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MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY

The first responsibility of any American President is to promote the security and wellbeing of the people of the United States. This does not, of course, mean that the President should be callous or ruthless in his conduct of foreign policy. Among nations, as among individuals, good manners and a decent respect for the rights of others generally lead to a more productive result.

It does, however, mean that we must at times deal with and work with governments whose internal policies we do not wholly approve -- or even of which we strongly disapprove. Our collaboration with the Soviet Union in World War II is an example of this. In more recent years, we have given economic or military support to some dictatorial regimes, simply because their strategic objectives coincided with ours. When issues affecting world peace are at stake, we must at times overcome our scruples in accepting partners who are not exactly proponents of Jeffersonian democracy.

All this being said, we must never resign ourselves to the view that moral values have no place in the conduct of foreign policy -- the view held by some of the foreign policy experts who Jimmy Carter says have influenced his thinking.

The United States, before it was a place or even a people, was an idea -- the idea that men and women can live together in a free society in which the welfare of each is the concern of all, as expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. We have very imperfectly embodied this idea in our institutions and practices, but we have never given it up, and we have never ceased trying to bring it closer to practical reality.

If we were to give up our hold on the American idea, we would lose our identity as a nation. We do not trace our existence to an ancestral past, like Britain or France, or to a theory of history, like the Soviet Union or the Peoples Republic of China, but to a belief about the kind of society that best serves the needs and aspirations of human beings. If we were to abandon that belief, we would be nothing but a collection of warring interests, regions, and classes.



The American idea has implications for foreign policy as well as for domestic goals. For the first century-and-a-half or so of our history, we thought of ourselves as chiefly a model of democracy for other nations to copy, if they chose -- a "city on the hill." This is still to a great extent our proper role. We have neither the means nor the desire nor the right to impose our forms of society or government on other peoples or other nations.

As our military and economic power have grown, however, our international responsibilities have similarly increased. We cannot pretend that our impact on other nations of the world is morally neutral. The way we dispose our military strength deeply affects the social futures of peoples all over the world. The outreach of the dynamic American economy is a powerful force for change in most parts of the globe. What the United States does matters in the world -- is bound to matter. An individual must take responsibility for the consequences of his acts. So must a nation.

Advancement of the general cause of human rights and human freedom is part -- not all, but part -- of the foreign policy objectives of the United States. Wherever men and women are tortured or unjustly imprisoned by brutal dictatorships, we are in trouble. Wherever governments or ruling oligarchies exploit the labor of their peoples, our national interest suffers. Wherever nations without provocation attack or threaten their neighbors, our welfare too is at stake. Wherever assassination and terrorism become accepted means of political action, we are endangered.

It is for this reason, as well as because of our direct strategic interests, that we use our influence, wherever we can, to promote social and economic justice, to end torture and terrorism, to produce peaceful settlement of differences among nations.

Our alliances and ties with Canada, the democracies of Western Europe, Israel, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand are based in part on common strategic interests, in part on ethnic bonds with some of these peoples -- but also in large part on common dedication to the ideals of a free society.



We should not delude ourselves into imagining that economic self-interest does not play a large part in motivating our conduct in world affairs. Of course it does - - no American government that neglected our own economic needs could or should survive for an instant. Nor should we allow other nations to fall into the delusion that their own long-run economic progress depends on anything other than increases in their own productivity.

But we do, as members of the human race, accept responsibility to maintain respect for the legitimate rights of individuals and nations, and to do what we can -- which often will be frustratingly little -- to better the general human lot.





initely and forever smaller, and we must have the capacity to communicate to the world—to inform, to explain and to guard against accidental or willful distortion of United States policies.

Interdependence has become a fact of international life, linking our actions and policies with those of the world at large. The United States should reach out to other nations to enrich that interdependence. Republican leadership has demonstrated that recognition of the ties that bind us to our friends will serve our mutual interests in a creative fashion and will enhance the chances for world peace.

Morality in foreign policy

The goal of Republican foreign policy is the achievement of liberty under law and a just and lasting peace in the world. The principles by which we act to achieve peace and to protect the interests of the United States must merit the restored confidence of our people.

We recognize and commend that great beacon of human courage and morality, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for his compelling message that we must face the world with no illusions about the nature of tyranny. Ours will be a foreign policy that keeps this ever in mind.

Ours will be a foreign policy which recognizes that in international negotiations we must make no undue concessions; that in pursuing detente we must not grant unilateral favors with only the hope of getting future favors in return.

Agreements that are negotiated, such as the one signed in Helsinki, must not take from those who do not have freedom the hope of one day gaining it.

Finally, we are firmly committed to a foreign policy in which secret agreements, hidden from our people, will have no part.

Honestly, openly, and with firm conviction, we shall go forward as a united people to forge a lasting peace in the world based upon our deep belief in the rights of man, the rule of law and guidance by the hand of God.

National defense

A superior national defense is the fundamental condition for a secure America and for peace and freedom for the world. Military strength is the path to peace. A sound foreign policy must be rooted in a superior defense capability, and both must be perceived as a deterrent to aggression and supportive of our national interests.

The American people expect that their leaders will assure a national defense posture second to none. They know that planning for our national security must be a joint effort by the President and Congress. It cannot be the subject of partisan disputes. It should not be held hostage to domestic political adventurism.

A minimum guarantee to preserve freedom, and insure against blackmail and threats,

and in the face of growing Soviet military power, requires a period of sustained growth in our defense effort. In constant dollars, the present defense budget will no more than match the defense budget of 1964, the year before a Democrat Administration involved America so deeply in the Vietnam War. In 1975 Soviet defense programs exceeded ours in investment by 85 percent, and exceeded ours in operating costs by 23 percent, and exceeded ours in research and development by 66 percent. The issue is whether our forces will be adequate to future challenges. We say they must be.

We must always achieve maximum value for each defense dollar spent. Along with the elimination of the draft and the creation, under a Republican President, of all-volunteer armed services, we have reduced the personnel requirements for support functions without affecting our basic posture. Today there are fewer Americans in the uniformed services than at any time since the fall of 1950. Substantial economies have been made in weapons procurement and we will continue to act in a prudent manner with our defense appropriations.

Our national defense effort will include the continuation of the major modernization program for our strategic missile and bomber forces, the development of a new intercontinental ballistic missile, a new missile launching submarine force and a modern bomber—the B-1—capable of penetrating the most sophisticated air defenses of the 1980's. These elements will comprise a deterrent of the first order.

We will increase our army to 16 divisions, reinforce our program of producing new tanks and other armored vehicles, and support the development of new, highly accurate precision weapons.

Our Navy, the guarantor of freedom of the seas, must have a major shipbuilding program, with an adequate balance between nuclear and non-nuclear ships. The composition of the fleet must be based on a realistic assessment of the threat we face, and must assure that no adversary will gain naval superiority.

An important modernization program for our tactical air forces is under way. We will require new fighters and interceptor aircraft for the Air Force, Navy and Marines. As a necessary component of our long-range strategy, we will produce and deploy the B-1 bomber in a timely manner, allowing us to retain air superiority.

Consistent with our total force policy, we will maintain strong reserve components.

Our investments in military research and development are of great importance to our future defense capabilities. We must not lose the vital momentum.

With increasing complexity of weapons, lead times for weapons systems are often as long as a decade, requiring careful planning and prudent financial decisions. An outstanding example of this process is the development and deployment of the cruise

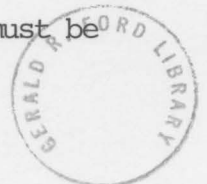
Morality in Foreign Policy

We Americans have always known that we are a special kind of nation. We are not held together by the bonds that unite most other nations. What holds our Republic together is allegiance to certain principles: liberty, for example, equality, the dignity of every human being, and justice for all. We must live and act by those principles or we cease to be a meaningful nation.

Americans can be proud of our place in world history. We have made a difference in the world, for good and against evil. Our strength was decisive in saving the world from Hitlerism. We fought for the sake of liberty and human decency, for ourselves and for billions of people elsewhere in the world.

The world was then, and is now, a harsh place, hostile to freedom and to the rights of individuals. The world is not as we would like it to be. Many choices must be made that we would not make if the world were better.

For example, in World War II we would have preferred to defeat Hitler without strengthening world communism, but we did not have that choice. We and our allies needed the help of the Soviet Union to defeat Hitler. As Churchill said, when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, "The enemy of our enemy is our friend." This explains why we sometimes side with governments that we cannot and should not approve of. We must be



tough in the defense of freedom, for ourselves and our friends.

Whoever thinks that he can conduct foreign policy and never have to do things he would rather not have to do, has no experience in the conduct of foreign policy. That is the wishful thinking of the novice. When the fate of free nations, and the cause of liberty and human decency are at stake for billions of people, this is no time to begin experimenting with wishful thinking and naive good intentions.

We must be more than compassionate; compassion may make us feel better, but those who are oppressed and miserable and in grave danger deserve more from us than compassion. We must be strong enough to be of real help to them. No victim of oppression has ever been freed by compassion.

In this harsh world, with most governments opposed to the very idea of liberty, I am willing to deal with regimes we might not approve of fully--if they can help in the struggle against oppression. And I am willing to act secretly, sometimes, if that will save one of our friends or thwart the aggression of an adversary.

I am not a naive dreamer and I don't think the American people are naive dreamers. We know what is possible and we act realistically. And we also know that our national purpose is, and will continue to be, to build a world in which human beings can live their lives in freedom, with dignity and purpose, as they think is good.



REBUTTAL ON MORALITY

We hear a lot of talk about morality. I believe:

- Pushing back the specter of nuclear war, as we have done in SALT, is a moral policy;
- Mediating conflict, as we have done in the Middle East is a moral policy.
- Averting race war and promoting reconciliation, as we have done in Africa, is a moral policy.
- Organizing world cooperation to promote food production and economic progress in poorer countries is a moral policy.
- Insuring the solidarity of our alliances, for the survival of democracy, is a moral policy.
- Standing loyally by allies who seek to defend themselves against aggression is a moral policy.

I think every American can be proud of what this country has done -- for peace, for freedom, for progress, for justice. I am sick and tired of hearing our country denounced as immoral by people who clearly don't know what they're talking about.



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THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

September 28, 1976

The Editor
Nashville Tennessean
1100 Broadway
Nashville, Tennessee 37202

*Debate
Morally*

Dear Sir:

Your editorial of September 6, 1976 entitled "Bribery Abroad Promises To Be A Campaign Issue," indicates a fundamental misunderstanding of President Ford's proposal to deal with questionable corporate payments abroad. Contrary to the assertion in your editorial that the Administration is willing to "tolerate abuses such as bribes and kickbacks," the Administration has placed the highest priority on finding means to end such abhorrent practices.

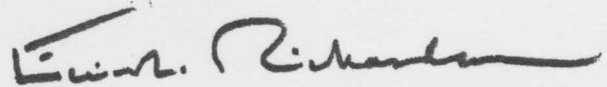
After due deliberation, a Cabinet-level Task Force, which I chair, determined that U.S. legislation making corrupt payments abroad a criminal offense under U.S. law, would be unenforceable. Therefore, the President has proposed legislation which would require reporting and disclosure of all payments made by U.S. firms in relation to business with foreign governments. These reports would routinely be disclosed to the public unless the Secretary of State makes an affirmative finding that important foreign policy interests dictate against disclosure, or the Attorney General believes that such disclosure would interfere with an ongoing legal proceeding. The reports will be made available, in all cases, to appropriate committees of Congress and any Executive Branch determination that the reports should not be publicly disclosed will have to be compellingly justified to the Congress.



Such a reporting requirement is not an implicit condonation of illegal payments abroad. On the contrary, the reports would be forwarded by the Secretary of State or the Attorney General to appropriate foreign officials to encourage them to enforce their own laws against official bribery or extortion.

President Ford and I abhor corrupt payments in international commerce. We believe that the means we have recommended to deter such payments would be a great deal more effective than the essentially unenforceable and therefore merely rhetorical solution of declaring such payments a crime under U.S. law.

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson



NASHVILLE, TENN.
TENNESSEAN

Bribery Abroad Promises To Be A Campaign Issue

THE MOUNTING political turmoil in Japan and the Netherlands, triggered by Lockheed bribery disclosures, is now certain to become an issue of

In the face of all this, the Ford administration has offered legislation prohibiting foreign bribes which is

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The Secretary of Commerce
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