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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *af*

REMARKS FOR
HONOR ROCKEFELLER DINNER

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1975

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK

(AFTER ACKNOWLEDGMENTS)

THERE'S A SLOGAN THAT SAYS: FORD HAS A BETTER IDEA.

WELL I'M HERE TONIGHT TO TELL YOU THAT ONE OF THE BEST IDEAS

THIS FORD EVER HAD WAS NOMINATING NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER

TO BE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!

~~Mr. Ford~~ - Pres. or Harry
~~Mr. Vice~~
Senator Jacob
" Buckley

NELSON ROCKEFELLER HAS BEEN A DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC
SERVANT, \ A SENSITIVE AND COMPASSIONATE HUMANITARIAN, \ A
SUPERBLY ABLE GOVERNOR -- AND NOW HE HAS EMBARKED ON A
NEW AND EVEN GREATER CHALLENGE -- THE ^{second} ~~SECOND HIGHEST~~ OFFICE
IN OUR NATION. MR. VICE PRESIDENT, I HOPE TO SHARE FOR
A VERY LONG TIME, \ YOUR COUNSEL, \ YOUR CONFIDENCE AND YOUR
COMPANY.

IN ALL FAIRNESS, I MUST ADMIT THAT NELSON'S CAREER
HAS ALSO HAD A FEW LESS MEMORABLE MOMENTS. IN THE SIXTIES,
HE WAS A VERY STRONG SUPPORTER OF JOHN LINDSAY ~~AND~~ JOHN
BECAME A DEMOCRAT . . . HE WAS A VERY STRONG SUPPORTER
OF OGDEN REID ~~AND~~ BROWNIE BECAME A DEMOCRAT . . . NOW THE
ONLY THING THAT BOTHERS ME IS -- NOW HE'S A VERY STRONG
SUPPORTER OF ME . . . FRANKLY, I DON'T THINK I COULD DO
THAT TO THE DEMOCRATS. THAT'S ALL THEY NEED RIGHT NOW --
ONE MORE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT!

TONIGHT, WE PAY TRIBUTE TO A MAN OF UNLIMITED TALENT,

OUTSTANDING ACCOMPLISHMENT, AND BOUNDLESS ENTHUSIASM.

WHEN HE TACKLES A PROJECT, HE GIVES IT EVERYTHING HE'S GOT.

USING A LITTLE WRESTLING JARGON, I HAVE NEVER KNOWN HIM

TO APPLY A HALF-NELSON TO ANYTHING!

Therefore tonight

I AM DESIGNATING VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER TO BE
VICE CHAIRMAN OF MY DOMESTIC COUNCIL WITH RESPONSIBILITY
FOR OVERSEEING ITS WORK.

TO ASSIST ME IN CARRYING OUT MY RESPONSIBILITIES FOR
DOMESTIC POLICY FORMULATION WITHIN A BROAD CONCEPTUAL
FRAMEWORK, I WANT THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL TO UNDERTAKE THE
FOLLOWING RESPONSIBILITIES:

-- ASSESSING NATIONAL NEEDS AND IDENTIFYING

ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF MEETING THEM;

-- PROVIDING RAPID RESPONSE TO PRESIDENTIAL NEEDS

FOR POLICY ADVICE;

-- COORDINATING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL

PRIORITIES FOR THE ALLOCATION OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES;

-- MAINTAINING A CONTINUOUS POLICY REVIEW OF
ON-GOING PROGRAMS, AND

-- PROPOSING REFORMS AS NEEDED.

BECAUSE OF THE COMPLEXITY AND INTERRELATIONSHIP OF
DOMESTIC POLICIES AND PROGRAMS, I BELIEVE THE BROADEST
PERSPECTIVES MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL'S
DELIBERATIONS. THIS IS WHY I HAVE ASKED THE VICE PRESIDENT
TO SERVE AS VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL AND TO OVERSEE ITS WORK.

TO PROVIDE FOR FULL COORDINATION OF THE WORK OF THE
DOMESTIC COUNCIL WITH OTHER POLICY BODIES, L. WILLIAM SEIDMAN,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF MY ECONOMIC POLICY BOARD, AND FRANK G.
ZARB, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF MY ENERGY RESOURCES COUNCIL,
WILL BE MEMBERS OF THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL.

I AM ALSO ANNOUNCING MY ~~INTENT~~ INTENTION TO APPOINT

JAMES M. CANNON AS EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL

AND ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

RICHARD L. DUNHAM WILL BE DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL.

I EXPECT THEM TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT IN THE

OPERATIONS OF THE DOMESTIC COUNCIL.

IN THE SPECIAL AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY, I AM NOT

this

THE FIRST PRESIDENT TO HAVE ~~THE~~ VICE PRESIDENT'S WISE COUNSEL.

NELSON VISITED LATIN AMERICA ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR TWO.

HE PERCEIVED THE DANGER OF ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA AND THE

The Axis Powers

PENETRATION BY ~~OUR ENEMIES~~ OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND ECONOMIES

OF SOME NATIONS IN THIS HEMISPHERE.

HE VOICED TIMELY CONCERN TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT IN AUGUST 1940 --
OVER A YEAR BEFORE PEARL HARBOR.

IN DESIGNATING NELSON TO COORDINATE INTER-AMERICAN
AFFAIRS, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT WAS NOT THINKING ABOUT ROCKEFELLER,
THE REPUBLICAN. HE WAS THINKING ABOUT ROCKEFELLER, THE
AMERICAN.

NELSON IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA DURING
THE DARKEST DAYS OF WORLD WAR TWO. IN 1945, PRESIDENT
ROOSEVELT APPOINTED HIM ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
AMERICAN REPUBLIC AFFAIRS. NELSON CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO THE
CONCEPT OF MUTUAL SECURITY THAT LED TO THE RIO PACT, TO NATO,
AND TO ENLIGHTENED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

DURING WORLD WAR TWO, I SERVED ABOARD A NAVY
AIRCRAFT CARRIER. I BEGAN TO SEE THE ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC
AND AMERICA'S LINKS WITH THE WORLD IN A BROADER PERSPECTIVE
THAN I DID AS A YOUNG MAN IN MICHIGAN.

WHEN I TOOK MY OATH AS A MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS IN
1949, ARTHUR VANDENBERG WAS SENIOR SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN AND
CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. THE SENATOR
WAS CONCERNED OVER THE FUTURE OF BI-PARTISANSHIP IN FOREIGN
POLICY.

HE PREFERRED TO CALL IT "NON-PARTISANSHIP." ALTHOUGH

SERIOUSLY ILL, SENATOR VANDENBERG SAW HIS JOB AS UNFINISHED

Republican

UNLESS THE CONGRESS AND PRESIDENT TRUMAN COULD FASHION A

DECENT PEACE TO PREVENT WORLD WAR THREE.

WHILE WORKING FOR WORLD PEACE WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN
AND SECRETARY OF STATE BYRNES, THE SENATOR FLATLY REFUSED TO
MAKE ANY SPEECHES ON A PARTISAN BASIS . . . BECAUSE IT WOULD
TEND TO DESTROY A UNITED AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

IN 1950, SENATOR VANDENBERG EMPHASIZED THE NEED --
AS HE PUT IT -- "UNDER OUR INDISPENSABLE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM,
TO UNITE OUR OFFICIAL VOICE AT THE WATER'S EDGE SO THAT AMERICA
SPEAKS WITH MAXIMUM AUTHORITY AGAINST THOSE WHO WOULD DIVIDE
AND CONQUER US AND THE FREE WORLD."

HE SAID, "IT DOES NOT INVOLVE THE REMOTEST SURRENDER OF

FREE DEBATE IN DETERMINING OUR POSITION. ON THE CONTRARY,

FRANK COOPERATION AND FREE DEBATE ARE INDISPENSABLE TO

ULTIMATE UNITY."

WHEN ONE PARTY CONTROLS THE CONGRESS, AS DID THE
REPUBLICAN EIGHTIETH CONGRESS, AND THE OTHER PARTY CONTROLS
THE WHITE HOUSE, AS DID PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S PARTY, THERE
MUST BE COOPERATION, OR AS SENATOR VANDENBERG SAID,
"AMERICA WOULD BE DEVOID OF ANY FOREIGN POLICY AT ALL."

IN FEBRUARY, 1951, SENATOR VANDENBERG DIFFERED WITH
SENATOR KENNETH WHERRY, THE POWERFUL NEBRASKA REPUBLICAN,
WHOSE RESOLUTION WOULD HAVE TIED THE HANDS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN
IN FOREIGN POLICY. THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEKING TO ADD
AMERICAN ARMY DIVISIONS TO AN INTEGRATED NORTH ATLANTIC
MILITARY FORCE COMMANDED BY GENERAL EISENHOWER. WHILE
RESPECTING SENATOR WHERRY'S SINCERITY, SENATOR VANDENBERG
WAS CONVINCED THE RESTRICTIVE RESOLUTION WOULD UNDERMINE

^{The}
~~THE PRESIDENT'S~~ CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. *of The President*
of The United States.

SO IT WAS IN FEBRUARY 1951 THAT SENATOR VANDENBERG

SAID OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN: "HE IS THE ONLY PRESIDENT WE SHALL HAVE

AND THIS IS THE ONLY CONGRESS WE SHALL HAVE DURING THE NEXT

CRITICAL TWO YEARS; THE QUICKER WE REACH A WORKING RELATIONSHIP

SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A UNITED POLICY, THE SAFER OUR COUNTRY

WILL BE!!

TODAY, I FIND MYSELF IN PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S JOB.

I LOOK TO THE NEW CONGRESS AND THE CRITICAL YEARS AHEAD.

AND I HAVE TO DEAL WITH THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN THE UNITED

STATES AND OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES.

I AM CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RECESSION AND INFLATION,
UNEMPLOYMENT AND ENERGY SHORTAGES. I WOULD BE EVEN MORE

CONCERNED IF WE WERE TO HAVE ^a ~~AN OSTRICH-LIKE~~ NINETY-FOURTH
CONGRESS BURYING ITS HEAD IN THE DOMESTIC SANDS, WHILE EXPENSIVE
like an ostrich

OIL FLOWS INTO AMERICA AND EXPENSIVE DOLLARS FLOW OUT.

WHAT HAS CHANGED SINCE THE DAYS OF ARTHUR VANDENBERG?

DURING THE LATTER YEARS OF MY SERVICE IN THE CONGRESS, SEVERE
STRAINS DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES
OVER THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN POLICIES OF TWO ADMINISTRATIONS --
ONE DEMOCRATIC, THE OTHER REPUBLICAN.

see
INDEED, AMERICA EXPERIENCED A SERIES OF SHOCKS, DOMESTIC
AND FOREIGN, DATING BACK TO THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT
KENNEDY. WE HAVE NEW PREOCCUPATIONS, NEW PERCEPTIONS,
AND NEW PRIORITIES *and hopefully NEW DIRECTIONS.*

NEVERTHELESS, WE NEED NONPARTISANSHIP IN FOREIGN
AFFAIRS TODAY MORE THAN EVER BEFORE.

WE NEED MORE, NOT LESS, CREDIBILITY AND CONTINUITY.

WE NEED MORE, NOT LESS, CONFIDENCE IN THE HONEST
MOTIVES AND HIGH PATRIOTIC CONCERNS OF ONE ANOTHER.

THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT I WISH THE CONGRESS WOULD
KEEP OUT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THAT I WANT TO RUN EVERYTHING
BEYOND THE WATER'S EDGE, IN MY OWN WAY, WITHOUT LEGISLATIVE
INTERFERENCE. UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, THE CONGRESS HAS
A FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SHAPING OF ALL BROAD
MATTERS OF PUBLIC POLICY, BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.
NOBODY KNOWS THIS BETTER THAN I DO.

≡

BUT WHILE THE CONGRESS, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESIDENT,
MAKES FOREIGN POLICY, ONLY THE EXECUTIVE CAN EXECUTE IT.
))
FOR THE FIRST ELEVEN YEARS OF OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, WE
EXPERIMENTED WITH GOVERNMENT BY ^{Legislative} COMMITTEE -- THE CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION. THERE WAS
A PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS, BUT NO PRESIDENT OF THE COUNTRY.
IT IS A WONDER THAT GENERAL WASHINGTON WAS ABLE TO WIN THE WAR.

ONCE OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WAS RECOGNIZED,
WASHINGTON AND THE OTHER FOUNDING FATHERS WASTED NO TIME
IN WRITING A NEW CONSTITUTION IN WHICH THEY SET ASIDE THEIR
FEARS OF A TYRANNICAL KING OR ^a TOO-POWERFUL PRIME MINISTER
AND VESTED THE EXECUTIVE POWER IN A PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA. IT GAVE THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE COMMAND
OF THE ARMED FORCES RAISED BY THE CONGRESS AND THE POWER
TO NEGOTIATE TREATIES AND TO RECEIVE AND APPOINT AMBASSADORS
WITH THE ADVICE AND CONSENT OF THE SENATE.

CLEARLY, THE CONSTITUTION CONTEMPLATES A POLITICAL
PARTNERSHIP BEYOND THE WATER'S EDGE AND CLEARLY IT DOES NOT
CONTEMPLATE THE DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY, ANY MORE
THAN THE DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF MILITARY OPERATIONS, BY MANY
DIFFERENT VOICES IN THE DELIBERATIVE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

OUR SYSTEM HAS SERVED US WELL. WITHOUT
REVIEWING ALL TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF OUR HISTORY, AND THE
FREQUENT DOMESTIC DEBATES BETWEEN OUR GREAT PARTIES, I CAN
SAY FROM MY OWN PERSPECTIVE -- AND THAT OF MANY OF YOU --
THAT THE RECORD OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY SINCE THE SECOND
WORLD WAR HAS BEEN OVERALL A MOST REMARKABLE SUCCESS.

WHEN WORLD WAR TWO ENDED, THE WORLD WAITED TO SEE
WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD DO ~~+~~ WHETHER OUR POWER AND
OUR MORAL COMMITMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO BE ENGAGED WORLDWIDE
OR WHETHER WE WOULD RETREAT AGAIN INTO THE ISOLATIONISM THAT
CONTRIBUTED TO ~~THE~~ WORLD CONFLICT IN THE FIRST PLACE.

WITH THE MARSHALL PLAN, AND THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE, AND THE
FORMATION OF OUR FIRST PEACETIME ALLIANCES, WE PROVIDED AN
ESSENTIAL BULWARK OF SECURITY, STABILITY, AND ECONOMIC
PROGRESS FOR THE WORLD.

IN THE 1970'S, WE BUILT ON THIS FOUNDATION WITH
IMAGINATION AND STARTLING SUCCESS.

WE ENDED AMERICA'S TEN YEAR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN
VIETNAM. WE ENDED IT WITH HONOR AND BROUGHT HOME OUR
PRISONERS OF WAR.

WE ENDED THE CRISIS OF BERLIN. WE ACHIEVED

UNPRECEDENTED AGREEMENTS IN STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL WITH THE

SOVIET UNION. WE FASHIONED A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA.

WE ENDED A WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HAVE BEEN INSTRUMENTAL

IN MOVING THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT TOWARD A STABLE AND

LASTING PEACE.

WE BEGAN A NEW DIALOGUE WITH LATIN AMERICA. WE
LAUNCHED AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF A
GLOBAL FOOD CRISIS. WE HAVE TAKEN UP THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP
TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY.

THIS IS A REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT. IT IS EVIDENCE
OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN ACCOMPLISH WHEN IT SHOWS THE
WILL AND DETERMINATION TO PERSEVERE, AND A DEMONSTRATION OF
THE HISTORIC REALITY THAT THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO AMERICAN
LEADERSHIP. OUR DIPLOMACY IS STILL THE BEST HOPE OF THE
WORLD IN FINDING SOLUTIONS TO AGE-OLD CONFLICTS. WE RESPECT
THE TRUST WHICH COUNTRIES PLACE IN US -- ON BOTH SIDES,
IN SO MANY REGIONAL DISPUTES.

BUT WE HAVE NOT BEEN INVOLVED IN THE WORLD SIMPLY OUT
OF ALTRUISM -- THOUGH WE NEED NOT APOLOGIZE FOR THAT -- BUT
BECAUSE THE KIND OF WORLD AMERICA LIVES IN DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE
KIND OF LIFE AMERICANS LIVE AT HOME.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, PEACE AND PROSPERITY AT
HOME AND ABROAD ARE INDIVISIBLE. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE STATE
OF THIS NATION DEPENDED MORE ON THE STATE OF THE WORLD.

IN A WORLD OF CONTINUING COMPLEXITY, AMERICA'S ROLE

IN PROMOTING PEACE IS INDISPENSABLE. IN THE CONFLICTS IN THE

MIDDLE EAST, INCLUDING CYPRUS, OUR MEDIATION ^{*efforts have*} ~~HAS~~ BEEN

INDISPENSABLE. IN A WORLD OF PROLIFERATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS,

^{*actions*} OUR ~~EFFORTS~~ TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMS AND TO PROMOTE ESSENTIAL

NEW SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THEIR FURTHER SPREAD ARE INDISPENSABLE.

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A GREATER NEED FOR PURPOSEFUL
AMERICAN POLICY AND LEADERSHIP. THIS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED
WITHOUT UNITY AT HOME.

OUR SECRETARY OF STATE IS TODAY IN THE MIDDLE EAST
ENGAGED IN THE QUEST FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF ONE OF THE
MOST SERIOUS POLITICAL DEADLOCKS IN THE WORLD -- A CONFLICT
WHICH HAS POSED FOR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS GREAT DANGERS OF
INTERNATIONAL CONFRONTATION AND CRISIS. THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE ARE UNITED IN WISHING HIM GOD SPEED AND GREAT SUCCESS
IN THIS EXTRAORDINARY MISSION. HE CARRIES WITH HIM THE
HOPES AND PRAYERS OF THE NATION FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

IN THIS DIFFICULT TIME, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE EXPECT
RESPONSIBLE CONDUCT FROM INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
AND FROM THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE AS WELL AS FROM THE
PRESIDENT.

IN CYPRUS, THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG SOUGHT TO
MEDIATE BETWEEN TWO VALUED ALLIES IN ORDER TO SECURE THE
INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THAT STRATEGIC
ISLAND.

A RENEWED NEGOTIATION, SCHEDULED TO BRING TOGETHER
THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF GREECE AND TURKEY IN A MEETING WITH
SECRETARY KISSINGER IN BRUSSELS THIS WEEK, BROKE DOWN BECAUSE
OF CONGRESSIONAL INSISTENCE THAT MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY
BE TERMINATED. THIS ACTION, I AM CONVINCED, IS A
SELF-INFLICTED WOUND -- IT WILL SERIOUSLY IMPAIR OUR RELATIONS
WITH A VALUED ALLY, AND ACHIEVE NO BENEFIT WHATEVER.

IT WILL ADVERSELY AFFECT WESTERN SECURITY GENERALLY, AND WITH
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES TO THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
AND MOST TRAGICALLY OF ALL, IT DOES NOTHING TO IMPROVE THE LOT
OF THOSE CYPRIOTS IN WHOSE NAME THIS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION
WAS SUPPOSEDLY TAKEN.

BUT THE ISSUE IS GREATER THAN THIS IMMEDIATE EXAMPLE

IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

THE ISSUE IS WHAT KIND

OF AN ALLY ARE WE, WHEN WE PUNISH OUR FRIENDS MORE SEVERLY

THAN OUR ENEMIES?

WHAT KIND OF STATESMEN ARE WE,

WHEN WE SO POORLY PERCEIVE OUR OWN INTERESTS?

THIS

QUESTION IS BEING ASKED BY NATIONS WHO LOOK TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.

Tonight

I CAN GIVE NO GOOD ANSWER.

IN THE FINAL DAYS OF THE LAST CONGRESS, THE 1974 TRADE
REFORM ACT WAS PASSED. THAT ACT WAS DESIGNED TO
STRENGTHEN THE BASIS OF OUR ECONOMIC TIES WITH OUR ALLIES, OUR
ADVERSARIES, AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, IN THE INTEREST OF
WORLDWIDE PROGRESS AND STABILITY. THESE ARE NATIONAL GOALS
ON WHICH THERE IS LITTLE DISAGREEMENT.

YET THESE GOALS WERE JEOPARDIZED IN THE LAST CONGRESS
BY AN UNFORTUNATE AMENDMENT, WHICH WITHHELD GENERALIZED
TARIFF PREFERENCES FROM ALL OPEC MEMBERS, WHETHER OR NOT THEY
PARTICIPATED IN LAST WINTER'S OIL EMBARGO. THIS INDISCRIMINATE
AND HASTY ~~ACT~~ ^{BY} DAMAGED OUR RELATIONS WITH ECUADOR, VENEZUELA,
NIGERIA, AND INDONESIA DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY REFUSED TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE EMBARGO AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.

ANOTHER AMENDMENT TO THAT ACT LED THE SOVIET UNION
TO REPUDIATE ITS 1972 ECONOMIC ACCORD WITH US, INCLUDING ITS
AGREEMENT TO SETTLE ITS WORLD WAR TWO LEND-LEASE DEBT.
THE UNITED STATES HAD AGREED IN 1972, AS A RESULT OF THE MARKED
IMPROVEMENTS IN OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP, TO GRANT THE
SOVIET UNION NONDISCRIMINATORY TRADING RIGHTS. THE
BREAKDOWN OF THESE FOREIGN POLICY AGREEMENTS UNFORTUNATELY
COULD CAUSE ADDITIONAL TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES EXACTLY CONTRARY
TO THE INTENT OF THE CONGRESS.

THE ISSUE IS NOT THE GOALS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES SHARE THE SAME HOPE FOR

AMERICA. WHAT IS AT ISSUE IS THE PROCESS OF ^{executing our foreign} ~~OUR~~ POLICY

MAKING, NOT ITS OBJECTIVES. BUT AS MEN OF GOOD WILL, WE

MUST SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF OUR RESPECTIVE ROLES. IT WOULD BE

A NATIONAL TRAGEDY IF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CONGRESS AND THE ^{chief}

EXECUTIVE JEOPARDIZED THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE 1970'S AND PREVENTED

FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD OUR COMMON GOALS.

AS I SAID IN MY STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, I DOUBT THAT RESTRICTIVE AMENDMENTS ARE AN ADEQUATE TOOL FOR SHAPING THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY. AN ATTITUDE FROZEN IN A STATUTE -- HOWEVER NOBLE -- CANNOT SHAPE EVENTS. IN A WORLD OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY NATIONS AND FAST-MOVING CHANGE, DIPLOMACY IS A PROCESS, NOT EXECUTION OF A RIGID BLUEPRINT.

THE DOOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE, AS I HAVE STATED, IS OPEN TO THE CONGRESS, TO NEW MEMBERS AS WELL AS OLD.

I DO NOT EXPECT FIVE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE

REINCARNATIONS OF SENATOR VANDENBERG.

YET, I DO APPEAL

FOR AN OPEN-MINDED SPIRIT OF ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL CONCERN

TO TRANSCEND ANY PARTISAN OR INTERNAL PARTY POLITICS THAT now

THREATEN TO BRING OUR SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN POLICY TO A STANDSTILL.

I CHALLENGE THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE TO GIVE ME THE SAME

CONSIDERATION THAT SENATOR VANDENBERG SOUGHT AND GOT FOR

PRESIDENT TRUMAN.

CAN'T WE CONSULT AND ACT RATHER THAN

PONTIFICATE AND POKE?

I REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE PASSED THE POINT OF

Discarding Tradition

NO RETURN IN LEAVING OUR ~~TRADITIONAL SYSTEM~~ OF NONPARTISANSHIP

IN FOREIGN POLICY.

Further,
1

I REFUSE TO BELIEVE THAT IT WILL BECOME EASIER TO

NEGOTIATE WITH FOREIGN ADVERSARIES AND ALLIES THAN WITH THE

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

I SEEK A COALITION OF CONFIDENCE WITH THE NEW CONGRESS.

AND THERE IS NO AREA IN WHICH THIS IS MORE CRITICAL THAN IN THE
NATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS OF ENERGY.

LAST WINTER'S OIL EMBARGO GENERATED WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT
THAT A COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY POLICY IS NEEDED.

5 or 7 years
WE HAVE
1

ANALYZED AND DEBATED THE OPTIONS. DELAY WILL ONLY COMPOUND
THE PROBLEM.

WE MUST BEGIN NOW. OUR OIL AND GAS SUPPLIES WILL
CONTINUE TO DISSIPATE AND IMPORTS WILL GROW, UNLESS WE TAKE
IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REDUCE CONSUMPTION AND DEVELOP NEW SUPPLIES.

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS IMPERATIVE IF THE UNITED STATES
IS TO MAINTAIN ITS INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP. WE CANNOT EXPECT
OTHER NATIONS TO TIGHTEN THEIR BELTS IF WE ARE UNPREPARED TO DO
THE SAME.

WE CANNOT APPEAR UNWILLING TO TAKE THE UNPLEASANT, BUT
NECESSARY STEPS TO CURE OUR ENERGY AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
WHEN OTHER NATIONS ARE TRYING TO FACE UP TO THEIR OWN
DIFFICULTIES. OIL CONSUMING NATIONS MUST UNITE. THE
SURPLUS OF ARAB DOLLARS IS CREATING A FINANCIAL CRISIS IN
WESTERN EUROPE. CONCERTED ACTION IS ESSENTIAL.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS OFFERED THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE,
INTEGRATED SOLUTION TO OUR ~~ECONOMIC~~ AND ENERGY PROBLEMS EVER
ASSEMBLED. IF WE DO NOT ACT NOW ON THE SHORT-TERM GOALS,
THERE WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE COSTS TO THE UNITED STATES -- BOTH
DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY.

YOU MAY WONDER WHY AM I CALLING FOR NONPARTISANSHIP

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AT A REPUBLICAN PARTY DINNER. WHY

DIDN'T I MAKE THIS SPEECH BEFORE A DEMOCRATIC PARTY DINNER?

WELL, FOR ONE THING, I ~~WASN'T~~ ^{haven't been} INVITED TO ANY DEMOCRATIC
^{Day} LINCOLN ~~WEEK~~ DINNERS.

FOR ANOTHER, THE TRIBUTE TO NELSON ROCKEFELLER IS MORE THAN A PARTISAN TRIBUTE, JUST AS HIS CONFIRMATION AS VICE PRESIDENT BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE LAST DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS WAS MORE THAN A PARTISAN CONFIRMATION. AND HIS OWN EARLY CAREER OF PUBLIC SERVICE IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE NONPARTISAN TRADITION THAT GOES BACK TO THE WAR YEARS OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

BUT MOST OF ALL, I USE THIS REPUBLICAN FORUM FOR
THIS APPEAL BECAUSE I AM PROUD, AND YOU CAN BE PROUD,
OF OUR PARTY'S CONTRIBUTIONS BOTH IN THE CONGRESS AND THE
WHITE HOUSE, IN AND OUT OF POWER, TO THIRTY YEARS OF
CONSTRUCTIVE CONTINUITY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

I RENEW MY OFFER TO CONSULT WITH MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS
ON A FURTHER ORDERLY PHASEOUT OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO
SOUTHEAST ASIA, ON A BASIS WHICH HONORS OUR REPEATED PROMISES
TO ALLIES THAT WE WILL HELP TO SUPPLY THOSE WILLING TO FIGHT FOR
THEIR OWN FREEDOM. I DO NOT SEE HOW WE CAN RENEGE OR
COMPROMISE THAT PRINCIPLE. I DO NOT INTEND TO DO SO.

I AM ALSO WILLING, AS WAS PRESIDENT TRUMAN,
TO BRING THE RESPONSIBLE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY
IN THE CONGRESS IN ON THE FOREIGN POLICY TAKE-OFFS AS WELL AS
LANDINGS -- PARTICULARLY THE CRASH LANDINGS. I HAVE
ALREADY DONE SO AND WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND THESE TWO-WAY
CONSULTATIONS. LET ME REPEAT WHAT SENATOR VANDENBERG
TOLD HIS REPUBLICAN FRIENDS ABOUT PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND THE
REPUBLICAN EIGHTIETH CONGRESS:

"HE IS THE ONLY PRESIDENT WE SHALL HAVE AND THIS IS THE ONLY CONGRESS WE SHALL HAVE DURING THE NEXT CRITICAL TWO YEARS; THE QUICKER WE REACH A WORKING RELATIONSHIP SO THAT WE CAN HAVE A UNITED POLICY, THE SAFER OUR COUNTRY WILL BE."

YESTERDAY I STOOD AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL. I SAW AT THE FAR END OF THE MALL THE GREAT WHITE DOME OF THE CAPITOL, MY HOME FOR ALMOST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

I WAS REMINDED OF THE DIFFICULTIES PRESIDENT JAMES POLK ENCOUNTERED FROM A YOUNG FRESHMAN CONGRESSMAN FROM ILLINOIS WHO DENOUNCED THE UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE MEXICAN WAR AS HAVING BEEN "UNNECESSARILY AND UNCONSTITUTIONALLY BEGUN BY THE PRESIDENT" WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL CONSENT.

AND I REMEMBERED ALSO HOW THAT DEFEATED ONE-TERMER,
WHEN HE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT OF A RAPIDLY
DISINTEGRATING NATION, TOOK EMERGENCY MEASURES WHICH WERE
SIMILARLY DENOUNCED ON CAPITOL HILL AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND
DICTATORIAL. WHEN THE CONGRESS ATTEMPTED TO RUN THE WAR
BY COMMITTEE, PRESIDENT LINCOLN TOLD THEM BLUNTLY THAT THE
SHIP OF STATE CAN HAVE ONLY ONE HELMSMAN.

"IN A STORM AT SEA, NO ONE ON BOARD CAN WISH THE SHIP
TO SINK," HE SAID IN HIS FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE, "AND YET, NOT
INFREQUENTLY, ALL GO DOWN TOGETHER BECAUSE TOO MANY WILL DIRECT
AND NO SINGLE MIND WILL BE ALLOWED TO CONTROL."

AS ONCE AGAIN WE HONOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS THE GREATEST
PRESIDENT OUR PARTY HAS GIVEN THE REPUBLIC, LET US REDEDICATE
OURSELVES TO THE BROADER VISION OF THE NATIONAL GOOD WHICH HE
BROUGHT FROM THE CAPITOL TO THE WHITE HOUSE. LET US CONTINUE
AS AMERICANS TO SEEK HIS ^{noble} ~~LASTING~~ GOALS OF "A JUST AND LASTING
PEACE AMONG OURSELVES AND WITH ALL NATIONS."

THANK YOU.

END OF TEXT