

The original documents are located in Box 27, folder “Second Debate, 10/6/76: Issues - Multiple Topics (2)” of the Michael Raoul-Duval Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Michael Raoul-Duval donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

US-SOVIET: DETENTE IN TROUBLE?

DETENTE: RELATIONS TOO COMPLICATED FOR SIMPLE EXPLANATIONS: POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES REMAIN.

LONG TERM: HAVE TO WORK FOR MORE STABLE RELATIONS IN LONG TERM: READY TO TALK BUT RESIST CHALLENGES

SOVIET LEADERS: I KNOW SOVIET LEADERS: I CAN DEAL WITH THEM; NOT TOUGH TALK BUT REAL STRENGTH

STRENGTH: SOVIETS RESPECT STRENGTH, NOT WEAKNESS

PEACE: OBLIGATION OF EVERY PRESIDENT REMOVE DANGER NUCLEAR WAR. WORLD PEACE REQUIRES NUCLEAR BALANCE OF TWO STRONGEST NUCLEAR POWERS.

SALT  MADE MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARD SALT AGREEMENT; EQUAL FOR BOTH SIDES, THEN CAN REDUCE COMPLETE AGREEMENT SOON AFTER ELECTIONS.

REBUTTAL: DETENTE NOT TOUGH BARGAINER, NEGLECT HUMAN RIGHTS

PERSPECTIVE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: BITTER ENEMIES FOR DECADES: ONLY RECENTLY RELAXATION: NO SURPRISE THAT RECORD'S UNEVEN.

SEVERAL ASPECTS: IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL: SALT, LIMIT NUCLEAR TESTING.

TRADE GROWING (\$2 BILLION) DESPITE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS DENIAL OF EQUAL TREATMENT.

EXCHANGES GOING WELL, e.g. CANCER RESEARCH

RESIST CHALLENGES: BUT I SAW SOVIET FOR MIN LAST WEEK: AGREED CAN MAKE PROGRESS. CAN'T CUT DEFENSE AND EXPECT SOVIET NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WEAKNESS. CARTER WOULD BE "TOUGH" BUT WITHDRAW EVERYWHERE!

CAN'T BACK OFF WHEN CHALLENGED, AND EXPECT SOVIET RESTRAINT: CONGRESS, ANGOLA.

HUMAN RIGHTS: QUIET DIPLOMACY: EMIGRATION UP OVER 30,000 by 19 SINCE JACKSON AMENDMENT DOWN FEW THOUSAND.

PEACE: NOT DISCOURAGED BY SETBACKS; REQUIRES STEADY EFFORT.

US-SOVIET: DETENTE IN TROUBLE?

DETENTE: RELATIONS TOO COMPLICATED FOR SIMPLE EXPLANATIONS: POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES REMAIN.

LONG TERM: HAVE TO WORK FOR MORE STABLE RELATIONS IN LONG TERM: READY TO TALK BUT RESIST CHALLENGES

SOVIET LEADERS: I KNOW SOVIET LEADERS: I CAN DEAL WITH THEM; NOT TOUGH TALK BUT REAL STRENGTH

STRENGTH: SOVIETS RESPECT STRENGTH, NOT WEAKNESS

PEACE: OBLIGATION OF EVERY PRESIDENT REMOVE DANGER NUCLEAR WAR. WORLD PEACE REQUIRES NUCLEAR BALANCE OF TWO STRONGEST NUCLEAR POWERS.

SALT: MADE MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARD SALT AGREEMENT; EQUAL FOR BOTH SIDES, THEN CAN REDUCE COMPLETE AGREEMENT SOON AFTER ELECTIONS.

REBUTTAL: DETENTE NOT TOUGH BARGAINER, NEGLECT HUMAN RIGHTS

PERSPECTIVE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE: BITTER ENEMIES FOR DECADES: ONLY RECENTLY RELAXATION: NO SURPRISE THAT RECORD'S UNEVEN.

SEVERAL ASPECTS: IMPORTANT PROGRESS IN ARMS CONTROL: SALT, LIMIT NUCLEAR TESTING.

TRADE GROWING (\$2 BILLION) DESPITE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS DENIAL OF EQUAL TREATMENT.

EXCHANGES GOING WELL, e.g. CANCER RESEARCH

RESIST CHALLENGES: BUT I SAW SOVIET FOR MIN LAST WEEK: AGREED CAN MAKE PROGRESS. CAN'T CUT DEFENSE AND EXPECT SOVIET NOT TAKE ADVANTAGE OF WEAKNESS. CARTER WOULD BE "TOUGH" BUT WITHDRAW EVERYWHERE!

CAN'T BACK OFF WHEN CHALLENGED, AND EXPECT SOVIET RESTRAINT: CONGRESS, ANGOLA.

HUMAN RIGHTS: QUIET DIPLOMACY: EMIGRATION UP OVER 30,000 by 19 SINCE JACKSON AMENDMENT DOWN FEW THOUSAND.

PEACE: NOT DISCOURAGED BY SETBACKS; REQUIRES STEADY EFFORT.



CHINA - TAIWAN

-- Would peace and international stability depend on a positive relationship with China?

-- Cannot ignore nation with one quarter of world's population.

-- I met with leaders, and we understood each other's position.

-- There is no timetable or specific formula for normalization.

-- It will take time to work out the problems.

-- While we are normalizing relations with Peking, we will not abandon our commitments to Taiwan.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

FORD REBUTTAL

The Republican platform deals with two issues:

1. The normalization of relations with China. This is my policy; it has bipartisan support.
2. The status of Taiwan. We will not abandon the people of Taiwan, but will work for conditions where their future will be a peaceful one.

China knows that we want a good relationship. I believe we can find a solution because it is in the interest of both countries and of world peace.

-- Mr. Carter says he is for normalizing relations, but he has said he insists on the "independence and integrity of Taiwan." Peking and Taipei both agree there is one China. Such a policy will invite a crisis, not solve the problem.

Gergen

Q + A

P.F. → 668-6345
Stines 868-1874

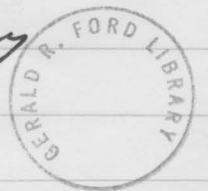
Office →
567-3113

① Harris Poll

- Majority (2:1) think we should cut back on arms sales because
- 3:1 majority tell our allies like S. Korea to stop corruption
- Want International Police Force
(Why Not - hard news lead)

- ② Grain Embargo - Carter charges you violated your trust by imposing the grain embargo. Dole says no one who is realistic can say won't be embargo in next 4 years.

- NO
③ Lack of coordination of Foreign Policy
Ag., State, DoD



- ④ ~~What~~ what will be different in US.
foreign policy over next 4 years
you vs. Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1976

TO: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: WILLIAM G. HYLAND

Attached are the allegations and proposed responses that Larry mentioned to you on the phone this morning concerning aid.



Allegation:

Aid and trade policies are inadequately integrated.

Response:

- The critical interdependence of aid, trade and investment has been clearly recognized and dealt with assertively by this Administration.
- Secretary Kissinger has given pointed emphasis to the need for improved trade and investment opportunities as part of the critical challenge of development on numerous occasions including the UN General Assembly meetings, the recent Seventh Special Session of UNGA, and the UN Trade and Development Conference in Nairobi.
- During this Administration, we began implementation of the new Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) which recognize the critical needs of the developing nations and forges closer links between trade and development by providing special trade preferences for LDCs. We will be aggressively pursuing these concepts in the current and upcoming multilateral trade negotiations as well as in the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD and the Committee on International Economic Coordination.
- AID, within its legislative mandate is now stimulating reimbursable technical services projects in those countries which are able to pay for their own development assistance needs. Such programs will result in increased trade and investment opportunities for the U.S. private sector in the developing economies.

Allegation:

- AID technical assistance is fragmented, and unfocused on real needs.

Response:

- The U.S. technical assistance program has been increasingly redirected to focus on the most intractable of the development problems -- hunger, over-population, poor health and illiteracy.
- In addition to the redirection of our programs toward reaching the poor majority, we have introduced new and innovative technical assistance programs which exploit the U.S. science and technological capabilities in solving these difficult and complex development problems.
- In one of AID's major areas of concentration -- increasing food production and nutrition -- the Agency relies very heavily on hundreds of U.S. agricultural universities, institutions for agricultural research and development and assistance in implementation of agricultural programs in the developing countries.
- Working closely and cooperatively with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and other U.S. Executive Branch agencies, and as well the private sector, AID has introduced a new worldwide communications satellite program -- AIDSAT -- which will provide the developing countries with new and innovative approaches to improving basic health and family planning services, agricultural production and educational systems.
- AID is also assisting the developing nations through technical assistance and training to utilize LANDSAT satellite photography in improving agricultural production, water and mineral resources exploration, mapping and transportation, etc.



Allegation:

AID is not sufficiently involving the American public in its programs.

Response:

- AID administers many of its programs in the field through private and voluntary organizations, most notably over the years food for peace and disaster relief programs.
- Over the past several years, AID has developed new programmatic approaches for increasing the involvement of, and support to the private and voluntary organizations in a broader spectrum of overseas development program.
- Some 90 U.S. private voluntary organizations -- representing a wide strata of American citizen involvement in programs to help the poor overseas -- are eligible to receive various kinds of support in AID programs.
- U.S. voluntary agencies have, over the last several years, more than tripled the public donations in support of their activities in overseas relief and development programs -- which now totals \$750 million.
- AID has increasingly sought to utilize the U.S. private "business" sector in the development process. For example, U.S. agribusiness firms are involved in the critically important process of providing technical assistance to the developing nations in improving their food chain systems.
- AID provides support to numerous U.S. "cooperative" organizations such as NRECA, CLUSA, to stimulate their involvement in international development activities. Development of rural electrification systems has been a key component of our rural agricultural development programs for many years.
- In one of AID's major areas of concentration -- increasing food production and nutrition -- the Agency relies very heavily on hundreds of U.S. agricultural universities and institutions for agricultural research and development and assistance in implementation of agricultural programs in the developing countries.

Allegation:

- As the AID budget shows, our foreign aid programs are designed to meet short-term U.S. political and security requirements, rather than the development needs of the poor countries.

Response:

- This criticism reflects a gross misunderstanding of the nature and purposes of our various bilateral forms of aid -- development assistance; supporting assistance; and food aid.
- Each of these assistance categories can be used to further one or more basic objectives of our foreign policy in particular countries.
- Supporting assistance, for example, is made available not only to assure the economic and security stability of a friendly country, but also to meet its basic development needs.
- Development assistance and food aid, which are directed to the needs of the poor majority, also help to strengthen the economies of developing countries and their capacity to become self-sustaining members of a peaceful world community.
- It should also be noted that 75 percent of our development assistance and P.L. 480 food aid goes to countries with a per capita income of \$300 or less.
- Finally, it is imperative that these differing forms of assistance be planned and administered in a closely integrated manner by a single agency -- AID -- to avoid undesirable fragmentation of our aid programs abroad.



Allegation:

AID is an over-staffed, cumbersome bureaucracy.

Response:

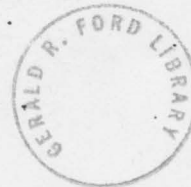
- The tasks we have entrusted to AID are impressive by any standards. For example, during Fiscal Year 1975 AID planned, managed, and monitored:
 - bilateral economic and technical assistance programs totalling \$2.34 billion in 65 countries.
 - a loan portfolio of 1226 active AID loans totalling \$12.4 billion.
 - commodity procurement of over \$200 million of which almost 80 percent was purchased here in the United States.
- These few examples graphically illustrate the scope and complexity of AID's operations.
- But to meet these responsibilities, AID has only 3655 American employees here and abroad, assisted by some 2000 foreign national personnel. Putting this in perspective, AID's staff constitutes far less than 1 percent of the total Federal civilian employees.
- || The record also shows that AID has succeeded in decreasing its staff by 65 percent since 1963, and that it is continuing to reduce its overall operating costs.

Allegation:

- Never has one Agency been organized so often, by so many, to so little purpose as has our foreign aid agency.

Response:

- The creation of AID was proposed by the President and approved by the Congress in 1961. For the past 15 years AID has continued, and is continuing, to administer and oversee our foreign aid programs with increasing effectiveness.
- Although its mode of operations is adjusted as necessary to current program priorities and emphases, AID is organized along both geographic and functional lines, substantially similar to its original form.
- And as prior Presidents before me, I remain prepared to propose such changes in our aid programs as I believe may be necessary to reflect changing world priorities or improve the effectiveness of our foreign assistance administration.



Allegation:

- There is insufficient coordination between multilateral and bilateral aid programs.

Response:

- AID closely coordinates its bilateral programs with the international financial institutions, e.g., the World Bank, through various mechanisms. For each major aid recipient there is a Consultative Group which coordinates the various donors' assistance programs through project reviews and continuous exchange of reports and data regarding the recipient country's policies and programs.
- Through U.S. financial support and mutual cooperation with the UNDP and the specialized Agencies of the U.N. we have been able to launch major attacks on a variety of multi-country, multidisciplinary problems. One example is a major program to eradicate river blindness in West Africa, supported by the U.S., the World Health Organization, the World Bank and other donors.
- AID works closely with the U.N. Disaster Relief Office in coordinating our bilateral disaster preparedness and relief operations with the disaster activities of the U.N. and other donors.
- To improve food production and nutrition in the developing countries, the U.S. provides financial support to the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization and U.S. food aid to the World Food Program on a closely coordinated basis, which compliments our own bilateral food assistance programs.
- This year, with substantial leadership and support from the U.S., a U.N. Plenipotentiary Conference approved the Articles of Agreement for the establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development. To date, \$965 million against a \$1 billion target has been pledged by both OPEC and industrialized countries. These funds will be directed toward improving agricultural production in the developing nations of the world -- an essential effort if we are to meet the global food needs.

*2nd
date*

Steph said he has more "stuff"
if you want it.....



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mike,

The attached shows lines
of attack on Carter's lack of
experience, his charge of government
secrecy and his tendency to overreact.

I feel the secrecy argument
is particularly strong.

- Sty Hafn



October 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

DAVE GERGEN
FRED SLIGHT

FROM:

STEF HALPER *SPH*

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Debate

Carter's comments in the Foreign Policy Debate leave him vulnerable in three issue areas, perhaps more. The following suggests a response to Carter's charge of "secrecy in government" and a line of attack emphasizing Carter's lack of experience and inclination to over reaction.

Experience

The President's experience in national, particularly foreign affairs is an important theme in the campaign.

Thus far the President has not used the record to maximum advantage. It is not adequate, for example, to simply reiterate a claim to greater knowledge and experience. We must be specific - and our greatest strength lies in the defense area.

The President can stress that not only has he been the decision-maker in this sensitive, devilishly difficult business for the last two years, but as ranking minority member on the Appropriations Committee and Armed Services' sub-committee he has been directly involved in national defense issue analysis and program implementation for the last twenty years.

This business is not learned in a few months by a quick read of someone else's position papers, nor by repeating forever good sounding phrases without substance, nor by even scoring debating points, but by long, hard experience in the give and take of making policy on the most serious issues that men and women in government face and have ever faced in the history of this country.

SECRECY

Carter has made a big issue out of secrecy in government. Again, he has not detailed what he has in mind. I think, therefore,



Ford needs a good rejoinder on this matter along the following lines.

It is no secret that one of Ford's objectives in assuming the presidency was to run an open White House. Contrary to some predecessors' promises on this issue, Ford, after two years, has kept that promise.

Does a secretive president challenge the other candidate to a series of televised debates? Does he talk about all the issues, no holds barred, before an audience of 100 million? This openness must be contrasted to most places in the world where politics is only played through palace intrigue and the coup d'etat.

Moreover, is Carter saying that secrecy when vital to the national interest must be abandoned? Does Carter know nothing of the delicate art of negotiating? Would he tell the world our negotiating strategy in advance? Would he break confidences of other nations, particularly our friends and allies?

The Ford administration has fully supported a responsible role for the Congress in foreign affairs and intelligence oversight. But Carter gives us generalizations and worse, deals in innuendos. Neither is very useful when one is president.

OVER REACTION

Carter has indicated that he would respond to another Arab oil embargo with a total economic embargo against the participating nations. Carter illustrates his lack of understanding of the subtleties of negotiation and his shallow knowledge of recent world history.

Historically, economic boycotts has been the antechamber to war. In September, 1940 Roosevelt embargoed all iron and steel scrap from Japan. In July, 1941 Roosevelt froze all Japanese economic assets in the U.S. Britain and the Netherlands followed suit. The economic embargo of Japan was virtually complete. A familiar and predictable process had been set in motion. Embargo led to war in December.



Oct. 19

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mike,

attached is a memo
I wrote after Debate I.

● It focuses on Energy
Policy. This is an area where
CARTER was weak and the
President had an opportunity
to score heavily.

I have tried to outline
the avenues of attack.

- Stet Halper



September 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO:

DAVE GERGEN

FROM:

STEF HALPER *SAH*

SUBJECT:

September 23rd Debate

One problem in the President's presentation was that he failed to capitalize on several of Carter's gaffes and generalizations. Energy policy offers an example.

In the event that the third Presidential debate or the Dole-Mondale debate should touch on Energy the following points might be useful:

Carter's argument went like this:

1. A national problem exists. (i.e. energy)
2. The President recognizes the problem and proposes a comprehensive, workable solution to it.
3. Congress blocks the President's proposal.
4. Carter blames the President for the lack of a solution.

To counter this ploy, the President must forcefully state that Carter's Congressional colleagues have blocked solutions... not the Republican Administration. The President feinted in this direction, but did not do so with enough force and detail to really make his point. There follows some specific details on what transpired and what could have been done to put the President in the best light.

1. CARTER "...the energy policy of our nation is one that has not yet been established under this Administration. I think almost every other developed nation in the world has an energy policy except us."

COMMENT: The Administration proposed an energy policy in January of 1975. It was comprehensive and workable. No significant portion of the President's proposal ever became law. This is because the Democratic Congress is simply unable to cope with an issue of this importance. According to the famous OMB spaghetti chart, there are twenty-eight



committees and 79 subcommittees in Congress with some jurisdiction of energy matters. (How's that compare with Carter's criticism of executive branch organization?)

The President's bill was divided up among twenty committees and twenty-one subcommittees. Top officials of the Administration were called to testify 470 times on this legislation. Had it been enacted, we would have a national energy policy today that would be the envy of the developed world.

No developed country is any farther along in its energy policy making than we are. Europe and Japan are in shambles.

2. CARTER "In addition to that, we need a realization that we've got about 35 years worth of oil left in the whole world. We're going to run out of oil."

COMMENT: This is trivial, but points out Carter's superficial understanding of the issue. We have never had more than 35 years worth of oil in the ground. We rarely have more than a few decades worth of any mineral or natural resource. When stocks of mineral resources exceed about twenty-five years, exploration tapers off because producers tend to look for those minerals in shortest supply. If Carter wants to increase our ground-inventory of oil, he might get specific about how he proposes to generate increased offshore drilling. How does he stand on the O.C.S. legislation which will be on the President's desk shortly?

3. CARTER "We need to concentrate our research and development effort on coal burning and extraction, with safer mines, but also in clean burning."

COMMENT: Mush! Coal is our most abundant energy resource and it's really the only option we have in meeting tomorrow's energy needs. The problem, however, demands more than research and development. Hard decisions must be made today on the future of coal. To wit, someone should ask Carter or point out his mushiness on:

- A. Surface mining. How does Mr. Carter feel about the legislation being pushed by Congressional liberals. Does he want to block the movement of surface mining from Appalachia to the Northern Great Plains. What does he feel is an acceptable level of surface mining?
- B. Does he favor or oppose legislation to make the movement of coal easier...i.e. coal-slurry pipelines?
- C. Does he favor increased research into coal gasification

and liquifaction?

- D. Does he support "synfuels" legislation to underwrite demonstration programs and to protect private investors against politically motivated cuts in international oil prices?
- E. Does he realize that one half of the coal now being burned is done so in violation of the Clean Air Act? Will he support amendments to that Act which will make it possible for power utilities to burn coal? Is he in favor of a nationwide program of "non-degradation," which would make the construction of new fired plants impossible? Does he differ with his colleagues on Capitol Hill who favor strict limitations on future coal use???

The President missed a chance here to nail Carter on his general mushiness on energy issues. If we want to make the virtually unavoidable move to a coal-based economy, some hard decisions must be made. The President has made these decisions, but Congress has failed to permit their implementation. These are facts which the President must pound into the public mind.

- 4. CARTER "We need to have the reactor core below ground level. The entire power plant that uses atomic power tightly sealed and a heavy vacuum maintained."



COMMENT: A number of studies have already shown that the costs involved with putting plants underground are not recouped by any greater degree of safety. Access to the plant is limited and a few feet of dirt won't do much to shield the force of an explosion or to block gamma-rays. The vessels that contain nuclear reactor cores are several feet thick and maintain a negative pressure. It is doubtful that any external non-nuclear explosion could rupture a core vessel.

- 5. CARTER "There ought to be a standardized design."
(of power plants)

COMMENT: This is the great white hope of the nuclear industry. To date, we've simply built too few to achieve standardization. The President could puncture this balloon by saying that power plants can be built for specific locales, thereby improving safety margins.

- 6. CARTER "There ought to be a full-time specialist independent of the power company in the control

room, full time, 24 hours a day to shut down a plant if it has an abnormality develop."

COMMENT: Not a bad idea. Not a new one, either. The NRC and ERDA inspectors already have the authority to shut down any plant for cause. They have shut down every plant in the country on at least one occasion, when cracks were discovered in the cooling pipes of several plants. (There are sixty plants operating).

As a practical matter, there are NRC or ERDA people in every plant almost twenty-four hours per day and they are on the site full time every day during construction.

7. CARTER "So shift from oil to coal, emphasize research and development on coal use and also solar power, strict conservation measures, not yield every time that special interests groups put pressure on the President, like this Administration has done, and use atomic energy only as a last resort with the strictest possible safety precautions. That's the best overall energy policy..."

COMMENT: More mush and generalities. He has announced goals that few people disagree with, least of all President Ford. What he fails to explain is how he intends to reach those goals and how he stands on legislation now before the Congress affecting our progress towards them.

8. CARTER "We now encourage people to waste electricity, and by giving the lowest rates to the biggest users. WE DON'T DO ANYTHING TO CUT DOWN ON PEAK LOAD REQUIREMENTS."

COMMENT: Title VII of the President's energy bill (HR 2650/S 594) would permit special on-peak/off-peak pricing. True to the Carter scenario, this legislation was bottled-up on Capitol Hill.

9. CARTER "We don't have an adequate requirement for the insulation of homes, for the efficiency of automobiles---and whenever the automobile manufacturers come forward and say that they can't meet the amendments that Congress has put forth, this Republican Administration has delayed the implementation dates."

COMMENT: Hogwash! Title XI of the President's bill provided winterization assistance and Title XII provided appliance and motor vehicle energy labeling requirements. Again, it was

hatcheted by the Democratic Congress.

I don't know what Carter is referring to about the auto manufacturers and delayed implementation dates. If he means the gasoline/mileage requirements from last December's bill, then he's really full of prunes. The regulations on these provisions aren't even written yet and there's been no push inside the Administration for delay. If he's talking about delays in auto emissions standards (under the Clean Air Act of 1970) then the reason is that higher emissions standards mean lower mileage. The House has just adopted language to delay the emissions standards. It was pushed by a coalition of DEMOCRATS headed by John Dingell of Michigan.

10. CARTER "...we ought to have a shift toward the use of coal, particularly in the Appalachian regions, where the coal is located, a lot of very high quality, low sulphur coal is there, it's where our employment is needed. This would help a great deal."

COMMENT: Pure doublethink. Most of our coal reserves are out west and in Alaska. Appalachia has already been over grazed. Most low sulphur coal is in the west. High sulphur is in the east. How does he feel about WESTERN coal development?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

LDX FLASH

October 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DF*
SUBJECT: Last Minute Grace Notes

Several items have come in the last short while that might be considered for tonight's debate:

1. Howard K. Smith: In last night's ABC commentary, he pointed out that the last debate on economics involved our well-being; this one involves our survival.

"Foreign affairs is no diversion, it is the central question... Concerned citizens wait with a certain tension for tomorrow night to see if the two who would lead us can meet this question with more relevant, incisive, convincing arguments than applied to inflation. That involved our well-being; this involves our survival."

2. Palace of Fine Arts: If the subject of Panama should arise, the President might want to bear in mind that the Palace of Fine Arts Theatre is the only building remaining from the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition which celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal and the rebuilding of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake.

3. Outbreak of the Korean War: We have checked the official U.S. Army American Military History, and it makes the explicit point that the North Koreans were encouraged to invade South Korea in 1950 by two things: (1) U.S. policy which left Korea outside the U.S. defense perimeter; and (2) public discussions in the U.S. about economizing on the U.S. armed forces. Please note that under Carter, both of these condition would exist again. The quote:



"The North Koreans ... seemed to have taken encouragement from the U.S. policy which left Korea outside the U.S. 'defense line' in Asia and from relatively public discussion of the economics placed on U.S. armed forces."

American Military History
1973, Chapter 25

4. Need for Continuity: In his Sunday interview, Scranton made a very effective argument that we shouldn't turn the reins over to an inexperienced man right now because we are in the midst of three very important international negotiations -- SALT, Middle East and Africa. It was a good point worth repeating -- by the President or by the spokesman. Here's the quote:

"... a new man coming in just hasn't got the connections and the experience in this field that we need so desperately. Let me point out one very important thing: If you believe as I do that there is a great opportunity within the next year for three things to be accomplished -- at least to be tried hard -- one is the second SALT Agreement; second is the follow-up on the Southern African efforts that have been so far made, which are vital to this world; and third, the Middle East, which we just discussed a minute ago, then it seems to me that experience in those fields count tremendously, and certainly time does, too."

5. Best One-Liners: The best ones that have been developed to my knowledge:

-- Carter's defense policies would turn Teddy Roosevelt on his head. From now on, the United States would be "talking loudly and carrying a tiny stick."

-- If we ever reach the day when nuclear bombs start flying, there is no button in the Oval Office marked "maybe". And you can't apologize to the world when the war is all over -- there won't be any world to apologize to.

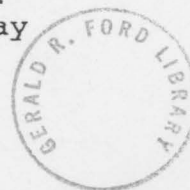
-- In the last debate, it was very helpful to be able to compare Mr. Carter's rhetoric with his record in public office. But I'm afraid the State of Georgia doesn't have a foreign policy or a defense policy.

-- It was said that we fought World War I to make the world safe for democracy. We're still in a struggle to do exactly that. With nuclear weapons, the stakes have escalated. We're also in a struggle to make the world safe for humanity. It's not a struggle in which we can afford to suddenly send in a whole new team under a captain playing his first game.

-- I knew the tasteless and offensive remark that Earl Butz quoted did not reflect his own true feelings. If it had reflected his own true feelings, he would never have been in my Cabinet in the first place. What made the decision so difficult was precisely that: the impression created by the incident was a totally false impression. What made the decision necessary was that even false impressions can affect public confidence, and the public must have confidence -- the public deserves to have confidence -- that there is no trace of bigotry in its leaders. I was very sad about it, because I know the remark offended many Americans, just as it offended me. But I was also sad because, in my view, Earl Butz was the best Secretary of Agriculture we've ever had.

-- I know the world's leaders, and they know me. They're not going to be probing for weak spots, the way Khrushchev did with John Kennedy when he first took office -- with the result that we had the Berlin Wall and the Cuban missile crisis.

-- It's not just stopping the buck. It's stopping the bombs.



-- Since World War II -- ever since the United States has borne the principal responsibility for peace in the world -- we have never gambled on a President who had no foreign policy experience.

We can't afford that gamble today.

-- The plain fact is that we don't know how Mr. Carter would conduct foreign policy. There's no record. He's never faced a foreign policy decision -- he's never even had to vote on a foreign policy issue. Political speeches are no substitute for hard decisions. Political speeches don't determine war or peace. Decisions do.



LIKELY QUESTIONS

1. Last week, Mr. President, your Administration, including Vice President Rockefeller, made strenuous efforts to defeat or side-track legislation which would have slowed down the sale of munitions to Saudi Arabia and another measure which would have penalized American companies for cooperating with the boycott which discriminates against American companies which do extensive business with Israel. Yet, at the same time, you claim to be a supporter of Israel. How do you square these two diverse positions?

2. What are the precise reasons why the SALT talks have not yielded concrete results this year? What have the Soviets wanted that we have not been willing to concede, and vice versa?

No 3. ~~Former~~ Secretary Schlesinger has recently stated that China has become an unofficial member of NATO, implying that China has defacto become an ally of the United States. And there is no doubt in anybody's mind that the Chinese Russian hostility has eased the pressure on the United States and her allies on a world-wide basis. But what would happen to the U. S. strategic position if, in the aftermath of Mao Tse Tung's death, the Soviets were to offer a wide range of economic and territorial concessions to China and recement the alliance China and the USSR had during the Korean War?

4. The Chinese have complained that the United States is not implementing the Shanghai communique. What concrete steps is your Administration taking to make sure that the United States does not allow our new relations with China to deteriorate?

5. Do you contemplate reducing our diplomatic relations with Taiwan to commercial and cultural level of ties that China says are necessary if diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking are to take place? (This is the Japanese formula.)



20 6. How strongly do you feel about communist gains in the Italian Parliament, where they have been given chairmanship of several crucial committees? What would be the political and military impact on American military security in the event that Italian communists were to enter the government of Italy, and possibly later that of France?

20 7. What steps are you taking to discourage this from happening now?

8. The Helsinki accord requires that certain human rights be respected by the Soviet Union and the other signatories. Are these rights being respected?

9. In the event that civil war breaks out in Yugoslavia in the aftermath of Mr. Tito's ultimate death or retirement, and the Soviet Union were to support one faction or the other with regular units of the Soviet Army in line with the Breshnev doctrine, how would the United States respond to such an attempt to put a Soviet puppet in power in Belgrade? *Brent*

10. There seems to be a widespread misunderstanding as to the terms of the Kissinger agreement as seen by the Smith regime and by the major black African states. Mr. Kissinger's aides refer to deliberate ambiguities. Was there a deliberate attempt made by Mr. Kissinger to con both sides in order to get them to a negotiating table?

11. Do you believe that white rule in South Africa is doomed?

12. There has been widespread speculation that a large number of American banks had made inordinately heavy loans to third world nations who are already heavily indebted elsewhere. Are any major American banks over exposed? What would you do if one or a series of third world countries decided to declare bankruptcy and default on their commercial and public indebtedness? *Alan*

13. Do you intend to move ahead with the full scale deployment of the cruise missile in the event that no satisfactory SALT agreement is reached within the next 12 months?

~~14.~~ 14. Has American research and development reached the point that incoming missile warheads can be neutralized and destroyed by laser beams?

Brent

15. There has been a great deal of confusion about our response to the new economic order demands of the third world representatives. What do you plan to do to deal with the hunger, lack of growth, and general plight of the third world? How much impact will all of these measures have on the billions of people in the world living in squalor?

16. Are you going to replace Kissinger next term?

17. Why did you fire Jim Schlesinger if you are interested in a tougher foreign policy than Mr. Kissinger has espoused?

18. Didn't Mr. Schlesinger turn out to be right, and Secretary Kissinger wrong in their general assessments of Soviet intentions and the appropriate American response to them?

19. Presently there is an estimated X million illegal Mexicans in the United States. During the coming fifteen years, economists project that there will be X million uneducated Mexicans without jobs, looking to the United States as an escape valve. Does the United States plan to be receptive to accepting additional illegal Mexican immigrants? If not, what measures do you propose to halt or contain them?

Brent

20. More and more of the Russian Jews that are permitted to leave the Soviet Union (more than 40 percent) are declining to go to Isreal and are seeking other destinations such as Germany and the United States. In the event that the Soviet Union's policy on Jewish emigration changes, and permits free departure of the 2 million strong Russian Jewish community, should the United States be willing to accept them?

Brent



No/ 21. The recent convocation of the labor party in Great Britian called for nationalization of the major banks and insurance companies, urged support of Panama's position on the Canal issue, and otherwise took a generally unfriendly attitude toward the United States. Do you believe that this general seniment represents the way of the future in Western Europe?

No/ 22. Can "allies" with strong neutralist and anti American minorities be considered reliable in any serious confrontation with the Soviet Union?

23. Tax legislation which has permitted the multi-national corporations to defer tax on income earned abroad has encouraged the further investment of such capital in production facilities abroad. Labor unions contend that the multi-national corporations, by exporting capital and technology, are robbing American workers of needed jobs. Do you believe that American tax policy should be altered to discourage large scale investment abroad by American multi-national corporations?

Alan

24. What have you done to tackle the problem of waste in the defense budget? What do you propose to do? Do you concede that such waste exists?

25. Japanese exports to the United States have sky rocketed in the course of the past nine months. Over the past year, Japan's trade balance with the United States is X billions of dollars in favor of Japan. And the trend has been constantly increasing. Should this imbalance be permitted to contine?

Alan

26. What steps do you suggest we employ to curb this huge trade deficit, which ultimately means jobs for American workers?



1. Probable Carter Themes

Common sense tells us that he will try to outflank the President on the right on missile gap type questions, support for Israel and American Jewish interests vis-a-vis the boycott and the Jackson Vanik Amendments, and fighting for American jobs through the "export of jobs and technology" issues revolving around the multi-national corporations. He may also say that we have failed to cultivate our relations with Red China, that we were overly forthcoming to the USSR, were insufficiently sensitive to the needs of the third world.

Carter may also try to scare the American people by talk about communism being on the march in Italy and France, and note that even the labor party's recent manifesto in England had a decidedly anti U.S. cast to it.

He may say that inept U.S. diplomacy allowed America's relations with allies to deteriorate--that we helped the Soviet Union by permitting the construction of more than 400 major factories during the Nixon-Ford period, that we have nothing in return to show for our help to the Soviets. In effect that we were had.

Carter may say that because of our inept diplomacy, the weakening of our alliances, ignoring our traditional allies, insulting the Japanese by a failure to consult before making major unsettling diplomatic moves, we are more isolated from our friends, and faced by a more powerful enemy than at any time since World War II.

Consequently, American influence and prestige in the world is lower than at any time since World War II. From abroad, people see the American government as uninspired, tired of the burdens of leadership, and our commitments to help defend them increasingly questionable.

Today, no one knows what direction China will turn to in the coming year after Mao's death. No one knows what will happen in Yugoslavia in the aftermath of Tito. No one knows how many weeks or months it will be before the communists in Italy move into the government.

Just imagine what would happen if China and Russia were to paper over their differences and join up to liquidate their opposition in Western Europe, the third world, and eventually the United States.



And as to America's fighting forces, the Soviet Union is gradually pulling ahead of us in many key categories of weaponry. The Russian navy is the most modern in the world--while we are relying on a dozen super carriers which have become extremely vulnerable to today's precision guided munitions. Many defense experts refer to today's mammoth super carriers as gold plated targets. We have got to rethink our entire defense posture, ruthlessly eliminating out dated or vulnerable weapon systems and rapidly exploit new technologies. We can't wait until Pearl Harbor to discover that we cannot depend upon battle ships to guard the oceans. Complacency has been the word written on the tombstones of many of the world's great civilizations.

America needs an entirely new team to give our whole diplomatic and national security systems a fresh and critical appraisal. A new team not committed to justifying the mistakes or decisions of the past, and which can examine each policy and each weapon system strictly on its merits and on the facts.

We cannot afford complacency and politics as usual, when the security and prosperity of the entire world are at stake.

After 8 years of Kissinger's secret diplomacy, we urgently need a new team to level with the American people--and let them know where we stand.

If we have made mistakes, if we have let important parts of our defense become obsolete, and if our alliances are in disarray, the American people must be told. The American people are a resourceful and courageous people, willing and able to make sacrifices and work hard in order to keep America number one in the world.

But the American people must be told the facts.

It is widely believed in Washington and in diplomatic capitals all over the world that Mr. Ford is little else than a rubber stamp for his Secretary of State. This may or may not be fully true, but I think it is very clear that the American people can no longer rely solely on Mr. Kissinger's word that all is well.

New leadership, a strong president, and a critical appraisal of the Kissinger stewardship after eight years power are long over due.



I am confident that such an appraisal will indicate that many good things were accomplished during these past eight years. But I am also certain that we will find a number of very important politics and obsolete weapon systems which urgently require major and immediate change.



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.

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.
-
- 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.

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 INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS -- FROM THE SALT AGREEMENT IN THE LAST ADMINISTRATION 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.

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 RESPONSIBILITY, 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.

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.)

-- 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-HAIG 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.



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.

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.

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.



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 FELT THEY HAD BEEN NEGLECTED OVER A PERIOD OF 10 YEARS, OR MORE, AND THEY 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.
- 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 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.

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.

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.



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.

-- 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.

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.

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.

-- 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.

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.

-- 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.

ENVIRONMENT

THE UNITED STATES IS LOOKED UPON BY THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AS THE LEADER IN DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO CLEAN UP THE WORLD'S ENVIRONMENT.

MY ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN MANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, SUCH AS RECENT ONES WITH MEXICO AND JAPAN, AGREEMENTS WITH CANADA TO WORK FOR REDUCTION OF POLLUTION IN THE GREAT LAKES, INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO SAVE WHALES BY DRASTICALLY REDUCING WHALE QUOTAS.

WE HAVE TAKEN A STRONG STAND IN FAVOR OF POLLUTION CONTROL IN THE WORLD'S OCEANS.



ENVIRONMENTAL REBUTTAL

PRESIDENT MAY BE CRITICIZED FOR SUPPORTING SST WHILE A CONGRESSMAN;
ALSO, ADMINISTRATION LET IN THE CONCORDE.

REPLY: SST AND CONCORDE DO NOT IN THEMSELVES HARM THE OZONE
LAYER. CONCORDES ARE SO FEW THEIR ENVIRONMENTAL EFFECTS WILL BE
MINISCULE.

ALSO MAY BE CRITICIZED FOR FAILING TO PROMOTE BAN ON FLUOROCARBONS.

REPLY: ADMINISTRATION WILL ACT WHEN DATA HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY
EVALUATED. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE PANEL HAS RECOMMENDED TWO-
YEAR DELAY WHILE FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS ARE CARRIED OUT. CURRENT
FINDINGS INDICATE NEED FOR PROTECTION.

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.

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.)

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.

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.

- 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.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

