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Office of the Vice President (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT AT THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

(AT 9:20 A.M. EDT)

Bill, thank you very much indeed for your generous remarks and for your invitation and the pleasure and the opportunity of being here. To you, Paul Ringer, Mr. Black, and Peter Gallagher, and to all of you distinguished members and friends of the International Press Institute, it is indeed a pleasure for me to have the opportunity to welcome you to the United States as representatives of the world's press from some 30 independent nations for your 25th anniversary assembly.

Bill tells me this is your second meeting here in the United States. We are indeed honored and pleased to have you here, to welcome you and hope that your visit will be a very enjoyable and a profitable one.

I am doubly delighted to see you during our Bicentennial year here in Philadelphia, the birthplace of the nation. Were it not for the institution of the free press, it is doubtful that you would be here visiting an independent nation today.

You arrive here at a fascinating time to observe the American scene; not only in the midst of our 200th Anniversary, but in the exciting period to which Bill has referred which comes every four years when we choose our Presidential candidates. Ultimately, we elect a President. But you are here for the process of choice.

I want to take this opportunity to discuss the role of the United States in a world of accelerating change and growing interdependence.

One of the bases of American foreign policy must be the fostering of economic growth to bring about more jobs, better opportunitites and improved living for all Americans on a basis of equality for all.

Obviously, we must have a growth policy at home if we are to provide for our needs as a people. However, a growth economy at home requires that we engage actively and increasingly in the commerce of the world. A non-trading, isolated America would be a low growth or a no growth America.

As great as our own resources are and as enormous as our domestic market is, the difference between a truly prospering and growing America and a stagnating America, on the other hand, is our foreign trade and commerce. We must seek increased productivity to enhance the competitiveness

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in world markets of goods produced by American workers. We must also seek through our foreign policy to enhance fair trade opportunities for American business abroad -- and not hesitate to do so.

The large international or multinational corporations have played a major role in the vast expansion of trade and the introduction of new technologies around the world, worldwide improvement in management and marketing. Surely, there are problems, and there have been abuses, just as there also have been in government and in the professions.

These abuses must be corrected and the individuals responsible, rooted out. However, the answer to the correction of such abuses does not lie in hasty attempts to chop such corporations into pieces or to tax them into paralysis.

Experience has demonstrated that the multinational corporations, whether of the United States, western Europe or Japan, is a most effective way today to develop markets and spread technology in the world.

In the process, we can bring benefits to both its home country and to the other countries as well. For the United States, the promotion of trade and commerce is best done though close and mutually beneficial ties with other countries.

On my recent trip through Southeast Asia, leaders said firmly that they can not resist Communist subversion by military force alone -- without steady economic growth and social progress for their people. The latter is essential in a struggle involving subversion, terrorism and disruptions in the lives of the people of these countries.

In this struggle, as one leader put it, the economic progress resulting from the activities of one multinational corporation is worth three divisions.

The United States has a vital interest in the growth and development of all these nations. The growth of these areas requires capital investment, technology, training in new skills, managerial know-how, all of which the American enterprise system, American philanthropy and American government can help significantly to supply, not to mention the capacities of western Europe and Japan as well.

The objective of our foreign policy must be to do so and it can be done so that it benefits not only the people of the developing nations but the people of the United States and other industrial nations as well. This means achieving international agreements, against expropriation of capital investment without fair compensation and being friendly but firm in dealing with the Third World.

New nations really have two basic choices for outside capital, the Communist world or the free enterprise world. Those who chose independence and the enterprise system have made dramatic progress compared to those who have followed the

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Communist alternative. It is my conclusion that the world as a whole can and must add to the availability of resources, jobs and income for people. We must not accept a shriveling pie of goods and services as envisioned by some Doomsday prophets, but rather work towards an expanding pie for all to share in increasing amounts.

Another of the bases of our foreign policy is to assure access to energy and key raw materials, like oil, chrome, bauxite and other products essential to the American economy as well as those of the other independent nations. The attractiveness of the U. S. domestic market for foreign goods, our food surpluses, our financial strengths and the need of other nations for capital technology and managerial skill are the bases for mutually advantageous and equitable international arrangements.

Looking to the future we must, as has been so forcefully advocated by President Ford's Administration, come to an international understanding as to the use of the untapped resources of the unexplored areas of the sea, air and space, as well as the polar regions.

It almost goes without saying that all of the foregoing, economic development at home and abroad, development of greater trade and commerce, access to raw materials, depends upon freedom of the seas, freedom of the sea lanes, that is, free passage of ships of all nations throughout the world.

This is an historic base of American foreign policy, but it needs reemphasis in the most positive tones today.

Today freedom of traffic on the seas depends for the free world principally on the United States Navy. Inasmuch as other nations of the free world can no longer maintain large naval forces, this American Navy, however, itself is being challenged by the worldwide growth of the Soviet Union's naval power, in ships, in submarines, in missiles and in technology.

The time is at hand to greatly accelerate the building of the American Navy so that it can play its essential role in maintaining freedom of the sea lanes for all. The era of old world imperialist empires is gone. Yet we find ourselves faced with a new and far more complex form of imperialism, a mixture of Czarism and Marxism, with colonial appendages.

As a result, far too much of the earth's surface is closed off today in one way or another, to the free flow of communications, the free movement of tourists, businessmen, scholars and journalists.

An open world would offer humanity a far greater choice of forms of society and government -- of patterns of living and working -- than the closed or partially closed areas of the world do at the present. Pursuit of a more open world is in America's interest, for it expands the horizons of others as well as Americans. And as a free society we can

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be more secure in an open world.

The opening of U. S. relationships with China is a significant development of such a policy. However, whether we like it or not, a continuing attempt is underway to organize the world into a new empire in which the Soviet sun never sets. This new form of imperialism -- I know no better way to describe it -- involves 'ideological, diplomatic, economic, financial, political, subversive and military structures and relationships importantly dominated by and directed from Moscow.

A positive and far closer partnership of the independent nations of the world, particularly of those that espouse and encourage economic enterprise, free press, without state domination or control is an essential counterpoise economically, militarily and politically to the Soviet's expansionist thrust.

The independent nations must work together in the common cause. This is the greatest hope for the ultimate realization of freedom and respect for human dignity throughout the world. A free press depends upon it.

In addition, the United States should be in the forefront to encourage nations, new and old, to develop their identity, their economy and their own particular role in the world. This means taking a realistic view, both of what America can offer and of the capacities and circumstances of other nations.

It means developing a closer and more consistent series of trade, investment, social, cultural and indeed, political ties with nations, large and small, in all parts of the world. Certainly, this meeting is a good example of what I am referring to.

In dealing with all nations, one of America's greatest strengths is America's own cosmopolitan population, its unity within the diversity of the peoples who compose the United States. Certainly, within our borders there are problems between national and ethnic groups.

The crucial fact, however, is that so many people of such varied racial, religious, national origin and cultural backgrounds have, through emphasizing shared values, made the most productive society yet achieved by man.

But the United States cannot represent all its people or its own national self-interest if it tries or is forced to represent special groups ahead of the nation's interest as a whole.

A fundamental base of American foreign policy must always be to maintain sufficient power so that the United States and the other independent nations are not in danger of being overrun or engulfed by the Soviet or any other form of imperialism. Sufficient strength, therefore, must be at hand or be developed to preserve the freedom of the sea lanes, to ensure that neither by direct military action, nor indirectly through infiltration, subversion or blackmail, can the independent nations be picked off one by one, dominated or overwhelmed.

This requires that the United States and other independent nations maintain a military capacity and presence that can counterbalance that of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Equally important, it means encouraging continuing economic growth and development throughout the world to help other peoples meet their needs and their aspirations. And it means having the industrial capacity and strength to support the necessary military and strategic elements.

The United States Constitution makes the President responsible for the conduct of our international relations, subject to the role of the Senate to confirm Ambassadors and to approve treaties and subject to the significant power of the Congress for appropriation of funds.

But the Ship of State cannot be steered by 536 hands all grasping for the tiller. Congressional actions in the past few years, however well intentioned, have hamstrung the Presidency and usurped the Presidential prerogative in the conduct of foreign policy. They have already caused serious repercussions abroad and have even worse implications for the future of our foreign policy.

There is frankly no alternative but to return to the constitutional arrangement of strong Presidential initiative and leadership in foreign affairs with the cooperation of the Congress.

Fundamental to all of this is the continuing will of America to lead. This can only be based on an understanding by the American people of the fundamental realities of the world in which we live and the relationship of those realities to our long-term enlightened self-interest.

Freedom of the press and the other media of communications is crucial to the achievement of this public understanding. Thus, we salute you and express our deep appreciation to you for your role in helping to preserve freedom in the world.

The United States leadership will endure only so long as we preserve our faith and our belief as a people in our moral and spiritual values and our confidence in ourselves, our heritage and our basic institutions.

It is only from such a base that we can summon the inspiration, the vision and the courage necessary to grasp the unique opportunities that exist at this moment in history.

However, I am optimistic about the future, confident that the American people will summon that will to lead in the face of unprecedented challenges in order to realize our own dream as a nation born of freedom, to achieve a national purpose worthy of a free people dedicated to the individual dignity and the well-being of all mankind. I thank you very much.

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(AT 9:40 A.M. EDT)