The original documents are located in Box 33, “5/22/76 - Remarks at Meeting of World Affairs Council of Oregon, Portland, OR” of the President’s Speeches and Statements: Reading Copies at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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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.

(Edith Green introduces you.)

MRS. STOEL

(President, World Affairs Council)

PRESIDENT HOWARD
MR. PAMPLIN
LISA MORRISON

(Edith Green introduces you.)

(President, World Affairs Council)

(Lewis and Clark College)

CHAIRMAN-BD. OF TRUSTEES, L.C.C.

(Chairman, L.C.C. Board of Trustees)

(President, Student Body)

MEMBERS AND GUESTS OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL
NOT SURPRISINGLY, I'D LIKE TO TAKE THIS NON-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 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.
DOMESTIC POLITICAL TIDES EBB AND FLOW, BUT

FOREIGN POLICY IS A CONTINUOUS STREAM, ITS COURSE

IS AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN ELECTIVE OFFICIALS BUT IT IS MAINLY

FORMED FROM OUR GEOGRAPHY, OUR ANCESTRAL TIES, OUR

NATURAL RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC NEEDS, AND ABOVE ALL,

THE COMMON PRINCIPLES AND BELIEFS ON WHICH OUR NATION

WAS FOUNDED 200 YEARS AGO.
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.
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 MATUR **ED 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 BOW**L.
WE HAVE MADE MISTAKES, WE HAVE BEEN DISILLUSIONED, BUT WE HAVE NEVER WHOLLY ABANDONED JEFFERSON'S DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND, OR LINCOLN'S FAITH THAT RIGHT DOES MAKE MIGHT, OR EISENHOWER'S THAT FREEDOM IS TODAY INDIVISIBLE.
THUS OUR FOREIGN POLICY TODAY IS A MIXTURE
OF THE PRINCIPLES THAT UNITE US AND MAKE US THE HOPE
OF FREEDOM FOR OTHERS, AND THE PRACTICAL COUNSEL OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON THAT THE BEST WAY TO PRESERVE PEACE IS TO
BE PREPARED FOR WAR. PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH IS NEITHER
A NEW POLICY NOR A BAD ONE.
INSTEAD OF TAKING YOU AROUND THE WORLD TONIGHT
AND TELLING YOU HOW MANY COUNTRIES I'VE SEEN AND STATESMEN
I'VE MET, OR HOW MANY HOURS I'VE SPENT WITH THE NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL BEFORE MAKING THE TOUGH DECISIONS OF THE
PAST 22 MONTHS, LET ME TELL YOU HOW I ARRIVED AT
THE CONVICTIONS I HAVE ABOUT AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD.
I graduated from the University of Michigan in 1974, 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 or politics.
MY FIRST LOOK AT THE PACIFIC OCEAN WAS WHEN I WENT TO SAN FRANCISCO TO PLAY IN THE FAST-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 children.
WE WERE CONVINCED THIS COULD ONLY HAPPEN IF
THE UNITED STATES ASSUMED ITS FULL BURDEN OF LEADERSHIP
IN THE WORLD. WE CONSIDERED THIS A SMALL PRICE COMPARED
TO THE SACRIFICES OUR COMRADES HAD MADE. AND WE WENT
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.
I ran for Congress in 1948 on that policy of strength, responsibility, and perseverance in the face of the new Communist challenge and that is still 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 HIGHLY TECHNICAL NEGOTIATIONS.
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 LINES OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC AND THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN ALL THESE THINGS.
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 WE PROCLAIMED FOR OUR OWN 200 YEARS AGO: SELF-DETERMINATION, 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

SANITY 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.
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.

WE HAVE BUILT A SOLID ALLIANCE OF FREE PEOPLES 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.
AS WE MUST NEVER LOSE OUR VIGILANCE

NEITHER MUST WE EVER LOSE OUR VISION.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END OF TEXT

AND NOW FOR YOUR QUESTIONS.