

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION

STATLER-HILTON HOTEL
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IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION OF
ADRIAN FISHER, BILL FOSTER AND MANY OTHER OLD FRIENDS IN
THE ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION TO ADDRESS THEIR THIRD ANNUAL
MEETING TODAY.

NATIONAL SECURITY IS THE MAJOR CONCERN OF EVERY
COUNTRY, AND RIGHTLY SO ^{and} HOW TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL SECURITY
IS THE MOST PERPLEXING QUESTION OF ALL.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT NATIONAL SECURITY
CAN BE OBTAINED IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF WHAT WE ONCE CALLED
FORTRESS AMERICA -- AN AMERICA ARMED TO THE TEETH, AN AMERICA
THAT IS PROTECTIONIST IN AREAS OF FOREIGN TRADE, AN AMERICA
THAT ITURNS ITS BACK UPON THE THIRD WORLD -- THE POOR AND
THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. THIS CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

I REJECT,

THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT NATIONAL SECURITY CAN BE ACHIEVED PRIMARILY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION -- THROUGH STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS AND BY PLACING OUR RELIANCE UPON THE ROLE OF LAW IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA. I WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO EMBRACE THIS CONCEPT, BUT I FIND THE REAL WORLD AS YET NOT READY TO ABANDON THE AGE-OLD DOCTRINES OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

↳ THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT NATIONAL SECURITY IS PRIMARILY MILITARY POWER, THAT THE MEASURE OF A COUNTRY'S STRENGTH IS IN THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF ITS WEAPONRY AND THE NUMBER IN THE ARMED SERVICES. } THIS CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY IGNORES THE REAL STRENGTH OF A NATION; NAMELY, ITS ECONOMY AND THE FAITH AND CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THEMSELVES AND IN THEIR INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL ORDER.

My CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY IS BASED UPON THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS AND THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER. IN OTHER WORDS, THE MILITARY IS BUT THE CUTTING EDGE OF THE STRONG BLADE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. NATIONAL SECURITY INCLUDES THE DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO RESOLVE TENSION AND CONFLICT. IT INCLUDES THE EXPANSION OF WORLD COMMERCE AND TRADE, THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN PEOPLES AND NATIONS, AND, ABOVE ALL, THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ALL AREAS OF THE WORLD.

BUT THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT WHEN YOU TALK OF ARMS CONTROL, WHAT YOU'RE REALLY DOING IS IMPAIRING YOUR NATIONAL SECURITY.

BUT AS I SEE IT, ANY FORM OF ACCEPTABLE ARMS CONTROL
CANNOT BE UNILATERAL. IT MUST BE BASED UPON MUTUAL REDUCTIONS
BETWEEN COMPETING POWERS -- REDUCTIONS THAT ARE CAREFULLY
BALANCED IN TERMS OF BOTH QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF WEAPONS.
OR, TO PUT IT ANOTHER WAY, THERE IS NO REAL NATIONAL
SECURITY IN AN ARMS RACE WHEN EACH SIDE IS UPPING THE
ANTE EVERYTHING IS RELATIVE.

I HAPPEN TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE MORE SECURE IN A
WORLD WHERE THERE ARE FEWER ARMS, WHERE THE NUCLEAR WEAPONRY
IS UNDER STRICT LIMITATION AND CONTROL, ALL AGREED UPON AND
ABLE TO BE CAREFULLY MONITORED SO AS TO AVOID ANY BREACH OF
CONTRACT OR ANY VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT. WITH THESE THOUGHTS
IN MIND, LET ME SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT
OF ARMS CONTROL.

-1D-

As 1973 draws to a close, the balance sheet on arms control is decidedly mixed.

-- While we have been making slow but steady progress to control nuclear weapons, the conventional arms race has accelerated rapidly.

-- While we were in the midst of reducing political tensions among the superpowers in Europe and Asia through expanded commercial and diplomatic relations, the war in the Middle East erupted casting doubt and suspicion on the process of detente.

-- WHILE THIS NATION FINALLY DISENGAGED FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA AND BEGAN TO RECOVER FROM THE TRAUMA OF VIETNAM, THE FIGHTING CONTINUED THERE. THERE ARE NOW OMINOUS SIGNS OF A SIGNIFICANT ESCALATION OF HOSTILITIES IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

-- FINALLY, IN THE PAST FEW WEEKS WE HAVE WITNESSED THE SUCCESSFUL USE OF A NEW ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL WEAPON: THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO.

And, THERE ARE FEW DEFENSES TO IT.

L IT ENDANGERS THE HEALTH AND SECURITY OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD.

It SERIOUSLY DISRUPTS AND JEOPARDIZES THE ORDERLY
EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

AND IN THE LONG RUN, THIS TYPE OF ECONOMIC WARFARE
DOES MORE DAMAGE TO BADLY NEEDED INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND
COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS THAN THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR.

Those OF US WHO BELIEVE THAT ARMS CONTROL AND ARMS
REDUCTIONS ACHIEVED THROUGH MUTUAL NEGOTIATION TO BE IN
AMERICA'S AND THE WORLD'S BEST INTERESTS MUST PERSEVERE.

DESPITE PUBLIC SKEPTICISM AND THE FRAGILE CEASE-FIRE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE MUST ~~NOT QUESTION THE WISDOM OF~~
CONTINUING TO WORK FOR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET
UNION IN SALT AND ELSEWHERE.

LAST JUNE, THE PRESIDENT AND MR. BREZHNEV MET AT THE
SUMMIT TO DECLARE THEIR INTENTIONS TO CONTINUE THE WORK OF
SALT I WITH EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A SALT II TREATY
BEFORE THE END OF 1974.

L HIGH ON THE AGENDA -- ACCORDING TO PRESIDENT NIXON --
IS MIRV, ONE OF THE LEAST DESIRABLE AND MOST UNNECESSARY WEAPONS
PROJECTS NOW UNDERWAY.

L UNDESIRABLE BECAUSE THEY INTRODUCE NEW UNCERTAINTIES
INTO THE STRATEGIC BALANCE.

h UNNECESSARY BECAUSE THE SALT I ABM TREATY ELIMINATES
THE NEED FOR MIRVs TO OVERCOME THE ABM.

I WELCOME THIS EFFORT AT SALT II, FOR IT IS THE FIRST
REAL ATTEMPT TO CONTROL ONE OF THE MORE SERIOUS ASPECTS OF
THE ARMS RACE: THE RACE TO INCORPORATE QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS,
SUCH AS WARHEADS AND GREATER ACCURACY, INTO EXISTING WEAPONS,
AS QUANTITATIVE CONTROLS ARE IMPOSED THROUGH AGREEMENT.

I REALIZE THAT ANY KIND OF MIRV CONTROLS WILL BE
DIFFICULT TO ACCOMPLISH ~~IN VIEW OF OUR ACTIVE PROGRAM OF~~
~~DEPLOYMENT AND SOVIET MIRV DEVELOPMENT.~~

BUT WE MUST MAKE A SERIOUS EFFORT ON MIRVs NOW.

IF WE MOVE AHEAD WITH QUALITATIVE CONTROLS AT SALT II,
WE MUST BEGIN TO WORK SERIOUSLY TOWARD ACTUAL REDUCTIONS OF
STRATEGIC WEAPONS.

I DON'T OFTEN AGREE WITH MY GOOD FRIEND SENATOR JACKSON IN MATTERS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT, BUT IN THIS RESPECT I CERTAINLY DO. I WAS PLEASED TO SEE THAT HE RECENTLY CALLED FOR REDUCTIONS IN INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES ON EACH SIDE -- FROM THE PRESENT 1,054 U.S. MISSILES AND NEARLY 1600 SOVIET MISSILES TO 900 ON EACH SIDE, AND FROM THE PRESENT 41 POLARIS AND POSEIDON MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINES AND 44 SOVIET NUCLEAR POWERED MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINES DOWN TO 35 ON EACH SIDE.

I AGREE WITH THE SENATOR THAT OUR DETERRENT FORCES CAN READILY BE CUT TO THESE LEVELS WITHOUT THREATENING THE SECURITY OF EITHER SIDE.

BUT LET'S NOT FOOL OURSELVES.

IT WILL DO LITTLE GOOD TO REDUCE THE NUMBERS OF
STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS IF WE DO NOT COUPLE SUCH REDUCTIONS
WITH ACROSS-THE-BOARD QUALITATIVE RESTRICTIONS ON THEM AS WELL.

⌞ IF WE FAIL TO DO THIS, THE RACE TO IMPROVE THE ACCURACY AND
MULTIPLY THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS ON THESE WEAPONS CAN MORE THAN
OFFSET THE STABILIZING EFFECT OF REDUCING THEIR NUMBERS.

⌞ COUPLED WITH SUCH A COMBINATION APPROACH, MUST ALSO BE
EFFORTS TO LIMIT THE NUMBERS AND TYPES OF STRATEGIC BOMBERS,
AND TACKLING THE STILL MORE DIFFICULT ISSUE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR
WEAPONS. ⌞ NEITHER OF THESE PROBLEMS WAS ADDRESSED AT SALT I.

MOVING ON TO OTHER AREAS, IT WAS ENCOURAGING THAT IN
THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE "MIDDLE EAST ALERT" THE ISSUES OF
TROOP REDUCTION AND THE PROBLEM OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN
EUROPE ARE NOW BEING DISCUSSED AT THE TALKS ON "MUTUAL
REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN
CENTRAL EUROPE."

↳ IN ADDITION TO THESE TALKS, THE BROADER-BASED
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ALSO CONVENED
THIS YEAR WITH SOME PROMISE OF USEFUL AND IMPORTANT RESULTS.

↳ THUS, THERE ARE AT LEAST SOME POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS ON
THE ARMS CONTROL FRONT.

BUT THERE ARE SOME ^{*dangerous*} NEGATIVE ASPECTS AS WELL. BOTH WE

AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE BEEN RUSHING FORWARD WITH NEW EFFORTS
TO MODERNIZE OUR FORCES IN THE ABSENCE OF QUALITATIVE RESTRAINTS.

↳ NEW TYPES OF SOVIET MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINES ARE
BEING DEPLOYED, ↳ NEW AND ADVANCED LAND-BASED MISSILES ARE
BEING DEVELOPED AND DEPLOYED.

↳ THE U.S. TRIDENT SUBMARINE PROJECT IS GOING FORWARD AT
AN ACCELERATED PACE.

OUR MIRV DEPLOYMENT CONTINUES AT THE RATE OF THREE
NEW MIRVs A DAY. AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS ~~RECENTLY~~ BEGUN A MIRV
TESTING PROGRAM OF ITS OWN.

THERE IS YET ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARMS CONTROL PICTURE WHICH I FIND DISAPPOINTING. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION MADE A SERIOUS MISTAKE BY THE SERIES OF ACTIONS IT TOOK TO DOWNGRADE THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY.

I HAVE HAD THE PLEASURE OF MEETING A NUMBER OF THE NEW OFFICIALS OF THE AGENCY, SOME OF WHOM ARE HERE TODAY, AND I HAVE THE HIGHEST REGARD FOR THEIR DEDICATION AND HOPES FOR THEIR SUCCESS. BUT IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW STEADY PROGRESS ON THE ARMS CONTROL PLANNING AND THE NEGOTIATING FRONT CAN BE POSSIBLE WHEN THE ENTIRE TOP ECHELON OF THE AGENCY HAS BEEN REPLACED, ITS ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS REDUCED, AND ITS BUDGET SEVERELY SLASHED. EVEN THOUGH CONGRESS HAS BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE ACDA'S RESEARCH BUDGET BY A MODEST AMOUNT, ITS OVERALL REDUCED

BUDGET WILL MEAN THE CURTAILMENT OR ELIMINATION OF MANY USEFUL PROJECTS IT HAS UNDERTAKEN.

FINALLY, IN LOOKING AT THE BALANCE SHEET ON ARMS CONTROL I HAVE TO POINT OUT, THERE IS A VERY IMPORTANT ITEM ON THE AGENDA WHICH RARELY RECEIVES ADEQUATE ATTENTION: THE
COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN.

It's HIGH TIME WE TOOK THE STEP OF OPENING NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A CTB. EARLIER THIS YEAR I COSPONSORED SENATE RESOLUTION 67 CALLING FOR SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. THE MEASURE HAS CLEARED THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, BUT HAS YET TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE SENATE. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE ISSUE OPENED NOW WITH THE ADMINISTRATION TAKING A VIGOROUS LEAD IN GETTING THESE NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY.

LET ME NOW TURN TO THE GRAVE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE
EAST.

AN ESTIMATED \$4 BILLION IN DESTROYED ARMOR, AIRCRAFT
AND SOPHISTICATED ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT LIES RUSTING IN THE
SINAI. WE AND THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN MOVING QUICKLY TO RE-EQUIP
BOTH SIDES WITH THE SOVIET UNION OUTPACING OUR EFFORTS.

FEW WOULD ARGUE WITH THE FACT THAT EGYPT IS MORE
HEAVILY ARMED NOW THAN BEFORE THE WAR INTRODUCING ONCE AGAIN
A GREAT ELEMENT OF INSTABILITY.

BECAUSE OF THIS SITUATION I FAVOR ~~THE~~ TO FAVOR
CONTINUING CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION AND APPROVAL OF
THE PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR EMERGENCY MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO
ISRAEL.

IT IS CLEAR THAT ISRAEL SIMPLY CANNOT AFFORD ALL OF THE NEW EQUIPMENT WE SUPPLIED DURING THE OCTOBER WAR AS WELL AS MATERIAL NOW IN ROUTE. BUT FAR MORE IMPORTANT, A MEASURABLY WEAKENED ISRAEL ONLY SEEMS TO ENCOURAGE ARAB MILITARY BOLDNESS AND THEREBY CONTRIBUTES TO DANGEROUS INSTABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

HOWEVER, UNLESS A FAIR AND LASTING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OCCURS, THIS NEW EQUIPMENT MAY BE USED IN THE MOST DEVASTATING ARAB-ISRAELI WAR OF ALL. THIS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN.

REPORTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION SENT NUCLEAR-CAPABLE MISSILES INTO EGYPT DURING THE CONFLICT, AND MAY HAVE SENT NUCLEAR WARHEADS FOR THEM AS WELL, INTRODUCE AN EXTREMELY SERIOUS NEW ELEMENT OF DANGER INTO THE SITUATION. WE DO NOT KNOW IF THE NUCLEAR WARHEADS WERE ACTUALLY INTRODUCED, OR IF SO, IF THEY ARE STILL THERE, OR IF THEY AND THE MISSILES REMAINED UNDER RUSSIAN CONTROL.

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIET UNION ACTUALLY TRANSFERRED CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO EGYPT, FOR THAT WOULD BE CLEAR VIOLATION OF THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, WHICH MORE THAN 100 NATIONS HAVE SIGNED, AND WHICH OVER 75 HAVE RATIFIED.

UNDER THE TREATY, THE SOVIET UNION HAS AGREED
NOT TO TRANSFER NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO ANY OTHER RECIPIENT
WHATSOEVER. NEVERTHELESS, THE SITUATION IS AMBIGUOUS, STILL
MORE DISQUIETING IS THE FACT THAT MR. HEIKAL, THE EDITOR OF
AL AHRAH, HAS ISSUED A CALL FOR EGYPT TO GET OR MAKE ITS OWN
ATOMIC WEAPONS.

EGYPT HAS SIGNED THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, ALTHOUGH
SHE HAS SAID SHE WILL NOT RATIFY IT UNTIL ISRAEL (WHICH HAS
NOT SIGNED OR RATIFIED IT) DOES SO. IF EGYPT IS NOW READY TO
RENOUNCE THE TREATY AND SEEK A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY OF ITS OWN,

THIS IS BAD NEWS INDEED. Both Egypt and Israel
would surely cause a place by
signing & ratifying the Nuclear
non-proliferation treaty.

THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT PROVIDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO OTHERS. THE AMBIGUITIES RAISED ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS DEMAND THAT THE USSR ALSO REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT, MADE UNDER THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY NOT TO TRANSFER NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO OTHERS.

HEIKAL'S CALL FOR EGYPTIAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS SUGGESTS THAT HE AT LEAST THINKS THAT INTRODUCING SUCH WEAPONS INTO THE MIDDLE EAST WILL ENHANCE EGYPT'S SECURITY. ON THE CONTRARY, IT WILL DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF BOTH SIDES AND RAISE GRAVE RISKS FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD. WHAT WILL ENHANCE SECURITY IS FOR BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO SIGN AND RATIFY THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY AT ONCE, THEREBY RENOUNCING ANY INTENTION TO RELY ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR THEIR SECURITY.

TWO DEVELOPMENTS MUST NOW TAKE PLACE.

FIRST, THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT AND THE LIMITED DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE AT KILOMETER 101 MUST BE EXPANDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE INTO A FULL-SCALE PEACE CONFERENCE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THESE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND PERHAPS SYRIA WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP FORWARD.

SECONDLY, WHILE THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PEACE CONFERENCE IS OCCURRING, A SUMMIT CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD BE CONVENED.

OUT OF THIS SUMMIT MEETING, I WOULD HOPE WOULD COME ONE MAJOR POLICY DECLARATION: A COMMITMENT BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO TAKE THE LEAD IN BRINGING ABOUT AN ARMS EMBARGO FOR THE MIDDLE EAST BY THE NATIONS WHO ARE THE PRINCIPAL SUPPLIERS OF MODERN MILITARY EQUIPMENT.

THE DECLARATION SHOULD ALSO INCLUDE A COMMITMENT TO PREVENT ANY FURTHER BUILD-UP OF WEAPONRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA.

COUPLED WITH THIS DECLARATION OF POLICY SHOULD BE A JOINT DECLARATION THAT NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR THE SOVIET UNION OR ANY OTHER NATION WHICH IS A SIGNATORY TO THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY WOULD INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OR NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY INTO THE MIDDLE EAST. IF SUCH WEAPONS OR TECHNOLOGY HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED, THEY SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY WITHDRAWN.

BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT A RE-OCCURRENCE OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT, A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT RESULTING FROM DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE INCOMPLETE AS LONG AS EGYPT AND ISRAEL KNOW THAT THE SUPPLIES OF ARMS ARE VIRTUALLY LIMITLESS.

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I AM NOT ADVOCATING THAT THE UNITED STATES
OR THE SOVIET UNION ABANDON THEIR ALLIES. NOR
AM I SUGGESTING THAT THE SECURITY OF EITHER ISRAEL
OR EGYPT BE THREATENED. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE
WHEN A NATION BELIEVES ITS SECURITY IS ENDANGERED.

I AM ADVOCATING, HOWEVER, A JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN
DECLARATION WHICH WILL HALT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO THE MIDDLE EAST
AFTER A MUTUALLY AGREED UPON DATE IS CERTAIN.

WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF SUCH AN EMBARGO?

MILITARILY, BECAUSE VIRTUALLY ALL OF THE EQUIPMENT LOST
IN THE WAR HAS NOW OR WILL SOON BE REPLACED, THERE WOULD BE NO
NEW THREATS TO EITHER SIDE.

FURTHERMORE, ALTHOUGH THE QUALITY OF ARMAMENTS ON
BOTH SIDES IS ALREADY HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED, IT WOULD PREVENT
THE INTRODUCTION OF STILL MORE ADVANCED TYPES OF WEAPONS INTO
THE REGION.

FINALLY, IT WOULD PROVIDE A FRESH IMPETUS TO EFFORTS
TO BRING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITHOUT RESORTING TO WAR.

SUCH AN EMBARGO WOULD NOT PRECLUDE THE OPPONENTS'
TURNING TO THIRD PARTIES FOR MORE ARMS. BUT I BELIEVE A FIRM
STANCE BY THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD BE A POWERFUL
DETERRENT.

AND SUCH AN EMBARGO WOULD ALSO SET AN IMPORTANT
PRECEDENT.

A TWO-POWER AGREEMENT NOT TO PROLIFERATE CONVENTIONAL
ARMS INTO THE MIDDLE EAST COULD MARK THE BEGINNING OF EFFORTS
TO CONTROL THE RUNAWAY ARMS RACE IN NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH
HAS BEEN ESCALATING AT AN ALARMING RATE.

ACCORDING TO THE ANALYSIS BY ACDA IN THE MOST RECENT "WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES," SINCE 1961 THE WORLD HAS SPENT OVER \$2 TRILLION ON MILITARY SECURITY, \$216 BILLION IN 1971 ALONE.

UNLESS THE TWO PRINCIPAL SUPPLIERS TAKE SUCH ACTION NOW, OTHER COUNTRIES CANNOT BE ENCOURAGED TO REDUCE THEIR APPETITES FOR ARMS.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE POOR AND DEVELOPING NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO STOP SQUANDERING THEIR SCARCE RESOURCES ON ARMS. THEY ARE PURCHASING ARMS ABROAD AT RATES FAR EXCEEDING THE PROVISION OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. THE BILLIONS OF POOR AND HUNGRY OF THIS PLANET WANT THIS INSANE CYCLE OF NATIONAL IMPROV-ERISHMENT, DEATH AND DESTRUCTION TO STOP.

BUT OUR NATION AND OTHERS CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE THE SALE OF
ARMS AS WE REDUCE FOREIGN AID.

WE CONTINUE TO DEPLORE THE ARMS RACE WHILE DOING
EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR DEVELOPING NATIONS
TO BUY ARMAMENTS WHICH THEY DO NOT NEED.

I CALL UPON PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY KISSINGER TO
PROPOSE THE CONVENING OF A SUMMIT MEETING WHICH COULD FINALLY
HALT THE ARMS RACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST SO THAT ARAB AND JEW
CAN LIVE IN PEACE AND THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR CAN BE FURTHER
DIMINISHED.

DURING THE PAST DECADE WE HAVE WITNESSED CONSIDERABLE
PROGRESS IN THE FIELD OF ARMS CONTROL.

WE HAVE SEEN HOW POLICIES ADVOCATING A SENSIBLE AND COHERENT APPROACH TO MUTUAL ARMS LIMITATIONS HAVE MOVED FROM THE PERIPHERY TO THE VERY CENTER OF RELATIONS AMONG THE GREAT POWERS, AND PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF ARMS CONTROL IN THIS COUNTRY AND ELSEWHERE HAS INCREASED IN THE ERA FROM THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY TO SALT II.

IN THE YEARS AHEAD, WE MUST AVOID THE TEMPTATION TO ABANDON OUR EFFORTS IN THE FACE OF INCREASING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL TENSIONS AMONG NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL. I REALIZE THAT THESE NEW TENSIONS WILL ONLY EXACERBATE THE RELIANCE OF SOME ON GREATER MILITARY SECURITY AS A HEDGE AGAINST INCREASING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY.

BUT WE MUST EXPAND OUR "BEGINNINGS" OF THE PAST DECADE SO
THAT NATIONS NO LONGER RELY ON MILITARY FORCE TO RESOLVE
THEIR DIFFERENCES.

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