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THE STAKE OF AMERICANS IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY
ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER BEFORE THE
COMMONWEALTH CLUB OF CALIFORNIA
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA
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(Tenth of a Series)

SUMMARY

"...The fact is that our foreign policy cannot be something apart from our domestic policy. Each has significant impact upon the other...Taking one area in which domestic and foreign policy are closely related, the Watergate inquiry raised some questions about possible CIA domestic activity...At the President's request, I headed an inquiry into the allegations...Later Congressional investigations went far beyond the domestic scene. In the process they exposed American foreign intelligence operations to the world -- to the great profit of potential enemies and the grave distress of foreign friends...An America without an effective intelligence agency is a sitting duck in a world of loaded shot-guns..."

The Vice President devoted the main body of this speech to "ten solid bases for American foreign policy" as follows:

1) FOSTERING ECONOMIC GROWTH AT HOME

"...We must have a growth policy at home if we are to provide for our needs. However, (this) requires that we engage actively and increasingly in the commerce of the world. A non-trading, isolated America will be a low-growth or no-growth America.. There are important measures to be taken: (1) Development of energy self-sufficiency; (2) Improved productivity; (3) Plant modernization; (4) A sound environmental policy; (5) Encouragement of the American enterprise system...It is ironic, indeed tragic, that there are serious moves in the Congress to break up major American corporations that have helped build up America's own economy and contributed to world productivity...It is high time that we stopped apologizing for our American enterprise system with its free labor movement..."

2) FOSTERING ECONOMIC GROWTH ABROAD

"On my recent trip to Southeast Asia, leaders said firmly that they cannot resist imperialist subversion by military forces alone without steady economic growth and social progress for their people...essential in a struggle involving subversion, terrorism, and constant disruptions in the lives of the peoples of these countries. One of these leaders told me that 'The economic progress from one multinational corporation out here is worth at least three divisions'...New nations...who have chosen independence and the enterprise system have made dramatic progress compared to those who have followed the Communist alternative...We must not accept a shriveling pie of goods and services, as envisaged by some doomsday prophets, but rather work toward an expanding pie for all to share in increasing amounts."

3) ACCESS TO RAW MATERIALS, CAPITAL, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, MANAGEMENT AND MARKETS

"The attractiveness of the U.S. domestic market for foreign goods, U.S. food surpluses, financial strengths, and the need of other nations for capital, technological and managerial expertise, are the bases for equitable international arrangements..."

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4) FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

"...Freedom of traffic on the seas depends principally on the American Navy...itself being challenged by the world-wide growth of the Soviet Union's naval power...The time is at hand to greatly accelerate the rebuilding of the American Navy..."

5) AN OPEN WORLD

"The era of old world imperialist empires is gone. And yet we find ourselves faced with a new and far more complex form of imperialism, a mixture of Czarism and Marxism with colonial appendages...Pursuit of a more open world is in America's interest...The Congress should stop hamstringing the President and his Administration through amendments and riders that defeat this basic objective."

6) A CLOSER PARTNERSHIP OF THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS

"Whether we like it or not, an attempt is underway to organize the world into a new empire in which the Soviet sun never sets...A positive and far closer partnership of the independent nations of the world...is an essential counterpoise...the greatest hope for the ultimate realization of freedom and respect for human dignity throughout the world."

7) IDENTIFICATION WITH PROGRESS AND SELF-REALIZATION OF ALL PEOPLES

"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. 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 interests as a whole..."

8) MAINTAINING A SUFFICIENCY OF POWER

"(A) base of American foreign policy must always be to maintain sufficient power so the United States and the other independent nations are not in danger of being overrun or engulfed by Soviet or any other imperialism...In the brief trip I made just a few weeks ago...again and again, I heard fear of Soviet expansionism, fear that the United States is turning inward, fear that America is losing -- not the capacity to lead -- but the will to lead."

9) PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"The Ship of State cannot be steered by 536 hands 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 affairs. They have already caused serious difficulties abroad and have even worse implications for the future of our foreign policy. There is no alternative but a return to the constitutional arrangement of strong Presidential initiative and leadership in foreign affairs with the cooperation of the Congress."

10) THE AMERICAN WILL TO LEAD

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

"The Ford Administration has dealt with foreign policy with a deep understanding of the facts and a sensitive perception of the exceedingly complex interrelationships involved. We cannot proceed with simplistic slogans which disregard the facts and mislead the public...Public understanding is essential to the development of policies serving our enlightened self-interest...(and) is essential to our security and that of all those in the world that look to us for hope, for help, and for inspiration."

FULL TEXT FOLLOWS

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF SPEECH

The Stake of Americans in Our Foreign Policy -- This is a very critical time for the United States and the World. Recognition of the difficulties that confront us today is bringing American foreign policy into the Presidential primaries and the Presidential election.

Some people decry this development. They believe it unwise to parade the divisions in our councils before the world. Others call for debate to air the issues and seek through the Presidential contest to settle a course for foreign policy. Still others seize on the occasion of the election to drive hard bargains for their special interests, foreign clients or domestic constituents, by pressing Presidential and Congressional candidates for election year action and advance foreign policy commitments.

Intellectually, Americans like to think of their country as presenting a united posture to the rest of the world. "Politics should end at the water's edge" evokes a positive response here. Certainly, unity in our foreign policy position abroad is in our best, long-term, self-interest, but such unity can be achieved only if there is a generalized public understanding of and agreement on foreign policy. And that, in turn, must be rooted in a basic consensus on major domestic objectives and policies if our foreign policy is to be meaningful and effective.

Unless there is such a consensus, politics cannot and will not "stop at the water's edge." Indeed, today the politics of foreign nations are not stopping when they hit our shores. Foreign governments and their local agents mount lobbies and influence upon the Congress, the Executive Departments and the White House -- not to mention their influence, through our communications system, on American public opinion.

We have come a long way in time from the days when the actions of a Citizen Genet scandalized Washington and the nation. Today it appears we have latter-day Citizen Genets by the score -- and little, if any, public attention riveted upon them.

Interrelationship of Domestic and Foreign Policy -- Most Americans have considered foreign affairs to be remote from their daily lives, and except when war intruded, not to involve their particular living nor to impact upon their future well-being. One can ascribe reasons for this attitude -- the vast distances of the United States from most of the rest of the world, the enormous domestic market for goods right here at home, to mention but two.

However, the fact is that our foreign policy cannot be something apart from our domestic policy. Each has significant impact upon the other. American domestic agricultural policies and American government support of agricultural production is a significant dimension and influence in our conduct of foreign affairs.

Our export of agricultural products has been a major element in our achieving foreign exchange balances that have made it possible for us to meet the enormous rise in petroleum prices imposed by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). On the other hand, American support of its close friend, Israel, in the Middle East, was importantly related to the Arab oil embargo and the subsequent OPEC Development.

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In this energy area, the Congressional domestic policy of holding down the prices of U. S. produced petroleum and natural gas are contributing to the decline in our domestic production and our growing dependence on imports, while at the same time, the American people are going back to the purchase of big cars, which only exacerbates the dependence.

In addition, some of our domestic environmental policies have stymied the building of new electric power plants, both coal and nuclear, and thereby added to our reliance on energy imports from abroad. Today, we are more dependent on low-sulphur Arab oil for American agriculture, industry, transport and household uses every day. Such growing dependence, together with the constant tensions in the Middle East, make the dangers of another boycott far more ominous than before.

This has a serious impact upon American foreign policy and, indeed, our basic national security. It is for this reason that President Ford has been urging the Congress for two years to adopt an overall energy policy, and more recently to enact the Energy Independence Authority. I am happy to say that Congressional hearings have already been started on the Energy Independence Authority.

Taking another area in which domestic and foreign policy are closely related, the Watergate inquiry raised some questions about possible CIA domestic activity in connection with that episode. At the President's request, I headed an inquiry into the allegations and definitely found certain domestic violations, but on the whole a vitally important and reasonably conducted intelligence operation. We made a series of recommendations to correct the situation, which the President has adopted.

Later, the Congressional investigations went far beyond the domestic scene. In the process, they exposed American foreign intelligence operations to the world -- to the great profit of potential enemies and the grave distress of foreign friends. These investigations have had a most serious impact on the effectiveness of our foreign policy and national security.

A nation to survive in the real world needs an intelligence operation. Other nations of the world -- and most particularly the Soviet Union -- employ the most elaborate intelligence gathering and covert activities.

If we are to avoid war and protect our interests, we require both the most modern intelligence-gathering system and effective covert operations. An America without an effective intelligence agency is a sitting duck in a world of loaded shotguns. The foregoing are but examples of how domestic politics and international affairs respond each to the other.

For the American people, the essential task is to determine what serves their own enlightened self-interest in foreign policy. And this, since foreign policy has to be an extension of domestic policy, must have its roots right here at home. Here rhetoric, no matter how lofty, is no substitute for practical knowledgeable action designed to meet specific needs or attain definite objectives of the American people.

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This does not mean that Americans are not motivated or should not be motivated by broad humanitarian concerns, by moral and spiritual precepts. Our nation was founded on moral principles and we will endure only if we live by them. But Americans must see events in their true light and not permit emotionalism to substitute for moral judgment.

In this election year let us air the major issues of foreign policy. Let us look at the record, examine the facts and argue the alternatives. The Ford Administration has dealt with foreign policy with a deep understanding of the facts and a sensitive perception of the exceedingly complex interrelationships involved.

We cannot proceed with simplistic slogans which disregard the facts and mislead the public. Public understanding is essential to the development of policies in serving our enlightened self-interest.

Ten Major Bases for American Foreign Policy -- What, we may ask then, are the solid bases for American foreign policy? I would like to discuss the following ten:

(1) Fostering Economic Growth at Home

One of the first bases is the fostering of economic growth to bring about more jobs, better opportunities and improved living for all Americans. Obviously, we must have a growth policy at home if we are to provide for our needs. However, a growth economy at home requires that we engage actively and increasingly in the commerce of the world. A non-trading, isolated America will be a low-growth or no-growth America. Great as our own resources are, and enormous as our domestic market is, the difference between a truly prospering and growing America and a stagnating America is our foreign trade and commerce.

There are important measures to be taken if growth is to be stimulated:

1. Development of energy self-sufficiency;
2. improvement of the productivity of American capital and technology, labor, management and government;
3. modernization of our plant and equipment;
4. pursuit of a sound environmental policy compatible with economic growth;
5. encouragement of the American enterprise system, through incentives, and through elimination of mounting bureaucratic restraints, over-regulation and ill-conceived taxation measures.

It is ironic, indeed tragic, that there are serious moves in the Congress to break up major American corporations that have helped build America's own economy and contributed to world productivity, and, that by their managerial capacities and financial strengths have provided markets throughout the world for products and services created by American labor and ingenuity. Quite to the contrary, we should be seeking increased productivity to enhance the competitiveness in world markets of goods produced by American workers.

And we must seek through our foreign policy to enhance fair trading opportunity for American business abroad -- and not hesitate to do so. Every major nation in the world -- from France to Japan to Brazil to the Soviet Union -- has the development of overseas markets for its products and the securing of overseas sources of needed and desired imports as one of its cardinal objectives.

It is high time that we stopped apologizing for our American enterprise system with its free labor movement. We should facilitate, not hamstring, the entry of American business, large, medium and small, into world markets.

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In this connection, the large international companies, or the multinational corporations, have played a major role in the vast expansion of trade, the introduction of new technologies around the world, worldwide improvements in managing and marketing. Surely, there are problems and there have been abuses -- just as there also have been in government and the professions. These abuses must be corrected and the individuals responsible rooted out. However, the answer to the correction of such abuses and to providing more jobs for Americans does not lie in hasty attempts to chop such corporations into pieces or to tax them into paralysis.

Experience has demonstrated that the multinational corporation -- whether of U. S., European, or Japanese origins -- is a most effective way today to develop markets and spread technology in the world. In the process, it can bring benefits to both its home country and others.

(2) Fostering Economic Growth Abroad

For the United States, the promotion of trade and commerce is best done through close and mutually beneficial ties with other countries. Clearly, one of our present objectives should be to support President Ford in his efforts to revive the lagging multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva. We also should support the Law of the Seas and other multinational and regional economic negotiations on which the Ford Administration and the Secretary of State have been and are working so hard in our national interest. Among these are the Rambouillet and Jamaica Conferences with the other major free-market industrial nations to deal with the problems caused by inflation, recession, unemployment and high energy costs.

It is worth reminding ourselves that these industrial nations account for 65 per cent of the world's production and 70 per cent of its trade. These are nations not committed to state-dominated and state-controlled economies, but are basically following the enterprise system. Their continued growth and contribution to world trade and development are essential -- not only for their own interests but for the developing nations of the world.

American relations must vary with these nations, so loosely caught up in that phrase "The Third World." We must be sensitive to their aspirations and perceived needs, the state of their industrial advancement, their commitment to trade and development, their resources and capacities, as well as their internal social and political problems.

The Ford Administration has taken significant initiatives in this respect, as evidenced by the dramatic economic and social proposals for multinational cooperation made before the United Nations last fall, the recent visit of the Secretary of State to Latin America, and the participation of the Secretary in the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi this week.

On my recent trip through Southeast Asia, leaders said firmly that they cannot resist imperialist 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 constant disruptions in the lives of the peoples of these countries.

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One of these leaders told me that, "The economic progress from one multinational corporation out here is worth at least three divisions. The United States has a vital interest in the growth and development of all these nations.

Only through solid development can the enormous problem of rapidly-increasing world population be met with success. There is large potential in areas of the world for the production of foods and of other materials critical for living.

There are still large areas that can support far more people than currently live there. There are other areas that today are not even supporting their own people, but could do so. The growth of these areas require 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.

The objective of our foreign policy should 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 as well. This means achieving international agreements against expropriation of capital investments without fair compensation and being friendly but firm in dealing with the Third World.

New nations really have only two basic choices for outside capital -- the Communist world or the free enterprise world. Those who have chosen independence and the enterprise system have made dramatic progress compared to those who have followed the Communist alternative. It is my conclusion that the world 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 envisaged by some Doomsday prophets, but rather work toward an expanding pie for all to share in increasing amounts.

(3) Access to Raw Materials, Capital, Science and Technology, Management and Markets

Another of the bases of our foreign policy should be to assure access to energy and key raw materials like oil, chrome, bauxite and the 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 expertise, are the basis for mutually advantageous and equitable international arrangements. And looking to the future we must, as has been so forcefully advocated by President Ford's Administration, come to an international understanding of the use of the untapped resources in the unexplored areas of the sea, air and space, as well as the polar region.

(4) Freedom of the Seas

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 sea lanes -- that is, the free and unhampered 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 American Navy, inasmuch as the other nations of the free world 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. Our naval investment in World War II has been wiped out by time and technology. The time is at hand to greatly accelerate the rebuilding of the American Navy so it can play its role in maintaining freedom of the sea lanes.

(5) An Open World

The era of old world imperialist empires is gone. And 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 communication, 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 now do. 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 be more secure in a more open world.

Detente is a major effort in the direction of a more secure and open world. Certainly, the avoidance of nuclear confrontation, the increased communication, exchange of visitors, cultural associations, joint space activities and opportunities for expanded trade, which this new Soviet-American relationship offered were major steps in the right direction, even though it was never expected that the worldwide ideological objectives of the Soviet Union would change. Similarly, the opening of relationships with China was a significant development of such a policy. The question may appropriately be asked, "What more specifically should we be doing for this more open world?"

First, I share President Ford's belief that we should press vigorously for implementation of those agreements which nations of the world have signed and ratified, both within the context of the United Nations and outside, which look to freer access of information, communication and travel.

Second, I believe the Congress should stop hamstringing the President and his Administration from moving forward with such interchanges and programs through Congressional amendments and riders that defeat this basic objective.

Third, as the world's leading nation in technology, I urge that we make a concerted national effort to maintain this leadership, through encouragement and incentives to scientific and technological training, manpower and development. We should strive to secure more openness in the closed and semi-closed areas of the world for mutually beneficial exchanges of technology as a condition to the export of our technology and to our cooperation with such areas in technological development.

Fourth, we should clearly not hide the fact, nor apologize for the fact, that our technological developments are related to our democratic way of life, our individual freedom, our national security effort, our philanthropic support of research, our educational system, our governmental support of basic research, and our American competitive enterprise system and military strength.

All of the world -- and particularly the developing world -- should know that our system of enterprise, our structure of freedom, and our commitment to human dignity are basic ingredients in our free science and our successful technology. The incentives to individual and collective research, the challenge to find technology to meet present and emergent situations, the willingness to risk time, money and resources, are surely related to the promise of reward for such efforts. Our 200-year history bears such witness.

(6) A Closer Partnership of the Independent Nations

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 of no better way to describe it -- involves ideological, diplomatic, economic, financial, political and military structures and relationships importantly dominated from Moscow.

A positive and far closer partnership of the independent nations of the world, particularly of those that espouse and encourage economic enterprise without state domination and control, is an essential counterpoise, economically, militarily and politically, to the Soviet's expansionist thrust. This is the greatest hope for the ultimate realization of freedom and respect for human dignity throughout the world.

(7) Identification with Progress and Self-Realization of all Peoples

The United States should be in the forefront of encouraging nations -- new and old -- to develop their identity, their economy and their 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. In dealing with all nations, one of America's great 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. 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 interests as a whole.

(8) Maintaining a Sufficiency of Power

The eighth base of American foreign policy must always be to maintain sufficient power so the United States and the other independent nations are not in danger of being overrun or engulfed by Soviet or any other imperialism. Sufficient strength, therefore, must be at hand, or be developed, to preserve the freedom of the sea lanes, to ensure that neither directly by 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 the other independent nations maintain a military capacity and presence that can counterbalance that of the Soviet Union and its satellites. It means also working with our NATO allies and with nations in other areas of the world to add to this strength. It means encouraging continued economic growth and development throughout the world to help other peoples meet their needs and aspirations, and it means having the industrial capacity and strength to support the necessary military and strategic elements.

In the welter of criticisms of America and its institutions and policies -- many of them generated here at home -- the American public does not have an accurate picture of the United States' role in the world. In the brief trip I made just a few weeks ago to various parts of the world, leader after leader of the independent nations called for American leadership, economic, diplomatic and political, and backed by a strong military presence. Again and again, I heard a three-fold fear: Fear of Soviet expansionism, fear that the United States is turning inward, and the fear that America is losing -- not the capacity to lead -- but the will to lead.

The original purpose of "detente" was to establish contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States which would reduce the danger of a nuclear confrontation. The phrase has unfortunately been taken by some as meaning the Soviets had given up their global aims or their aggressive international objectives.

From the beginning, this was not the case. As the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party flatly put it: "In conditions of detente, the front lines of ideological conflict do not become silent. On the contrary, they become deeper and wider." Therefore, it was never intended, however, that the "detente" policy should lead to unilateral cuts in U.S. military programs and unbalance the economic, military, political and social forces of the free world versus the Soviet world. Nor was it intended that the United States be considered to have given up its championship for the free world -- and for oppressed peoples everywhere, including those now under Soviet domination.

(9) Presidential Responsibility for the Conduct of Foreign Affairs

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 appropriations. The Ship of State cannot be steered by 536 hands grasping for the tiller.

From the very onset of our constitutional system the President -- as chief executive officer of the government, Head of State in dealing with foreign governments, Commander-in-Chief of the military forces, and as the officer charged with negotiating international agreements -- has been responsible for initiation and implementation of American foreign policy.

Congressional actions in the past few years, however well intentioned, have hamstrung the Presidency and usurped the Presidential prerogative in the conduct of foreign affairs. They have already caused serious difficulties 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.

(10) The American Will to Lead

Fundamental to all of this is the continuing American will 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.

But American leadership will endure only so long as we preserve our faith and 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 which exist at this moment in history.

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

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