NATION COULD NOT EXIST HALF SLAVE AND HALF FREE. WE KNOW THAT A PEACEFUL WORLD CANNOT
LONG EXIST ONE-THIRD RICH AND TWO-THIRDS HUNGRY.

MOST NATIONS SHARE OUR FAITH THAT, IN THE LONG-RUN, EXPANDED AND EQUITABLE TRADE WILL BEST HELP DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO HELP THEMSELVES. BUT THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF HUNGER, DISEASE, ILLITERACY AND REPRESSION ARE HERE NOW.

THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, THE OPEC NATIONS, AND THE DEVELOPED COMMUNIST COUNTRIES CAN COOPERATE THROUGH EXISTING INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN PROVIDING MORE EFFECTIVE AID.
EFFECTIVE AID. THIS IS AN EXCELLENT ALTERNATIVE TO WAR.

WE HAVE A SPECIAL NEED FOR COOPERATION AND CONSULTATION WITH OTHER NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. WE DO NOT NEED ANOTHER SLOGAN: ALTHOUGH THESE ARE OUR CLOSE FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS, OUR LINKS WITH THEM ARE THE SAME LINKS OF EQUALITY THAT WE FORGE WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. WE WILL BE DEALING WITH THEM AS PART OF A NEW WORLDWIDE MOSAIC OF GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND BILATERAL RELATIONS.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZING RELATIONS
WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE SEE THE AMERICAN-CHINESE RELATIONSHIP AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF OUR GLOBAL POLICY, AND CHINA AS A KEY FORCE FOR GLOBAL PEACE. WE WISH TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE CREATIVE CHINESE PEOPLE ON THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT ALL MANKIND. WE HOPE TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH CAN BRIDGE SOME OF THE DIFFICULTIES THAT STILL SEPARATE US.

FINALLY, LET ME SAY THAT WE ARE COMMITTED TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CRISIS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE.
OF MAJORITY RULE TO BE THE BASIS FOR POLITICAL ORDER, RECOGNIZING THAT IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY MUST ALSO BE PROTECTED. TO BE PEACEFUL, CHANGE MUST COME PROMPTLY. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO WORK TOGETHER WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND THE CONCERNED AFRICAN STATES TO SHAPE A CONGENIAL INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RAPID AND PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY AND TO HELP PROTECT IT FROM UNWARRANTED OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.

LET ME CONCLUDE:
OUR POLICY IS BASED ON AN HISTORICAL VISION OF AMERICA'S ROLE;

IT IS DERIVED FROM A LARGER VIEW OF GLOBAL CHANGE;

IT IS ROOTED IN OUR MORAL VALUES;

IT IS REINFORCED BY OUR MATERIAL WEALTH AND BY OUR MILITARY POWER;

IT IS DESIGNED TO SERVE MANKIND;

AND IT IS A POLICY THAT I HOPE WILL MAKE YOU PROUD TO BE AMERICAN.

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