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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

PORTLAND WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

PORTLAND, OREGON

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF OREGON

THANK YOU VERY MUCH, EDITH.

MRS. STOEL

(Edith Green introduces you.)

(President, World Affairs Council)

PRESIDENT HOWARD MR. PAMPLIN LISA MORRISON

(Lewis and Clark College) CHAIRMAN-BD. OF TRUSTEES, L+C.C. (President, Student Body)

MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

NOT SURPRISINGLY, I'D LIKE TO TAKE THIS

NCH-PARTISAN OCCASION TO TALK SERIOUSLY ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY NOT THE TRUMAN OR EISENHOWER OR FORD POLICY NOR THE ACHESON OR DULLES OR KISSINGER POLICY --BUT THE OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY OF THESE UNITED STATES OF

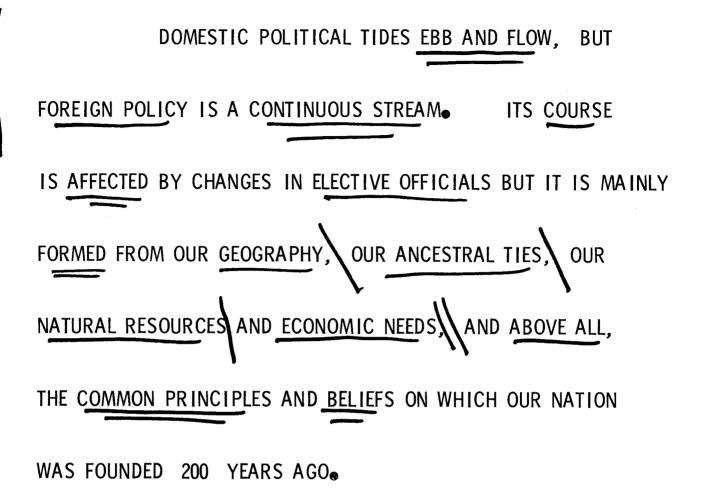
AMERICA

THAT IS ONE OF THE THINGS WE WROTE THE

CONSTITUTION TO BETTER MANAGE, AND I AM ENTRUSTED FOR This INE TIME BEING WITH THE CONDUCT OF OUR RELATIONS WITH

OTHER COUNTRIES.

WE CANNOT HAVE 535 ELECTED OFFICIALS, AND AS MANY MORE CANDIDATES, MAKING THE CRITICAL FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS THAT ARISE DAILY AND SOMETIMES HOURLY, THOUGH THERE IS NO LAW AGAINST ANYBODY CRITICIZING THEM, AS I HAVE DISCOVERED ALONG WITH MY PREDECESSORS.



HARD-NOSED YANKEE TRADERS AND PERSUASIVE

SOUTHERN PLANTERS WE WERE THEN, BUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY WAS NEVER THE CYNICAL, COLD-BLOODED CALCULATION OF OUR RIVALS, PAST OR PRESENT. AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS LOOKED OUTWARD, AS AT HOME, WITH A GENEROUS MEASURE OF IDEALISM.

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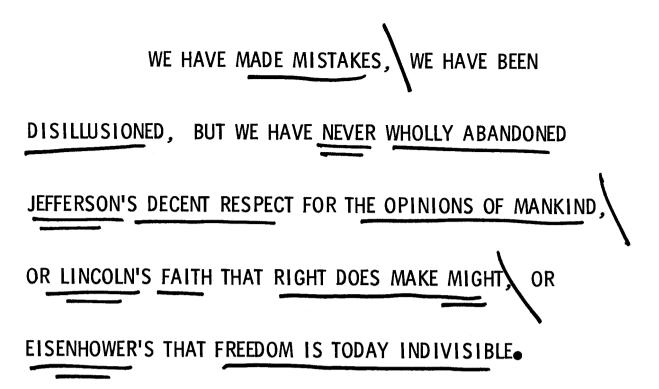
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN SHAPED NOT ONLY BY THE REALITIES OF AN IMPERFECT WORLD ORDER, AND BY EVENTS WE CANNOT CONTROL, BUT ALSO BY CERTAIN TRUTHS WE BELIEVE - UNALIENABLE RIGHTS SUCH AS FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE DUTY OF THE STRONG TOWARDS THE WEAK AND THE PROSPEROUS TOWARDS THE POOR. AS WE HAVE MATURED AND GROWN MORE MIGHTY,

WE HAVE LEARNED SOME HARD LESSONS IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

THAT WE CANNOT FORCE FREEDOM ON THE UNWILLING.

THAT WE CANNOT POLICE EVERY DISTANT CORNER

OR FILL EVERY EMPTY BOWL.



THUS OUR FOREIGN POLICY TODAY IS A MIXTURE OF THE <u>PRINCIPLES</u> THAT UNITE US AND <u>MAKE US</u> THE HOPE OF <u>FREEDOM FOR OTHERS</u>, AND THE <u>PRACTICAL COUNSEL</u> OF GEORGE WASHINGTON THAT THE BEST WAY TO <u>PRESERVE PEACE</u> IS TO BE <u>PREPARED FOR WAR</u>. <u>PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH IS NEITHER</u> A <u>NEW POLICY NOR A BAD ONE</u>.

INSTEAD OF TAKING YOU <u>AROUND THE WORLD TONIGHT</u> AND TELLING YOU <u>HOW MANY COUNTRIES I'VE SEEN AND STATESMEN</u> <u>I'VE MET,</u> OR HOW MANY HOURS <u>I'VE SPENT WITH THE NATIONAL</u> SECURITY COUNCIL BEFORE MAKING THE TOUGH DECISIONS OF THE PAST 22 MONTHS, LET <u>ME TELL YOU HOW I ARRIVED AT</u> THE CONVICTIONS I HAVE ABOUT AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD.

I GRADUATED FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN IN 1934, TORN BETWEEN MY LIFELONG DREAM OF BEING A LAWYER AND MAKING SOME MONEY PLAYING PRO FOOTBALL.

I DIDN'T THINK MUCH ABOUT FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR GOVERNMENT

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MY FIRST LOOK AT THE PACIFIC OCEAN WAS WHEN

I WENT TO SAN FRANCISCO TO PLAY <u>SAMENHIES</u> IN THE EAST *fortlakk* WEST SHRINE NEW YEAR'S GAME. A FEW MONTHS LATER I GOT MY FIRST LOOK AT THE ATLANTIC. DUCKY POND OFFERED ME A JOB AS ASSISTANT COACH AT YALE AND I HOPED TO STUDY LAW

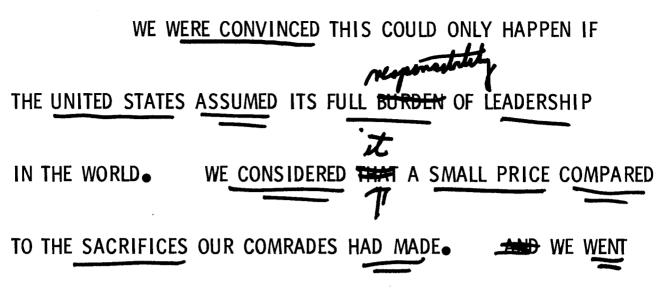
AT THE SAME TIME.

BUT YALE LAW SCHOOL HAD AN IRONCLAD RULE AGAINST STUDENTS HOLDING FULLTIME JOBS, AND IT TOOK ME TWO YEARS BEFORE THEY RELENTED AND LET ME IN. I TOOK ONE SUMMER OFF IN 1940 TO CAMPAIGN FOR WENDELL WILKIE, MY FIRST INVOLVEMENT IN OUR POLITICAL PROCESS. BETWEEN THE LAW LIBRARY AND LOCKER ROOM,

WE KNEW THAT THE WAR CLOUDS OVER EUROPE AND ASIA WERE DARKENING OUR OWN SKIES, AND THAT WILLKIE WAS RIGHT IN SAYING AMERICA WAS PART OF ONE WORLD. WE FELT IN OUR HEARTS THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD STAND WITH THE FORCES OF FREEDOM AND DECENCY AGAINST HITLER'S OUTRAGES, BUT WE HAD GROWN UP IN THE WAKE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR, AND MAYBE THIS TIME AMERICA OUGHT TO MIND ITS OWN BUSINESS. I HAD JUST HUNG UP MY YALE DIPLOMA IN GRAND RAPIDS WHEN PEARL HARBOR WAS ATTACKED, AND SOON I WAS BACK TO THE PACIFIC AGAIN. FOR ME AND MILLIONS OF OTHERS, THAT WAS A TURNING POINT. WE RETURNED FROM WORLD WAR II DETERMINED

TO BUILD A PEACE THAT WOULD LAST FOR OUR CHILDREN AND THEIR

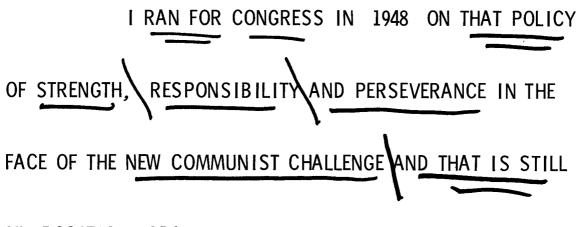
CHILD REN.



HOME TO CONVINCE OUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

WE KNEW THEN AS WE KNOW TODAY THAT ONLY

THROUGH THE STRENGTH AND STAYING POWER AND FIRM PURPOSE OF AMERICA COULD PEACE BE MAINTAINED AND FREEDOM SECURED.



MY POSITION TODAY.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY MUST NEVER BE MADE BY AN ELITE ESTABLISHMENT, NOR BENT TO THE FEARS OF A FRUSTRATED FEW. IT MUST REFLECT THE REAL PURPOSES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHEN THEY FOLLOW THEIR FINEST

INSTINCTS.

THERE ARE ISSUES OF TREMENDOUS COMPLEXITY

AND EQUALLY GREAT OPPORTUNITY ON OUR INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

.

FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. I CANNOT COVER ALL OF THEM

BUT WE'LL DISCUSS A FEW.

LET'S TALK FIRST ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WITH WHICH WE ARE NEGOTIATING IN A NUMBER OF AREAS TO IMPROVE STABILITY BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AND FURTHER REDUCE THE DANGER OF A RUNAWAY NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND THE RISK OF THERMONUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. TAKE SALT II, THE TALKS ON LIMITING STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BOTH SIDES HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH OF THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS TO DETER ANY ATTACK BY THE OTHER SIDE. BUT IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY AGREEMENT, THE REQUIREMENT TO AVOID STRATEGIC INFERIORITY HAS IMPELLED BOTH SIDES TO KEEP ON BUILDING MORE SYSTEMS AT A TREMENDOUS COST.

WHAT ARE WE TRYING TO AGREE ON? A MAXIMUM

FIGURE FOR STRATEGIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS AND BOMBERS THAT

EITHER SIDE CAN HAVE READY FOR USE AT A GIVEN TIME.

AT VLADIVOSTOK FOR THE FIRST TIME I GOT

GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV TO AGREE TO EQUAL NUMBERS FOR US AND FOR THEM. FOR YEARS PREVIOUSLY THE SOVIETS HAD INSISTED THAT THEIR SITUATION REQUIRED THAT THEY HAVE MORE THAN WE. THE STRATEGIC WEAPONS OF OUR NATO ALLIES WOULDN'T BE COUNTED AGAINST OUR TOTAL. WHAT'S MORE, THE NUMBERS WE AGREED ON REQUIRE THEM TO DESTROY SOME EXISTING STRATEGIC SYSTEMS AND ALLOW US TO FINISH OUR PRESENT PROGRAM. IF THEY WANT TO BUILD NEW ONES THEY MUST SCRAP THE SAME NUMBER OF OLD ONES. THAT WAS A GOOD DEAL FOR THE UNITED STATES AND I'M PROUD OF IT.

SO WHAT ARE WE HUNG UP ON NOW?

THE FUNDAMENTAL REMAINING ISSUE IS HOW TO DEAL WITH CERTAIN NEW SYSTEMS WHICH ARE CAPABLE OF EITHER STRATEGIC OR TACTICAL USE. WE ARE WORKING HARD RIGHT NOW TO RESOLVE THE

PROBLEM IN A WAY WHICH PRESERVES THE INTERESTS OF BOTH

SIDES.

IF WE SUCCEED I WILL PROMPTLY SEND THE NEGOTIATED TREATY TO THE SENATE FOR FULL PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND DEBATE. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AGREEMENT WHICH WAS CONCLUDED EARLIER THIS MONTH AFTER EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF HI<u>GHLY TECHNICAL NEGOTIATIONS</u>. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THEY EXPLODED AN ATOMIC DEVICE, THE SOVIETS HAVE AGREED TO ALLOW AMERICANS ON THEIR TERRITORY TO INSPECT LARGE-SCALE PEACEFUL EXPLOSIONS AND MAKE SURE THEY ARE NOT SECRET WEAPONS TESTS. THIS IS AN HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH FOR MORE CERTAIN

VERIFICATION PROCEDURES TO ENSURE THAT NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS ARE BEING LIVED UP TO. IT IS A GOOD DEAL FOR THE UNITED STATES AND I AM PROUD OF IT. I INTEND TO SIGN IT IN

A SIMULTANEOUS CEREMONY IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

FINALLY WE ARE CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE

THE NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES THAT FACE EACH OTHER ALL ACROSS CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS IS THE ONLY PLACE WHERE AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN GROUND FORCES ARE POSITIONED LITERALLY EYEBALL TO EYEBALL, AND THUS INVOLVES A DANGER OF TRIGGERING A DIRECT CONFRONTATION. THE ISSUES ARE COMPLEX IN THESE MUTUAL AND BALANCED REDUCTION OF FORCES TALKS WHICH INVOLVE OUR ALLIES IN NATO AND THE MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT. PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW, BUT WE INTEND TO CONTINUE THEM BECAUSE AGREEMENT WOULD ENHANCE MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE AT LOWER FORCE LEVELS. THAT WOULD PERMIT US TO BRING SOME OF OUR TROOPS HOME FROM EUROPE AS WELL AS REDUCE THE LEVEL OF ALLIED FORCES

ON BOTH SIDES.

ANY AGREEMENTS WE REACH IN THE AREAS I HAVE DISCUSSED WILL REQUIRE SENATE DEBATE AND RATIFICATION. ANY SUGGESTION THAT WE ARE DOING SOMETHING IN SECRET OR NOT TAKING A TOUGH LINE IS SO MUCH NONSENSE. WE ARE AS TOUGH AS ANYONE CAN BE WITHOUT JUNKING THE POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT. WHENEVER I CAN GET A GOOD AGREEMENT FOR A SAFER WORLD YOU CAN BE SURE I WON'T PASS IT UP FOR ANY POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OR DISADVANTAGE. TURNING FROM DIRECT ARMS NEGOTIATIONS WITH

THE SOVIETS, LET'S LOOK AT THE MIDDLE EAST.

THERE WE ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE SINAI AGREEMENT IN WHICH THE LEADERS OF BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL TRUSTED THE UNITED STATES SUFFICIENTLY TO TAKE AN HISTORIC FIRST STEP TOWARDS A PEACE SETTLEMENT AFTER DECADES OF DISTRUST AND FOUR COSTLY WARS. WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR FRIENDSHIP AND FAIRNESS

TOWARD THE MODERATE ARAB STATES AND AT THE SAME TIME

STRONGLY REAFFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY AND

SURVIVAL OF ISRAEL. ONLY THE UNITED STATES CAN EXERCISE

SUCH INFLUENCE FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THIS REGION,

AND I AM PROUD OF OUR PROGRESS THERE.

FINALLY, THERE IS AFRICA. IT CONTAINS A WEALTH OF RESOURCES AND MANY NEWLY INDEPENDENT NATIONS. IT COMMANDS THE SEA LANES OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND THE INDIAN OCEAN \int_{-}^{-} AND THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN ALL THESE THINGS.

-38-

WHEN WE TRIED BY A RELATIVELY SMALL AMOUNT OF MILITARY AID, WITHOUT INVOLVING A SINGLE AMERICAN SOLDIER, TO HELP THE TWO AUTHENTIC ELEMENTS IN ANGOLA AGAINST THE SOVIET-SPONSORED FACTION, CONGRESS SAID "NO" --YOU CAN'T SPEND A PENNY TO SAVE ANGOLA. THAT WAS LAST

DECEMBER•

OUR OWN POLITICAL PARALYSIS, THE MILITARY SUCCESS OF CUBAN MERCENARIES IN ANGOLA, AND INCREASED SOVIET INVOLVEMENT ACCELERATED THE TREND TOWARD RADICALISM AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. SO I SENT SECRETARY KISSINGER ON ANOTHER MISSION, THIS TIME NOT TO RESTORE PEACE BUT TO TRY TO PREVENT RACE WAR FROM BREAKING OUT.

THE COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS HE PROPOSED FOR ECONOMIC AID WERE IMPORTANT, BUT MORE IMPORTANT WAS THE MESSAGE TO BLACK AFRICANS THAT AMERICA CARES, THAT WE OPPOSE DOMINATION OF THAT CONTINENT BY ANY OUTSIDE POWER AND THAT WE SUPPORT FOR THEIR NEW NATIONS THE SAME PRINCIPLES SELF-DETERMINATION WE PROCLAIMED FOR OUR OWN 200 YEARS AGO MAJORITY RULE AND FULL PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS.

IF ANYBODY CAUTIONED ME THAT TAKING PROMPT DIPLOMATIC COUNTERMEASURES TO CHECK SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND CUBAN ADVENTURISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD HAVE A POLITICAL SPINOFF HERE AT HOME, I DIDN'T LISTEN LONG. WE DID WHAT WAS RIGHT AND NECESSARY AND THERE WAS NO

TIME TO LOSE.

SO FAR IT HAS WORKED OUT WELL, AND SECRETARY KISSINGER DESERVES CREDIT INSTEAD OF CRITICISM, AND THAT'S HOW I'M SURE MOST AMERICANS FEEL ABOUT IT. I COULD LIST A LOT OF OTHER FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS

AND THE DAILY DECISIONS THEY BRING TO THE OVAL OFFICE.

BUT THE LONG AND SHORT OF IT IS, UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY IS A TOUGH JOB, ONE THAT GOES ON ALL THE TIME AND CAN'T BE PUT ON THE BACK BURNER EVERY TIME WE HAVE OUR FREE ELECTION DEBATES. IT ISN'T A JOB FOR BABES AND IT ISN'T A JOB FOR BULLIES.

WHEN I FIRST BECAME YOUR PRESIDENT 22 MONTHS AGO, I PLEDGED TO ALL NATIONS, FRIEND AND FOE ALIKE, AN UNINTERRUPTED AND SINCERE SEARCH FOR PEACE. I WILL NEITHER RETREAT NOR MARK TIME NOR SHORTEN MY STRIDE IN CONTINUING THAT SEARCH.

I PROMISED THAT AMERICA WOULD REMAIN STRONG AND UNITED, BUT THAT OUR STRENGTH WOULD REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE SAFETY AND SANITY OF THE ENTIRE FAMILY OF MAN,

AS WELL AS OUR OWN PRECIOUS FREEDOM.

THE MODERNIZED AND REINFORCED MILITARY FORCES AND WEAPONS SYSTEMS I HAVE PROPOSED IN MY TWO RECORD DEFENSE BUDGETS WILL REMAIN DEDICATED TO FREEDOM AND S ANITY AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT. I REMEMBER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAYING THAT ONLY THE BRAVE ARE STRONG, AND ONLY

THE STRONG ARE FREE.

AND I ALSO REMEMBER PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAYING WE MUST NEVER NEGOTIATE FROM FEAR, BUT WE MUST NEVER FEAR TO NEGOTIATE. WHEN THE UNITED STATES HAS SERIOUS DISAGREEMENTS

WITH OTHER SOVEREIGN NATIONS, WE HAVE REALLY ONLY TWO

CHOICES, TO FIGHT ABOUT IT OR TALK ABOUT IT.

THREATS ARE NOT ONLY RISKY BUT RATHER OLD-FASHIONED IN TODAY'S WORLD. I WILL NOT HESITATE TO USE FORCE WHEN IT IS CLEARLY REQUIRED TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIVES AND AMERICAN INTERESTS, BUT I WILL MAKE NO THREATS I CANNOT CARRY OUT IN FULL COMPREHENSION OF THE COST. EVERY PRESIDENT HAS THAT GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY TO THE PEOPLE

HE SERVES.

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I AM PROUD OF MY STEWARDSHIP OF THE FOREIGN

POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND I INTEND TO GO ON TRYING TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR AMERICA AND RIGHT FOR ALL MANKIND. WE ARE AT PEACE; NO AMERICANS ARE DYING ON ANY BATTLEFIELD TONIGHT; THERE ARE NO INTERNATIONAL WARS, THOUGH THERE ARE

MANY AREAS OF TENSION AND DANGER.

WE HAVE SUFFERED A FEW TRAGIC SETBACKS AND

DISAPPOINTMENTS IN THE COURSE WE HAVE TAKEN SINCE WORLD

WAR II, BUT WE HAVE NOT HAD WORLD WAR III.

ACROSS THE NORTH ATLANTIC.

WE HAVE MADE FRIENDS AND PARTNERS OF FORMER

FOES IN EUROPE AND ASIA.

WE ARE EXPANDING TRADE AND COOPERATION WITH

THE NATIONS WASHED BY THE PACIFIC.

WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR TRADITIONAL TIES WITH

FRANCE, CANADA, MEXICO, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

OVER THE PAST 30 YEARS, SINCE WE CAME HOME

FROM THE PACIFIC AND OTHER THEATERS OF WAR TO MAKE A BETTER

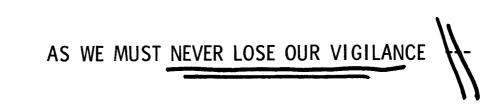
WORLD, WE HAVE NOT BLOWN UP CIVILIZATION AND WE HAVE

PRESERVED OUR FREEDOM.

THERE IS MORE CONTACT AMONG PEOPLES AND MORE COMMUNICATION AMONG GOVERNMENTS, A GREATER SHARING OF IDEAS, KNOWLEDGE AND CULTURAL RICHES THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. THE LEVELS OF HUMAN HEALTH, LEARNING AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING ARE RISING ALMOST EVERYWHERE. SURELY WE MUST BE DOING SOMETHING RIGHT --

AND I INTEND TO GO ON WORKING FOR A BETTER WORLD.

OUR ADVERSARIES ARE STILL DETERMINED TO DEFEAT US AND BRING ALL NATIONS INTO CONFORMITY WITH THEIR SYSTEM IN WHICH ALMOST ANY MEANS ARE JUSTIFIED IF THEY ADVANCE THAT ULTIMATE VICTORY. BUT WE HAVE NO REASON TO FEAR THEIR COMPETITION AS LONG AS WE REMAIN STRONG AND TRUE TO OUR PRINCIPLES, AND OUR SYSTEM, WHICH HAS ALREADY PROVEN ITS SUPERIORITY IN EVERY WAY.



NEITHER MUST WE EVER LOSE OUR VISION.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END OF TEXT

AND NOW FOR YOUR QUESTIONS.