I speak of peace because of the new face of war. Total war makes life on earth worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to realize their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own way of life. Our task is to move forward on these steadily, learning as we go, keeping the faith that the tragic lessons of the last half century, as well as the hopeful lessons of our common achievements since 1945, have been well learned.

We cannot shape the world precisely to our liking—any more than Russia can, and, hopefully, we have no desire to do so. If we are true to our leadership role, we should work not for discrimination but for the expansion of freedom of others. "This goal and the Communist goal are incompatible: We shall move into the future not only with resolution but with measured confidence." This is what we have chosen to do.

The statement was made in the State of the Union message, Jan. 11, 1962; see "Americal Foreign Policy, 1950-1955: Basic Documents, vol. I, pp. 120-121.

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In our time but peace for all time. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace which makes it possible to love the next man as a brother—yet it is the most important topic on earth: world peace.

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Among the many traits the peoples of our two countries have in acts of courage. There is no single; simple key to peace, no grand or magic formula to be adopted by one or two powers. Genuine peace must be the product of many nations, the sum of many acts. It must be dynamic, not static, Doc

In peace and good will of which some fantasies and fanatics dream. I do not deny the values of hopes and dreams, but we merely invite discouragement and incredulity by making that our only and immediate Pal

No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable, and we believe that they can continue to do so. And man must be as big as he wants.

We need not accept that view. Our problems are manmade; there cannot control, if mankind is doomed, that we are Opped by forces we cannot comprehend. It is a warning that we have not been successful in our efforts to achieve world domination... by means of... their propagandists write. It is discouraging to read a recent authoritative Soviet text on military strategy and find, on pane after page, wholly baseless and incredible claims—such as the statement that the United States is the strongest power in the world...

Wars between the United States and the Soviet Union... a warning... a warning to the American people not to fall into the same trap as the Soviets, not to see only a distorted and desperate view of the world... see conflict as inevitable, accommodation as impossible, and communication as nothing more than an exchange of threats. Let us focus instead on a more practical, more attainable peace.

First: Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that we must prepare for it, that there can be no advantage in seeking it, and that when war comes we must fight with all our might and for all our life. But we have a more urgent task. Our problem is not how to prepare for war but how to prepare the people for peace...
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1949

And for our part, we do not need to fear that our allies in the free world will ever break our unity or turn our backs on us. Even if our two countries were ever to break our unity or turn our backs on us, our two countries would become the primary targets. It is, therefore, in our interest to keep that kind of alliance in our number. We must continue to strengthen our common defense and promote peace in every way. I now invite you to examine our attitude toward the cold war, remembering that all are not engaged in a debate, seeking to pile up debating points. We are not here distributing blame or pointing the finger of judgment. We must deal with the world as it is and not as it might have been had the history of the last 18 years been different.

To secure those ends, America's weapons are nonprovocative, carefully controlled, designed to deter, and capable of selective use. Our military forces are committed to peace and disciplined in self-restraint. Our diplomats are instructed to avoid unnecessary irritants and purely rhetorical hostility. For we can seek a relaxation of tensions without undermining our principles.

Our interests converge, however, not only in defending the frontiers of freedom but in pursuing the paths of peace. It is our hope—and the purpose of Allied policies—to convince the Soviet Union and its allies that the path to security lies in the peaceful and progressive development of the economies of all nations. New orders of world affairs cannot be created overnight by force, or even diplomacy; they must be the result of a long and patient effort to bring about changes in the thinking of other nations. It is the hope of the United Nations and all who seek to establish world peace that such changes will come about by the force of argument, the force of example, the force of economic necessity, and the force of moral persuasion. This will require a new effort to achieve world law, a new context for world discussions. It will require increased understanding between the Soviets and ourselves. And increased understanding will lead to a better understanding of the United Nations, to a better use of its powers to help all nations and all peoples, not merely because they are our partners but also because their interests and ours converge.

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understandings, and misreadings of the other's actions which might occur at a time of crisis."

We have also been talking in Geneva about first-step measures of arms control, designed to limit the intensity of the arms race and to reduce the risks of accidental war. Outplace by stages, permitting parallel political developments to build the new institutions of peace which would take the

The pursuit of disarmament has been an effort of this government since the 1930's. It has been urgently needed to

The one major area of these negotiations where the end is in sight, yet where a fresh start is badly needed, is in a treaty to outlaw nuclear tests. The conclusion of such a treaty—so near...dim the prospects may be today, we intend to continue this effort—to continue it in order that all countries, including our own, can better grasp what the problems and possibilities of disarmament are.

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I am taking this opportunity, therefore, to announce two important decisions in this regard.

First: Chairman Khrushchev, Prime Minister Macmillan, and I have agreed that high-level discussions will shortly begin in Moscow looking toward early agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty. Our hopes must be tempered with the caution of history, but with our hopes go the hopes of all mankind.

Second: To make clear our good faith and solemn convictions on the matter, I now declare that the United States does not propose to conduct nuclear tests in the atmosphere so long as...will help us achieve one. Nor would such a treaty be a substitute for disarmament, but I hope it will help us achieve it.

Finally, my fellow Americans, let us examine our attitude toward peace and freedom here at home. The quality, and spirit of our own society must justify and support our efforts abroad. We...

All this is not unrelated to world peace: "When a man's ways please the Lord," the Scriptures tell us, "he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him." And is not peace, in the last...of devastation, the right to breathe air as nature provided it, the right of future generations to a healthy existence?

While we proceed to safeguard our national interests, let us also safeguard human interests. And the elimination of war and arms is clearly in the interest of both...of its signers, offer far more security and far fewer risks than an unabated, uncontrolled, unpredictable arms race.

The United States, as the world knows, will never start a war. We do not want a war. We do not now expect a war. This generation of Americans has already had enough—more than enough—of war and hate and oppression. We shall be prepared if others wish it. We shall be alert to try to stop it. But we shall also do our part to build a world of peace where the weak are safe and the strong are just. We are not helpless before that task or hopeless of its success. Confident and unafraid, we labor on—toward a strategy of peace.