

The original documents are located in Box C50, folder “Presidential Handwriting, 10/18/1976” of the Presidential Handwriting File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Gerald Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

MR PRESIDENT:

Article for NATIONAL JOURNAL
"A Foreign Policy for Peace and Security"

The attached article which is to be published in the NATIONAL JOURNAL has been cleared by General Scowcroft and Dave Gergen.

Your signature is required today in order to meet the deadline for publication.

Jim Connor

*article returned to
Joy Manson
8:50AM
10/19/76*

A FOREIGN POLICY FOR PEACE AND SECURITY:ARTICLE FOR NATIONAL JOURNAL

One of the biggest surprises in a campaign that has been filled with twists and turns was my opponent's assertion during the second debate that America is "not strong anymore" and "not respected anymore."

This deserves a serious and direct answer.

It is true that two years ago the Nation was embroiled in a constitutional crisis and our friends abroad wondered whether we could sustain our essential role of world leadership. But any responsible observer would today recognize that America has regained faith in herself and has resumed her role as leader of the free world.

One has only to recite the testimony of world statesmen to prove the point. Leaders such as President Giscard d'Estaing of France, Chancellor Schmidt of the Federal Republic of Germany, Secretary-General Luns of NATO have all recently made statements to the effect that the prestige of the United States was never higher and that her relationship with European allies has never been closer than it is today. At the NATO Summit of 1975 and the Economic Summits of Rambouillet and Puerto Rico, it was obvious that our cooperation is close and constant not only in defense but also in the new issues of economic policy, energy, and relations with the East and the developing world.

For reasons of his own choosing, Mr. Carter acts as if he is oblivious to what has been happening in our alliances in the last two years.

But we don't need to be told by him or even by foreign leaders of the new spirit and resurgence of America. We saw it here on the Fourth of July, when millions of Americans of all ages and races spontaneously showed their faith and pride in the American ideal as the global guardian of democratic hopes and dreams. The world saw in such an outpouring of faith a nation strong in spirit and united in peace. The whole world took heart.

The wounds of war and Watergate have now been healed. The economy has been revived. Inflation has been slowed. Indeed, America today has one of the lowest rates of inflation in the industrialized world. This economic resilience has enabled

us to reaffirm our leadership in world trade and in the monetary affairs of the West.

But it is more than just an economic resurgence; America is reasserting her diplomatic and moral leadership as well. I see today a confident America, secure in its military strength as well as spiritual values and determined to maintain both. I see a conciliatory America, extending its hand in closer-than-ever cooperation with allies and in pragmatic negotiation with adversaries. And I see a compassionate America, its heart reaching out to orphans, to refugees and to our fellow human beings afflicted by war, injustice and tyranny.

This vision of America using its strength for peace is not just an expression of ideals. It describes the record of our foreign policy successes and achievements. Let me set forth my vision of America's responsibility in world affairs.

First, I am a champion of a strong defense. My whole public career has been one of consistent advocacy of American defense strength and readiness to deter aggression and maintain the peace. The American people and Congress are more conscious than ever before of the danger of neglecting our defenses while our adversaries build up theirs. Therefore, I am proud that in my Administration we have reversed the downward trend in our defense budgets. I have and will continue to fight those who out of ignorance or expediency claim we can slash \$15, \$10 or \$7 billion from our defense budget without jeopardizing our security and upsetting the balance of power and world peace. The proposals for deep cuts in the defense budget are not directed at "waste" and "fat" but at our new strategic bomber program and our troop strength and bases overseas--which are part of the meat of our defensive strength. Those who play election year politics by making pledges to abolish or delay crucial strategic programs would only increase the costs in the long run and irreparably impair our defense posture for the 1980's. Weakness is an invitation to aggression.

Secondly, as President I will continue to build on the close partnerships we have with our allies, the great industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan. Our principal alliances have never been more solid.

Because peace can be preserved only by a united front of the democratic nations, I must challenge those who would begin a

pullout of our troops in Europe and South Korea. These threats of neo-isolationism can only alarm our allies. The recent incident in the Korean DMZ shows that threats of American withdrawal would only undermine the stability of the peninsula and any possibility of peaceful resolution of the Korean conflict. My opponent says he is loyal to our allies, but what will they think when he comes after them with his policies on troop withdrawals, attacks on the Concorde airliner, unilateral shifts in nuclear strategy, and statements that he wouldn't "close the doors" to Communist participation in government in Italy, France, and Portugal?

Thirdly, I would continue our policy of realistic negotiation with adversaries, holding back the specter of war and enhancing prospects for world peace. Today, recurring confrontations with the Communist bloc have given way to frequent high level consultation and serious negotiations with the Soviet Union to limit the strategic arms race. The five-year U.S.-Soviet grain agreement has put our economic relationship on a sound basis, beneficial to American farmers and American consumers.

Our position is also enhanced by our continuing new relationship with the People's Republic of China. On my visit to China last December, I had an excellent exchange of views on many bilateral and international issues, maintaining the momentum towards normalization of our relationship in accordance with the Shanghai Communique.

And if the hand of negotiation is extended to adversaries in easing tensions, so the hand of deliverance must be offered to refugees and a beacon of hope held out for the persecuted. In offering homes to refugees from many different parts of the world, Americans carry on our tradition as the haven for the oppressed. We also, as the first liberated colonies, continue to offer aid and encouragement to the new and developing nations. Almost all of the proposals on the agenda of the dialogue between the developed and developing nations are American initiatives.

In Africa, we have long expressed our support for an end to colonialism and the peaceful evolution of the African nations to independence. At my direction, Secretary of State Kissinger undertook a mission to southern Africa. Action by the Congress in cutting off aid to two anti-Communist liberation movements in Angola accelerated the dangerous trends of radicalization

and warfare in southern Africa. Our efforts are heading off racial warfare and returning the conflicts to the conference table. We have achieved a breakthrough for the cause of racial justice and racial peace. We will continue.

America's efforts for peace have been evident far beyond Africa. In the Middle East, because of the milestone Sinai Agreement we helped bring about last year, the groundwork has been laid for new steps for a just and comprehensive settlement. Because we have the trust of both sides, America is in a unique and crucial position to help the parties fashion a just and lasting peace.

I am proud of what we have achieved in securing the peace. I am proud that for the first time in over a decade no American is engaged in battle anywhere in the world.


With allied solidarity, our defense strength, and our commitment to peace, we have the power to shape the future. We can be confident as we face the tasks of world leadership in the last quarter of this century. What the world expects from us are courage, reliability, and vision. I believe we are prepared to offer these qualities in good measure.

Gerald R. Ford

64P
10/18

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CONNOR
FROM: FRED SLIGHT 
SUBJECT: Presidential Signature on
National Journal Article

The attached article which is to be published in the National Journal has been cleared by General Scrowcroft and Dave Gergen.

Will you please arrange to have the President's signature at the end of the article.

The deadline was Friday, but was extended to c.o.b. today.

Thank you.

Attachment