

# Rockefeller for "North Atlantic Confederation/ Stevenson for Atlantic "Economic Union"

GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER and Adlai Stevenson—the boldest "presidential timber" on Atlantic unification—set a new high level in bold leadership toward this goal in late June. The New York Republican Governor called for "a North Atlantic Confederation to tighten all political, economic, military and cultural bonds linking Great Britain, Western Europe and North America," in speaking to the Binghamton (N.Y.) Rotary Club June 21. On June 23, Mr. Stevenson, twice Democratic presidential candidate, urged the "creation of a permanent economic and social union in the Atlantic world," in addressing the Illinois State Bar Association in Waukegan, without going into such detail as did Mr. Rockefeller.

Gov. Rockefeller reaffirmed his proposal on July 1 in testifying at the Senate hearing in Washington on "national political machinery." The *Washington Post*, after giving almost a column to what it headlined—his "Prescription for Alert and Creative Executive"—added this on his Atlantic proposal:

"Globally, the U. S. must assume" said Rockefeller, "a much more permanent political association with the free peoples of the world, in a much more intimate relationship than is conceived of today.

"Whether it is through 'confederation' or an 'Atlantic Community,' he said, the U.S. must decide whether it is going to enter a system that can give a 'more compelling' answer to what the Soviet Union is offering—a system of world organization.\* This nation, said Rockefeller, could well consider associating with such developing forces as the six-nation European Common Market."

The text of what Rockefeller said at Binghamton on confederation follows:

I am deeply disturbed by the present state and strength of freedom in the world, as well as the security of our own country. I know these matters and their true appraisal must concern you, as individual citizens and thoughtful Americans, and as members of a great international organization [Rotary] -

\*For more on the communist plan see Prof. Goodman's article, "The Gospel of Red World Government" According to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mr. K." on page 26.—*Editor*.

## Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York

dedicated to fostering world understanding in no less than 116 nations.

The facts before us permit no one to be either serene or complacent. For the fate of our freedom—yours and mine and America's—is decisively affected by the fate of freedom in the world at large.

If freedom is really to become a dynamic and irresistible force in the world, free men and free nations must join together in a truly great design—a design to assure that our deepest spiritual and political values shall live and thrive. Two great and explicit challenges and needs are involved:

First, we must give to the Government of the U.S. a structure so cohesive, so efficient, so strong that it can both inspire and execute the policies and programs necessary in a world of revolutionary change.

Second, we must lead and encourage the

## STEVENSON CALLS FOR "ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UNION IN ATLANTIC"

Adlai Stevenson, according to a *New York Times* report from Waukegan, Ill., in addressing the State Bar Association there on June 23, "called for 'grounding our real strength in the creation of a permanent economic and social union in the Atlantic world.

"Such a union, he said, might undertake with the U. N. 'a revolution of economic modernization in the decisive under-developed areas of the world where the Communists are working so hard.'

"Such a move would insure greater unity in the non-Communist world, he asserted. On this 'fundamental basis of strength,' he said, renewed efforts could be made to achieve complete disarmament under international control.

free nations to develop and deepen their bonds with one another so that regional alliances can grow into working confederations.

I have spoken of developing confederations out of regional alliances. This is neither a dream nor an abstraction. It simply suggests the logical and inevitable next step in the history of free nations.

We must face the fact that we have reached a point in history at which the nation-state, standing alone, is becoming as obsolete as the city-state of ancient Greece or Medieval Europe.

No nation today, large or small, can meet the needs of its people or insure their security from within its own borders alone. We have already seen the peril of allowing Communist imperialism to pick off, one by one, the free nations standing in its path of aggression. We can see that the pattern of relationship between America and these other free nations must be something deeper and broader than a series of military alliances and bilateral treaties. There must be more lasting and rational political structure to these relationships.

Furthermore, we know in the economic realm that we cannot indefinitely treat or support the many needy free nations as dependents upon America. "Rather must we help them to evolve political and economic structures that sustain their own unity, cooperation, prosperity and strength.

Our great task, then, is to help build these structures, so that the forces of democracy throughout the world can be strong and purposeful, dynamic and confident. We must be concerned primarily with political associations. As the political structures are sound—and only thus—the strength needed for common effort and common defense will follow.

We are not and cannot be striving merely to meet crises on a sporadic basis—but striving to serve the needs and aspirations of free peoples everywhere on a continuing basis.

We are not trying merely to baffle enemies of freedom. We are trying to build freedom itself—by building the structures in which it can live and thrive. These are the ideas and purposes beneath the regional concept of confederation.

The outlines of confederation are already present throughout the world. They exist in the Organization of American States, in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the "Inner Six" and "Outer Seven" of European trade, and other like

associations. These can be starting points for the work ahead of us.

This work of moving toward confederation does not involve any super-states. Nor does it subtract from or conflict with the authority of the U. N. Quite the contrary: Article 51 of the U. N. Charter specifically makes provision for regional associations and the growth of these associations would, in fact, add immeasurably to the strength of the U. N.

The whole spirit and concept of confederation would be gradual and evolutionary. It provides occasion for firmer bonds between nations, joined in common effort on any level of national life—whether it be social, economic, or monetary; juridical, cultural, or military. Thus the principles of confederation can be applied at whatever level the parties agree to be in their mutual interest.

Let me try to put the idea of confederation into clear focus by proposing specific confederations and the great tasks they would accomplish: I. *A North Atlantic Confederation to tighten all - political, economic, military and cultural bonds linking Great Britain, Western Europe and North America.* It would offer in the economic area a larger framework within which to work toward resolving present conflict between the "Inner Six" and the "Outer Seven."

It would be dedicated to the ultimate achievement of free competition and free trade throughout its area. It would work toward greater unity of armed forces—a unity that, as it grew, America could recognize by placing nuclear weapons under the command of NATO.

It would share among the prosperous Western nations the burden, now falling largely upon America, to bring economic assistance and technical training to underdeveloped areas—and it would inspire this essential help to be given as a joint undertaking.

It would work toward a single Western plan for enforceable programs of disarmament to be negotiated with the Soviet Union—rather than allow the Soviets to confront and exploit a variety of divergent Western programs as they do today.

Finally, it would be a confederation so strong and so confident as to be ever ready to enlarge its numbers to include any of the Soviet-controlled satellites wanting to break away from the Soviet system and to join a union of free nations clearly capable of defending themselves.

2. *A Western Hemisphere Confederation.* This would give hope and help to the peoples of Latin America who today are the world's most rapidly growing population. It would make possible a kind of Marshall Plan for Latin America that would work toward long-range industrial develop-

ment and a Hemisphere free-trade area, allowing a free flow of men and goods and money from Point Barrow to Tierra del Fuego. In my opinion, only action of this scope can check anti-democratic forces, spurred on by Communist influences from abroad, as are so evident in Cuba today.

It would join efforts everywhere to make the land serve the people, by supporting land reform wherever necessary and by fostering so great a joint project as an East Andes Development Authority. Such an authority could open up the fertile soils and abundant power along this great frontier reaching from Caribbean shores 3,000 miles southward through the heart of the continent.

It would inspire progressive social action on a broad front. It would quicken the growth of universities. It would encourage scientific research development. And it would tackle such urgent social problems as the need to finance, through a hemispheric credit mechanism akin to F.H.A., a massive program of low-cost housing in the fast-growing metropolitan centers of the Hemisphere.

3. *An African Confederation.* To begin with, this would respect and echo the spirit of African unity already voiced by African leaders who are themselves impatient with old forms of nationalism that have no real roots in Africa.

With the cooperation of the North Atlantic Confederation, it would then begin with the most urgent task before the newly free African peoples, that of providing skills and training to millions just learning to govern themselves and to direct their own economies.

It would establish specific institutes of training in these subjects, from civil admin-

istration and auditing to telephone communication and road-building. These institutes could largely be financed by the combined resources from public and private sources.

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These, then, are some concrete examples of work to be done. The challenges are no less great in the Middle East and the Far East. Here, too, the rewards of working confederations can be enormous—for the cause of freedom. Ultimately, effective confederation can mean the proving that freedom can work—and that the needs and aspirations of free peoples everywhere can be met by bold and imaginative leadership of the free world.

This is a cause to challenge the greatness of America—to stir its peoples—to inspire its leaders.

This is a time in history when the skeptics and the cynics must not be allowed to make us shy from great endeavor, boldly conceived and bravely executed. Nor can we be turned aside by oversimplified warnings in terms of costs and expenses—warnings that, while seeming to be realistic, take little account of the facts.

We must remember the basic truth that only as the free nations of the world share in growth and strength can they share cost. Only as world productivity expands can the free peoples find a more sound and just source of help than the income of the individual American taxpayer. Only as the American economy grows in size and strength can it fulfill the opportunities of freedom and meet the challenge of communism. And this growth of ours can come only in a world whose productivity is speeding and whose economy is expanding.

[Statements to House Foreign Affairs Committee]

### ATLANTIC CONVENTION "URGENTLY NEEDED" —HENRY FORD II

I am in thorough accord with provisions of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17 which you later introduced in House of Representatives. I believe that prompt and favorable action by the Congress will make possible a more determined and more effective effort to unify and strengthen the free world nations against growing stresses. Such effort is needed and needed urgently.—HENRY FORD II.

### "GREAT VALUES" IN CITIZENS MEETING —ERWIN CANHAM

I am delighted to join all those who are supporting the resolutions for a convention of citizens of NATO nations. I only regret that I have to be on the Pacific coast, and will be unable to testify personally. I was a delegate to the Atlantic Congress, and recognized there the great values of this kind of citizen participation. If we are to intensify the bonds of community within the Atlantic area, we will do so through the activity of citizens quite as much as we will through governmental action.—ERWIN D. CANHAM, Editor, *Christian Science Monitor*. (Mr. Canham was President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce the past year.—Editors.)

Note—The above statements appear in the printed report of the hearing which the House Committee on Foreign Affairs held May 17 on the Atlantic Convention resolution. For oral testimony then see June FREEDOM & UNION.