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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R.
FORD, R-MICH., REPUBLICAN LEADER,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
~~REMARKS~~ AT THE OPENING OF THE
"WINDOW ON THE WORLD" LECTURE SERIES
SPONSORED BY THE KITTERING ROTARY
CLUB, 8 P.M. WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 23, ~~1970~~
1970, AT DAYTON, OHIO.

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY

"NEW DIRECTIONS
FOR THE SEVENTIES"



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AN ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
BEFORE THE SILVER BAY HUMAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE
AT LAKE GEORGE, NEW YORK
8:00 P.M. THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1970

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Every decade is a mixture of good and bad, and the Sixties were no exception.

But for all the good that the Sixties produced, the ^{last} ten years ~~just passed~~ brought us an overabundance of misery and grief.

Many of us look back upon the decade of the Sixties with a tremendous sense of relief at having put it behind us.

What do we remember most vividly about the decade of the Sixties?

It was, of course, the decade that put Americans on the moon -- but it was also an Age of Assassination and an Age of Anarchy.

We saw major American cities being put to the torch and witnessed the outbreak of convulsive violence in the Nation's ghettos and the beginnings of the current unrest on our college campuses.

The Sixties also brought the agony of Vietnam, when an America victimized by violence at home crept uncomprehendingly into the quicksand of a jungle war halfway 'round the world.

And as we lived through the decade of the Sixties, it became apparent that the era of the New Deal had come to an end -- as clearly and as finally as though someone had drawn the curtain on it.

With the demise of the New Deal came the realization that America must move in New Directions in the Seventies, must cut new paths through the jungle of problems that clogged the way to a quality life for our people.

This was the condition of America when its people elected a new President in November 1968.

This was the America that cried out for new leadership when Richard Nixon entered the White House in January 1969.

I foresaw the advent of an age of reform in America when Richard Nixon took office.

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Reform was the path to be followed. Reform was indeed thrusting itself upon the new President and upon the Nation. And thus it was that reform became the watchword of the new Administration.

The new Administration took stock and charted a new course. This new course is a comprehensive strategy for attacking the most critical problems facing this country.

The major goals of this comprehensive strategy strike directly at the roots of the underlying crises in our Nation.

The strategy is aimed at five objectives: Ending the war; ending poverty; making the streets safe again for the American people; reforming and ultimately ending the draft; and giving the government back to the people.

If the Nixon Administration succeeds in achieving these objectives -- and draft reform has been partially achieved -- I believe historians will give the Nixon Administration a high achievement score. And if this Congress responds with action before the end of its second session, its mark on history will be one of the finest.

The reforms that President Nixon has proposed are manifold. He has sent more than 40 messages to the Congress. Those messages are related to the objectives I have just outlined and to others as well.

The top priority is, of course, to end the war in Vietnam.

President Nixon is moving vigorously to end the American role in Vietnam and, hopefully, to end the war. He is winding down the war and is doing everything he reasonably can to achieve a breakthrough at the peace table.

With the peace negotiations stuck on dead center because of enemy intransigence, "Vietnamization" has become the key to disengaging the United States from the Vietnam War. Gradually but surely we are turning the war over to the South Vietnamese, where it belongs. Our plans are to turn the entire combat role in Vietnam over to the South Vietnamese by ~~July 1, 1971~~ ^{next May}.

We certainly cannot stay in South Vietnam forever. If the Saigon government is to stand, it must learn to stand alone.

Under the present Administration we began taking troops out of Vietnam instead of adding to our numbers there. Recently the President announced withdrawal of an additional 150,000 men as we move steadily toward the goal of removing all of our ground combat forces from Vietnam.

It came as a shock to many Americans, I know, when the President just 10 days after his Vietnam troop withdrawal announcement revealed that he had

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It's true our policy of Vietnamization involved the ability of the North Vietnamese to frustrate the plan. This is why the United States was forced to make a sweep of the Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia even while a policy of winding down the war was being followed in Vietnam itself.

The fighting in South Vietnam now has dropped to a very low level. American casualties are at the lowest point in 3½ years. We have withdrawn 115,000 men from Vietnam and will withdraw another 150,000 by next spring. We will have ended our front-line ground combat role in Vietnam by next spring.

Vietnamization is not just a word. Those who wanted us to pull out immediately have been proved ~~xxx~~ wrong even while they ~~xx~~ continue their calls for "peace now and never mind the price."

The Cambodian Operation was a tremendous success despite the domestic furor it caused. The Communists lost vast stores of supplies, a fact which is reflected in the current low level of fighting in Vietnam. And now the Communists see a marshalling of South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Thai forces to resist the reestablishment of Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia while U.S. air power continues to interdict their supply routes.

Events in Cambodia have not widened the war. It has been an Indochina War ever since the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ North Vietnamese violated the neutrality of Laos and Cambodia to pursue their designs on South Vietnam. What has been widened is the commitment of the people of Cambodia and Thailand to resist a threat to their own security which had been tolerated too long.

Now we must place new and fresh emphasis on attempts to gain a negotiated peace in Vietnam.

Perhaps a cease-fire and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ stand-down is the best beginning point, as proposed by a bipartisan group of 14 senators. I would like to see the killing end and the talking beginning in real earnest. But ~~xxx~~ let us be realistic about any cease-fire agreement entered ~~into~~ into with an enemy ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ whose word means ~~xxx~~ nothing. We have seen what has happened in the Mideast--how the Egyptians and Russians took advantage of the ~~x~~ cease-fire with ~~xxxxxx~~ Israel to build more ~~xxxxxxx~~ surface-to-air missile sites closer to the Suez Canal. We must ~~xx~~ therefore make certain that in any standstill ~~xxxxxx~~ cease-fire in Vietnam there ~~is~~ are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ adequate guarantees that the cease-fire will not be used to the enemy's advantage. The enemy could use the cease-fire to achieve military gains unless sufficient supervision is written into the cease-fire agreement. The cease-fire must be the signal for serious discussions in Paris -- ^{simply a pause} ~~not a success~~ which permits the enemy to strengthen himself ~~for renewed and heavier conflict~~ in the months ahead.

ordered a sweep of the Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia. To some, this indicated a wider war and they rose up in frenzied protest. But to others, including me, the President's action was a brilliant move aimed at assuring ^{gradual} the withdrawal of our combat forces from South Vietnam ~~and the next 22 months~~ and perhaps accelerating that withdrawal.

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I personally believe the Cambodian Operation ~~was~~ ^{was} an enormous success, judging by the huge caches of munitions and supplies we and the South Vietnamese captured. All of this captured ammunition is ammunition that cannot be fired at us and our allies in Vietnam.

I believe the President's Cambodian decision ~~will not only save lives, it~~ ^{and} ~~will~~ ^{perhaps} shorten ~~the~~ ^{ended} the war.

And let me emphasize that the President did not send U.S. troops into Cambodia to save the new Lon Nol regime, although we have reason to favor keeping that ~~new~~ government in power. He sent our troops into Cambodia because an opportunity presented itself to deal the North Vietnamese a tremendous setback in the Vietnam War.

The majority of the American people want a sound, not a phony, settlement of the Vietnam War. I want a settlement that will discourage further Communist aggression, whether it is in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Pacific, or in Europe.

Despite the stubbornness of the Communists in Vietnam, I am fully convinced President Nixon will succeed in inaugurating an era of negotiation in place of an era of confrontation. The President's appointment of Ambassador David K. Bruce as our chief negotiator at Paris may ~~break~~ ^{ultimately} break the impasse which exists in the Vietnam talks.

President Nixon has taken many steps toward world peace. He has taken the United States out of the field of germ warfare and the first use of gases. He has made the United States a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. He has initiated renewed talks in Warsaw with Communist China. He has formulated judicious policies governing arms support and political constraints in the Middle East ~~and~~ ^{and has achieved a cease-fire there.} He has carefully evaluated the expressed intentions versus demonstrated actions of the Soviet Union in mutual arms reductions agreements. He has laid the groundwork for possible results in the SALT talks.

We are now in the midst of strategic arms limitation talks with the Russians, and President Nixon has set forth a new foreign policy. That new foreign policy is innovative, flexible and adaptable. Basically, it is attuned to the

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nationalistic and regional interests of Free World and Communist countries.

President Nixon no longer sees the Communist world as a monolithic enemy alliance but as a group of nations whose common ideology is transcended by powerful nationalistic aspirations. In line with that view, the President is adapting United States policy to those nationalistic interests.

This new concept of U.S. foreign policy also is reflected in the new Nixon Doctrine for Asia -- the "do-it-yourself policy" which Mr. Nixon has laid down for the nations of Southeast Asia. This is a policy which declares to Americans and to all the world that there will be no more Vietnams.

Under President Nixon, we have seized the initiative in foreign affairs even in the face of Communist aggression. We have proclaimed and promoted doctrines of international law and justice which have given the United States a new and lofty standing in the court of world opinion.

Domestically, the Nixon Administration has launched a strong crackdown against organized crime. The New Jersey indictments and ~~the~~ recent nationwide drug raid ^A are only a beginning.

The President last year sent Congress legislation which would deal heavier blows against organized crime and would improve the Nation's court system.

There has been special emphasis on law enforcement in each of the Administration's anticrime measures. The President wants criminals off the streets. He knows there is no surer way to get them off the streets than to help build up law enforcement in this country.

The Nixon Administration has made the fight against crime one of its central concerns. While some departmental budgets have been cut in a hold-down on Federal spending, the Justice Department budget has been increased. The level of law enforcement activity and narcotics control has been stepped up.

The Nixon Administration recognizes, as do all of you, that the first civil right of every American -- black or white -- is the right to protection from crime and violence.

I wish more of our Negro leaders throughout America would recognize that. It is an unfortunate fact that it is primarily the poor blacks who are the victims of violent crime in our country. All of our Negro leaders might well emulate Sterling Tucker, vice-chairman of the Washington, D.C., City Council, who has spoken out in support of vigorous law enforcement and has condemned those who tacitly condone violations of the law.

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It is said there can be no progress without order. I subscribe to that.

I would add that there cannot long be order without progress. I believe the Nixon Administration is promoting the kind of order and the kind of progress which will operate together to move this country forward.

We need a responsible common-sense approach to ending poverty in America.

The primary Nixon answer to poverty and the urban crisis is job training. The accent is on the solid American ethic of working for a living. The President's approach is based on the idea that a man never stands so tall as when he stands on his own two feet.

This is why President Nixon has proposed the first major reform of this country's welfare system since it first was established. This is why the President urges Workfare instead of Welfare. This is the way of dignity and decency. This is the American way. A hand up instead of a handout. That's the only way to

bridge the gap between the Haves and Have-Nots in America.

Welfare reform has passed the House. It is now pending in the Senate.
I think President Nixon has managed to bring order to this country. He has managed to do so because he has brought order to the Presidency. We now find that the days of government by crisis have given way to crisis prevention. The scatter-gun approach is yielding to an assembling of new priorities.

We have accomplished draft reform by instituting a lottery system and we are headed toward an end to the draft. ~~Welfare reform has passed the House.~~ But these are just two among the great array of reforms proposed by President Nixon-- reforms which I believe the American people have long wanted.

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We ~~urgently need~~ postal reform -- the creation of a postal authority to modernize our postal delivery system and run it efficiently and to remove the sticky stain of politics from our postal operations. Final congressional action on postal reform now appears imminent.

There are many Administration reforms that cry out for congressional action: The President's strengthened and broadened anti-crime program; a consolidation of manpower training programs, to be turned over to the states and cities as they become equipped to handle them; a reexamination of Federal aid to schools to achieve quality education; revamping our labor laws for improved handling of national emergency labor disputes in transportation; the President's 37-point program directed at air and water pollution and the need to expand recreational land use; a New Federalism which provides an increasing slice of Federal income tax revenue to cities and states on a percentage, no-strings-attached basis; a decentralization of government authority which places greater reliance on local

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officials and greater power in the hands of the people.

Decentralization of government authority -- flow of power back to the cities and states, back to the people. This is a central theme of the Nixon Administration.

Power concentrated in Washington is not always effective power. It is sometimes self-defeating. The Federal bureaucracy is most complex, and it feeds upon itself. As it grows larger, the Federal Government's ability to help solve local problems often grows less. That is why we want to expand the city and state role in problem-solving, apart from philosophical considerations.

That is why the Administration proposes reversing the flow of power -- turning it back to the cities and states. That is why President Nixon wants to share Federal income tax revenue with the states and cities. He wants to implement a basic change which I believe the American people fervently desire.

President Nixon has made his reform theme clear. He has said: "The legislative program of this Administration differs fundamentally from previous administrations. We do not seek more and more of the same. We were not elected to pile new resources and manpower on top of old programs. We were elected to initiate an era of change."

Much change has already come about. We have acted to reorder our priorities. Defense spending has been reduced in the President's fiscal 1971 budget to 36.7 per cent. At the same time the President has increased human resource outlays to 41 per cent. As the President noted in his budget message, this is the first time in 20 years -- the first time in two whole decades -- that a Federal budget has provided more funds for human resources than for defense.

That is why I see America moving in New Directions, moving along paths that will make the Seventies a decade that will bring new quality to American life.

I see the Seventies as a decade devoted to human betterment.

I see the American people adopting goals more difficult to reach than the moon: Rebuilding our cities. Cleaning up the Nation's water and air. Retraining the unskilled so that every American willing and able to master a skill is permitted to do so. Building vast mass transit systems. Making our airways safe and equipping our airports to handle the jumbo jets now taking to the skies. Eliminating poverty by 1980 -- literally erasing it instead of just talking about it. Ending hunger in America -- and soon.

We will be fighting not only the problems of the cities but the problems of all Americans. It won't be easy. But we will win more battles than we will lose.

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We will see the forward march of positive programs aimed at providing jobs, housing, quality education and first-rate medical care.

The Nation will marshal a concerted attack upon crime -- particularly the drug and narcotics traffic, organized crime and juvenile delinquency.

I see the fight for clean water swelling into a crusade -- a crusade joined in by young and older Americans alike. The assault weapon may well be President Nixon's \$10 billion do-it-now, pay-later bonding program. This is a crusade that will gather great force.

We are generating the commitment and the climate for action now.

Peace is part of that climate. Peace will come. It will come as a product of the President's do-it-yourself foreign policy. It will come because our course is unselfishly right.

The Seventies will see breathtaking progress in America and, hopefully, the changes needed to cleanse our Nation both in body and in soul.

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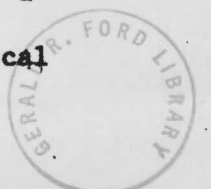
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