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FOREIGN POLICY

GENERAL

DEFENSE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN. 1977



TO: THE PRESIDENT:

Briefing materials for LAST DEBATE. This folder contains materials you used for the Second Debate.



*Mike*

Mike Duval

10/17/76

DEFENSE SPENDING

	1964 (Vietnam)	1974	1976
PERCENT OF FEDERAL BUDGET	43	29	24
PERCENT OF GNP	8.3	5.8	5.7
DEFENSE EMPLOYMENT AS A PERCENT OF U.S. LABOR FORCE	7.9	5.2	4.8

CARTER ON KISSINGER

"HE'S (KISSINGER) A REMARKABLE MAN AND A VERY GOOD FRIEND OF MINE. HE'S THE KIND OF PERSON WHO HAS A TREMENDOUS SENSE OF HUMOR AND WHO, I THINK, IS PRESERVING THE CHARACTER OF HIS NATION IN A SUPERLATIVE WAY DURING THE TIMES THAT ARE SO TRYING TO US ALL. "

SPEECH, B'NAI B'RITH  
APRIL 20, 1974

## ANSWER TO EVERY CARTER ATTACK

1. WE ARE AT PEACE -- THE ULTIMATE TEST OF OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES.
2. MR. CARTER, IF ELECTED, WOULD GO INTO OFFICE AS THE MOST INEXPERIENCED PRESIDENT IN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE AFFAIRS SINCE THE LATE 1800's.



SUGGESTED FIRST RESPONSE FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I CANNOT COMMENT ON MY OPPONENT'S POLICIES OR RECORD  
BECAUSE HE HAS NONE.

HIS ANSWER REFLECTS HIS INEXPERIENCE. IT IS NOT THE ANSWER  
A PRESIDENT WOULD GIVE TO A QUESTION ON SUCH A SERIOUS  
SUBJECT.

LET ME RESPOND IN A POSITIVE WAY:



FIRST, HERE ARE THE FACTS:

[ONE OR TWO FACTS RELATING TO THE SUBJECT OF  
THE ORIGINAL QUESTION.]

ACCORDINGLY, THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IS:

[INSERT ONE OR TWO SENTENCES]

SECOND, MY SECRETARY OF STATE NEEDS NO DEFENSE. HE  
CARRIES OUT MY POLICIES AND MY DECISIONS WITH UNMATCHED

EXCELLENCE. WE HAVE MET THE ULTIMATE TEST OF ANY  
PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICIES. WE ARE A  
NATION AT PEACE.

FACTS ON LETELIER BOMBING

- FORMER CHILEAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, ORLANDO LETELIER WAS KILLED BY AN AUTOMOBILE BOMB ON SEPTEMBER 21ST.
- THE FBI BEGAN AN INVESTIGATION IMMEDIATELY. IT IS A HIGH PRIORITY INVESTIGATION WITH 75 TO 100 AGENTS WORKING ON THE CASE.

Tully R.

Carter on Being Tougher with the Russians

Q: Carter says he would be tougher in dealing with the Soviets.

A: It is difficult to understand how Mr. Carter rationalizes "being tough" with:

- Cutting the Defense budget by \$5 to \$7 billion.
- Scrapping the B-1
- Reducing US forces based in Europe and Korea.
- Closing bases.
- Keeping the door open to Communist participation in European governments.

Q: Carter says he would rely more heavily on our allies.

A: How would he maintain their confidence at the same time he:

- Withdraws US forces (from NATO and Korea)?
- Refuses arms sales to them?
- Promises to rethink our NATO relationship?
- Casts doubt on whether we would be a reliable ally?

REBUTTAL ON CHINA



-- THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM CALLS FOR THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND ITS SIXTEEN MILLION PEOPLE, AND FOR THE U.S. TO FULFILL ITS COMMITMENTS SUCH AS THE MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY.

-- YOU SHOULD NOTE THAT THE PLATFORM STRONGLY ENDORSED THE PROCESS OF NORMALIZATION.

-- IT DOES NOT PRESCRIBE ANY SPECIFIC WAYS TO PROCEED.

-- TAIWAN IS OBVIOUSLY ONE OF THE MAJOR ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED. THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE EMPHASIZES THE U.S. INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN ISSUE BY THE CHINESE THEMSELVES.

-- WE WILL NOT ABANDON THE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN, BUT IT IS USELESS TO SPECULATE ON THE PRECISE MANNER IN WHICH IT WILL BE WORKED OUT IN NEGOTIATIONS.

CHINA

-- THE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. IT PROVIDED THAT WE WOULD MOVE TOWARD NORMALIZATION AS TENSIONS WERE REDUCED IN THE AREA.

-- WE ARE PROCEEDING ON THAT BASIS. TRADE HAS GROWN; THERE HAVE BEEN INCREASED EXCHANGES; I HAVE VISITED PEKING.

-- WE WILL PROCEED ALONG THIS LINE. THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE SETS OUT THE GOALS BUT THE TIMING AND ACTUAL PROCESS OF GETTING THERE IS TO BE THE SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS.

-- THE FUTURE OF TAIWAN IS A MAJOR ISSUE. IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE THE U.S. "REAFFIRMED ITS INTEREST IN A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION BY THE CHINESE THEMSELVES." THAT REMAINS THE U.S. POSITION AND WILL BE A PRINCIPAL CONCERN IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS I CONDUCT.

-- BUT NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVE MORE THAN JUST THE U.S. AND IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO SPECULATE AHEAD OF TIME THE PRECISE MANNER IN WHICH THE ISSUE WILL BE WORKED OUT.

## Panama Canal

- Our interest in the Canal is to assure guaranteed access and the secure operation and defense of it.
- The security of the Canal can never be guaranteed while there is Panamanian hostility and the constant threat of subversion or outright attack.
- The best way to guarantee the security of the Canal is through negotiation of a mutually beneficial treaty.
- This has been the view of 4 Presidents. It was the public commitment of President Johnson.

CARTER/MONDALE - SALT

-- AFTER THE VLADIVOSTOK MEETING SENATORS MONDALE, KENNEDY, AND MATHIAS SPONSORED A RESOLUTION APPROVING THE AGREEMENT AND URGING ITS COMPLETION.

-- IN MAY 1976 MONDALE VOTED WITH THE SENATE MAJORITY 86-7 URGING CONCLUSION OF VLADIVOSTOK ACCORDS.

-- ON JULY 7 CARTER WAS ASKED WHETHER HE THOUGHT SALT I WAS GOOD FOR THE US. HE SAID, "YES, I DO."

-- ON AUGUST 31 MONDALE SAID HE WELCOMED CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS REDUCTIONS.



## THE HONOR CODE

THE HONOR CODE IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF OUR PREPARATION FOR THE OFFICERS OF OUR ARMED FORCES. IT IS ESSENTIAL IN TIME OF BATTLE -- WHEN LIVES AND THE VERY SURVIVAL OF OUR NATION ARE INVOLVED -- THAT THE WORD OF THE MEN AND WOMEN IN UNIFORM BE UNQUESTIONABLE.

WHEN THE RECENT INCIDENT AT WEST POINT BROKE TO THE PUBLIC, THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF PRESSURE -- COMING IN PART FROM MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS -- TO JUST DISCARD THE CODE ITSELF. WE RESISTED SUCH PRESSURES. THE HONOR CODE HAS SERVED OUR COUNTRY WELL FOR 200 YEARS, AND AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED, IT WILL NOT BE DISCARDED.

(OVER)

WHILE MAINTAINING THE HONOR CODE ITSELF, THERE IS SOME QUESTION AS TO HOW THE CODE SHOULD BE PROPERLY ADMINISTERED. AT THE PRESENT TIME, THE AIR FORCE ACADEMY AND THE NAVY ACADEMY ADMINISTER THEIR CODES DIFFERENTLY FROM WEST POINT. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY DO NOT HAVE JUST ONE SANCTION -- EXPULSION -- FOR EACH AND EVERY VIOLATION. DESPITE SUCH DIFFERENCES, EACH SERVICE HAS PRODUCED OFFICERS OF AN EQUALLY HIGH INTEGRITY. HENCE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HONOR CODE ITSELF DOES NOT SEEM TO BE CRUCIAL IN THIS REGARD.

IN ORDER TO BEST DETERMINE THE PROPER ADMINISTRATION OF THE HONOR CODE AT WEST POINT -- WHETHER, FOR EXAMPLE, TO MAKE IT SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE AIR FORCE OR NAVY -- THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY HAS ORDERED A COMPLETE REVIEW UNDER THE ABLE LEADERSHIP OF FRANK BORMAN, THE FORMER ASTRONAUT. I WILL AWAIT THEIR FINDINGS, ALONG WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CADETS THEMSELVES AND OTHERS INVOLVED. WE ARE DECIDING HOW TO BEST ADMINISTER THE HONOR CODE.

## ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY vs. COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

1. THE ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMY IS A SUCCESS, DESPITE ALL THE PROPHETS OF DOOM AND GLOOM.

-- THE SERVICES ARE STRONG. EVERY PERSON THERE VOLUNTEERED TO BE THERE.

-- THERE IS NO DRAFT. AND THERE IS NO NEED FOR A DRAFT.

-- WE CAN MAINTAIN OUR PRESENT AND FUTURE FORCES BY 2.1 MILLION MORE THAN ADEQUATE WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE DRAFT, AND 65% OF THE VOLUNTEERS ARE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES.

(OVER)



2. THE CONCEPT OF COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE MAY BE WELL-  
INTENTIONED, BUT IS REPUGNANT.

-- MY GOAL IS NOT JUST PEACE -- BUT PEACE WITH FREEDOM,  
ANY FORM OF COMPULSORY SERVICE -- VIA THE DRAFT OR  
OTHERWISE -- IS REPUGNANT UNLESS REQUIRED BY A  
NATIONAL EMERGENCY.

-- AMERICA CAN NOT COMPEL PATRIOTISM OR GENEROSITY.  
SHE CAN AND DOES INSPIRE IT IN OUR PEOPLE EVERYDAY.

## REBUTTAL ON ALLIES

CARTER CHARGES: RELATIONS WITH ALLIES IN DISREPAIR.

MR. CARTER SEEMS TO BE TALKING MORE ABOUT CONDITIONS THAT EXISTED IN THE PAST THAN THE CONDITIONS OF TODAY. IF HE WILL TALK WITH ALLIED LEADERS -- AS I HAVE -- HE WILL FIND THAT WE ENJOY CLOSE RELATIONS, AS SHOWN IN THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS, THE TROOP-CUT NEGOTIATIONS, AND NEW AREAS OF COOPERATION ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND ENERGY ISSUES.

OUR ALLIES NO LONGER FEEL NEGLECTED; THEY NO LONGER QUESTION THE CONSTANCY OF AMERICAN PURPOSE.

(OVER)

MR. CARTER SAYS HE IS FOR OUR ALLIES, YET HE TAKES POSITIONS THAT WOULD INVITE A MAJOR CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE WITH ALL OUR ALLIES:

- HE WANTS TO RETHINK OUR WHOLE NATO ALLIANCE, AND TALKS ABOUT U.S. TROOP CUTS;
- HE WOULD CHANGE NATO'S AGREED NUCLEAR STRATEGY, SHIFTING TO A DANGEROUS "MASSIVE RETALIATION" STRATEGY INSTEAD OF THE AGREED POLICY "FLEXIBLE RESPONSE."
- HE WOULD WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS FROM SOUTH KOREA, WHICH WOULD RISK JAPAN'S SECURITY.

ALL OF THIS HAS BEEN VERY UNSETTLING TO OUR ALLIES.

LATIN AMERICA

-- WE HAVE SEEN THE FOLLY OF IMPOSING OUR OWN IDEAS ON LATIN AMERICA;

-- IN THE 1960's WE SIMPLY THREW MONEY -- \$15 BILLION -- AT THE PROBLEM AND CAUSED MASSIVE RESENTMENT. THE RESULT WAS DISILLUSIONMENT AND MISTRUST;

-- MY ADMINISTRATION HAS ATTACKED THE REAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES;

-- WE NOW LISTEN TO THE IDEAS OF LATIN AMERICA AND TALK AS EQUAL;

-- LAST JUNE AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES WE

(OVER)

PROPOSED:

- . NEW MECHANISMS TO INCREASE TRADE;
- . NEW PROGRAMS TO MAKE OUR TECHNOLOGY AVAILABLE TO  
LATIN AMERICA;
- . STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS;
- . REFORM OF THE OAS.

-- IN THIS WAY WE OFFER TRUE COOPERATION AS EQUALS NOT  
PATERNALISM OF THE PAST.



## POPULATION CONTROL

WE ARE WINNING THE WORLDWIDE FIGHT AGAINST EXCESSIVE POPULATION GROWTH. IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, THE U.S. HAS SPENT CLOSE TO ONE BILLION DOLLARS TO COMBAT THIS PROBLEM. THIS HELP HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE. THE BIRTH RATE HAS FALLEN IN EAST ASIA AND CENTRAL AMERICA. INDIA IS NOW MAKING PROGRESS. IN AFRICA, PROGRESS IS JUST BEGINNING.

IN TEN MORE YEARS, AT OUR PRESENT RATE OF EFFORT, THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE, TO A GREAT EXTENT, UNDER CONTROL. WE HAVE GIVEN ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF THE AID FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THIS FIELD.

(SINCE 1973 WE HAVE GIVEN NO AID FOR ABORTION. OUR AID GOES FOR BIRTH CONTROL AND EDUCATION.)

(OVER)

THE WORLD POPULATION PROBLEM IS A HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM.

-- WILL THERE BE ENOUGH FOOD?

-- WILL ALL CHILDREN OF THE WORLD HAVE PROPER MEDICAL CARE?

-- WILL THEY IN FACT SURVIVE THEIR CHILDHOOD?

NO NATION HAS SHOWN AS MUCH COMPASSION IN DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS. NO NATION HAS DONE AS MUCH TO SOLVE THEM.

EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD BE PROUD OF OUR EFFORTS.

## REBUTTAL ON POPULATION CONTROL

OUR AID HAS BEEN GENEROUS -- ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL GIVEN BY DEVELOPED NATIONS.

THERE IS NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN OUR AID GIVEN TO FAMILY PLANNING ABROAD AND THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION ON ABORTION -- U.S. FUNDS HAVE NOT BEEN USED TO SUPPORT ABORTION SINCE 1973.

## FOOD POLICY

WORLD FOOD PRODUCTION IS RAPIDLY RISING. SINCE 1967 FOOD PRODUCTION HAS BEEN GOING UP FASTER THAN POPULATION. BUT THERE IS STILL ENORMOUS UNMET NEED. FIRST WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT MY INITIATIVE IN FALL OF 1974. OUR POLICY IS TWOFOLD:

1. A LONG-RANGE POLICY TO GIVE THE POORER COUNTRIES THE TECHNOLOGICAL KNOW-HOW TO FEED THEMSELVES.
2. AN IMMEDIATE POLICY TO HELP MEET PRESSING FOOD SHORTAGES IN SOME COUNTRIES. LONG-RANGE, WE ARE HELPING DEVELOP AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY THROUGH OUR FOREIGN AID PROGRAM. ALSO, WE ARE PRESSING FOR AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM OF GRAIN RESERVES. WE ALSO HAVE PROPOSED AN INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. CHIEF BOTTLENECK IS GETTING PARTICIPATION FROM OPEC COUNTRIES.

(OVER)

TO MEET IMMEDIATE NEEDS, WE ARE NOW PROVIDING SUBSTANTIAL  
FOOD AID. IN FISCAL 1976, WE GAVE SIX MILLION TONS OF FOOD WORTH  
ONE AND ONE HALF BILLION TO NATIONS WITH SERIOUS FOOD PROBLEMS.

## TERRORISM

-- THERE IS ONLY ONE POLICY THAT WORKS SUCCESSFULLY AGAINST TERRORISM: TO BE TOUGH AND AGGRESSIVE. TWO COUNTRIES HAVE ADOPTED THAT APPROACH -- ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES -- AND IN BOTH WE HAVE ACHIEVED NOTABLE SUCCESS. IN THE U.S., THERE HAS BEEN ONLY ONE CASE OF SKYJACKING IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, AND IT FAILED. TOUGH, AGGRESSIVE POLICIES ARE THE BEST APPROACH HERE AND ELSEWHERE.

-- THE UN IS IN A UNIQUE POSITION AND SHOULD TACKLE THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM HEAD ON.

-- WE INTRODUCED A DRAFT CONVENTION TO THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE.

(OVER)

-- LAST SUMMER AFTER THE DRAMATICALLY SUCCESSFUL ISRAELI RAID AT ENTEBEE, THE U.S. AND GREAT BRITAIN INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL CALLING UPON ALL COUNTRIES TO TAKE EVERY NECESSARY MEASURE TO PREVENT AND PUNISH TERRORIST ACTS.

-- WE WILL WORK WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS TO:

- EXCHANGE INTELLIGENCE
- TEACH TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF PREVENTING TERRORISM

-- SECRETARY KISSINGER AT THE UN LAST WEEK EMPHASIZED OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED UNILATERALLY IF MULTINATIONAL ACTION IS NOT FORTHCOMING.

(MORE)

## TERRORISM, CONT'D

### UNILATERAL

-- I HAVE ORDERED MAXIMUM SECURITY AT US AIRPORTS. THIS LED TO A MARKED REDUCTION IN HIJACKING ATTEMPTS IN US.

-- (THE HIJACKING OF THE TWA PLANE DID NOT IN FACT CARRY WEAPONS ONTO THE AIRCRAFT AND THIS CERTAINLY WAS A MAJOR FACTOR IN THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSIONS OF THAT HIJACKING.)

-- I HAVE ESTABLISHED A SPECIAL TASK FORCE COMBINING FBI, FAA, STATE, DEFENSE AND OTHERS TO DEAL WITH:

- CRISES MANAGEMENT, AND
- PROMOTING FIRM CONTROLS INTERNATIONALLY.

-- I HAVE INCREASED THE SECURITY OF OUR MISSIONS OVERSEAS.



## ARAB BOYCOTT/DISCRIMINATION

I HAVE TAKEN THE STRONGEST ACTION AGAINST THE BOYCOTT AND DISCRIMINATION OF ANY PRESIDENT SINCE ISRAEL WAS FOUNDED.

- NEARLY A YEAR AGO I DIRECTED THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT AND ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES TO PROHIBIT COMPLIANCE WITH DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN FOREIGN TRADE.
- THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT HAS LAUNCHED THE FIRST ANTI-TRUST SUIT IN A MAJOR BOYCOTT CASE.
- I SIGNED THE TAX BILL, WHICH HAD SEVERE PENALTIES AGAINST U.S. FIRMS THAT PARTICIPATE IN THE BOYCOTT OR DISCRIMINATION.

(OVER)

BUT BEYOND THIS WE HAVE SEEN IN CONGRESS MEASURES THAT ARE SO ONE-SIDED THAT THEY WILL UNDERMINE OUR MEDIATING ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND PRACTICALLY INVITE THE SOVIETS TO REESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN THE ARAB WORLD.

IT'S AN EFFECTIVE BID FOR VOTES BUT IT'S NOT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES OR IN THE INTEREST OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

A POLITICIAN CAN TELL YOU WHAT YOU WANT TO HEAR; A PRESIDENT HAS TO TELL YOU THE FACTS.

## NUCLEAR WAR REBUTTAL

MR. CARTER HAS SAID THAT IF WE USE EVEN A SINGLE NUCLEAR WEAPON WHEN ATTACKED IN EUROPE THAT THERE WOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE ESCALATION INTO AN ALL-OUT NUCLEAR WAR.

THIS IS AN EXTREMELY DANGEROUS VIEW. IT IS A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO THE MILITARY STRATEGY OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WHICH HAS BEEN CAREFULLY WORKED OUT BY THE PAST THREE ADMINISTRATIONS. MR. CARTER'S POSITION AMOUNTS TO A VIRTUAL GUARANTEE TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY COULD LAUNCH AN ATTACK IN EUROPE AND THAT THE ONLY CHOICE FOR THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE DEFEAT OR MASSIVE RETALIATION.

(OVER)

I STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH THIS VIEWPOINT. OUR TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE ARE CRITICAL TO DETERRING AGGRESSION. SECOND, THEY GIVE THE ALLIANCE THE CAPABILITY TO MEET ATTACK AT WHATEVER LEVEL THEY ARE LAUNCHED.

I WILL NOT CREATE A CRISIS IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE BY SUGGESTING WE WOULD WITHHOLD OUR NUCLEAR DETERRENT UNLESS THE UNITED STATES ITSELF WAS ATTACKED.

## RELATIONS WITH ALLIES

RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES HAVE NEVER BEEN BETTER. WHEN I CAME INTO OFFICE, I FOUND THAT OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AND ASIA QUESTIONED WHETHER WE HAD LOST OUR WILL, OUR STEADFASTNESS OF PURPOSE. ALL THAT HAS CHANGED:

- I HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES WITH ALL OUR ALLIED LEADERS. THEY NOW HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR POLICY.
- THE ECONOMIC SUMMITS (RAMBOUILLET, NOVEMBER 1975; PUERTO RICO, JUNE 1976) WERE A MILESTONE. COOPERATION NOW EXTENDS BEYOND DEFENSE TO COOPERATION ON ECONOMIC AND ENERGY POLICY.
- WE HAVE BEEFED UP NATO DEFENSES.

(OVER)

- OUR COOPERATION WITH FRANCE IS CLOSER THAN BEFORE.
- SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, ONCE THOUGHT TO BE ON THE BRINK OF CHAOS, ARE MOVING STEADILY TOWARD DEMOCRACY.
- WE HAVE A COMMON POSITION IN THE EAST-WEST TALKS ON TROOP CUTS.
- I WAS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT JAPAN.
- MY BASIC PRINCIPLE THAT WE STAND BY ALL ALLIES -- ISRAEL, KOREA, IRAN, AS WELL AS OUR NATO ALLIES AND JAPAN -- BECAUSE IF WE FAIL TO STAND FIRM IN ANY SINGLE PLACE, WE UNDERMINE THE CONFIDENCE OF OUR ALLIES AND ONLY HEARTEN OUR ADVERSARIES.

## REBUTTAL ON SECRECY CHARGE

CARTER CHARGE: FOREIGN POLICY UNDER HAK HAS BEEN CONDUCTED UNDER A CLOAK OF SECRECY, LEADING TO MISTAKES IN VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, ANGOLA, CIA, ETC.

1. GOVERNOR CARTER HAS MADE A HABIT DURING THIS CAMPAIGN OF RUNNING AGAINST MANY OF THE GHOSTS OF THE PAST, ALONG WITH MANY OF THE SINS OF THE PAST. I WOULD REMIND HIM THAT THIS RACE IS ONLY BETWEEN THE TWO OF US -- AND WHAT THE VOTERS MUST DECIDE IS WHICH OF US WILL DO A BETTER JOB OF KEEPING AMERICA STRONG AND AT PEACE. THIS IS THE OVERRIDING ISSUE THAT WE OUGHT TO ADDRESS TONIGHT.

(OVER)

2. AS TO THIS RED HERRING ABOUT SECRECY, LET ME SAY THAT MY RECORD ON FOREIGN POLICY IS THERE FOR ALL TO SEE:

-- THERE ARE NO SECRET DEALS.

-- WE HAVE HELD AN UNPRECEDENTED NUMBER OF MEETINGS WITH THE CONGRESS TO KEEP THEM INFORMED.

-- WE HAVE BEEN AS CANDID AND OPEN AS POSSIBLE. FOR EXAMPLE, AFTER THE SINAI AGREEMENT WAS REACHED, WE TURNED OVER THE DOCUMENTS FROM THOSE NEGOTIATIONS TO THE FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS.

(MORE)



REBUTTAL ON SECRECY CHARGE, CONT'D

3. I WILL SAY THAT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN DIPLOMACY CANNOT BE CONDUCTED FULLY IN THE OPEN. FOR EXAMPLE, NEGOTIATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES OR OUR ADVERSARIES ON ARMS REDUCTIONS, INVOLVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS THAT DEFEND OUR VERY SECURITY. MR. CARTER MAY BELIEVE THAT SUCH NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE CONDUCTED IN THE OPEN, BUT I DON'T AND AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT, SENSITIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE MILITARY SECURITY OF THIS COUNTRY WILL REMAIN CLASSIFIED.

(OVER)

4. MR. CARTER COMPLAINS ABOUT SECRET DIPLOMACY ON THE  
ONE HAND AND THEN, ON THE OTHER HAND, PROPOSES "UNPUBLICIZED"  
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. HE CAN'T HAVE  
IT BOTH WAYS.

FOREIGN LEADERS QUOTES

PRIME MINISTER COSGRAVE OF IRELAND

"...THE TIES THAT WERE FORGED BETWEEN US IN THE EARLY YEARS HAVE NOT LESSENER WITH TIME. ON THE CONTRARY, I BELIEVE THEY ARE TODAY STRONGER AND FIRMER THAN EVER."

REMARKS ON SOUTH GROUNDS,

MARCH 17, 1976

(OVER)

PRESIDENT GISCARD d'ESTAING OF FRANCE

"I DO NOT THINK THERE HAS EVER BEEN A TIME WHEN CONTACTS BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN MORE FREQUENT, CONSULTATION MORE SUSTAINED AND COOPERATION MORE GOOD WILLED."

WHITE HOUSE TOAST,

MAY 17, 1976

QUEEN ELIZABETH II OF GREAT BRITAIN

"MR. PRESIDENT, THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE AS CLOSE TODAY AS TWO PEOPLES HAVE EVER BEEN.

(MORE)

WE SEE YOU AS OUR STRONG AND TRUSTED FRIEND, AND WE BELIEVE THAT YOU, IN TURN, WILL FIND US READY AS EVER TO BEAR OUR FULL SHARE IN DEFENDING THE VALUES IN WHICH WE BOTH BELIEVE. "

REMARKS ON SOUTH GROUNDS,

JULY 7, 1976

CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

"I DON' T THINK I AM EXAGGERATING WHEN I SAY THAT AT NO TIME DURING THE PAST 30 YEARS HAVE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN  
(OVER)

OUR COUNTRIES BEEN CLOSER AND HAS BEEN COOPERATION  
BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS MORE TRUSTFUL AND  
DIRECT THAN TODAY."

WHITE HOUSE TOAST,

JULY 15, 1976

PRESIDENT KEKKONEN OF FINLAND

"WE, IN FINLAND, REALIZE VERY WELL THE ENORMOUS  
RESPONSIBILITY WHICH THE UNITED STATES AS A GREAT POWER  
BEARS IN SOLVING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. MR. PRESIDENT,  
YOUR ACTIVE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY AND YOUR EFFORTS

(MORE)

TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS IN AN EQUITABLE MANNER  
DEPENDABLY AND HONESTLY ARE RESPECTED ALL OVER THE  
WORLD. "

REMARKS ON SOUTH GROUNDS,

AUGUST 3, 1976

SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS OF NATO

"FIRST OF ALL, THE SITUATION IN THE UNITED STATES  
ITSELF, ALL OF THE ALLIES HAVE NOTED THE IMPROVEMENT  
IN THE ECONOMIC POSTURE OF THE UNITED STATES, WHICH

(OVER)

WELL COMPARES TO NEARLY ALL THE ALLIES. SECONDLY, IF I MAY USE THE WORD, THE RECOVERY FROM THE SENSE OF DISAFFECTION WHICH YOU FELT TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE FACT THAT THE BICENTENNIAL WAS SUCH A SIGNAL OF SUCCESS AND THIS COUNTRY HAS REGAINED ITS UNITY OF PURPOSE.

"THEN, OF COURSE, THE VOICES WHICH WERE SO LOUD TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO ABOUT WITHDRAWING TROOPS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM EUROPE HAVE BECOME VERY

(MORE)



MUTED INDEED, AND THE UNITED STATES' COMMITMENT TO THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE WHOLE ALLIANCE ON THE FIRST LINE IN EUROPE HAS BEEN UNDERLINED BY THE FACT THAT TWO COMBAT BRIGADES HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE STRENGTH OF THE ALLIED TROOPS IN GERMANY."

WHITE HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCE,

SEPTEMBER 15, 1976

WHO RUNS FOREIGN POLICY: KISSINGER OR FORD

THIS IS A SUBJECT THAT HAS ATTRACTED FAR MORE HEAT THAN LIGHT,  
LET ME TRY TO SHED SOME LIGHT ON IT.

DR. KISSINGER HAPPENS TO BE A SUPERB INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATOR --  
THE BEST IN THE WORLD, SO FAR AS I CAN TELL. AND IT HAS BEEN IN  
THAT ROLE THAT HE HAS NEGOTIATED THE TERMS OF MANY, MANY INTERNA-  
TIONAL AGREEMENTS -- FROM THE SALT AGREEMENT IN THE LAST ADMINIS-  
TRATION TO THE SINAI ACCORD AND THE AFRICAN AGREEMENT IN THIS  
ADMINISTRATION. IN THIS ROLE, HE HAS MADE AN OUTSTANDING  
CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA AND TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE. WE SHOULD  
ALL BE GRATEFUL TO HIM.

(OVER)



BUT I DON'T NEED TO TELL YOU WHERE THE FINAL RESPONSIBILITY RESTS FOR DECISIONS SHAPING THE OVERALL DIRECTION AND THRUST OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THAT RESPONSIBILITY RESTS IN THE OVAL OFFICE; IT HAS BEEN THERE IN THE PAST AND IT REMAINS THERE TODAY. IT IS THE PRESIDENT -- AND ONLY THE PRESIDENT -- WHO CAN DECIDE WHERE TO SEND OUR TROOPS, WHO CAN DECIDE HOW MANY MISSILES AND BOMBERS AND SHIPS WE NEED TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY, AND WHO CAN DECIDE WHETHER THE MOMENT OF TRUTH HAS ARRIVED IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. THAT IS NEVER AN EASY REAPONSIBILITY, BUT IT IS ONE THAT I WELCOME.

IF ELECTED, MR. CARTER WILL BE THE FIRST PRESIDENT IN THIS CENTURY WITH VIRTUALLY NO FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY EXPERIENCE. THEREFORE, I BELIEVE HE SHOULD TELL THE PEOPLE -- IN THIS DEBATE -- WHO HIS SECRETARY OF STATE AND SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILL BE. THE PEOPLE HAVE THE RIGHT TO KNOW WHO WILL BE RUNNING THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES,

## MORALITY (AMERICAN VALUES)

WE HEAR A LOT OF TALK ABOUT MORALITY. I BELIEVE:

- PUSHING BACK THE SPECTER OF NUCLEAR WAR, AS WE HAVE DONE IN SALT, IS A MORAL POLICY;
- MEDIATING CONFLICT, AS WE HAVE DONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IS A MORAL POLICY.
- AVERTING RACE WAR AND PROMOTING RECONCILIATION, AS WE HAVE DONE IN AFRICA, IS A MORAL POLICY.
- ORGANIZING WORLD COOPERATION TO PROMOTE FOOD PRODUCTION AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN POORER COUNTRIES, IS A MORAL POLICY.
- INSURING THE SOLIDARITY OF OUR ALLIANCES, FOR THE SURVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY, IS A MORAL POLICY.

(OVER)

-- STANDING LOYALLY BY ALLIES WHO SEEK TO DEFEND THEMSELVES  
AGAINST AGGRESSION IS A MORAL POLICY.

-- AND, FINALLY, KEEPING THE PEACE -- SAVING LIVES -- IS VERY  
MORAL.

I THINK EVERY AMERICAN CAN BE PROUD OF WHAT THIS COUNTRY HAS DONE --  
FOR PEACE, FOR FREEDOM, FOR PROGRESS, FOR JUSTICE. I AM SICK AND  
TIRED OF HEARING OUR COUNTRY DENOUNCED AS IMMORAL BY PEOPLE WHO  
CLEARLY DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT.

CONTINUATION OF NIXON-HAK FOREIGN POLICY

ISSUE: IMPACT OF GRF UPON FOREIGN POLICY INHERITED FROM RN-HAK.

1. IN EARLY DAYS OF MY ADMINISTRATION, I MADE A CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO CARRY FORWARD THE GREAT FOREIGN POLICY TRADITIONS OF THE POST-WAR ERA:

-- IT WAS URGENT THAT OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES UNDERSTOOD THAT AMERICA WOULD REMAIN THE STRONGEST PEACEMAKER IN THE WORLD. WE HAVE ENDED THEIR FEARS. (FOR EXAMPLE, I CALLED NATO AMBASSADORS IN FOR A MEETING THE DAY I TOOK OFFICE TO REASSURE THEM THAT AMERICA WOULD BE STEADFAST IN ITS COMMITMENTS.)

(OVER)

-- IT WAS EQUALLY URGENT THAT OUR ADVERSARIES UNDERSTAND THAT U.S. FOREIGN POLICY WAS NOT GOING TO BREAK DOWN IN THE MIDST OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. IT WAS A TIME OF GREAT TESTING FOR US. EVERY NEW PRESIDENT IS ALWAYS TESTED BY THE SOVIETS; JFK WAS TESTED BY KHRUSCHEV IN VIENNA AND IF MR. CARTER IS ELECTED, HE WILL BE SEVERELY TESTED. I FELT THAT IN THOSE EARLY DAYS IT WAS VITAL TO STAND FIRM WITH THE SOVIETS; WE DID THAT, AND I AM NOW BEYOND TESTING INTO A PERIOD OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND PROGRESS.

2. SO CONTINUITY WAS IMPORTANT IN EARLY DAYS, BUT SINCE THAT TIME, WE HAVE MOVED VIGOROUSLY ON SEVERAL FRONTS WHERE NEW PROGRESS AND NEW INITIATIVES SEEMED POSSIBLE. AND WE'VE MADE STRIKING BREAKTHROUGHS:

(MORE)

CONTINUATION OF NIXON-HAK FOREIGN POLICY, CONT'D

- NEW ACCORDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST;
- NEW AGREEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;
- COORDINATED ATTACK ON WORLDWIDE RECESSION LED BY

U.S.;

-- NEW U. S. PROPOSALS TO MEET FUTURE FOOD NEEDS, ASSIST DEVELOPING NATIONS.

EACH OF THESE REPRESENTS A FORD ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVE AND A FORD ADMINISTRATION BREAKTHROUGH. EACH HAS FURTHERED THE CAUSE OF PEACE.



## FORD RECORD

I TOOK OFFICE IN A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS AT HOME. THE WORLD WAS WATCHING TO SEE IF WE COULD RECOVER OUR SELF-CONFIDENCE AND REMAIN THE WORLD'S LEADER. WE HAVE DONE IT.

- FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE EISENHOWER, AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT CAN SEEK ELECTION AND SAY WE ARE AT PEACE.
- WE HAVE REVERSED THE DANGEROUS TREND OF SHRINKING DEFENSE BUDGETS.
- OUR ECONOMY HAS LED THE WORLD OUT OF ECONOMIC RECESSION.
- WE HAVE STRENGTHENED OUR ALLIANCES -- IN MY NATO AND ECONOMIC SUMMIT MEETINGS.

(OVER)

- WE ACHIEVED A BREAKTHROUGH IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITS AT MY MEETINGS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV IN VLADIVOSTOK.
- I VISITED CHINA AND CONFIRMED THE DURABILITY OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP.
- WE REACHED A MILESTONE SINAI AGREEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
- WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A CRUCIAL ROLE OF MEDIATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TO END CRISIS AND RACIAL WAR.
- WE HAVE BEGUN A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
- AT THE UN WE HAVE SPOKEN OUT FORCEFULLY FOR FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE IN THAT ORGANIZATION.

## FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

1. MY OVERRIDING GOAL IS THAT FOUR YEARS FROM NOW, AS I PREPARE TO LEAVE PUBLIC OFFICE, AMERICA WILL STILL BE AT PEACE AND AMERICA WILL STILL HAVE THE STRENGTH AND THE WILL TO KEEP THE PEACE.

2. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT WE WILL SERIOUSLY JEOPARDIZE OUR HOPES FOR PEACE:

-- IF WE BEGIN DISMANTLING OUR MILITARY FORCES;

-- IF WE BEGIN PRECIPITOUS WITHDRAWALS FROM KEY AREAS SUCH AS KOREA AND EUROPE; AND,

-- IF WE SEW DOUBT AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS THROUGH FUZZY OR CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS ABOUT OUR INTENTIONS. THE WORLD IS STILL TOO DANGEROUS AND HOSTILE TO PLACE OUR FUTURE IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO MIGHT WAVER OR BLINK WHEN WE'RE EYEBALL-TO-EYEBALL WITH THE RUSSIANS.

(OVER)

3. THROUGH STEADY, SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY AND THROUGH CONTINUED MILITARY STRENGTH, THE U.S. HAS GREAT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS:

-- WE CAN REACH SOUND AGREEMENTS TO REDUCE THE ARMS RACE;

-- WE CAN RESOLVE THE TENSIONS THAT STILL EXIST IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA;

-- WE CAN PROVIDE CONTINUED LEADERSHIP TO SOLVE THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES; AND,

-- WE CAN CONTINUE AT THE FOREFRONT OF EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ENOUGH FOOD, ENOUGH ENERGY AND ENOUGH SECURITY FOR THE POORER NATIONS TO MEET THEIR PEOPLE'S NEEDS.

(MORE)

## FOREIGN POLICY GOALS, CONT'D

IF WE MOVE STEADILY TOWARD THESE GOALS, WE WILL GREATLY ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE THROUGH NOT ONLY THE END OF THE DECADE BUT THROUGH THE END OF THE CENTURY AND BEYOND.

## REBUTTAL TO CARTER ON MIDDLE EAST

I WELCOME MR. CARTER'S EVIDENT DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HIS COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL. LITTLE OF WHAT HE SAYS IS INCONSISTENT WITH CURRENT ADMINISTRATION POLICY, EXCEPT ON THESE POINTS:

-- FIRST, HE SEEMS WILLING TO DICTATE TO ISRAEL THEIR FINAL BORDERS WITH THE ARAB STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAS SAID ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW TO THE 1967 BORDERS BUT KEEP THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND CONTROL OVER JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN HOLY PLACES IN JERUSALEM. WE BELIEVE THAT TERMS SHOULD NOT BE DICTATED BY THE U.S. OR ANY OTHER OUTSIDER BUT SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

(OVER)

-- SECOND, HE APPARENTLY WANTS TO INVITE THE SOVIETS INTO EVERY NEGOTIATION AND HAS EVEN TALKED ABOUT A SECRETLY NEGOTIATED U.S.-SOVIET PLAN FOR DICTATING A FINAL SOLUTION FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE SOVIET RECORD IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST BE TROUBLED BY MR. CARTER'S SUGGESTIONS; I KNOW THAT I AM, AND I DO NOT ACCEPT THEM.

THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST ARE CLOSER TO A JUST AND LASTING PEACE THAN AT ANY TIME IN SEVERAL YEARS; THAT IS DUE IN PART TO THEIR OWN WISDOM AND IN PART TO THE VERY CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES. I INTEND TO MAINTAIN THOSE POLICIES AND PRESS FORWARD IN THE SEARCH FOR AN END TO TENSIONS AND HOSTILITY.

## ILLEGAL FOREIGN PAYMENTS

BRIBERY ABROAD IS CONTRARY TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS AND TO THE ECONOMIC AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH WE STAND.

THE PROBLEM WITH THE DIRECT "CRIMINALIZATION" LEGISLATION (WHICH PASSED THE SENATE), HOWEVER, IS THAT, WHILE IT SEEMS ATTRACTIVE, IT IS -- IN THE OPINION OF VIRTUALLY ALL EXPERTS WHO HAVE EXAMINED THIS ISSUE -- ESSENTIALLY UNENFORCEABLE. IT WOULD REQUIRE ACCESS TO FOREIGN WITNESSES AND FOREIGN RECORDS WHICH WOULD REMAIN BEYOND THE REACH OF U.S. LAW.

(OVER)



THE ONLY WORKABLE WAY TO GET AT THIS PROBLEM IS THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT. IN MARCH, WE PROPOSED SUCH AN AGREEMENT TO THE U.N. I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT OUR PROPOSAL HAS BEEN RECEIVED FAVORABLY -- AND THAT AN INTERNATIONAL WORKING GROUP IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN THE WORK ESSENTIAL TO THE DRAFTING OF A TREATY. THE FIRST MEETING OF THIS INTERNATIONAL WORKING GROUP WILL BE HELD IN NEW YORK ON MONDAY (OCTOBER 11).

(MORE)

AS REGARDS UNILATERAL LEGISLATIVE ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES, I HAVE PROPOSED "DISCLOSURE" LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD REQUIRE REPORTING OF FOREIGN PAYMENTS. THIS LEGISLATION IS ENFORCEABLE AND IS BASED ON THE NOTION BEST ARTICULATED BY JUSTICE BRANDEIS: THAT "SUNSHINE IS THE BEST DISINFECTANT." I REGRET THAT THE CONGRESS DID NOT HOLD HEARINGS ON OUR PROPOSED LEGISLATION. WHILE AWAITING CONGRESSIONAL ACTION -- AND INDEED THEREAFTER -- WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF CURRENT LAW THROUGH THE

(OVER)

SEC, THE IRS AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

## REBUTTAL ON KOREA

-- WE MUST REMEMBER THAT KOREA IS SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE POWERS - NORTH KOREA, THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. IT FACES SUBVERSION AND HALF A MILLION MEN ON ITS BORDERS.

-- THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN KOREA DOES NOT MEET OUR STANDARDS, AND I HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO PRESIDENT PARK THAT I NEITHER APPROVE NOR CONDONE SOME PRACTICES THERE. BUT I ALSO THINK WE HAVE TO UNDERSTAND HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THAT COUNTRY EXISTS.

-- WE SHOULD NOT WITHDRAW OUR TROOPS, CUT OFF OUR MILITARY AID, OR BLACKMAIL KOREAN GOVERNMENT BECAUSE IT DOES NOT LIVE UP TO OUR STANDARDS.

(OVER)

-- KOREA IN HOSTILE HANDS WOULD THREATEN JAPAN. ASIANS WILL LOSE FAITH IN OUR RELIABILITY IF WE FAIL TO LIVE UP TO COMMITMENTS IN KOREA.

-- CARTER'S WITHDRAWAL PLEDGES WILL UNDERMINE THE STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA AND SECURITY THROUGHOUT ASIA.

-- TROOP REDUCTIONS ANYWHERE SHOULD BE RESULTS OF MUTUAL NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS A SIGN OF INEXPERIENCE FOR MR. CARTER TO SUGGEST UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL BECAUSE THIS OBVIOUSLY WEAKENS OUR ABILITY TO NEGOTIATE MUTUAL REDUCTIONS.

## U.S. AND THE MIDDLE EAST

1. THE MIDDLE EAST IS A FOCAL POINT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY FOR THREE MAJOR REASONS:

- STRATEGICALLY, IT IS AT A CROSSROADS OF THE WORLD;
- ECONOMICALLY, IT SITS ATOP THE LARGEST KNOWN SUPPLY OF PETROLEUM IN THE WORLD;
- AND, MORALLY, WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE SURVIVAL AND SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

(OVER)

2. FOUR TIMES IN THE PAST QUARTER CENTURY, THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS HAVE GONE TO WAR. A MAJOR PREOCCUPATION OF MY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN TO REDUCE THE TENSIONS AND ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. OUR APPROACH -- STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY -- HAS PAID OFF:

- EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT OF JANUARY, 1974;
- SYRIA-ISRAELI AGREEMENT OF MAY, 1974;
- EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI SINAI AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER, 1975.

NOT ONLY HAS THIS KEPT THE PEACE, BUT SOVIET INFLUENCE IN MOST OF THE AREA -- AS RABIN HAS SAID -- IS AT ITS LOWEST EBB IN 20 YEARS. THE UNITED STATES TODAY IS THE ONLY NATION THAT ENJOYS THE TRUST OF BOTH SIDES.

(MORE)

## U.S. AND THE MIDDLE EAST, CONT'D

3. CLEARLY, THE FORWARD MOMENTUM MUST CONTINUE. WE ARE FLEXIBLE ABOUT THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THE ULTIMATE GOAL, BUT WE ARE UNBENDING IN OUR DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD.

4. WE WILL PROCEED, OF COURSE, IN CONSULTATION WITH ISRAEL. WE ARE A STEADFAST FRIEND. FORTY PERCENT OF ALL U.S. POSTWAR AID TO ISRAEL HAS COME IN THE TWO YEARS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

5. ISRAEL'S CURRENT PROPOSAL -- SUBSTANTIAL TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS IN RETURN FOR AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR -- IS ONE THAT SHOULD CERTAINLY BE DISCUSSED.



## KOREA

-- KOREA IS A FLASH POINT FOR POSSIBLE CONFLICT IN ASIA.

-- NORTH KOREA IS HEAVILY ARMED (500,000), DANGEROUS AND AGGRESSIVE AS WE HAVE JUST RECENTLY SEEN IN CRISIS.

-- THEREFORE, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT AMERICA BE FIRM AND LEAVE NO DOUBT OF ITS OBLIGATIONS.

-- THIS IS ONLY WAY TO DETER A NEW WAR IN ASIA. WE PROVED THIS IN AUGUST, WHEN WE STOOD FIRM.

-- OUR TROOPS (42,000) ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THIS POLICY.

-- PROPOSAL BY CARTER TO REDUCE OR PULL OUT ARE DANGEROUS, BECAUSE THEY TEMPT ATTACKS -- CREATE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE, NOT ONLY IN KOREA BUT IN JAPAN AND ELSEWHERE.

(OVER)

-- MANY OF US RECALL WHEN WE TOLD THE WORLD IN 1950 THAT KOREA WAS OUTSIDE THE PERIMETER OF U.S. DEFENSES. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, THE NORTH KOREANS ATTACKED, AND WE WERE AT WAR. WE DON'T WANT A REPETITION OF 1950.

-- WE HAVE PROPOSED A NEW CONFERENCE WITH BOTH KOREAS, THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. THIS IS THE WAY TO EASE TENSIONS. NO UNILATERAL WITHDRAWALS.

B-1

1. FOR SEVERAL YEARS, ONE OF CLEAREST AMERICAN ADVANTAGES OVER THE SOVIETS HAS BEEN THE SUPERIORITY OF OUR MANNED BOMBING FORCE. VITAL THAT WE MAINTAIN THAT SUPERIORITY BECAUSE BOMBERS CARRY ALMOST HALF OF OUR NUCLEAR MEGATTONAGE; BOMBERS CAN ALSO BE SENT ON MISSIONS AND THEN BE RECALLED.
2. BUT THE KEY TO OUR BOMBING FORCE, THE B-52, HAS BECOME OLD AND BECAUSE OF ADVANCING SOVIET TECHNOLOGY, CAN NO LONGER SAFELY PENETRATE SOVIET AIR DEFENSES. WE NEED A REPLACEMENT.
3. TWO FORMER PRESIDENT, SIX SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE AND THE PAST FIVE CONGRESSES HAVE ALL CONCLUDED THAT THE B-1 IS THE BEST REPLACEMENT BECAUSE IT CAN PENETRATE SOVIET AIR DEFENSES.

(OVER)

4. MR. CARTER AND I TOTALLY DISAGREE ABOUT THE B-1. I AM FOR IT AND WANT TO GO AHEAD WITH PRODUCTION. MR. CARTER CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND. THE B-1 IS A GOOD AIRCRAFT, AND AFTER IT SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETES ITS CURRENT TESTING, THE U.S. SHOULD BUILD A B-1 FLEET.
5. LET'S ALSO REALIZE THAT IN ADDITION TO AMERICANS WATCHING US TONIGHT, FOREIGN LEADERS ARE ALSO CAREFULLY OBSERVING US. I'M TROUBLED BY WHAT THE KREMLIN MUST THINK WHEN IT HEARS A SERIOUS CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY TALKING ABOUT FORFEITING ONE OF ITS MOST IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES WE HAVE AGAINST THEM.
6. AS A GENERAL RULE, I DON'T THINK THAT A U.S. PILOT SHOULD BE SENT UP IN AN AIRCRAFT THAT IS OLDER THAN HE IS.

## \$5 - 7 BILLION CUT IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET

1. MOST OF MR. CARTER'S REMARKS ON DEFENSE FOCUS ON BUDGET CUTS.

- HE SAYS, "WE CAN CUT BILLIONS OF DOLLARS FROM OUR DEFENSE BUDGET AND AT THE SAME TIME INCREASE OUR ABILITY TO DEFEND OURSELVES."
- MR. CARTER HAS USED AT LEAST THREE DIFFERENT FIGURES FOR THE AMOUNT THE DEFENSE BUDGETS CAN BE CUT:
  - \$12-15 BILLION IN MARCH 1976;
  - \$7-8 BILLION IN JANUARY 1976;
  - \$5-7 BILLION MOST RECENTLY.

(OVER)

2. WE HAVE NO "FAT" LEFT TO CUT. LAST JANUARY, I DIRECTED A SERIES OF MEASURES TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY WHICH WILL SAVE \$2.3 BILLION THIS YEAR AND UP TO \$40 BILLION OVER THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS.

- IMPLEMENTED EFFICIENCIES IN FEDERAL PAY SYSTEMS TO ASSURE THAT FEDERAL PAY DOES NOT EXCEED PAY IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.
- ISSUED TIGHT RESTRICTIONS ON DEFENSE TRAVEL COSTS.
- REDUCED THE NUMBER OF SENIOR OFFICIALS BY 4-5%.
- REDUCED THE SIZE OF MANAGEMENT HEADQUARTERS.
- EXPANDED THE NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES PERFORMED ON CONTRACTS BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR RATHER THAN BY FEDERAL EMPLOYEES.

(MORE)

3. SOME RESTRAINT MEASURES REQUIRED APPROVAL BY THE CONGRESS.

THESE INCLUDED:

- BASIC CHANGES IN COMPENSATION AND RETIREMENT OF MILITARY PERSONNEL.
- REVISIONS TO THE FEDERAL BLUE COLLAR PAY SYSTEM.
- THE SALE OF ITEMS FROM THE NATIONAL STOCKPILE WHICH ARE EXCESS TO OUR NEEDS.

THESE AND OTHER RESTRAINTS WOULD SAVE THE TAXPAYERS \$1 BILLION THIS YEAR ALONE, AND MORE THAN \$80 BILLION OVER THE NEXT FIFTEEN-YEAR PERIOD. BUT CONGRESS VOTED TO ALLOW US TO INSTITUTE LESS THAN HALF THE SAVINGS WE PROPOSED.

(OVER)

4. BUT MR. CARTER WANTS A \$7 BILLION CUT IN THE PRESENT BUDGET. THIS MEANS HE WILL CUT INTO THE MUSCLE. MR. CARTER HAS YET TO SPECIFY WHERE HE WOULD MAKE HIS \$5-7 BILLION CUTS. HE SHOULD BE CRITICIZING THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS FOR NOT PASSING THE MEASURES WHICH I HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED.

IT'S ONE THING TO PROMISE TO REORGANIZE GOVERNMENT BUT REFUSE TO SAY HOW. AND IT MAY JUST BE CAMPAIGN RHETORIC TO PROMISE TAX REFORM AND NOT SAY HOW. BUT IT CAN BE TRULY IRRESPONSIBLE FOR AN INEXPERIENCED CANDIDATE TO PROMISE TO CUT \$5-7 BILLION FROM THE DEFENSE BUDGET AND NOT SAY HOW.



## MILITARY SALES REBUTTAL

MR. CARTER HAS CLAIMED THAT WE ARE THE WORLD'S LEADING SUPPLIER OF WEAPONS OF WAR AND DEPEND ON MILITARY EXPORT FOR STABILIZING OUR ECONOMY AND BALANCING TRADE RELATIONSHIPS.

1. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS HAD AN ACTIVE PROGRAM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO FRIENDS AND ALLIES SINCE WORLD WAR II.

(A) OUR FOREIGN MILITARY SALES PROGRAM IS IN OUR OWN NATIONAL INTEREST.

2. THE CONGRESS HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO REJECT ANY SALE OVER \$25 MILLION. THIS HAS NEVER HAPPENED.

3. A MAJORITY OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND SALES PROGRAMS GOES TO COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT, AIRFIELDS, PORT FACILITIES, SUPPORT AND TRAINING.

(OVER)

4. COMMUNIST NATIONS CURRENTLY SPEND MORE THAN TWICE AS MUCH FOR MILITARY AID THAN FOR ECONOMIC AID TO DEVELOPING NATIONS.

(A) OUR PRIORITIES ARE REVERSED. EVEN THOUGH OUR GRANT MILITARY AID IS NOW ENDING, IN RECENT YEARS WE SPENT TWICE AS MUCH FOR ECONOMIC AID AS MILITARY AID.

(B) MANY CRITICS OF THE FMS PROGRAMS ARE THE VERY ONES WHO URGED OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES TO DO MORE FOR THEMSELVES TO PROVIDE FOR THEIR OWN DEFENSE WITHOUT THE NEED OF AMERICAN TROOPS. TODAY, THESE PEOPLE CRITICIZE A PROGRAM WHICH DOES JUST THAT.

(MORE)

MILITARY SALES REBUTTAL, CONT'D

5. ISRAEL, FOR EXAMPLE, DOES NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE SUFFICIENT EQUIPMENT TO DEFEND ITSELF.

(A) AN OVERWHELMING PART OF OUR PROGRAM -- 71% OF OUR CREDITS  
IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS -- HAS GONE TO ISRAEL. I WOULD NOT  
WANT ISRAEL TO BE LEFT ALONE WITHOUT A SOURCE OF SUPPLY  
TO ENABLE IT TO DEFEND ITSELF -- IN THE FACE OF A THREAT.

(B) IT IS NO SIN TO SELL EQUIPMENT TO OUR FRIENDS IF THEY  
ARE ABLE TO PAY CASH, TO EXTEND CREDIT IF THEY WISH TO PAY  
US BACK LATER OR -- AS IN THE CASE OF ISRAEL -- TO PROVIDE  
THEM WITH EQUIPMENT THEY CANNOT AFFORD IN ORDER TO PROTECT  
THEMSELVES. IF WE DON'T STAND UP FOR OUR INTERESTS OR OUR  
FRIENDS, CERTAINLY NO ONE ELSE WILL.

## ARMS SALE REBUTTAL

SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, WE HAVE HAD A CONSISTENT POLICY OF PROVIDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO OUR ALLIES AND CLOSE FRIENDS.

-- IT IS OBVIOUSLY IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO HAVE STRONG ALLIES;

-- IT IS OBVIOUSLY IN OUR INTEREST NOT TO ALLOW FRIENDS TO BE THREATENED BECAUSE THEY LACK A SELF DEFENSE CAPACITY.

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE SHIFTED TO CASH SALES RATHER THAN GRANTS.

(OVER)

-- THE BULK OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE IS NOT FOR WEAPONS  
BUT MORE FOR SUPPORT EQUIPMENT, TRAINING AND SO FORTH.

WHERE DOES IT GO?

-- IN THE LAST TWO YEARS, ISRAEL HAS RECEIVED OVER \$ 4 BILLION  
IN ASSISTANCE.

-- IRAN HAS ORDERED NEW FIGHTERS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT.

OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO IRAN WAS BEGUN BY TRUMAN; JOHNSON  
SOLD THE FIRST MODERN FIGHTER TO IRAN IN 1966.

NOW IRAN WANTS TO REPLACE ITS AIR DEFENSE, BUT THE COST OF  
A NEW FIGHTER IS 7 TIMES THE OLDER ONE; THAT'S WHY THE TOTALS  
SEEM HIGH.

EVERY ARMS SALE OVER \$25 MILLION IS SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS.  
NOT ONE HAS BEEN REJECTED.

RESPONSE TO CARTER CLAIM THAT THERE ARE MORE FLAG OFFICERS  
NOW THAN DURING THE WAR:

EVERY LIEUTENANT (J.G.) IN HISTORY HAS ADVOCATED  
GETTING RID OF ALL THE ADMIRALS, BUT LET'S LOOK  
AT THE FACTS:

FIRST, WE HAVE HALF AS MANY GENERALS AND ADMIRALS  
TODAY (1138) AS WE HAD AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II (2068).  
SECOND, EVEN IF WE FIRED EVERY GENERAL AND ADMIRAL  
CURRENTLY ON DUTY (AN ABSURD IDEA), WE WOULD ONLY  
SAVE 60 MILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR.

(OVER)

THIRD, THE OFFICER-ENLISTED RATIO MUST REMAIN  
HIGHER IN PEACETIME THAN WAR IN ORDER TO  
ALLOW FOR RAPID MOBILIZATION IN AN EMERGENCY.

## GOP PLATFORM

### Morality in Foreign Policy

The goal of Republican foreign policy is the achievement of liberty under law and a just and lasting peace in the world. The principles by which we act to achieve peace and to protect the interests of the United States must merit the restored confidence of our people.

We recognize and commend that great beacon of human courage and morality, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for his compelling message that we must face the world with no illusions about the nature of tyranny. Ours will be a foreign policy that keeps this ever in mind.

Ours will be a foreign policy which recognizes that in international negotiations we must make no undue concessions: that in pursuing detente we must not grant unilateral favors with only the hope of getting future favors with only the hope of getting future favors in return.

Agreements that are negotiated, such as the one signed in Helsinki, must not take from those who do not have freedom the hope of one day gaining it.

Finally, we are firmly committed to a foreign policy in which secret agreements, hidden from our people, will have no part.

Honestly, openly, and with firm conviction, we shall go forward as a united people to forge a lasting peace in the world based upon our deep belief in the rights of man, the rule of law and guidance by the hand of God.



CHINA NUCLEAR EXPLOSION -- CARTER'S PLAN

IF CARTER CLAIMS THAT HIS NON-PROLIFERATION PLAN WOULD HAVE PREVENTED THE CHINESE NUCLEAR EXPLOSION AND RESULTING RADIATION OVER THE U.S., YOU MAY WISH TO RESPOND AS FOLLOWS:

FIRST, THE CHINESE HAVE ALWAYS RESISTED ANY RESTRICTIONS ON NUCLEAR TESTING; AND

SECOND, THE CARTER PLAN CALLS FOR A MORATORIUM

ONLY WITH THE SOVIETS.

CIA STUDY ON SOVIET DEFENSE SPENDING

Q: Senator Proxmire's Subcommittee on Economy in Government has released testimony by CIA Director Bush that Soviet spending for defense is much larger than previously estimated. What is the meaning of this information and how will it affect American policy?

A: This revised estimate of Soviet spending (published in May) underlines the point I have been making for the past two years; that the U.S. must stop the decline in defense spending and must increase our real expenditure for national defense.

The Soviets devote a larger proportion of their total spending to defense than we do. (Soviets 11-13%; US approx. 5%)

That need not be alarming. The study also shows that the Soviet defense industries are far less efficient than ours; that is, comparable output imposes a far greater burden on the Soviet economy.

Thus the study's significance is not that the Soviets are turning out more equipment but that they are willing to spend whatever it takes to maintain strong defenses.

The Soviets are clearly making a major effort as this CIA study shows. Under no circumstances can we afford to allow a change in the balance of forces. That is why talk of major cuts in defense spending is extremely dangerous.

## LDCs - U.S. AID

- Since WWII we have led the world in promoting respect for human rights among all nations and all people. In the last five years we have given over \$40 billion in foreign aid -- nearly one-third of all aid given by all the industrial countries to the developing world.
- We do this for two reasons:
- First, humanitarian concern. For example, three-fourths of our aid goes to the poorest nations.
- Second, we are serving our own interests. Our economy will benefit from our aid to the developing countries. They provide increasing valuable markets for our industries. Our exports to the developing countries rose from about one billion dollars in 1965 to nearly \$40 billion last year. This means more jobs and prosperity here at home.
- We are not ashamed of our prosperity and our industrial might. The reason we consume 30 percent of the world's resources with 5 percent of the world's population is because our economy produces more than 30 percent of the world's goods. Our wealth is due to our productivity. I'm proud of our industrial achievements.

-- The policy of my Administration is to help the developing countries help themselves. Of course, we've provided food to help with emergency needs -- six million to us this year alone -- but in the long-run we are helping these countries increase their own productive capacities.