

element of good will to deal with defeated enemies on the basis of equality and the consciousness of the need to rebuild an international order.

"But the achievements of the forties and fifties brought with them a new world, in which other countries had to play an increasingly important role, and the shattering impact of Vietnam and of Watergate taught Americans that there were limits to what could be achieved, even with our resources, and that America, too, was not immune from the domestic turmoil that had afflicted other nations.

"We are now in a period in which we must found our foreign policy on a more mature conception -- one that oscillates less wildly between excessive idealism and excessive pragmatism; one that can be sustained by our public over an indefinite period of time. In this effort, we face the challenge that we must deal on many fronts and in highly ambiguous situations.

"We must improve relations with old adversaries, not because the ideologies have become less clashing, and not because the dangers have disappeared, but because in the nuclear age every leader has a pre-eminent responsibility to do his utmost to prevent the danger of nuclear war, and if he cannot prevent confrontations, to have demonstrated to his public beyond any question that he has used every means to avoid a catastrophe. So we must be strong enough to pursue a policy of relaxation of tensions without illusion, and not to believe that good will alone can produce relaxation, but also not to fall into the danger of mock heroic rhetoric.

"We must adjust our alliances to new conditions of equality and partnership, and to change old habits of preeminence to the new requirements of a global international system. We must change alliances based on defense against a common danger to the new challenges of our period in the relations between North and South and the necessities of interdependence.

"We must deal with the problem of the relationship between the developed and the developing countries, without sentimentality but also without arrogance. We do not favor the creation of a new bloc distinguished only by calling itself 'non-aligned', but we also believe that the developed countries have an obligation to help the developing countries to find a place in the community of nations in a manner in which they believe that their just aspirations are being met, and that truly co-operative efforts can succeed.

"I go into all this detail because it makes perhaps more meaningful the conventional pleasantries that one would otherwise say about the relationship between Canada and the United States. We used to speak of a 'special relationship', and I agree that that no longer exists, if it ever did. On the other hand, we have a very close and very intimate