

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

August, 1979

BEIJING, August 27--Following is the text of a speech prepared for delivery by Vice President Walter F. Mondale at Beijing University. The speech was delivered at 3:40 p.m. local Beijing time.

"I AM HONORED TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU, AND I BRING YOU THE WARM GREETINGS AND THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

FOR AN AMERICAN OF MY GENERATION TO VISIT THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS TO TOUCH THE PULSE OF MODERN POLITICAL HISTORY. FOR NEARLY THREE DECADES OUR NATIONS STOOD SEPARATE AND APART, BUT THE ANCIENT HUNGER FOR COMMUNITY UNITES HUMANITY. IT URGES US TO FIND COMMON GROUND.

AS ONE OF YOUR POETS WROTE OVER A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, "WE WIDEN OUR VIEW THREE HUNDRED MILES BY ASCENDING ONE FLIGHT OF STAIRS." WE ARE ASCENDING THAT FLIGHT OF STAIRS TOGETHER.

EACH DAY WE TAKE ANOTHER STEP. THIS AFTERNOON, I AM PRIVILEGED TO BE THE FIRST AMERICAN POLITICAL FIGURE TO SPEAK DIRECTLY TO THE CITIZENS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

AND NO SETTING FOR THAT SPEECH COULD BE MORE SYMBOLIC OF OUR RELATIONSHIP THAN THIS PLACE OF NEW BEGINNINGS. THE HISTORY OF MODERN CHINA IS CRYSTALLIZED IN THE STORY OF BEIJING UNIVERSITY AND THE OTHER DISTINGUISHED INSTITUTIONS

YOU REPRESENT. AT VIRTUALLY EVERY TURNING POINT IN 22TH CENTURY CHINA, BEI-DA HAS BEEN THE FULCRUM.

SIXTY YEARS AGO, IT WAS AT BEI-DA THAT THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT BEGAN, LAUNCHING AN ERA OF UNPRECEDENTED INTELLECTUAL FERMENT. IT INAUGURATED AN EFFORT TO MODERNIZE CHINESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY. IT ESTABLISHED A NEW MEETINGGROUND FOR EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURES, AND ITS FRAMEWORK OF MUTUAL RESPECT SUSTAINS OUR OWN CULTURAL COOPERATION TODAY.

FORTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, BEI-DA WAS WHERE THE DECEMBER 9TH MOVEMENT GALVANIZED A STUDENT GENERATION TO RESIST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION, AND ITS MESSAGE OF SOVEREIGNTY AND NONAGGRESSION UNDERPINS OUR OWN POLITICAL COOPERATION TODAY.

AS CHINA LOOKS TO THE FUTURE, ONCE AGAIN IT IS BEI-DA AND YOUR OTHER RESEARCH CENTERS WHICH ARE LEADING THE DRIVE TOWARD "THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS." AND THE CLOSENESS OF YOUR DEVELOPMENT GOALS TO OUR OWN INTERESTS WILL PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR OUR CONTINUING ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

TODAY, WE FIND OUR TWO NATIONS AT A PIVOTAL MOMENT. WE HAVE NORMALIZED OUR RELATIONS. THE CURTAIN HAS PARTED; THE MYSTERY IS BEING DISPELLED. WE ARE EAGER TO KNOW MORE ABOUT ONE ANOTHER, TO SHARE THE TEXTURE OF OUR DAILY LIVES, TO FORGE THE HUMAN BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP.

THAT IS A RICH BEGINNING, BUT IT IS ONLY A BEGINNING. A MODERN CHINA TAKING ITS PLACE IN THE FAMILY OF NATIONS IS ENGAGED IN A SEARCH NOT ONLY FOR FRIENDSHIP, BUT ALSO FOR SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT. AN AMERICA DEEPENING ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA DOES SO NOT ONLY OUT OF GENUINE SENTIMENT, AND NOT ONLY OUT OF NATURAL CURIOSITY. IT DOES SO OUT OF THE SAME COMBINATION OF PRINCIPLE AND SELF-INTEREST THAT IS THE ENGINE OF MATURE RELATIONS AMONG ALL MODERN STATES.

OUR JOB TODAY IS TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR AN ENDURING RELATIONSHIP TOMORROW. WE COULD NOT HAVE SET THAT TASK WITHOUT OUR FRIENDSHIP. BUT WE CANNOT ACCOMPLISH IT WITH FRIENDSHIP ALONE.

ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CARTER, THIS IS THE MESSAGE I CARRY TO THE PEOPLE OF CHINA - A MESSAGE ABOUT AMERICA, ITS PURPOSES IN THE WORLD, AND OUR HOPES FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH YOU.

THE AMERICANS ARE HISTORICALLY CONFIDENT PEOPLE. OUR POLITICS ARE ROOTED IN OUR VALUES. WE CHERISH OUR FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS IN HUMAN RIGHTS, AND COMPASSION, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALIZES THOSE VALUES. THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO OUR CITIZENS ARE INCOMPARABLE. OUR DEBATES ARE VIGOROUS AND OPEN. AND THE DIFFERENCES WE AIR AMONG OURSELVES - WHETHER ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR POLICY OR ON ENERGY - ARE SIGNS OF OUR SOCIETY'S ENDURING STRENGTH.

MY COUNTRY IS BLESSED WITH UNSURPASSED NATURAL RESOURCES.

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AND FARMERS AND SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS
AND FINANCIERS. WITH THEIR GENIUS WE ARE ABLE TO TRANSFORM OUR
NATURAL ASSETS INTO ABUNDANCE - NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES,
BUT FOR THE WORLD.

OF COURSE WE FACE UNSOLVED PROBLEMS. BUT THE HIGH GOALS
WE SET FOR OURSELVES - AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MEET THEM -

ARE MEASURES OF OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT. IN THAT STRIVING, IN
THAT RESTLESS PURSUIT OF A BETTER LIFE, WE FEEL A SPECIAL
AFFINITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF MODERN CHINA.

IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY, THE UNITED STATES SEEKS INTER-
NATIONAL STABILITY AND PEACE. BUT WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT
THE OBSTACLES WE FACE. WE KNOW THAT WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS
WORLD, AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REMAIN MILITARILY PREPARED.
WE ARE FASHIONING OUR DEFENSES FROM THE MOST ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY
ANYWHERE. WE HAVE FORGED ALLIANCES IN EUROPE AND ASIA WHICH
GROW STRONGER EVERY YEAR. TOGETHER WITH OUR JAPANESE AND
WESTERN ALLIES, WE WILL ENSURE THAT OUR INVESTMENT IN SECURITY
IS EQUAL TO THE TASK OF ENSURING PEACE - AS WE HAVE FOR
THIRTY YEARS.

BUT WE WANT TO BE MORE THAN A FIRM AND RELIABLE PARTNER
IN WORLD AFFAIRS. WE ALSO BELIEVE IN A WORLD OF DIVERSITY.

FOR SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, THAT MEANS THAT WE RESPECT
THE DISTINCTIVE QUALITIES WHICH THE GREAT CHINESE PEOPLE
CONTRIBUTE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP. AND DESPITE THE SOMETIMES
PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS, WE ARE COMMITTED
TO JOINING WITH YOU TO ADVANCE OUR MANY PARALLEL STRATEGIC
AND BILATERAL INTERESTS.

THUS ANY NATION WHICH SEEKS TO WEAKEN OR ISOLATE YOU
IN WORLD AFFAIRS ASSUMES A STANCE COUNTER TO AMERICAN INTERESTS.
THIS IS WHY THE UNITED STATES NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH
YOUR COUNTRY, AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST WORK TO BROADEN AND
STRENGTHEN OUR NEW FRIENDSHIP.

WE MUST PRESS FORWARD NOW TO WIDEN AND GIVE SPECIFICITY
TO OUR RELATIONS. THE FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGES WE FACE ARE
TO BUILD CONCRETE POLITICAL TIES IN THE CONTEXT OF MUTUAL
SECURITY...TO ESTABLISH BROAD CULTURAL RELATIONS IN A FRAMEWORK
OF GENUINE EQUALITY...AND TO FORGE PRACTICAL ECONOMIC BONDS

WITH THE GOAL OF COMMON BENEFIT.

AS WE GIVE SUBSTANCE TO OUR SHARED INTERESTS, WE ARE
INVESTING IN THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. THE MORE EFFECTIVELY
WE ADVANCE OUR AGENDA, THE MORE BONDS WE BUILD BETWEEN US
- THE MORE CONFIDENT WE CAN BE THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WILL
ENDURE.

AND SO WHAT WE ACCOMPLISH TODAY LAYS THE GROUNDWORK FOR
THE DECADE AHEAD. THE 1980'S CAN FIND US WORKING TOGETHER
- AND WORKING WITH OTHER NATIONS - TO MEET WORLD PROBLEMS.
ENRICHING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY, CONTAINING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS,
PROTECTING THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS; THESE GOALS MUST
ALSO BE PURSUED FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.
THE DEEPER THE RELATIONSHIP, THE MORE SUCCESSFUL THAT WORLD-
WIDE PURSUIT WILL BE.

THAT IS THE AGENDA PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME TO
COME TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO PURSUE. THAT IS
THE PRINCIPAL MESSAGE PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME TO
BRING TO YOU. IT IS THE AGENDA WE SHARE FOR THE FUTURE.

IN THE EIGHT MONTHS SINCE NORMALIZATION, WE HAVE WITNESSED
THE RAPID EXPANSION OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

WE HAVE REACHED A SETTLEMENT ON CLAIMS/ASSETS AND SIGNED
THE TRADE AGREEMENT. TRADE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IS EXPANDING.
AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES ARE HELPING YOU EXPLORE CHINA'S OFF-
SHORE OIL RESERVES. JOINT COMMISSIONS ON SINO-AMERICAN ECONOMIC
RELATIONS AND ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGE HAVE BEEN
ESTABLISHED. WE HAVE EXCHANGED NUMEROUS GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATIONS,
INCLUDING THE VISITS OF MANY HEADS OF OUR RESPECTIVE MINISTRIES
AND DEPARTMENTS. AND THE FLOW OF PEOPLE BETWEEN OUR TWO
COUNTRIES IS REACHING NEW HEIGHTS.

WE HAVE GAINED A COOPERATIVE MOMENTUM. TOGETHER LET US SUSTAIN AND STRENGTHEN IT.

FOR A STRONG AND SECURE AND MODERNIZING CHINA IS ALSO IN THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE DECADE AHEAD.

IN AGRICULTURE, YOUR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT NOT ONLY PROVIDES A BETTER LIFE FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE. IT ALSO SERVES OUR INTERESTS - FOR YOUR GAINS IN AGRICULTURE WILL INCREASE LIMITED WORLD FOOD SUPPLIES.

IN TRADE, OUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY YOUR EXPANDING EXPORTS OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS. AND AT THE SAME TIME YOUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY THE PURCHASES YOU CAN FINANCE THROUGH THOSE EXPORTS.

AS YOU INDUSTRIALIZE, YOU PROVIDE A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING FOR YOUR PEOPLE. AND AT THE SAME TIME OUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED - FOR THIS WILL INCREASE THE FLOW OF TRADE, NARROW THE WEALTH GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AND THUS HELP ALLEVIATE A MAJOR SOURCE OF GLOBAL INSTABILITY.

ABOVE ALL, BOTH OUR POLITICAL INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY YOUR GROWING STRENGTH IN ALL FIELDS - FOR IT HELPS DETER

OTHERS WHO MIGHT SEEK TO IMPOSE THEMSELVES ON YOU.

EFFORTS IN THE 1920S AND 30S TO KEEP CHINA WEAK DESTABILIZED THE ENTIRE WORLD. FOR MANY YEARS, CHINA WAS A FLASH POINT OF GREAT

POWER COMPETITION. BUT A CONFIDENT CHINA CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE REGION. TODAY, THE UNPRECEDENTED AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED STATES BRING INTERNATIONAL STABILITY TO NORTHEAST ASIA.

THAT IS WHY DEEPENING OUR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IS SO STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT - NOT ONLY FOR YOUR SECURITY, BUT FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

WE ARE TAKING CRUCIAL STEPS TO ADVANCE OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP.

FIRST, BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, PRESIDENT CARTER WILL SUBMIT FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE U.S. CONGRESS THE TRADE AGREEMENT WE REACHED WITH YOU. THIS AGREEMENT WILL EXTEND "MOST FAVORED NATION" TREATMENT TO CHINA. AND ITS SUBMISSION IS NOT LINKED TO ANY OTHER ISSUE.

SECOND, I WILL BE SIGNING AN AGREEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT OF HYDROELECTRIC ENERGY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ARE NOW READY TO HELP DEVELOP CHINA'S HYDROELECTRIC POWER ON A COMPENSATORY BASIS.

THIRD, THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH EXPORT-IMPORT BANK CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRC ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. UP TO A TOTAL OF \$2 BILLION OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. IF THE PACE OF DEVELOPMENT WARRANTS IT, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL CREDIT ARRANGEMENTS. WE HAVE BEGUN DISCUSSIONS TOWARD THIS END.

FOURTH, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THIS YEAR WILL SEEK CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN BUSINESSES TO INVEST IN CHINA - BY PROVIDING THE GUARANTEES AND INSURANCE OF THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION.

WE ALSO STAND READY TO WORK WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO REACH TEXTILE, MARITIME, AND CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENTS

IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

AS WE ADVANCE OUR CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP, UNIVERSITIES WILL AGAIN BE A CRUCIAL MEETING-GROUND BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICANS, JUST AS THEY WERE IN AN EARLIER ERA.

TODAY, GIFTED CHINESE SCHOLARS STUDY IN AMERICA, AND AMERICAN SCHOLARS - MANY OF WHOM I AM DELIGHTED TO SEE HERE TODAY - STUDY IN CHINA. THAT EXCHANGE INHERITS A DISTINGUISHED TRADITION. ON CAMPUSES ALL ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, AMERICANS WHO LECTURED AND STUDIED IN CHINA IN THE 1930S AND 40S TODAY ARE INVIGORATING OUR OWN INTELLECTUAL LIFE - NONE OF THEM WITH GREATER DISTINCTION THAN PROFESSOR JOHN K. FAIRBANK, WHO HONORS US BY JOINING MY TRAVELLING PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE PROUD THAT CHINESE SCHOLARS WHO STUDIES AMERICAN AGRONOMY, ENGINEERING, AND MEDICINE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE THE SKILLS THEY GAINED IN OUR COUNTRY TO THE PROGRESS OF CHINESE SOCIETY.

IT IS A MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP - A TRUE RECIPROCITY - WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN BUILDING. FROM US, YOU WILL LEARN ASPECTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. OUR ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE TOOLS TO SHARE WITH YOU AS YOU EXPLORE YOUR OWN PAST. AMERICAN AND CHINESE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND HUMANISTS HAVE INSIGHTS TO OFFER EACH OTHER - A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES.

AND SO WITH YOUR HELP, WE INTEND TO BROADEN OUR HORIZONS. CHINESE RESEARCHERS PIONEER IN KEY AREAS, FROM MEDICAL BURN THERAPY TO EARTHQUAKE PREDICTION - AND WE WANT TO LEARN THESE SKILLS FROM YOU. WHERE THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE REQUIRES GLOBAL COOPERATION - IN ASTRONOMY, IN OCEANOGRAPHY, IN METEOROLOGY - OUR COMMON EFFORTS CAN BENEFIT THE WORLD. AND OUR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND HUMANISTS HAVE HARDLY BEGUN TO SHARE YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE, AND OF HUMAN POTENTIAL.

STRONG BILATERAL RELATIONS SERVE OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS. THROUGH THEM, BOTH OF US CAN FOSTER THE WORLD COMMUNITY WE SEEK - A WORLD THAT RESPECTS DIVERSITY AND WELCOMES CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE.

TODAY, THERE ARE 162 NATIONS IN THE WORLD, MOST OF THEM POOR. EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION LIVE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. EVERY DAY, PEOPLE IN THESE NATIONS ARE LIFTING THEIR HEADS TO DEMAND INDEPENDENCE AND JUSTICE. EVERY DAY, EFFORTS BY RULERS TO OPPRESS THEIR PEOPLE ARE MEETING INCREASING RESISTANCE. GOVERNMENTS ARE COMING TO UNDERSTAND NOT ONLY THE NECESSITY, BUT ALSO THE FUNDAMENTAL WISDOM AND DECENCY OF PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF THEIR PEOPLE THROUGH LAW.

WHEN POLITICAL POWER IS MORE EQUITABLY SHARED WITHIN NATIONS; WHEN THAT POWER SHIFTS FROM THE FEW TO THE MANY AMONG NATIONS; WHEN AN ERA OF COLONIALISM GIVES WAY TO A MORE JUST INTERNATIONAL ORDER - THESE CHANGES DESERVE WORLD-

WIDE SUPPORT.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, AS THE PREEMINENT MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD, THE UNITED STATES FACED A FUNDAMENTAL CHOICE. WERE WE TO RESIST THOSE WINDS OF CHANGE, ATTAINING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY BY DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO? WERE WE TO COLLUDE WITH A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES IN AN EFFORT TO DOMINATE THE WORLD? OR WERE WE TO WELCOME CHANGE, TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS, AND TO HELP SHAPE A MORE JUST WORLD ORDER?

LET THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE CHOICE MY COUNTRY HAS

MADE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT ANY EFFORT BY ONE COUNTRY TO DOMINATE ANOTHER IS DOOMED TO FAILURE. NEITHER BY RELYING EXCLUSIVELY ON AN INCREASING STOCK OF ARMS, NOR BY DIRECT OR INDIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION, CAN ANY NATION HOPE TO ATTAIN LASTING SECURITY. ON THE CONTRARY, NATIONS WHICH EMBARK ON THAT COURSE WILL FIND THEMSELVES INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND VULNERABLE.

AND NOTHING MORE VIVIDLY DEMONSTRATES OUR BELIEF IN THOSE PRINCIPLES THAN THE NORMALIZATION OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. NORMALIZATION SIGNALS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT AMERICAN SECURITY IN THE YEARS AHEAD WILL BE ATTAINED NOT BY MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO; NOT BY COLLUDING FOR PURPOSES OF DOMINATION; BUT BY FOSTERING A WORLD OF INDEPENDENT NATIONS WITH WHOM WE CAN BUILD POSITIVE RELATIONS.

THAT IS THE WORLD COMMUNITY WE SEEK. IT IS A VISION OF DIVERSITY, OF CONSTRUCTIVE TIES - AND ABOVE ALL, OF PEACE.

IN A WORLD THAT HOPES TO FIND NEW ENERGY SOURCES, PEACE IS ESSENTIAL. IN A WORLD THAT AIMS TO ELIMINATE HUNGER AND DISPARITIES IN WEALTH, GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM IS VITAL. IN A WORLD THAT IS WORKING TO ERADICATE COMMUNICABLE DISEASES AND TO SAFEGUARD OUR ENVIRONMENT, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS CRUCIAL.

TO SECURE THAT PEACE, TO MAINTAIN THAT EQUILIBRIUM, TO PROMOTE THAT COOPERATION - THE UNITED STATES IS TOTALLY COMMITTED.

DURING THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY VICE PREMIER DENG AND MADAME ZHUO IN JANUARY, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID THIS: WE'VE NOT ENTERED THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP FOR ANY SHORT-TERM GAINS. WE HAVE A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO A WORLD COMMUNITY OF DIVERSE...AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT A STRONG AND SECURE CHINA WILL PLAY A

COOPERATIVE PART IN DEVELOPING THAT TYPE OF WORLD COMMUNITY."

I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERSCORE THAT POINT. ANYONE WHO SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND AMERICA IS INVARIABLY DRAWN BACK TO THE IDEA OF DIVERSITY. THE UNITED STATES IS A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, ALL OF WHOM CONTRIBUTE TO OUR SOCIETY THEIR DISTINCT TALENTS AND TRADITIONS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FIND THEIR COMMON HERITAGE NOT IN A SINGLE BLOODLINE, NOT IN THOUSANDS OF YEARS SHARED NATIONAL HISTORY, BUT IN THEIR SHARED IDEALS. AND WE HAVE A PROFOUND FAITH IN THE VERY DIVERSITY THAT SHAPES US. WE VALUE TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

WE AIM TO HONOR THOSE SAME PRINCIPLES IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN THE DECADE OF THE 80'S. FOR SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, THAT DOES NOT MEAN WE WILL ALWAYS AGREE.

BUT IN A WORLD THAT RESPECTS DIVERSITY, COUNTRIES AS DIFFERENT AS THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA CAN WORK SIDE BY SIDE TOWARD COMMON GOALS. TOGETHER, WE CAN ENRICH OUR TWO CULTURES, STRENGTHEN OUR TWO ECONOMIES, BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR BOTH OUR PEOPLES. AND TOGETHER, WE CAN HELP STABILIZE THE WORLD COMMUNITY - FOSTERING RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY, AND STANDING FIRMLY OPPOSED TO INTOLERANCE AND DOMINATION.

LAST MONTH, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES JOINED MANY OTHER NATIONS IN GENEVA TO CONFRONT THE AGONY OF THE INDO-CHINESE REFUGEES. THE ENORMITY OF THEIR HUMAN TRAGEDY DEFIES THE IMAGINATION. IN A WORLD THAT SEEKS TO ALLEVIATE SUCH SUFFERING - SUFFERING THAT TRANSCENDS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES - THE WAY OF CONSCIENCE IS THE WAY OF COMMON CAUSE.

TODAY THE WORLD WATCHES US. IN A SENSE, WE ARE TESTING WHETHER A DEVELOPED NATION AND A DEVELOPING NATION - EACH WITH DIFFERENT TRADITIONS, EACH WITH DIFFERENT SYSTEMS - CAN BUILD A BROAD, ENDURING, CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP. CERTAINLY THERE WILL BE SERIOUS BARRIERS TO OVERCOME. BUT IF WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL THANK US. IF WE FAIL, NOT ONLY WILL OUR CHILDREN SUFFER; THE ENTIRE WORLD WILL FEEL THE CONSEQUENCES.

DIVERSITY AND STABILITY ARE NOT NEW THEMES IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ONCE SAID THIS: "IT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE - AND NOT TO THE DISADVANTAGE - OF OTHER NATIONS, WHEN ANY NATION BECOMES STABLE AND PROSPEROUS; ABLE TO KEEP THE PEACE WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS, AND STRONG ENOUGH NOT TO INVITE AGGRESSION FROM WITHOUT. WE HEARTILY HOPE FOR THE PROGRESS OF CHINA. AND SO FAR AS BY PEACEABLE AND LEGITIMATE MEANS WE ARE ABLE, WE WILL DO OUR PART TOWARD FURTHERING THAT PROGRESS."

IT WAS A BRIGHT VISION THREE GENERATIONS AGO - AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS ONLY POSTPONED THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS PROMISE. AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, LET US RESOLVE TO REKINDLE

THE LIGHT OF ITS INSIGHT.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
BEIJING UNIVERSITY
August 27, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, FRIENDS -

at this great university

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THE WARM GREETINGS AND THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE
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OF STAIRS." WE ARE ASCENDING THAT FLIGHT OF STAIRS TOGETHER.

EACH DAY WE TAKE ANOTHER STEP. THIS AFTERNOON, I AM
PRIVILEGED TO BE THE FIRST AMERICAN POLITICAL FIGURE TO SPEAK
DIRECTLY TO THE CITIZENS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. /

PRAISE OF BEI-DA

AND NO SETTING FOR THAT SPEECH COULD BE MORE SYMBOLIC OF OUR RELATIONSHIP THAN THIS PLACE OF NEW BEGINNINGS. THE HISTORY OF MODERN CHINA IS CRYSTALLIZED IN THE STORY OF BEIJING UNIVERSITY AND THE OTHER DISTINGUISHED INSTITUTIONS YOU REPRESENT. AT VIRTUALLY EVERY TURNING POINT IN 20TH CENTURY CHINA, BEI-DA (BAY-DAH) HAS BEEN THE FULCRUM. /

SIXTY YEARS AGO, IT WAS AT BEI-DA THAT THE MAY 4TH MOVEMENT BEGAN, LAUNCHING AN ERA OF UNPRECEDENTED INTELLECTUAL FERMENT. IT INAUGURATED AN EFFORT TO MODERNIZE CHINESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY. IT ESTABLISHED A NEW MEETING-GROUND FOR EASTERN AND WESTERN CULTURES. AND ITS FRAMEWORK OF MUTUAL RESPECT SUSTAINS OUR OWN CULTURAL COOPERATION TODAY. /

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WE SEEK MORE THAN FRIENDSHIP

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THE CENTRAL MESSAGE

ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CARTER, THIS IS THE MESSAGE I CARRY TO THE PEOPLE OF CHINA -- A MESSAGE ABOUT AMERICA, ITS PURPOSES IN THE WORLD, AND OUR HOPES FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH YOU. /

THE AMERICANS ARE AN HISTORICALLY CONFIDENT PEOPLE. OUR POLITICS ARE ROOTED IN OUR VALUES. WE CHERISH OUR FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS IN HUMAN RIGHTS, AND COMPASSION, AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. WE BELIEVE THAT OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM INSTITUTIONALIZES THOSE VALUES. THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO OUR CITIZENS ARE INCOMPARABLE. OUR DEBATES ARE VIGOROUS AND OPEN. AND THE DIFFERENCES WE AIR AMONG OURSELVES -- WHETHER ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR POLICY OR ON ENERGY -- ARE SIGNS OF OUR SOCIETY'S ENDURING STRENGTH. /

MY COUNTRY IS BLESSED WITH UNSURPASSED NATURAL RESOURCES. MOREOVER, WE ALSO HAVE UNPARALLELED HUMAN RESOURCES -- WORKERS AND FARMERS AND SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS AND INDUSTRIALISTS AND FINANCIERS. WITH THEIR GENIUS WE ARE ABLE TO TRANSFORM OUR NATURAL ASSETS INTO ABUNDANCE -- NOT ONLY FOR OURSELVES, BUT FOR THE WORLD. /

OF COURSE WE FACE UNSOLVED PROBLEMS. BUT THE HIGH GOALS WE SET FOR OURSELVES -- AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MEET THEM -- ARE MEASURES OF OUR NATIONAL SPIRIT. IN THAT STRIVING, IN THAT RESTLESS PURSUIT OF A BETTER LIFE, WE FEEL A SPECIAL AFFINITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF MODERN CHINA. /

IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY, THE UNITED STATES SEEKS INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND PEACE. BUT WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE OBSTACLES WE FACE. WE KNOW THAT WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS WORLD. AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO REMAIN MILITARILY PREPARED. WE ARE FASHIONING OUR DEFENSES FROM THE MOST ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY ANYWHERE. WE HAVE FORGED ALLIANCES IN EUROPE AND ASIA WHICH GROW STRONGER EVERY YEAR. TOGETHER WITH OUR JAPANESE AND WESTERN ALLIES, WE WILL ENSURE THAT OUR INVESTMENT IN SECURITY

IS EQUAL TO THE TASK OF ENSURING PEACE -- AS WE HAVE FOR THIRTY YEARS. /

BUT WE WANT TO BE MORE THAN A FIRM AND RELIABLE PARTNER IN WORLD AFFAIRS. WE ALSO BELIEVE IN A WORLD OF DIVERSITY.

FOR SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, THAT MEANS THAT WE RESPECT THE DISTINCTIVE QUALITIES WHICH THE GREAT CHINESE PEOPLE CONTRIBUTE TO OUR RELATIONSHIP. AND DESPITE THE SOMETIMES PROFOUND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO SYSTEMS, WE ARE COMMITTED TO JOINING WITH YOU TO ADVANCE OUR MANY PARALLEL STRATEGIC AND BILATERAL INTERESTS. /

THUS ANY NATION WHICH SEEKS TO WEAKEN OR ISOLATE YOU IN WORLD AFFAIRS ASSUMES A STANCE COUNTER TO AMERICAN INTERESTS. THAT IS WHY THE UNITED STATES NORMALIZED RELATIONS WITH YOUR COUNTRY, AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST WORK TO BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN OUR NEW FRIENDSHIP. /

WE MUST PRESS FORWARD NOW TO WIDEN AND GIVE SPECIFICITY TO OUR RELATIONS. THE FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGES WE FACE ARE TO BUILD CONCRETE POLITICAL TIES IN THE CONTEXT OF MUTUAL SECURITY ... TO ESTABLISH BROAD CULTURAL RELATIONS IN A FRAMEWORK OF GENUINE EQUALITY ... AND TO FORGE PRACTICAL ECONOMIC BONDS WITH THE GOAL OF COMMON BENEFIT. /

AS WE GIVE SUBSTANCE TO OUR SHARED INTERESTS, WE ARE INVESTING IN THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP. THE MORE EFFECTIVELY WE ADVANCE OUR AGENDA, THE MORE BONDS WE BUILD BETWEEN US -- THE MORE CONFIDENT WE CAN BE THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WILL ENDURE. /

AND SO WHAT WE ACCOMPLISH TODAY LAYS THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE DECADE AHEAD. THE 1980'S CAN FIND US WORKING TOGETHER -- AND WORKING WITH OTHER NATIONS -- TO MEET WORLD PROBLEMS. ENRICHING THE GLOBAL ECONOMY, CONTAINING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS, PROTECTING THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS: THESE GOALS MUST ALSO BE PURSUED FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. THE DEEPER THAT RELATIONSHIP, THE MORE SUCCESSFUL THAT WORLD-WIDE PURSUIT WILL BE. /

THAT IS THE AGENDA PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME TO COME TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO PURSUE. THAT IS THE PRINCIPAL MESSAGE PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME TO BRING TO YOU. IT IS THE AGENDA WE SHARE FOR THE FUTURE. /

* * *

IN THE EIGHT MONTHS SINCE NORMALIZATION, WE HAVE WITNESSED THE RAPID EXPANSION OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

WE HAVE REACHED A SETTLEMENT ON CLAIMS/ASSETS AND SIGNED THE TRADE AGREEMENT. TRADE BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IS EXPANDING. AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES ARE HELPING YOU EXPLORE CHINA'S OFF-SHORE OIL RESERVES. JOINT COMMISSIONS ON SINO-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND ON SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED. WE HAVE EXCHANGED NUMEROUS GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING THE VISITS OF MANY HEADS OF OUR RESPECTIVE MINISTRIES AND DEPARTMENTS. AND THE FLOW OF PEOPLE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS REACHING NEW HEIGHTS. /

WE HAVE GAINED A COOPERATIVE MOMENTUM. TOGETHER LET US SUSTAIN AND STRENGTHEN IT.

FOR A STRONG AND SECURE AND MODERNIZING CHINA IS ALSO IN THE AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE DECADE AHEAD. /

● IN AGRICULTURE, YOUR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT NOT ONLY PROVIDES A BETTER LIFE FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE. IT ALSO SERVES OUR INTERESTS -- FOR YOUR GAINS IN AGRICULTURE WILL INCREASE LIMITED WORLD FOOD SUPPLIES. /

● IN TRADE, OUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY YOUR EXPANDING EXPORTS OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS. AND AT THE SAME TIME YOUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY THE PURCHASES YOU CAN FINANCE THROUGH THOSE EXPORTS. /

● AS YOU INDUSTRIALIZE, YOU PROVIDE A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING FOR YOUR PEOPLE. AND AT THE SAME TIME OUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED -- FOR THIS WILL INCREASE THE FLOW OF TRADE, NARROW THE WEALTH GAP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD, AND THUS HELP ALLEVIATE A MAJOR SOURCE OF GLOBAL INSTABILITY. /

● ABOVE ALL, BOTH OUR POLITICAL INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY YOUR GROWING STRENGTH IN ALL FIELDS -- FOR IT HELPS DETER OTHERS WHO MIGHT SEEK TO IMPOSE THEMSELVES ON YOU.

EFFORTS IN THE 1920s AND 30s TO KEEP CHINA WEAK DESTABILIZED THE ENTIRE WORLD. FOR MANY YEARS, CHINA WAS A FLASH POINT OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION. BUT A CONFIDENT CHINA CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE IN THE REGION. TODAY, THE UNPRECEDENTED AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG CHINA, JAPAN, AND THE UNITED STATES BRING INTERNATIONAL STABILITY TO NORTHEAST ASIA. /

THAT IS WHY DEEPENING OUR ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND POLITICAL RELATIONS IS SO STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT -- NOT ONLY FOR YOUR SECURITY, BUT FOR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. /

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

WE ARE TAKING CRUCIAL STEPS TO ADVANCE OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP.

FIRST, BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR, PRESIDENT CARTER WILL SUBMIT FOR THE APPROVAL OF THE U.S. CONGRESS THE TRADE AGREEMENT WE REACHED WITH YOU. THIS AGREEMENT WILL EXTEND "MOST FAVORED NATION" TREATMENT TO CHINA. AND ITS SUBMISSION IS NOT LINKED TO ANY OTHER ISSUE. /

SECOND, I WILL BE SIGNING AN AGREEMENT ON DEVELOPMENT OF HYDROELECTRIC ENERGY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ARE NOW READY TO HELP DEVELOP CHINA'S HYDROELECTRIC POWER ON A COMPENSATORY BASIS. /

THIRD, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH
EXPORT-IMPORT BANK CREDIT
ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRC ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS, UP TO A TOTAL
OF \$2 BILLION OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD. IF THE PACE OF DEVELOPMENT
WARRANTS IT, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL CREDIT
ARRANGEMENTS. WE HAVE BEGUN DISCUSSIONS TOWARD THIS END. /

FOURTH, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THIS YEAR WILL SEEK CONGRESSIONAL
AUTHORITY TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN BUSINESSES TO INVEST IN CHINA --
BY PROVIDING THE GUARANTEES AND INSURANCE OF THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE
INVESTMENT CORPORATION. /

WE ALSO STAND READY TO WORK WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO
REACH TEXTILE, MARITIME, AND CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENTS IN THE
SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME. /

CULTURAL COOPERATION

AS WE ADVANCE OUR CULTURAL RELATIONSHIP, UNIVERSITIES
WILL AGAIN BE A CRUCIAL MEETING-GROUND BETWEEN CHINESE AND
AMERICANS, JUST AS THEY WERE IN AN EARLIER ERA.

TODAY, GIFTED CHINESE SCHOLARS STUDY IN AMERICA, AND
AMERICAN SCHOLARS -- MANY OF WHOM I AM DELIGHTED TO SEE HERE
TODAY -- STUDY IN CHINA. THAT EXCHANGE INHERITS A DISTINGUISHED
TRADITION. ON CAMPUSES ALL ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, AMERICANS
WHO LECTURED AND STUDIED IN CHINA IN THE 1930s AND 40s TODAY ARE

INVIGORATING OUR OWN INTELLECTUAL LIFE -- NONE OF THEM WITH GREATER DISTINCTION THAN PROFESSOR JOHN K. FAIRBANK, WHO HONORS US BY JOINING MY TRAVELLING PARTY. AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE PROUD THAT CHINESE SCHOLARS WHO STUDIED AMERICAN AGRONOMY, ENGINEERING, AND MEDICINE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE THE SKILLS THEY GAINED IN OUR COUNTRY TO THE PROGRESS OF CHINESE SOCIETY. /

IT IS A MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP -- A TRUE RECIPROCITY -- WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN BUILDING. FROM US, YOU WILL LEARN ASPECTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. OUR ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND ARCHAEOLOGISTS HAVE TOOLS TO SHARE WITH YOU AS YOU EXPLORE YOUR OWN PAST. AMERICAN AND CHINESE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND HUMANISTS HAVE INSIGHTS TO OFFER EACH OTHER--A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR RESPECTIVE INSTITUTIONS AND VALUES. /

AND SO WITH YOUR HELP, WE INTEND TO BROADEN OUR HORIZONS. CHINESE RESEARCHERS PIONEER IN KEY AREAS, FROM MEDICAL BURN THERAPY TO EARTHQUAKE PREDICTION -- AND WE WANT TO LEARN THESE SKILLS FROM YOU. WHERE THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE REQUIRES GLOBAL COOPERATION -- IN ASTRONOMY, IN OCEANOGRAPHY, IN METEOROLOGY -- OUR COMMON EFFORTS CAN BENEFIT THE WORLD. AND OUR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND HUMANISTS HAVE HARDLY BEGUN TO SHARE YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY, OF SOCIAL CHANGE, AND OF HUMAN POTENTIAL. /

POLITICAL COOPERATION IN A CHANGING WORLD

STRONG BILATERAL RELATIONS SERVE OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS. THROUGH THEM, BOTH OF US CAN FOSTER THE WORLD COMMUNITY WE SEEK -- A WORLD THAT RESPECTS DIVERSITY AND WELCOMES CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE. /

TODAY, THERE ARE 162 NATIONS IN THE WORLD, MOST OF THEM POOR. EIGHTY PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION LIVE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. EVERY DAY, PEOPLE IN THESE NATIONS ARE LIFTING THEIR HEADS TO DEMAND INDEPENDENCE AND JUSTICE. EVERY DAY, EFFORTS BY RULERS TO OPPRESS THEIR PEOPLE ARE MEETING INCREASING RESISTANCE. GOVERNMENTS ARE COMING TO UNDERSTAND NOT ONLY THE NECESSITY, BUT ALSO THE FUNDAMENTAL WISDOM AND DECENCY OF PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF THEIR PEOPLE THROUGH LAW. /

WHEN POLITICAL POWER IS MORE EQUITABLY SHARED WITHIN NATIONS; WHEN THAT POWER SHIFTS FROM THE FEW TO THE MANY AMONG NATIONS; WHEN AN ERA OF COLONIALISM GIVES WAY TO A MORE JUST INTERNATIONAL ORDER -- THESE CHANGES DESERVE WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT. /

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, AS THE PREEMINENT MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD, THE UNITED STATES FACED A FUNDAMENTAL CHOICE. WERE WE TO RESIST THOSE WINDS OF CHANGE, ATTAINING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY BY DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO? WERE WE TO COLLUDE WITH A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES IN AN EFFORT TO DOMINATE THE WORLD? OR WERE WE TO WELCOME CHANGE, TO MAKE THE NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS, AND TO HELP SHAPE A MORE JUST WORLD ORDER? /

LET THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT THE CHOICE MY COUNTRY HAS MADE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT ANY EFFORT BY ONE COUNTRY TO DOMINATE ANOTHER IS DOOMED TO FAILURE. NEITHER BY RELYING EXCLUSIVELY ON AN INCREASING STOCK OF ARMS, NOR BY DIRECT OR INDIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION, CAN ANY NATION HOPE TO ATTAIN LASTING SECURITY. ON THE CONTRARY, NATIONS WHICH EMBARK ON THAT COURSE WILL FIND THEMSELVES INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND VULNERABLE. /

AND NOTHING MORE VIVIDLY DEMONSTRATES OUR BELIEF IN THOSE PRINCIPLES THAN THE NORMALIZATION OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. NORMALIZATION SIGNALS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT AMERICAN SECURITY IN THE YEARS AHEAD WILL BE ATTAINED NOT BY MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO; NOT BY COLLUDING FOR PURPOSES OF DOMINATION; BUT BY FOSTERING A WORLD OF INDEPENDENT NATIONS WITH WHOM WE CAN BUILD POSITIVE RELATIONS. /

THAT IS THE WORLD COMMUNITY WE SEEK. IT IS A VISION OF DIVERSITY, OF CONSTRUCTIVE TIES -- AND ABOVE ALL, OF PEACE.

IN A WORLD THAT HOPES TO FIND NEW ENERGY SOURCES, PEACE IS ESSENTIAL. IN A WORLD THAT AIMS TO ELIMINATE HUNGER AND DISPARITIES IN WEALTH, GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM IS VITAL. IN A WORLD THAT IS WORKING TO ERADICATE COMMUNICABLE DISEASES AND TO SAFEGUARD OUR ENVIRONMENT, INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IS CRUCIAL.

TO SECURE THAT PEACE, TO MAINTAIN THAT EQUILIBRIUM, TO PROMOTE THAT COOPERATION -- THE UNITED STATES IS TOTALLY COMMITTED.

GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM IN THE 80s

DURING THE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY VICE PREMIER DENG (DUNG) AND MADAME ZHUO (JWO) IN JANUARY, PRESIDENT CARTER SAID THIS:

"WE'VE NOT ENTERED THIS NEW RELATIONSHIP FOR ANY SHORT-TERM GAINS. WE HAVE A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO A WORLD COMMUNITY OF DIVERSE, . . . AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT A STRONG AND SECURE CHINA WILL PLAY A COOPERATIVE PART IN DEVELOPING THAT TYPE OF WORLD COMMUNITY."

I WOULD LIKE TO UNDERSCORE THAT POINT. ANYONE WHO SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND AMERICA IS INVARIABLY DRAWN BACK TO THE IDEA OF DIVERSITY. THE UNITED STATES IS A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, ALL OF WHOM CONTRIBUTE TO OUR SOCIETY THEIR DISTINCT TALENTS AND TRADITIONS.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FIND THEIR COMMON HERITAGE NOT IN A SINGLE BLOODLINE, NOT IN THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF SHARED NATIONAL HISTORY, BUT IN THEIR SHARED IDEALS. AND WE HAVE A PROFOUND FAITH IN THE VERY DIVERSITY THAT SHAPES US. WE VALUE TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

WE AIM TO HONOR THOSE SAME PRINCIPLES IN THE CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN THE DECADE OF THE 80s. FOR SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, THAT DOES NOT MEAN WE WILL ALWAYS AGREE. /

BUT IN A WORLD THAT RESPECTS DIVERSITY, COUNTRIES AS DIFFERENT AS THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA CAN WORK SIDE BY SIDE TOWARD COMMON GOALS. TOGETHER, WE CAN ENRICH OUR TWO CULTURES, STRENGTHEN OUR TWO ECONOMIES, BUILD BETTER LIVES FOR BOTH OUR PEOPLES. AND TOGETHER, WE CAN HELP STABILIZE THE WORLD COMMUNITY -- FOSTERING RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY, AND STANDING FIRMLY OPPOSED TO INTOLERANCE AND DOMINATION. /

LAST MONTH, CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES JOINED MANY OTHER NATIONS IN GENEVA TO CONFRONT THE AGONY OF THE INDOCHINESE REFUGEES. THE ENORMITY OF THEIR HUMAN TRAGEDY DEFIES THE IMAGINATION. IN A WORLD THAT SEEKS TO ALLEVIATE SUCH SUFFERING -- SUFFERING THAT TRANSCENDS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES -- THE WAY OF CONSCIENCE IS THE WAY OF COMMON CAUSE. /

TODAY THE WORLD WATCHES US. IN A SENSE, WE ARE TESTING WHETHER A DEVELOPED NATION AND A DEVELOPING NATION -- EACH WITH DIFFERENT TRADITIONS, EACH WITH DIFFERENT SYSTEMS -- CAN BUILD A BROAD, ENDURING, CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP. CERTAINLY THERE WILL BE SERIOUS BARRIERS TO OVERCOME. BUT IF WE CAN WORK TOGETHER, FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL THANK US. IF WE FAIL, NOT ONLY WILL OUR CHILDREN SUFFER; THE ENTIRE WORLD WILL FEEL THE CONSEQUENCES. /

DIVERSITY AND STABILITY ARE NOT NEW THEMES IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT ONCE SAID THIS:

"IT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE -- AND NOT TO THE DISADVANTAGE -- OF OTHER NATIONS, WHEN ANY NATION BECOMES STABLE AND PROSPEROUS; ABLE TO KEEP THE PEACE WITHIN ITS OWN BORDERS, AND STRONG ENOUGH NOT TO INVITE AGGRESSION FROM WITHOUT. WE HEARTILY HOPE FOR THE PROGRESS OF CHINA. AND SO FAR AS BY PEACEABLE AND LEGITIMATE MEANS WE ARE ABLE, WE WILL DO OUR PART TOWARD FURTHERING THAT PROGRESS." /

IT WAS A BRIGHT VISION THREE GENERATIONS AGO -- AND SUBSEQUENT EVENTS ONLY POSTPONED THE FULFILLMENT OF ITS PROMISE. AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE, LET US RESOLVE TO REKINDLE THE LIGHT OF ITS INSIGHT.

China: Looking to the Future

August 27, 1979



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Following is an address by Vice President Walter F. Mondale, made at Beijing University during his recent trip to the People's Republic of China, August 25-September 1, 1979. This was the first speech by an American to be broadcast nationwide by the P.R.C.

I am honored to appear before you, and I bring you the warm greetings and the friendship of the President of the United States and the American people.

For an American of my generation to visit the People's Republic of China is to touch the pulse of modern political history. For nearly three decades our nations stood separate and apart, but the ancient hunger for community unites humanity. It urges us to find common ground. As one of your poets wrote over a thousand years ago: "We widen our view three hundred miles by ascending one flight of stairs." We are ascending that flight of stairs together. Each day we take another step. This afternoon, I am privileged to be the first American political figure to speak directly to the citizens of the People's Republic of China.

And no setting for that speech could be more symbolic of our relationship than this place of new beginnings. The history of modern China is crystallized in the story of Beijing University and the other

distinguished institutions you represent. At virtually every turning point in 20th century China, *Bei-Da* [Beijing University] has been the fulcrum.

Sixty years ago, it was at *Bei-Da* that the May 4th movement began, launching an era of unprecedented intellectual ferment. It inaugurated an effort to modernize Chinese culture and society. It established a new meeting ground for eastern and western cultures. And its framework of mutual respect sustains our own cultural cooperation today.

Forty-four years ago, *Bei-Da* was where the December 9th movement galvanized a student generation to resist external aggression. And its message of sovereignty and nonaggression underpins our own political cooperation today.

As China looks to the future, once again it is *Bei-Da* and your other research centers which are leading the drive toward "the four modernizations." And the closeness of your development goals to our own interests will provide the basis for our continuing economic cooperation.

Today we find our two nations at a pivotal moment. We have normalized our relations. The curtain has parted; the mystery is being dispelled. We are eager

to know more about one another, to share the texture of our daily lives, to forge the human bonds of friendship. That is a rich beginning, but it is only a beginning.

A modern China taking its place in the family of nations is engaged in a search not only for friendship but also for security and development. An America deepening its relations with China does so not only out of genuine sentiment and not only out of natural curiosity; it does so out of the same combination of principle and self-interest that is the engine of mature relations among all modern states.

Our job today is to establish the basis for an enduring relationship tomorrow. We could not have set that task without our friendship. But we cannot accomplish it with friendship alone. On behalf of President Carter, this is the message I carry to the people of China—a message about America, its purposes in the world, and our hopes for our relations with you.

A Message About America

The Americans are historically confident people. Our politics are rooted in our values. We cherish our fundamental beliefs in human rights and compassion and social justice. We believe that our democratic system institutionalizes those values. The opportunities available to our citizens are incomparable. Our debates are vigorous and open. And the differences we air among ourselves—whether on strategic nuclear policy or on energy—are signs of our society's enduring strength.

My country is blessed with unsurpassed natural resources. Moreover, we also have unparalleled human resources—workers and farmers and scientists and engineers and industrialists and financiers. With their genius we are able to transform our natural assets into abundance, not only for ourselves but for the world.

Of course we face unsolved problems. But the high goals we set for ourselves—and our determination to meet them—are measures of our national spirit. In that striving, in that restless

pursuit of a better life, we feel a special affinity for the people of modern China.

In the world community, the United States seeks international stability and peace. But we have no illusions about the obstacles we face. We know that we live in a dangerous world. And we are determined to remain militarily prepared. We are fashioning our defenses from the most advanced technology anywhere. We have forged alliances in Europe and Asia which grow stronger every year. Together with our Japanese and Western allies, we will insure that our investment in security is equal to the task of insuring peace—as we have for 30 years.

But we want to be more than a firm and reliable partner in world affairs. We also believe in a world of diversity.

For Sino-American relations, that means that we respect the distinctive qualities which the great Chinese people contribute to our relationship. And despite the sometimes profound differences between our two systems, we are committed to joining with you to advance our many parallel strategic and bilateral interests. Thus any nation which seeks to weaken or isolate you in world affairs assumes a stance counter to American interests. This is why the United States normalized relations with your country, and that is why we must work to broaden and strengthen our new friendship.

We must press forward now to widen and give specificity to our relations. The fundamental challenges we face are to build concrete political ties in the context of mutual security, to establish broad cultural relations in a framework of genuine equality, and to forge practical economic bonds with the goal of common benefit.

As we given substance to our shared interests, we are investing in the future of our relationships. The more effectively we advance our agenda, the more bonds we build between us—the more confident we can be that our relationship will endure.

And so what we accomplish today lays the groundwork for the decade ahead. The 1980's can find us working

together—and working with other nations—to meet world problems. Enriching the global economy, containing international conflicts, protecting the independence of nations—these goals must also be pursued from the perspective of our bilateral relationship. The deeper the relationship, the more successful that worldwide pursuit will be.

That is the agenda President Carter has asked me to come to the People's Republic of China to pursue. That is the principal message President Carter has asked me to bring to you. It is the agenda we share for the future.

Economic Cooperation

In the 8 months since normalization, we have witnessed the rapid expansion of Sino-American relations.

We have reached a settlement on claims-assets and signed the trade agreement. Trade between our countries is expanding. American oil companies are helping you explore China's off-shore oil reserves. Joint commissions on Sino-American economic relations and on scientific and technical exchange have been established. We have exchanged numerous governmental delegations, including the visits of many heads of our respective ministries and departments, and the flow of people between our two countries is reaching new heights. We have gained a cooperative momentum. Together let us sustain and strengthen it. For a strong and secure and modernizing China is also in the American interest in the decade ahead.

In agriculture, your continued development not only provides a better life for the Chinese people, it also serves our interests—for your gains in agriculture will increase limited world food supplies.

In trade, our interests are served by your expanding exports of natural resources and industrial products. And at the same time your interests are served by the purchases you can finance through those exports.

As you industrialize, you provide a higher standard of living for your people. And at the same time our interests are

served—for this will increase the flow of trade, narrow the wealth gap between the developed and the developing world and thus help alleviate a major source of global instability.

Above all, both our political interests are served by your growing strength in all fields—for it helps deter others who might seek to impose themselves on you.

Efforts in the 1920's and 1930's to keep China weak destabilized the entire world. For many years, China was a flashpoint of great power competition. But a confident China can contribute to the maintenance of peace in the region. Today the unprecedented and friendly relations among China, Japan, and the United States bring international stability to northeast Asia. That is why deepening our economic, cultural, and political relations is so strategically important—not only for your security but for the peace of the world community.

We are taking crucial steps to advance our economic relationship.

First, before the end of the year, President Carter will submit for the approval of the U.S. Congress the trade agreement we reached with you. This agreement will extend most-favored-nation treatment to China. And its submission is not linked to any other issue.

Second, I will be signing an agreement on development of hydroelectric energy in the People's Republic of China. U.S. Government agencies are now ready to help develop China's hydroelectric power on a compensatory basis.

Third, the United States is prepared to establish Export-Import Bank credit arrangements for the P.R.C. on a case-by-case basis up to a total of \$2 billion over a 5-year period. If the pace of development warrants it, we are prepared to consider additional credit arrangements. We have begun discussions toward this end.

Fourth, the Carter Administration this year will seek congressional authority to encourage American businesses to invest in China—by providing the guarantees and insurance of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

We also stand ready to work with the Chinese Government to reach textile, maritime, and civil aviation agreements in the shortest possible time.

Culture and Education

As we advance our cultural relationship, universities will again be a crucial meeting ground between Chinese and Americans, just as they were in an earlier era.

Today gifted Chinese scholars study in America, and American scholars—many of whom I am delighted to see here today—study in China. That exchange inherits a distinguished tradition. On campuses all across the United States, Americans who lectured and studied in China in the 1930's and 1940's today are invigorating our own intellectual life—none of them with greater distinction than Professor John K. Fairbank, who honors us by joining my traveling party. At the same time, we are proud that Chinese scholars who study American agronomy, engineering, and medicine have been able to contribute the skills they gained in our country to the progress of Chinese society.

It is a mutual relationship—a true reciprocity—we are now engaged in building. From us, you will learn aspects of science and technology. Our anthropologists and archaeologists have tools to share with you as you explore your own past. American and Chinese social scientists and humanists have insights to offer each other—a fuller understanding of our respective institutions and values.

And so with your help, we intend to broaden our horizons. Chinese researchers pioneer in key areas, from medical burn therapy to earthquake prediction, and we want to learn these skills from you. Where the progress of science requires global cooperation—in astronomy, in oceanography, in meteorology—our common efforts can benefit the world. And our social scientists and humanists have hardly begun to share your understanding of history, of social change, and of human potential.

Strong bilateral relations serve our strategic interests. Through them, both of us can foster the world community we seek—a world that respects diversity and welcomes constructive change.

A Just World Order

Today there are 162 nations in the world, most of them poor. Eighty percent of the world's population live in developing countries. Every day, people in these nations are lifting their heads to demand independence and justice. Every day efforts by rulers to oppress their people are meeting increasing resistance. Governments are coming to understand not only the necessity but also the fundamental wisdom and decency of protecting the rights of their people through law.

When political power is more equitably shared within nations, when that power shifts from the few to the many among nations, when an era of colonialism gives way to a more just international order—these changes deserve worldwide support.

In the last few years, as the preeminent military and economic power in the world, the United States faced a fundamental choice. Were we to resist those winds of change, attaining our national security by defending the status quo? Were we to collude with a few other countries in an effort to dominate the world? Or were we to welcome change, to make the necessary adjustments and to help shape a more just world order?

Let there be no doubt about the choice my country had made. The United States believes that any effort by one country to dominate another is doomed to failure. Neither by relying exclusively on an increasing stock of arms nor by direct or indirect military intervention can any nation hope to attain lasting security. On the contrary, nations which embark on that course will find themselves increasingly isolated and vulnerable.

And nothing more vividly demonstrates our belief in those principles than the normalization of Sino-American relations. Normalization signals our understanding that American security in the

years ahead will be attained not by maintaining the status quo, not by colluding for purposes of domination but by fostering a world of independent nations with which we can build positive relations.

That is the world community we seek. It is a vision of diversity, of constructive ties, and above all, of peace. In a world that hopes to find new energy sources, peace is essential. In a world that aims to eliminate hunger and disparities in wealth, global equilibrium is vital. In a world that is working to eradicate communicable diseases and to safeguard our environment, international cooperation is crucial.

To secure that peace, to maintain that equilibrium, to promote that cooperation, the United States is totally committed.

A World of Diversity

During the visit to the United States by Vice Premier Deng and Madame Zhuo in January, President Carter said this:

We've not entered this new relationship for any short-term gains. We have a long-term commitment to a world community of diverse . . . and independent nations. We believe that a strong and a secure China will play a cooperative part in developing that type of world community. . . .

I would like to underscore that point. Anyone who seeks to understand America is invariably drawn back to the

idea of diversity. The United States is a nation of immigrants, all of whom contribute to our society their distinct talents and traditions.

The American people find their common heritage not in a single bloodline, not in thousands of years of shared national history but in their shared ideals. And we have a profound faith in the very diversity that shapes us. We value tolerance and pluralism and mutual respect.

We aim to honor those same principles in the conduct of our foreign policy in the decade of the 1980's. For Sino-American relations, that does not mean we will always agree. But in a world that respects diversity, countries as different as the United States and China can work side by side toward common goals. Together, we can enrich our two cultures, strengthen our two economies, build better lives for both our peoples, and together we can help stabilize the world community—fostering respect for diversity and standing firmly opposed to intolerance and domination.

Last month, China and the United States joined many other nations in Geneva to confront the agony of the Indochinese refugees. The enormity of their human tragedy defies the imagination. In a world that seeks to alleviate such suffering—suffering that transcends na-

tional boundaries—the way of conscience is the way of common cause.

Today the world watches us. In a sense, we are testing whether a developed nation and a developing nation—each with different traditions, each with different systems—can build a broad, enduring, constructive relationship. Certainly there will be serious barriers to overcome. But if we can work together, future generations will thank us. If we fail, not only will our children suffer, the entire world will feel the consequences.

Diversity and stability are not new themes in Sino-American relations. President Roosevelt once said this:

It is to the advantage—and not to the disadvantage—of other nations, when any nation becomes stable and prosperous; able to keep the peace within its own borders, and strong enough not to invite aggression from without. We heartily hope for the progress of China. And so far as by peaceable and legitimate means we are able, we will do our part toward furthering that progress.

It was a bright vision three generations ago, and subsequent events only postponed the fulfillment of its promise. As we look to the future, let us resolve to rekindle the light of its insight.

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
BEIJING UNIVERSITY
August 28, 1979

[APPROPRIATE GREETING]

I bring you the warm greetings and the friendship of the President of the United States and the American people.

For an American of my generation, to visit the People's Republic of China is to touch the pulse of modern political history. For nearly three decades our nations stood separate and apart. But the ancient hunger for community unites humanity. It urges us to find common ground.

As one of your poets wrote over a thousand years ago, "We widen our view three hundred miles by ascending one flight of stairs." Together, we are widening our viewpoints. Together, we are ascending that flight of stairs.

Each day we take another significant step. This afternoon, for the first time an American political figure has the opportunity to speak directly to the citizens of the People's Republic of China.

PRAISE OF BEI-DA

I am especially honored to speak to you from this spot -- because the history of modern China is crystallized in the story of Beijing University and the other distinguished institutions you represent. At virtually every turning point in 20th century China, Bei-Da [Bay-DAH] has been the fulcrum.

Sixty years ago, it was at Bei-Da that the May 4th Movement began, launching an era of unprecedented intellectual ferment. It inaugurated an effort to modernize Chinese culture and society. It established a new meeting-ground for Eastern and Western cultures. And its framework of mutual respect sustains our own cultural cooperation today.

Forty-four years ago, Bei-Da was where the December 9th Movement galvanized a student generation to resist external aggression. And its message of sovereignty and world stability underpins our own political cooperation today.

As China looks to the future, once again it is Bei-Da and your other research centers which are leading the drive toward "the four modernizations." And the fit between your development goals and our own interests will provide the basis for our continuing economic cooperation.

WE SEEK MORE THAN FRIENDSHIP

Today, we find our two nations at a pivotal moment. We

have normalized our relations. The curtain has parted; the mystery is being dispelled. We are eager to know more about one another, to share the texture of our daily lives, to forge the human bonds of friendship.

That is a rich beginning. But it is only a beginning.

A modern China taking its place in the family of nations is engaged in a search not only for friendship, but also for security and development. A responsible America deepening its relations with China does so not only out of genuine sentiment, and not only out of natural curiosity. It does so in the same spirit of principles and self-interest that is the engine of mature relations among all modern states.

Our job today is to establish the basis for an enduring relationship tomorrow. We could not have set that task without our friendship. But we cannot accomplish it with our friendship alone.

THE CENTRAL MESSAGE

On behalf of President Carter, this is the message I carry to the people of China -- a message about America, its purposes in the world, and its hopes for our relations with you.

The Americans are an historically confident people rooted in values. We cherish our fundamental beliefs in human rights, and compassion, and social justice. We believe that our democratic system institutionalizes those values. The opportunities available to our citizens are incomparable. Our debates are vigorous and open. And the differences we air among ourselves -- whether on strategic nuclear policy or on energy -- are signs of our society's enduring strength.

My country is blessed with unsurpassed natural resources. Moreover, we also have the human resources -- the farmers and the scientists and the engineers and the industrialists and the financiers -- to transform those assets into abundance. ✓

In the world community, we seek stability and peace. To secure those ends, we are determined to maintain adequate military strength. Together with our Japanese and Western allies, we will ensure that our defense expenditures are equal to the task -- as we have for forty years. ✓

But we are more than a firm and reliable partner in world affairs. We also believe in a world of diversity.

For Sino-American relations, that means that we respect the distinctive qualities which the great Chinese people contribute to our relationship. And despite the sometimes profound differences between our two systems, we are committed to joining with you to advance our many parallel strategic and bilateral interests.

Thus any nation which seeks to weaken or isolate you in world affairs assumes a burden counter to American interests. That is why the United States normalized relations with you, and that is why we must work to broaden and strengthen those relations.

We must press forward now to widen and give specificity to our relations. The fundamental challenges we face are to build concrete political ties in the context of mutual security. . . to establish broad cultural relations in a framework of genuine equality. . . and to forge practical economic bonds with the goal of common benefit.

As we give substance to our shared interests, we are investing in the future of our relationship. The more effectively we advance our agenda, the more bonds we build between us -- the more confident we can be that our relationship will endure.

And so what we accomplish today lays the groundwork for the decade ahead. The 1980s can find us working together -- and working with other nations -- to solve world problems. Enriching the global economy, maintaining stability, containing international conflicts: these goals must also be pursued from the perspective of our bilateral relationship. The deeper that relationship, the more successful that world-wide pursuit will be.

That is the agenda I have journeyed halfway round the world to pursue. ✓

OUR RECORD THUS FAR

In the eight months since last January we have witnessed the rapid expansion of Sino-American relations.

We have reached a settlement on claims/assets and signed the Trade Agreement. Trade between our countries is expanding. American oil companies are helping you explore your off-shore oil reserves. Joint Commissions on Sino-American Economic Relations and on Scientific and Technical Exchange have been established. We have exchanged numerous governmental delegations, including the visits of many heads of our respective ministries and departments. And the flow of people between our two countries is reaching new heights.

We have gained a cooperative momentum. Together let us sustain and strengthen it.

For a strong and secure and modernizing China is also in the American interest in the decade ahead.

- In agriculture, your continued development not only provides a better life for the Chinese people. It also serves our interests -- for your gains in agriculture decrease your dependence on limited world food supplies.

- In trade, our interests are served by your expanding exports of natural resources and other products. And at the same time your interests are served by the purchases you can finance through those exports.

- As you industrialize, you provide a higher standard of living for your people. And at the same time our interests are served -- for narrowing the wealth gap between the developed and the developing world will alleviate a major source of global instability.

• Above all, both our political interests are served by your ability to deter others who might seek to impose themselves on you.

Efforts in the 1920s and 30s to keep China weak and disunified destabilized the entire world. For many years, China was a flash point of Great Power competition. But a confident China contributes to the maintenance of peace in the region. Today, the unprecedented and friendly relations among China, Japan, and the United States bring crucial stability to Northeast Asia.

That is why deepening our economic, cultural, and political relations is so important -- not only for your security, but for the stability of the world community.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

To advance our economic relationship, first, before the end of the year, President Carter will submit for the approval of the U. S. Congress the Trade Agreement we reached with you. Submission of this Agreement is not linked to any other issue.

Second, I will be signing an agreement on development of hydroelectric energy in the People's Republic of China. U. S. Government agencies are now ready to help develop China's hydroelectric power on a compensatory basis.

Third, in conjunction with settlement of our public claims, and pending Congressional approval, the U. S. will be prepared to extend Export-Import Bank loans to the PRC on a case-by-case basis, up to a total of \$2 billion over a five-year period.

Fourth, the Carter Administration will submit legislation to the Congress to entitle American businessmen to avail themselves of OPIC guarantees.

We hope that the Chinese side would also exert its maximum efforts so that we can reach textile, maritime, and civil aviation agreements in the shortest possible time.

CULTURAL COOPERATION

As we advance our cultural relationship, universities will again be a crucial meeting-ground between Chinese and Americans, just as they were in an earlier era.

Today, gifted Chinese scholars study in America, and American scholars -- many of whom I am delighted to see here today -- study in China. That exchange inherits a distinguished tradition. On campuses all across the United States, Americans who lectured and studied in China in the 1930s and 40s today are invigorating our own intellectual life. At the same time, we are proud that Chinese scholars who studied American agronomy, engineering, and medicine have been able to contribute the talent they gained in our country to the progress of Chinese society.

It is a mutual relationship -- a true reciprocity -- we are now engaged in building. From us, you will learn our science and technology. Our anthropologists and archaeologists have tools to share with you as you explore your own past. Our social scientists and humanists have insights to offer -- a keen understanding of our institutions and values.

And with your help, we intend to broaden our own horizons. Chinese research pioneers in key areas, from medical burn therapy, to earthquake prediction -- and we want to learn these skills from you. Where the progress of science requires global cooperation -- in astronomy, in oceanography, in meteorology -- our common efforts can benefit the world. And our social scientists and humanists have hardly begun to share your understanding of history, of social change, and of human potential.

POLITICAL COOPERATION IN A CHANGING WORLD

Strong bilateral relations mean that both of us can foster the world community we seek -- a world that respects diversity and welcomes constructive change.

Today, there are 162 nations in the world, most of them poor. Eighty percent of the world's population live in developing countries. Every day, people in these nations are lifting their heads to demand independence and justice. Every day, efforts by rulers to oppress their people are meeting increasing resistance. Governments are coming to understand not only the necessity, but also the fundamental wisdom and decency of protecting the rights of their people through law.

When political power is more equitably shared within nations; when that power shifts from the few to the many among nations; when an era of colonialism gives way to a more just international order -- these changes deserve world-wide support.

Only a few years ago, as the preeminent military and economic power in the world, the United States faced a fundamental choice. Were we to resist those winds of change, attaining our national security by defending the status quo? Were we to collude with a few other countries in an effort to dominate the world? Or were we to welcome change, to make the necessary adjustments, and to help shape a more just world order?

Let there be no doubt about the choice my country has made. The United States believes that any effort by one country to dominate another is doomed to failure. Neither by relying exclusively on an increasing stock of arms, nor by direct or indirect military intervention, can any nation hope to attain lasting security. On the contrary, nations which embark on that course will find themselves increasingly isolated and vulnerable.

And nothing more vividly demonstrates our belief in those principles than the normalization of Sino-American relations. Normalization signals our understanding that American security in the years ahead will be attained not by maintaining the status quo; not by colluding for purposes of domination; but by fostering a world of diverse and independent nations with whom we can build positive relations.

Thus we share with you another interest -- a peaceful world in which we can address our domestic challenges. The basic issues that face our two countries -- energy, food, health, resource management -- face all humanity. They cannot be solved in isolation. What one nation does -- or fails to do -- affects us all.

In a world that hopes to find new energy sources in off-shore petroleum deposits, peace is essential. In a world that aims to eliminate hunger and disparities in wealth, global equilibrium is vital. In a world that is working to eradicate communicable diseases and to safeguard our environment, international cooperation is crucial.

Last month, China and the United States joined other U.N. nations in Geneva to confront the agony of the Indochinese refugees. The enormity of their human tragedy defies the imagination. In a world that seeks to alleviate such suffering -- suffering that transcends national boundaries -- the way of conscience is the way of common cause.

To secure that peace, to maintain that equilibrium, to promote that cooperation, to make that common cause -- the United States is totally committed.

missing the point



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