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Office of the Vice President

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REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
AT THE  
INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE  
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May 10, 1976

I am delighted to welcome you to the United States as representatives of the world's press from some 30 independent nations. And I am doubly delighted to do so during our Bicentennial year here in Philadelphia, the birthplace of this Nation.

Were it not for the institution of a free press, it is doubtful that you would be here visiting an independent Nation today. You arrived here at a fascinating time to observe the American scene; not only in the midst of our 200th Anniversary celebration but in that exciting period, which comes every four years, when we choose our Presidential candidates.

I want to take this opportunity to discuss America's role in a world of accelerating change and growing interdependence.

One of the first bases of American foreign policy is the fostering of economic growth to bring about more jobs, better opportunities and improved living for all Americans -- on a basis of equality of opportunity. 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. We should be seeking increased productivity to enhance the competitiveness in world markets of goods produced by American workers. And we must also seek through our foreign policy to enhance fair trading opportunity 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, 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 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., West 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 to the other countries.

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For the United States, the promotion of trade and commerce is best done through close and mutually beneficial ties with other countries. On my recent trip through Southeast Asia, leaders said firmly that they cannot resist Communist subversion by military force alone -- without steady economic growth and social progress for their people. The latter is essential in the struggle involving subversion, terrorism, and disruptions in the lives of the peoples of these countries. In this struggle, as one leader put it, the economic progress resulting from the activities of one multinational corporation is worth at least 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 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.

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 markets 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.

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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 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 huge naval investment in World War II has been virtually 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 essential role in maintaining freedom of the sea lanes.

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. The opening of U.S. relationships with China was a significant development of such a policy.

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 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 without state domination and control, is an essential counterpoise economically, militarily and politically to the Soviet's expansionist thrust. The independent nations must work together in the common interest. This is the greatest hope for the ultimate realization of freedom and respect for human dignity throughout the world.

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.

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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. 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 interests as a whole.

A fundamental 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 encouraging continued economic growth and development throughout the world to help other peoples meet their needs and aspirations, and it means our 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 appropriations. But 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 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.

Finally, 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.

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.

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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 in order 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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