The original documents are located in Box D30, folder "World Affairs Council Luncheon, Grand Rapids, MI, November 2, 1970" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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1. A FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE 1970's: A NEW STRATEGY FOR PEACE.

The foreign policy inherited by President Nixon was formed in the late 1940's. But the world has changed a great deal in the last twenty years:

- Then, U.S. nuclear monopoly; today, Soviet nuclear arms rivaling our own, and growing stronger.
- <u>China</u> racing to become a nuclear power. On the other hand,
- Western Europe and Japan (now third largest world economy) now recovered and strong, able to play an active part in the world;

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- <u>Colonial empires gone</u>; many new nations developing identity, political institutions and purposes of their own;
- <u>The once-solid Communist bloc</u> is deeply strained and divided: e.g., revolts in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia; massive Sino-Soviet military confrontation on their Asian frontier;
- Emergence of global and particularly regional international organizations in Asia, Latin America, Africa, etc., increasingly able to muster regional efforts and resources to attack regional problems.

<u>Result:</u> <u>A very different world</u>, in which U.S. is no longer so secure, but also no longer so alone in providing leadership and resources for security and progress in the world community. Accordingly, it is time to take a new look at our foreign policy.

II. TOWARD A NEW POLICY: THE ADMINISTRATION'S REVIEW.

To adapt U.S. foreign policy to the needs of the 70's and beyond, and to improve our machinery for developing and carrying it out, the Nixon Administration has taken two major steps:

- At the President's direction, the <u>National Security</u> <u>Council</u> machinery drawing on all the foreign affairs agencies, has been revitalized and strengthened,

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and has begun a searching <u>review of existing U.S.</u> <u>policy</u>, element by element -- more than 80 basic studies undertaken so far.

- Under Secretary Roger's leadership, an equally fundamental reform movement has been launched in the Department of State, to provide more effective leadership in developing policy recommendations for the President, and in coordinating and supervising all the scattered foreign affairs agencies and programs of the Government.
- This has involved 13 task forces of 250 of the best officers for the past year, and has produced more than 500 recommendations for important changes, many already being put into effect -- the most important modernization process ever to affect the State Department.

III. THE NEW APPROACH: THE NIXON DOCTRINE.

<u>The NSC review</u> will be a long process -- a great nation does not change course abruptly from day to day. But it has already produced very important decisions regarding Asia, Strategic Arms Limitation, Latin America and other areas.

An important change in the policy of the past twenty years is already beginning to appear. The nature of this change is expressed in the so-called Nixon Doctrine, first enunciated last year by the President at Guam. It is based on these principles:

- <u>A more equal sharing of responsibility with other</u> <u>nations</u>; in today's world, the U.S. cannot and will not "conceive <u>all</u>" plans, design <u>all</u>" programs,

-6execute <u>all</u> decisions, and undertake <u>all</u> defense of free nations" (Nixon report to Congress, 2/18/70.)

- We must and will loyally <u>honor our commitments</u> to friends and allies; but those commitments must be based on our national interests, and we will <u>carefully and critically assess</u> those interests in considering any new commitments.
- We must and will <u>maintain our strength</u>; "which cannot be gained by good will alone."
- We must and will try, in concert with our allies, to <u>negotiate settlements</u> of the concrete issues which divide and threaten the world.

When President Nixon took office, U.S. troops had been fighting in Vietnam for five years; our armed forces there had grown to more than half a million men. No end was in sight.

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The U.S. objective in Vietnam is an end to the fighting, and a settlement which will leave the South Vietnamese free to determine democratically their own future.

In the end, South Vietnam must be responsible for its own survival; we cannot carry the main burden. In the past, the U.S. had not adequately prepared the South Vietnamese to assume the major share of their own military effort.

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Accordingly, the Administration launched a major Vietnamization program, to prepare the SVN forces to take over gradually the full defense of their own country.

At the same time, the President ordered the <u>gradual</u> withdrawal of U.S. forces, as South Vietnamese manpower was organized and trained to replace them. By this month, 165,000 U.S. men had been withdrawn; more than 250,000 will have been withdrawn by next spring.

The <u>Cambodian sanctuaries</u> operation successfully insured the continuation of this program.

Vietnamization will take time; we would prefer to negotiate a peace, now. The President's October 7

five-point peace proposal:

- A cease-fire-in-place, internationally supervised, throughout Indochina;
- Enlarged Indochina Peace Conference;
- An agreed timetable for complete withdrawal of outside forces from South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos;
- <u>A political settlement</u> based on the wishes of South Vietnamese of all parties;
- Immediate, unconditional release of all POW's on both sides.

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These proposals are supported by South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos; both parties in the Congress (Senate resolution); and widely throughout the world.

V. OTHER INITIATIVES FOR PEACE: THE MIDDLE EAST.

The Mideast has been at war off and on for 20 years. We have no commitment to either side; we seek a just peace to prevent a great power confrontation, to make social progress possible for all peoples in the area, to allow peaceful commerce with and through the area for all countries.

We have not been the major arms supplier for either side; we have urged international agreement on <u>limitation of arms shipments</u> to the area, which the Soviets decline; we have at times supplied limited arms to one side or the other, in the belief that a military preponderance on either side is more dangerous than a balance.

Only the parties can reach a settlement; we have tried to bring the parties together to negotiate, in talks with them, in four-power consultations, in the UN and elsewhere.

Last June, a U.S. initiative succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire agreement in the area, but negotiations have since been stalled by Egyptian violations (erection of new missile sites in the cease-fire zone).

We are continuing to try to bring the parties

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together to negotiate on the basis of the UN Security Council Resolution of 11/22/67, which provided for:

- Arab recognition of Israel's rights to exist within secure frontiers;
- Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory;
- free use by all parties of international waterways in the area;
- a fair settlement of the refugee problem.

VI. OTHER INITIATIVES FOR PEACE.

In Europe, through NATO, we have proposed negotiations with the Communist countries on <u>mutual reduc-</u> tion of forces in both Eastern and Western Europe; In <u>four-power talks on Berlin</u>, we are negotiating with the Soviets for improved conditions of life including free access for the people of West Berlin;

President Nixon has carried out <u>the first visits by</u> <u>a U.S. President to Communist countries</u> -- Romania, Yugoslavia.

We resumed talks with Communist China at Warsaw last January after a two year break (however, Chinese have stalled since last spring; we hope for early resumption); we have indicated our willingness to seek an improved climate of U.S.-Chinese relations by <u>relax</u>ing certain restrictions on trade and travel to China.

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VII. LIMITING THE ARMS RACE.

One of the most pressing problems confronting the new Nixon Administration was the urgent need to stop the spiraling and costly arms race between East and West. Accordingly, the President has taken a number of major steps:

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- After exhaustive preparation, <u>Strategic Arms</u> <u>Limitation Talks</u> (SALT -- on nuclear warheads and delivery systems) with the Soviet Union were undertaken. These will be long and difficult, and may be the most significant arms control negotiations ever undertaken. Our goal is to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and the cost of the arms race by maintaining a stable U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship.

- We <u>ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty</u> last year, and it is now in effect, to prevent new nuclear threats to the peace from developing in presently non-nuclear countries around the world.
- We have <u>renounced any use of biological weapons</u>, <u>committed ourselves not to use lethal or incapaci-</u> <u>tating chemical weapons</u> unless they are used against us, and <u>resubmitted the 1925 Geneva Protocol</u> on chemical and biological weapons to the Senate for approval.

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- We and the Soviets have joined in submitting to the Geneva Conference of the UN Disarmament Committee <u>a revised draft treaty to prohibit placing nuclear</u> <u>or other mass destruction weapons on the seabed</u> outside the 12 mile coastal limit. Endorsement by the UN General Assembly seems assured.
- We have reduced <u>our own Defense budget</u> by a total 17 billion since FY '68 -- from 9 percent of GNP in FY '69 to 7 percent of GNP in FY '71 -- the smallest proportion in twenty years (in other terms, from 42 to 35 percent of the Federal budget).

VIII. SHARING RESPONSIBILITY WITH OTHER NATIONS.

A basic principle of the Nixon Doctrine is this, that today other nations can and must play the leading role in their own defense; we will provide our allies, and other strategic nations when we think it necessary, with a nuclear shield; they must be primarily responsible for manning and organizing conventional defenses and for dealing with insurgency, though we will help when our interests are threatened.

Accordingly, we have not only introduced the Vietnamization policy in Vietnam, but we are

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making <u>significant</u> reductions of our forces in <u>Thailand</u>, the Philippines, Korea and Japan (totaling 46,000 troops withdrawn by next spring);

In addition, we are <u>calling on our European allies to</u> <u>assume a larger share</u> of the defense of the Atlantic Alliance, which remains the keystone of our security arrangements.

In announcing <u>a new Latin American policy</u> based on a more equal inter-American partnership, we have pledged:

- to continue U.S. assistance;

- to work to reduce non-tariff barriers of developed countries against Latin American products;
- to consult the Latins in advance on U.S. trade

decisions which affect them;

 we have removed "tied loan" restrictions and
 proposed the establishment of a multilateral, inter-American development assistance agency and a \$1.8 billion multi-year U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank.

The President has proposed sweeping reforms of the U.S. aid program to channel the bulk of development loan funds through international institutions.

Secretary Rogers has made <u>the first official tour</u> of Africa by a U.S. Secretary of State, and pledged continued support of African development, and U.S. cooperation in keeping the continent free of great power rivalries and conflicts.

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Since June 1969 we have <u>reduced U.S. civilian</u> representatives abroad by more than ten percent.

IX. OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO PURSUIT OF PEACE.

In other contributions to strengthening the rule of law in the world and settlement of disputes by negotiation, not force:

Secretary Rogers has proposed measures to strengthen the International Court of Justice;

We have reached <u>agreement with Japan on the return</u> of Okinawa;

We have reached a comprehensive boundary agreement

with Mexico which will resolve this long-standing and difficult problem permanently on the basis of agreed principles.

In addition, we have launched important international initiatives to attack the worldwide problem of pollution of our natural environment;

To launch strong international efforts to control the illicit drug traffic; and

To develop the Law of the Sea to protect free transit through international straits, to define preferential fishing rights for coastal states, and to organize the exploitation of seabed resources in a way which

will contribute to progress in the less-developed as well as the industrialized nations.

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X. CONCLUSION: A DYNAMIC STRATEGY FOR PEACE.

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These and many other efforts we are undertaking add up to <u>a new look</u> at America's place in the rapidly changing world which confronts us. What was good enough yesterday is not good enough today.

As President Nixon said in India last year, "In today's rapidly changing world there is no such thing as a static peace or a stagnant order. To stand still is to build pressures that are bound to explode the peace; and more fundamentally, to stand still is to deny the universal aspirations of mankind. Peace today must be a creative force, a dynamic process, that embraces both the satisfaction of man's material needs and the fulfillment of his spiritual needs."

We are not standing still. Recognizing the meaning of changing conditions, we are modifying our stands, to make room not only for the material resources, but for the imagination and the leadership which other nations as well can supply.

But we are not turning our backs on the world, and we must not try. The fear and the needs which divide the world can only be overcome by the combined efforts of many nations, working together. In those combined efforts, we will continue to do our full part.

"A GENERATION OF PEACE"

I. "A GENERATION OF PEACE" -- Words first used in

Indo-China proposal

"FROM THE ERA OF CONFRONTATION TO NEGOTIATION" -- Words

first used in Inaugural Address.

A. Is this merely campaign hyperbole or rhetoric?

B. Is he relying on "summitry" talks (U.S. & USSR)?

1.4

- II. A CHANGING WORLD since World War II
 - A. Europe no longer prostrate
 - B. Communist nations no longer single monolith bloc headed by Russia.
 - 1. Sino-Soviet split
 - 2. Eastern Europe restless
 - C. Growing community of Asian free nations
 - Among the first ten nations in economic growth of G.N.P., four of them are in this area: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia.

3/

2. Japan

- a. One of the economically powerful in world.
- 3. Thailand
 - a. New constitution
 - b. Held first elections
- 4. South Korea
 - a. One of the fastest growing economies in the world.

- 5. Indonesia
 - a. Half of all Southeast Asia in population
 - Once pro-China dictatorship under Sukarno; now anti-Red.
 - c. Have stopped inflation spiral. Was 20% a year; now 10%.
 - d. Economic renaissance
- 6. Malaysia
 - a. Economic growth in productivity of 8% a year.

NO # 5 OR 6 7/

- 7. Taiwan
 - a. Economic growth of 9%
 - b. Provides technical assistance to 27 lesser developed countries.
- 8. All of these, together with Philippines, India, Australia, and New Zealand, constitute a new economic and political community of free nations, while China's economic growth remains stagnated at 1960 level.

III. NIXON STRATEGY FOR PEACE

- A. Strength
 - 1. Strong defense posture (nuclear sufficiency)
 - a. Safeguard system (protecting retaliatory power)
 - 1) A.B.M.
 - b. Only through strong defense posture can there be the requisite diplomatic and military credibility for negotiating.

9/

B. Partnership

1. Sharing peace-keeping responsibility

C. <u>Negotiations</u>

- 1. Negotiating on many fronts
 - a. Settling disputes
 - b. Limiting arms

World conflict will never be settled by any big "parley at the summit" by the big powers. But the area of conflict can be narrowed or sliced away by negotiated treaties on a host of problems --

8/

-- on subjects such as arms, nuclear weapons, trade, and certain geographic area -- such as Middle East or Indo-China.

- D. Opening New Channels of Communication
- E. Peace Initiatives
 - 1. Breaking stalemates in cold war
- IV. IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGY

A. Sharing World Responsibilities

- 1. Nixon Doctrine
 - a. U.S. will no longer commit massive troops for defense of Asian nations.

- b. U.S. will no longer fight Asian wars for them but may provide arms assistance when security of a nation is threatened by foreign aggression.
- c. Recognizes the new capability of Asian nations to assume their own defense.
- 2. Multi-lateral approach to foreign aid
 - a. The U.S. should channel an increasing share of its development assistance through the multi-lateral institutions as rapidly as practicable.
 - b. Our remaining bilateral assistance should be provided largely within a framework established by the international institutions.

- 3. Reduction of U.S. military presence abroad
 - a. It will total 311,200 by June 1970;
 withdrawal from Vietnam, Thailand,
 Philippines, South Korea and Japan.
- 4. Reduction of U.S. civilian presence abroad
- 5. New Latin American policy
 - a. Emphasis on partnership
 - b. Tariff preferences
 - c. Advance trade consultation

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- 6. Africa first official tour by Secretary of State
 - a. Richard Nixon said, "The Africa of the 1970's will need schools rather than

sympathy, roads rather than rhetoric, farms rather than formulas, local development rather than lengthy sermons. We will do what we can in a spirit of constructive cooperation rather than by vague declarations of good will. The hard facts must be faced by Africans and their friends; and the hard work in every corner of the Continent must be done. A durable peace cannot be built if the nations of Africa are not true partners in the gathering prosperity and security which fortify that peace."

B. Negotiating Settlements of Dispute

- 1. Okinawa reversion to Japan
- 2. Panama U.S. cedes Rio-Hato Tract (reserved tract for future building and uses for U.S. troop training - June 1970)
- 3. Mexico Comprehensive boundary agreement signed.

C. Negotiating Arms Limiting Arms Race

- 1. SALT Talks outlook for success
- 2. Nuclear Proliferation Treaty signed 1969
- 3. Renouncement of chemical warfare by U.S.

- 4. Draft treaty to prevent emplacement of nuclear weapons on seabeds
- 5. DOD budget down 9% 7%; lowest in 20 years.
- D. Initiatives for Peace
 - 1. Vietnamization
 - a. 165,000 troops withdrawn; by spring 1970 --265,000 will have been withdrawn.

5 • ¹

- 2. Eastern Europe
 - a. First president to visit Communist countries
 - Romania 1.5 million greeted Nixon in 1969
 - 2) Yugoslavia in 1970
- 3. Communist China
 - a. Warsaw talks opened
 - b. Relaxation of trade

17/

- 4. Mid-East Cease Fire Initiative
 - a. 90-day truce between Israel and UAR and Jordan

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- b. Withdrawal of territories occupied in 1963 conflict
- c. Recognition of each other's sovereign and territorial integrity

- 5. Indo-China Peace Proposal
 - a. Cease-Fire (standstill)
 - b. Mutual exchange of prisoners
 - c. Indo-China peace conference
 - d. Time-table for troop withdrawal negotiable
 - e. Political settlement with self-determination for South Vietnam

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- V. "GENERATION OF PEACE"
 - A. If Mid-East cease-fire develops into an end to war
 - B. If Paris talks stalemate is broken or policy of Vietnamization works, then guns are silent for the first time in 50 years.

As Churchill said of a significant turning point in World War II, "This is not the end, nor the beginning of the end, but it is perhaps the end of the beginning."

And so President Nixon with these initiatives has made an "end of the beginning" towards "a generation of peace."

QUOTATIONS ON PEACE

<u>Cicero</u>: "What then should be the objective of those who are at the helm of government, which they should never lose sight of, toward which they ought to set their course? It is peace with dignity."

<u>Churchill</u>: "Patience and perseverance must never be begrudged when the peace of the world is at stake."

Eisenhower to Prime Minister MacMillan: "I think that people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it."

21/

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<u>Churchill</u>: "Jaw, jaw, jaw is better than war, war, war." <u>Churchill</u>: "I do not hold that we should arm in order to fight. I hold that we should arm in order to parley."

QUOTATION ON STATESMANSHIP

<u>Alexander Hamilton:</u> "As a general marches at the head of his troops, so ought we politicians march at the head of affairs, in so much that they ought not to await the event to know what measures to take, but the measures which they have taken out to produce the event."

NOTES

GRAND RAPIDS

Nov. 2, 1920

Herall R. Ford

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OFFICE OF THE MINORITY LEADER WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

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WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL LUNCHEON



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"A GENERATION OF PEACE"

NOTES FOR WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL LUNCHEON NOV. 2, 1990 GR, MICH MONDAY

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 - 2. Multi-lateral approach to foreign aid
 - a. The U. S. should channel an increasing share of its development assistance through the multi-lateral institutions as rapidly as practicable.
 - b. Our remaining bilsteral assistance should be provided largely within a framework established by the international institutions.
 - 3. Reduction of U. S. military presence abroad
 - It will total 311,200 by June 1970; withdrawal from Vietnam, Theiland, Thilippines, South Kores and Japan.
 - 4. Reduction of U. S. civilian presence abroad
 - 5. New Latin American policy
 - a. Emphasis on partnership
 - b. Tariff preferences
 - c. Advance trade consultation
 - 6. Africa first official tour by Secretary of State
 - a. Richard Mixon said, "The Africa of the 1970's will need schools rather than sympathy, roads rather than rhetoric, farm a rather than formulas, local development rather than lengthy sermons. We will do what we can in a spirit of constructive cooperation rather than by vague declarations of good will. The hard facts must be faced by Africans and their friends; and the hard work in every corner of the Continent must be done. A durable peace cannot be built if the nations of Africa are not true partners in the gathering prosperity and security which fortify that peace."

B. Negotisting Settlements of Dispute

- 1. Okinawa reversion to Japan
- Panama = U. S. cedes Rio-Heto Tract (reserved tract for future building and uses for U. S. troop training - June 1970)
- 3. Mexico Comprehensive boundary agreement signed

C. Negotisting Arms Limiting Arms Race

- 1. SALT Talks + outlook for success
- 2. Muslear Proliferation Treaty signed 1969
- 3. Renouncement of chemical warfare by U. S.
- 4. Draft treaty to prevent employement of nuclear weapons on seabeds
- 5. DOD budget down 9% 7%; lowest in 20 years.
- D. Initiatives for Peace
 - 1. Vietnamization
 - a. 165,000 troops withdrawn; by spring 1970 265,000 will have
 been withdrawn.
 - 2. Kastern Europe
 - a. First president to visit Communist countries
 - 1) Romania 14 million greated Nixon in 1969
 - 2) Yugoslavia in 1970
 - 3. Communist China
 - a. Warsew talks opened
 - b. Belaxation of trade
 - 4. Mid-East Casse Fire Initiative
 - a. 90-day truce between Israel and UAK and Jordan
 - b. Withdrawof of territories occupied in 1963 conflict
 - c. Recognition of each other's sovereign & territorial integrity

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- 5. Indo-China Pasca Proposal
 - a. Cease-Fire (standstill)
 - b. Mutual exchange of prisoners
 - c. Indo-China peace conference
 - d. Time-table for troop withdrawal negotiable

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- e. Political settlement with self-determination for South Vietnam
- V. "GENERATION OF PEACE"
 - A. If Mid-Kest cause-fire develops into an end to war
 - B. If Paris talks stalemate is broken or policy of Vietnamisation works, then guns are silent for the first time in 50 years.

As Churchill said of a significant turning point in World War II, "This is not the end, nor the beginning of the end, but it is perhaps the end of the beginning."

And so President Nixon with these initiatives has made an "end of the beginning towards "a generation of pasce."

Additional Rhetorical Material for Congressman Ford

Quotations on Peace

Cicero: "What then should be the objective of those who are at the helm of government, which they should never lose sight of, toward which they ought to set their course? It is peace with dignity."

Churchill: " Patience and perseverance must never be begrudged when the peace of the world is at stake."

Eisenhower to Prime Minister MeaHillan: "I think that people want peace so much that one of these days government had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Quotations on Negotistion

"Jaw, jaw, jaw is better than war, war, war." Churchill

"I do not hold that we should arm in order to fight. I hold that we should arm in order to parksy." Churchill

Quotations on Statesmanship

"As a general marches at the head of his troops, so ought we politicians march at the head of affairs, in so much that they ought not to await the event to know what measures to take, but the measures which they have taken out to produce the event." Alexander Hamilton



U.S. DIPLOMACY FOR THE 1970'S FROM CONFRONTATION TO NEGOTIATION

I. INITIATIVES FOR PEACE

. Mideast cease-fire proposal: In June 1970 Secretary Rogers proposed that Israel, the UAR, and Jordan observe a 90-day cease-fire and begin negotiations under UN Representative Gunnar Jarring's auspices in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967. It is the U.S. hope that this initial cease-fire will be extended and that the countries involved will not again resort to force.

. Indochina 5-point peace proposal: President Nixon on October 7 proposed, with the full support of South Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, a 5-point initiative for peace in Southeast Asia: (1) a cease-fire in place, to be internationally supervised and to encompass the fighting in all Indochina; (2) an enlarged peace conference to deal with the conflict in all three states of Indochina; (3) an agreed time-table for complete withdrawals as part of an overall settlement; (4) a political settlement that truly meets the aspirations of all South Vietnamese and reflects the existing relationship of political forces; (5) the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war held by both sides. These proposals have the general support of both parties in Congress, all segments of the population in all parts of the political spectrum, and very widespread international approval.

. Expanded Paris peace talks: On January 25, 1969 representatives of all parties engaged in the Viet-Nam conflict began substantive discussions at Paris. The U.S. has proposed, among other things, mutual troop withdrawals, cease-fires and elections under international supervision, and prisoner repatriation. In July 1970, to underline the continuing U.S. desire to achieve a negotiated peace, President Nixon appointed veteran diplomat David K.E. Bruce to head the U.S. delegation. We are ready to consider all proposals and regard everything as negotiable except the right of the South Vietnamese people to determine their own future.

. Vietnamization and troop withdrawals of more than a quarter of a million U.S. military personnel by spring 1971 are being carried out by the Administration. From an authorized troop level in July 1969 of 549,500 to 399,000 in September 1970 and further cuts by the end of June 1971 of 115,000.

. Mutual force reductions in Europe: We have joined our NATO allies in proposing mutual and balanced force reductions which would not be of military disadvantage to either side. The reductions would be carried out under adequate verification and controls. Present levels in the central region of Europe are about 600,000 combat-ready troops on each side.

. Berlin Four Power talks: In keeping with Four Power rights and responsibilities for Berlin and Germany as a whole, the three western powers last spring asked the USSR to join in talks to improve the situation in and around the city. We seek improvements in the movement of goods and persons between Berlin and the FRG and in circulation within Berlin; also, an end to discriminatory treatment of the West Berlin economy by the East.

. Eastern Europe: President Nixon's precedent-setting trip to Romania in August 1969 stimulated a program of cooperation with Romania in the economic, scientific, and cultural fields and a process of exchanging views on broader questions of mutual concern. We are taking advantage of all opportunities to expand communications wherever possible with the countries of Eastern Europe; e.g., the President's trip to Yugoslavia.

Communist China: The Administration announced in July 1969 new regulations to permit American tourists and residents abroad to purchase limited quantities of goods originating in China. We have validated more than 700 passports for Americans to travel to China; offered exchange visits of journalists, scientists, scholars; and offered to engage in selected trade. We permit foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms to participate in nonstrategic trade between China and third countries. We have removed the \$100 ceiling on noncommercial purchases of mainland Chinese goods by Americans. In January 1970 the U.S. resumed the Ambassadorial level talks at Warsaw with mainland China after a 2-year lapse. The Chinese postponed the third meeting scheduled for May ostensibly because of the Cambodian incursions, and since then no approach has been made by the Chinese for a new meeting.

II. LIMITING THE ARMS RACE

. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks: We have engaged in the SALT talks with the USSR in an effort to enhance international security by maintaining a stable U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship, to halt a costly and dangerous strategic arms race, and to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war.

. Non-Proliferation Treaty: The NPT, brought into force on March 5, 1970 after ratification by over 40 countries, represents a major step in the prevention of nuclear war. It establishes an obligatory international safeguards system to prevent the diversion of fissionable materials from peaceful purposes to weapons manufacture in the non-nuclear countries. Procedures for the safeguards system are now being worked out at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

. Chemical and Biological Warfare: On November 25, 1969 President Nixon reaffirmed U.S. policy on no-first-use of lethal chemicals and extended this policy to incapacitating chemicals. He has also renounced the use of biological weapons, including toxins, even in retaliation. President Nixon has in addition resubmitted to the Senate for approval the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use in war of poisonous gases and bacteriological weapons.

. Draft Seabed Treaty: The U.S. and the USSR on September 1, 1970 submitted at the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament a revised draft treaty which would prohibit the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other massdestruction weapons on the seabed outside a 12-mile limit. It received virtually unanimous approval, and endorsement this fall by UNGA appears assured.

. Defense Department budget: In the current fiscal year for the first time in 21 years defense spending is no longer the biggest category of federal spending. Since FY 1968 the Defense Department has made significant budget reductions totaling \$17 billion. In terms of gross national product, our defense budget has gone from 9 percent in FY 1969 to 7 percent in FY 1971. This represents the smallest portion of the GNP allocated to national defense in 20 years. In terms of the Federal Budget the decline in the defense allocation during the same period is from 42 percent to 35 percent.

III. SHARING WORLD RESPONSIBILITIES

- . Nixon Doctrine
 - We will honor our commitments, provide allies and strategic nations with nuclear shield;
 - Conventional defense is primarily up to the countries themselves, but we will assist where our interests are involved;
 - Insurgencies are best handled by threatened governments with police, paramilitary action, and economic and social reforms;

- We will view <u>new commitments</u> in the light of our national interests, specific threats to those interests, and our capacity to contain those threats at an acceptable risk and cost.

. Reduction of U.S. military presence in Asia: In addition to the reduction of 265,000 in our troop strength in Viet-Nam which will have been accomplished by the end of FY 1971, we are making significant reductions of our military presence in Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, and Japan. Specifically, in these other countries of Asia we will have withdrawn 46,200 of our troops by the end of FY 1971.

. Reduction of U.S. civilian presence overseas: Since June 30, 1969 we have reduced the number of U.S. civilian employees of all government agencies overseas from 49,138 to 43,677—well over 10 percent.

. Multilateral approach to foreign aid: President Nixon on September 15 proposed fundamental and sweeping reforms in U.S. aid programs based on the recommendations of the Peterson task force. The new program would channel the bulk of development loan funds through international institutions.

. New Latin American policy: As outlined by President Nixon our policy is based on: a firm commitment to the inter-American system; respect for national identity and dignity; a firm commitment to continued U.S. assistance for hemispheric development. We have removed "tied loan" restrictions, worked to reduce non-tariff barriers of the industrialized countries against Latin American products; we consult in advance on trade matters within the inter-American system before decisions are made which affect its members; we have proposed establishment of a multilateral, inter-American development assistance agency, and a \$1.8 billion multi-year contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank.

. Africa: A new dialogue opened with the first official tour by a Secretary of State to Africa. We have two major concerns: that the continent be free of great power rivalry or conflict in any form; that Africa realize its great potential. We will continue to support African economic development, giving priority to multidonor arrangements and regional projects.

IV. NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

. International Court of Justice: To strengthen the Court Secretary of State Rogers has proposed the following measures: greater use of its advisory opinion procedures; preventing delays by deciding preliminary questions promptly; and greater use of summary proceedings. The U.S. with 8 cosponsors submitted a request for a review of the Court's role for inclusion on the UNGA agenda.

. Okinawa reversion: In November 1969 President Nixon and Prime Minister Sato agreed that administrative rights over Okinawa could be returned to Japan without detriment to the mutual security interests of either country. They agreed on talks to accomplish reversion during 1972. U.S. military bases will remain on Okinawa following reversion, but will become subject to the provisions of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

. Panama - Rio Hato tract: The U.S. ceded back to Panama on August 23, 1970 a 30-square mile tract it had been using for 15 years as an artillery range and for other troop-training activities.

. Mexico border agreement: On August 21, 1970 Presidents Nixon and Diaz Ordaz agreed on the basic principles of a comprehensive treaty which would define territorial and maritime boundaries between the two countries for all time. The first draft of a treaty incorporating these principles is expected to be ready in October.

V. QUALITY OF LIFE

. International environmental control projects: On January 13, 1970 we established under Christian Herter, Jr. an office of Environmental Affairs in the Department of State to marshal government and private resources in support of international environmental initiatives; we are active participants in programs in the field of environment being conducted by NATO, UNESCO, and the UN Economic Commission for Europe; we strongly endorse the 1972 U.N. Conference on the Human Environment.

. Efforts to halt drug trafficking: (1) We are increasing the U.S. Narcotics Bureau enforcement staff overseas from 34 to 70 agents; (2) we are working closely with INTERPOL to apprehend drug traffickers; (3) we are members with France of a joint task force on illicit narcotics traffic, and are conducting a special training program for French police narcotics units at Justice's Narcotics Bureau; (4) we have launched a major information program to warn young Americans traveling abroad of the serious consequences of arrests for drug violations in foreign countries; (5) we are working with Turkey, Mexico, and France to restrict the cultivation and processing of opium and marihuana, and smuggling of these drugs into the U.S.

. Law of the Sea:

Marine pollution: In 1969 we participated with 46 countries in preparing two international conventions to (1) permit a coastal state to take limited anti-pollution measures against vessels on the high seas, and (2) impose strict liability upon the owners of vessels responsible for pollution. We have also proposed a conference on the dangers of pollution in the Arctic.

Territorial seas: The U.S. seeks a new international treaty under UN auspices dealing with the territorial sea limit, freedom of transit through and over international straits, and the defining of preferential fishing rights for coastal states on the high seas.

Draft Seabed Convention: We submitted to the UN Seabeds Committee on August 3, 1970 a draft UN Convention on the International Seabed Area which provides for equitable seabed exploitation beyond the 200 meter depth and the legal framework and machinery to administer seabed exploitation.

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THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND RURAL AMERICA

Results of policy decisions and action programs demonstrate that the Nixon Administration aims to help farmers market their products more profitably, earn better incomes, and operate in an improved agricultural environment--thereby assuring consumers a continuing abundance of quality food.

Income. Pricing policies and the handling of payments for major price-supported commodities illustrate the Administration's desire to strengthen the economic position of farmers. Sales of soybeans produced \$200 million more this year than last after a decision was made to lower the support price so that soybeans could compete more aggressively in domestic and world markets. With respect to support programs, rather than issue partial payments which would be completed at a later date, the Government paid out 2 million payments-in-full, totaling \$2 billion, to producers of wheat, feed grain and cotton in the first week after July 1, 1970. This undertaking, of a dimension and within a time frame never before equaled, was made possible through the cooperation of farmers and the use of sophisticated data processing techniques. Substantial benefits to farmers and rural communities resulted.

Exports. Reversing a two-year slump, U.S. agricultural exports in fiscal 1970 amounted to more than \$6.6 billion, including an all-time high of \$5.7 billion in cash sales. The current year promises to set a record of more than \$7 billion in total exports. A vigorous market development program contributed to this expansion. The importance of foreign sales to America's farmers is highlighted by the fact that the output of one out of every five acres harvested moves into international trade and some 585,000 farm workers are engaged in production for export.

Strengthened meat outlook. In taking action to establish slightly higher levels of meat imports, President Nixon reinforced the system of voluntary restraints agreed to by foreign governments and curtailed the use of transshipments to circumvent those agreements. This has assured American cattlemen a firm base for future development of the domestic meat supply and a potentially greater export capability.

Dairy industry. Remodeling of milk marketing orders and expansion into new areas have increased the usefulness of this modern marketing mechanism for those engaged in the specialized farming operations of milk and dairy production. In general, prices received by dairy farmers for milk are at an all-time high.

(more)

Soybean success. The Government's pricing decision was a key factor-together with foreign market accessibility, increased overseas demand, and the efficiency of American farmers--in making fiscal 1970's growth in domestic and foreign use of soybeans the greatest ever seen in any one year. In addition to production increases, farmers are realizing better prices. During the year preceding October, 1970, the cash price of soybeans advanced from \$2.38 to \$2.92 a bushel and it has gone as high as \$3.14 in the futures market. The soybean crop is a significant "equalizer," helping farmers take up the slack when reductions occur in other crops. This year soybeans have been planted on 41.6 million acres, compared with less than 24 million in 1960 and fewer than 14 million in 1950.

Food assistance. Farmers are indirect beneficiaries of the various food assistance programs. These have been stepped up sharply since May, 1969, when the President called on Congress to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in America once and for all. As millions of malnourished people get the chance to improve their diets through use of Food Stamps, for example, purchases of higher-protein foods, especially livestock products, have begun to increase dramatically. This means not only a boost to livestock farming, but an increased demand for feed grains, soybeans and other animal feeds as well. In addition, the inculcation of improved dietary habits through the work of the 7,000 nutrition aides employed by USDA's Extension Service will help create a sustained demand for farm commodities of higher nutritional value. More than 11 million needy persons are now reached by food assistance programs, compared with 6.9 million in May of 1969.

School lunch expansion. The scope of child nutrition programs has similarly been broadened. Some 5.2 million needy youngsters now receive free or reduced-price lunches daily, compared with 3 million last year.

Watershed progress. President Nixon resolved an impasse which, for two years, had kept nearly 100 watershed projects from receiving funds. These, and 94 other projects approved since the President cleared the logjam, represent one-sixth of all such projects approved since the inception of the 16-year-old watershed program. By preventing floods and protecting soil and water supplies, watershed projects help farmers and ranchers grow better crops, earn more money, and save time and effort.

Regional projects. The Nixon Administration authorized 17 new regional Resource Conservation and Development projects. Many of the earlier ones have been expanded. There are now 68 such projects across the Nation. They create new markets for farm crops and new job opportunities for rural residents, and they provide across-the-board development of a region's total resources. The program was strengthened this year by a new law authorizing the Department of Agriculture to assist in recreational, fish and wildlife developments.

Environmental improvement. Through the activities of 3,000 conservation districts and cooperative agreements with land owners, farmers and other land users are encouraged to manage natural resources both for the enhancement of the environment and for the promotion of better agricultural practices. During fiscal 1970, the USDA Soil Conservation Service aided more than 1.1 million people with direct conservation planning action on rural and suburban land.

(more)

<u>Rural housing</u>. Operations of the rural credit service of the Department of Agriculture, the Farmers Home Administration, have resulted in a record-high volume of loans for rural homebuilding, with \$1.4 billion available this year. Legislation enacted last December gives the private sector opportunity to participate in FHA's rural housing programs. Rural home construction is moving ahead rapidly from 54,000 units in 1969 to 80,000 in 1970.

Electricity for farms. Since the Nixon Administration has been in office, the Rural Electrification Administration has made 527 electric loans totaling \$514.9 million and 281 telephone loans amounting to \$196.3 million. REA borrowers provide electric service to 6.4 million farm and related rural consumers, and dial telephone service to 2.1 million subscribers in 46 states. They have helped launch local community projects creating 60,000 new jobs.

Rural development. The Administration's rural development program has moved aggressively in matters that affect the living quality in rural areas. It is estimated that some 500,000 rural families will benefit from developmental grants made by the Farmers Home Administration to finance community water and waste disposal facilities. In 18 rural development categories within the Department of Agriculture alone, programs reached an estimated \$1.7 billion in 1970 and requirements are expected to move up to \$2.5 billion in 1971 in support of programs, services and facilities to implement a policy of creative, balanced national growth. Recognizing the importance of planning and decision-making by local governmental units and local citizens--especially the younger generation--several months ago the Department of Agriculture conceived an innovative "Building Our American Communities" program. This is now operational through active participation by the Future Farmers of America. The program will combine practical studies of community developmen problems and opportunities with action projects to promote safety, health, environmental clean-up and efficient use of community resources. The Resource Conservation and Development philosophy of grassroots involvement and approval of projects by Governors supports the spirit of New Federalism--bringing government back to the people.

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