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TALKING POINTS - SECOND DEBATE

1. THE PRESIDENT AND MR. CARTER WILL DEBATE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY UNDER DIFFERENT GROUND RULES:

- THE CANDIDATE WILL BE LIMITED ONLY BY HIS RHETORIC.
- THE PRESIDENT IS LIMITED BY THE RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS OFFICE.

A PRESIDENT'S ANSWER IS HEARD IN EVERY CAPITAL OF THE WORLD. IT IS THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

A CANDIDATE'S ANSWER IS -- AT BEST -- ONLY A PROMISE.

2. IT'S OBVIOUS WHY THE CARTER CAMP IS TALKING ABOUT CHANGING THE 'FORMAT -- IT'S NOT UNUSUAL FOR THE LOSING SIDE TO CHANGE THE GROUND RULES BEFORE THE NEXT ENCOUNTER.

3. VIRTUALLY ALL THE POLLS FOLLOWING THE FIRST DEBATE REACH THE SAME CONCLUSION: PRESIDENT FORD WON BY ABOUT THE SAME MARGIN THAT KENNEDY BEAT NIXON IN 1960.



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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.

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.



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.

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.

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.

CONTINUATION OF NIXON-HAK FOREIGN POLICY

ISSUE: IMPACT OF GRE 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.



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 MEGATONAGE; 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.

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 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.

LESS DEVELOPED: NEGLECT

PROBLEM: 2 BILLION OF WORLD'S POOR LIVE IN OVER 100 COUNTRIES

THEY NEED AID; CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT; AND MARKETS FOR THEIR PRODUCTS FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH.

US AID: WE LARGEST SINGLE DONOR: 3 BILLION IN AID AND ASSISTANCE; MOST HUMANITARIAN IN FOOD AND MEDICAL CARE; \$1 BILLION TO THIRD WORLD POPULATION

US TAKEN LEAD: TO HELP LESS DEVELOPED, SUPPORT LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL; \$375 MILLION US CONTRIBUTION THIS YEAR

CONGRESS CUTS: TOTAL EFFORT ECONOMIC, ASSISTANCE, MILITARY IS \$5 BILLION, CONGRESS CUT BY OVER \$680 MILLION.

BURDEN: CAN'T GO HIGHER: AMERICAN PEOPLE ALREADY BEAR HEAVY BURDEN

REBUTTAL

GIVE MORE: WE ALREADY LARGEST SINGLE DONOR OF AID; WE GIVE 3 1/3 OF WORLD TOTAL: \$5 BILLION IN ALL TYPES OF AID THIS YEAR: \$3 BILLION IN ECONOMIC AND SUPPORT ASSISTANCE.

\$700 MILLION TO INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS REQUEST FOR \$1 BILLION, CONGRESS CUT BY \$300 MILLION.

CARTER PROPOSALS: WANTS ABOUT \$4 BILLION INCREASE. WHERE DOES INCREASE COME, WHEN CONGRESS CUT OVERALL ASSISTANCE BY \$680 MILLION.

KEY IS LONG TERM SOLUTION. CAN'T SIMPLY GO ON GIVING MONEY WITHOUT LONG TERM PROGRAMS. HE WANTS COMMODITY AGREEMENTS: THEY HIKE PRICES AND DISTORT MARKET, WE TREAT CASE-BY-CASE.

US INITIATIVES: IN UN AND IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, US TAKEN LEAD IN PROPOSING NEW PROGRAMS. BEGAN WITH WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE (Nov 74), UNGA SPECIAL SESSION LAST YEAR.



ARMS SALES

WHO GETS: BULK OF OUR ARMS SALES ARE TO CLOSE FRIENDS AND ALLIES.
ISRAEL RECEIVED OVER \$4.2 BILLION IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE LAST TWO YEARS.
ACTUAL SALES IN FY 76: \$2.3 BILLION, ABOUT 1/3 FOR ISRAEL

CASH SALES: IN 1950s USED TO GRANT AID, NOW WE SELL AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE FOR CASH: BECAUSE OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE RECOVERED THEIR ECONOMIC POSITION

COST OF EQUIPMENT: COST OF MODERN FIGHTER UP SEVERAL TIMES: CAN'T COMPARE WITH EARLY YEARS.

WHAT IS SOLD: ONLY 40 PERCENT (1975-76) FOR WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION.

IRAN EXAMPLE: MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO IRAN STARTED BY TRUMAN; JOHNSON SOLD MOST MODERN FIGHTER (F-4) IN 1966. IRAN CLOSE FRIEND, DID NOT JOIN OIL EMBARGO AGAINST US OR ISRAEL: NOW WANTS REPLACE FIGHTERS: WANTS BEST: PAYS FOR IT. HOW CAN WE BE FRIEND AND DENY COUNTRY DEFENSE, WHEN BORDERED BY SOVIET UNION AND IRAQ, WHICH SOVIETS SUPPLY.

REBUTTAL

SELLING BOTH SIDES: WE SELL ARMS TO ISRAEL FOR SELF DEFENSE; OVER \$4.2 BILLION, IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE LAST TWO YEARS: ONLY MIDDLE EAST COUNTRY THAT GETS US ARMS SAUDI ARABIA, SMALL PROGRAM FOR SELF DEFENSE FIGHTER PLANES; NOT AFFECT BALANCE.
CLEARLY IN OUR INTEREST TO STRENGTHEN MODERATE GOVERNMENTS THAT WILL HELP IN PEACE SETTLEMENT: ALTERNATIVE IS LET SOVIET DOMINATE WITH ARMS TO ALL ARABS.

ARMS RACE: OVER HALF IS FOR CONSTRUCTION, TRAINING, SUPPLIES, MERCHANTS OF DEATH AND SO FORTH.

AID TO DICTATORS: CAN'T BLACKMAIL COUNTRIES BY DENYING SELF DEFENSE: CONGRESS ATTACK ON SOUTH KOREA, WHEN THAT COUNTRY FACING 500,000 ON BORDER; US DENIAL OF AID WILL UNDERMINE PEACE, OR FORCE COUNTRIES TO TURN ELSEWHERE -- OR GO NUCLEAR. CAN'T STOP ARMS SALES UNLESS ALL COUNTRIES AGREE (CARTER SAYS HE'LL DO IT UNILATERALLY IF OTHERS DON'T AGREE).

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.



SALT: WHY STALLED

WHERE WE WERE: FIRST, AGREEMENT 1972 FOR FIVE YEARS: COVERED ONLY MISSILES. NEW AGREEMENT INCLUDED HEAVY BOMBERS, MIRVs AND LASTS THROUGH 1985.

VLADIVOSTOK: HAS TO GET CEILINGS AND EQUALITY FOR BOTH SIDES, NO SPECIAL COMPENSATION TO SOVIETS: I ACHIEVED THIS AT VLADIVOSTOK: WAS MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH.

REDUCTIONS: ALSO HAVE SOVIET COMMITMENT TO REDUCE CEILINGS.

PROGRESS SINCE: DURING LAST TWO YEARS TREATY 90 PERCENT COMPLETE: HAVE GOOD VERIFICATION: CEILING ON HEAVY MISSILES.

REMAINING ISSUE: NEW WEAPONS: CRUISE MISSILES AND NEW SOVIET BOMBER IN GREY AREA: ARE THEY STRATEGIC? HAVE NARROWED DIFFERENCES, CAN SOLVE.

NON PARTISAN: TOO IMPORTANT FOR PARTISAN ADVANTAGE: COMPLETE AFTER ELECTION, SUBMIT TO NEW CONGRESS.

ALTERNATIVE: GOOD SALT AGREEMENT IN LONG TERM NATIONAL INTEREST; ALTERNATIVE IS ARMS RACE: HAVE TO SPEND 20 BILLION; OWE IT TO AMERICAN PEOPLE TRY FOR AGREEMENT.

to stay same

REBUTTAL ON SALT

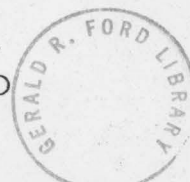
TOO HIGH: ACTUAL LEVELS (2400) REQUIRE SOVIET REDUCTIONS BY 100-150.

ALREADY HAVE AGREEMENT TO MOVE TO REDUCTIONS

MISSILE THROW WEIGHT: SOVIETS HAVE HEAVIER MISSILES, BUT WE HAVE MORE ACCURACY, RELIABILITY, MORE WARHEADS BY 3 TO 1; THERE IS OVERALL BALANCE, CAN MAINTAIN IF CONGRESS SUPPORTS OUR PROGRAMS: TRIDENT, B-1, NEW ICBMs.

SOVIET ADVANTAGES: WON'T SIGN AGREEMENT THAT IS NOT EQUAL, IN OUR INTEREST, AND CAN BE VERIFIED.

CRUISE MISSILE RACE: STILL NEGOTIATING: CRUISE MISSILES NEW TYPE WEAPON. MAY OR MAY NOT BE IN SALT BUT U.S. NOT OPENING NEW RACE.



CHINA - TAIWAN

-- World 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.

LATIN AMERICA - PANAMA

We have a major new approach to Latin America -- we have learned to listen more and to talk less.

- We have given special attention to the economic concerns of Latin America; we consulted closely on trade cooperation.
- We have presented this June a new program to improve human rights, increase economic cooperation and reform the inter-American system.
- Our relations with Latin America have never been better as a result of this positive approach.

Panama Canal

- Like four Presidents before me, I have concluded that a new Treaty is necessary to protect our long-term national interest in the Canal.
- We want to reach an agreement that assures US control over the Canal's defense and operation during the term of the Treaty and meets Panama's aspirations.
- Our friends and neighbors are watching to see if we are fair to Panama.
- "Sovereignty" is not the real issue. How to best assure US interests is.
- Only a new treaty offers the best assurance of protecting vital US interests in the Panama Canal.
- I would not recommend any Treaty that does not protect our

LATIN AMERICA - PANAMA REBUTTAL

Mr. Carter has said we have neglected Latin America and has promised a more aggressive policy. But he has also complained about our getting involved in other countries' affairs. He can't have it both ways!

- In the early '60's the Democrats proposed paternalistic, expensive programs -- \$15 billion worth of made-in-America answers to Latin problems.
- That caused resentment and disillusionment.
- We have changed this. Now we are listening to our Latin friends as ^{partners} equals.
- No administration has done more to improve trade cooperation, to create conditions for stable exports of commodities and to promote special arrangements for the transfer of our technologies to our neighbors.
- Our relations have never been better.

FORD RECORD

I took office in a constitutional crisis at home. The world was watching to see if America 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} come before the people and say we are at peace; ~~my goal is to keep it that way.~~
- ~~we~~ have reversed the dangerous trend of shrinking defense budgets.
- Our economy has led the world's ^{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 ^{civil} racial war.
- We have a new relationship with the developing countries began in my Administration.
- At the UN we have spoken out forcefully for fairness and justice in that Organization.



RELATIONS WITH ALLIES

Relations with our allies have never been better. We have ^{repaired} ~~undone~~ the damage done by the ~~years of neglect under Democratic Administrations~~ of the 1960's:

- I have met with all our allied leaders. They 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 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 one place, we undermine the confidence of our allies and only hearten our adversaries.

REBUTTAL ON ALLIES

Mr. Carter ignores the close relations we have with our allies, as shown in the Economic Summits, the troop-cut negotiations, and new areas of cooperation on economic issues and energy issues.

We have undone the damage done to our alliance relations under Democratic administrations in the 1960's.

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 review our NATO forces, and talks about unilateral 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 ^{are} is the surest way to undermine our alliances, and therefore
the security of every man, woman, and child in this nation.

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 and Democrats to reduce or pull out are dangerous, because they tempt attacks - create crisis of confidence.

-- We don't want 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

-- On human rights in Korea, we have made known our disagreements to President Park.

-- 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.

-- We cannot 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 is a dagger pointed at the heart of 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.



MIDDLE EAST

We have the trust of both sides. That is why we have played a curcial role of mediating for peace in the Middle East.

The Sinai Agreement was a milestone -- the first agreement moving towards peace, and not just to end hostilities or disengage forces.

We will continue to promote negotiations for peace between the parties. Through our successful step-by-step diplomacy, we have reached the point where the Geneva Conference or more comprehensive efforts may be successful.

We proceed in the closest consultation with Israel. Prime Minister Rabin says that Israel's relations with the U.S. are "at a peak."

Aid to Israel in my Administration totals over \$4.2 billion. (All previous U.S. aid in 27 years totalled \$6.1 billion). Israel's strength insures that negotiation is the only feasible alternative.

But without friendly relations with the moderate Arab states, we could not have achieved what we have for peace.

REBUTTAL ON MIDDLE EAST

More has been accomplished for Middle East peace in my Administration than in the previous generation.

We have succeeded because we have the trust of both sides. Mr. Carter's anti-Arab positions would undermine this drastically. Moderate Arab countries that are pro-Western and pro-peace are valued friends of the United States.

No one can doubt my commitment to the survival and security of Israel. I've shown it in deeds, not promises:

-- Aid to Israel in my Administration has totalled over \$4.2 billion. Prime Minister Rabin has said Israel's relations with the U.S. are "at a peak."



AFRICA

This past year, events in Africa threatened to get out of control. Because we failed to stop Soviet-Cuban intervention in Angola, the trend toward radicalism and violence was sharply accelerated. Guerrilla war was underway.

Because we alone had the trust of both sides, we were asked by many African leaders to use our good offices to help promote peaceful solutions while there was still time. That 's why I sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa in April and in September.

Our initiative was warmly welcomed by Africans of all races. We worked closely with Britain which has an historical responsibility for Rhodesia.

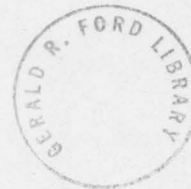
Our success last month is only the beginning of a process. But Britain has now called for the negotiation to begin, and we believe it will succeed.

REBUTTAL ON AFRICA

Africans want their future determined by Africans, free of outside interference.

We succeeded in this mediation effort because we had the trust of both sides.

The Democrats' policy of weakness -- such as failing to meet our responsibility in Angola -- only accelerated the trends of radicalism and violence in southern Africa. It gave a green light to foreign intervention.



LESS DEVELOPED: NEGLECT

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TERRORISM

-- The UN is in a unique position and should tackle the problem of international terrorism head on.

-- The most pressing need is to deny sanctuary to hijackers and other terrorists.

-- We introduced a draft convention to the UN General Assembly in 1972, to prevent the spread of terrorist violence.

-- Last summer after the dramatically successful Israeli raid, the US and the UK introduced a resolution in the Security Council calling upon all countries to take every necessary measure to prevent and punish terrorist acts.

-- ~~If needed~~, we will work with our Allies and friends to:

- Exchange intelligence
- Teach technical aspects of preventing terrorism
- ~~Exchange visits by US experts.~~

-- The West German Government, with our encouragement, has put forward a draft international agreement to ban the taking of hostages. We are supporting this effort.

-- Secretary Kissinger at the UN last week emphasized our determination to proceed unilaterally if multinational action is not forthcoming.

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 conclusion 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.

WHO'S IN CHARGE OF FOREIGN POLICY

The best combination is a strong President and a strong Secretary of State. This is how it was with General Marshall and Dean Acheson under President Truman.

Henry Kissinger is one of the greatest Secretaries of State we have ever had, and I'm proud he is on my team.

Let's take the African policy: The Secretary and I spent two meetings on strategy before he left. He sent me one or two reports every day, and I saw him immediately after he returned.

In the last analysis, the President is accountable. That's how it should be -- whether a President negotiates or participates directly (as I did at Vladivostok, or the Economic Summits, or in my 125 meetings with foreign leaders) or whether a President makes the basic decisions and asks the Secretary of State to carry it out (as in the successful Middle East and African negotiations).

Some Democratic Presidents who thought they could be "their own Secretary of State" have gotten us into some of the worst disasters.



REBUTTAL ON SECRECY

My record in foreign policy is there for all to see.

After the Sinai Agreement, every single document was turned over to the foreign affairs committees of the Congress. There was fuller disclosure of that negotiation to the Congress than ever before.

There have been more White House meetings with Congressmen, more speeches and testimony by a Secretary of State, than at any time in the recent past.

Diplomacy can't be conducted without confidentiality during negotiations and Mr. Carter knows it. Who would negotiate on the delicate question of arms control, or the Middle East in the glare of TV cameras?

After all, the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was not held in public and its proceedings weren't published for 30 years. Because that's the only way you can have free and candid discussion and negotiation.

REBUTTAL ON MORALITY

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.

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.

MIDDLE EAST

We have the trust of both sides. That is why we have played a curcial role of mediating for peace in the Middle East.

, September of 1975,

The Sinai Agreement ^λ was a milestone -- the first agreement moving towards peace, and not just to end hostilities or disengage forces.

We will continue to promote negotiations for peace between the parties. Through our successful step-by-step diplomacy, we have reached the point where the Geneva Conference or more comprehensive efforts may be successful.

We proceed in the closest consultation with Israel. Prime Minister Rabin says that Israel's relations with the U.S. are "at a peak."

Aid to Israel in my Administration totals over \$4.2 billion. (All previous U.S. aid in 27 years totalled \$6.1 billion). Israel's strength insures that negotiation is the only feasible alternative.

But without friendly relations with the moderate Arab states, we could not have achieved what we have for peace.

REBUTTAL ON MIDDLE EAST

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We have succeeded because we have the trust of both sides. Mr. Carter's anti-Arab positions would undermine this drastically. Moderate Arab countries that are pro-Western and pro-peace are valued friends of the United States.

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Reichley

POSSIBLE FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS
(most of which will already have occurred to you)

AFRICA

What sort of guarantees can the U.S. give that minority rights in Rhodesia would be protected once the black majority has taken control of the government?

What would be the U.S. reaction to a massacre of whites in Rhodesia?

Why has the administration not put more pressure on Congress to repeal the Byrd amendment?

Why do we not invoke economic sanctions against South Africa -- specifically, why do we not prohibit further investment by U. S. corporations?

Why did we not align ourselves in Angola at an early stage with the native forces that were struggling to throw off Portuguese rule?

Why did we get ourselves into the situation in Angola in which we were identified as allies of South Africa, attempting to restore a disguised form of colonialist rule?

Would not intervention in Angola have placed us in the same kind of trap in which we were caught in Vietnam?

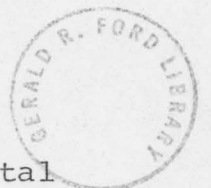
LATIN AMERICA

Why have we not cut off all aid to the brutal Chilean dictatorship?

Why do we tolerate the standing threat posed to our vital interests by the Castro government in Cuba? At least, why do we not act to prevent Castro from exporting revolution?

When are we going to begin to move toward normalization of our relations with Cuba?

Why do we persist in ignoring the needs and interests of our nearest neighbors, the countries of Latin America?



Are you prepared to give up U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal? Is the U.S. sovereign in the Canal Zone? Is the Canal Zone, as Ronald Reagan has said, a part of the U. S., just like Alaska?

Is the Canal defensible against guerilla attack?

FAR EAST

When are we going to abandon the fiction of recognizing Taiwan as the government of China?

Why do we not unequivocally commit ourselves to continuing to recognize our longstanding friend and ally, Nationalist China, as the legitimate government of China?

In general, how can we deceive ourselves into believing that we can "normalize" our relations with Communist governments, when they are dedicated to destroying us?

Do you stand behind the plank in the Republican platform that promises that we "will continue to support the freedom and independence of our friend and ally, the Republic of China"?

Why have we not put a stop to the development of nuclear weapons by the Nationalists on Taiwan?

Why are we not getting our ground forces out of Korea, where our interests and capability are both limited?

EUROPE

Why do we not bring pressure on Turkey to withdraw from the occupation of Greek communities in Cyprus, and to make restitution for atrocities committed against the Cypriot people?

Do you support the aspirations for freedom and national independence of the Lithuanian, Estonian, and Ukranian peoples?

Does the United States tacitly recognize a Soviet "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe?

Why did we agree at Helsinki to perpetuating the Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe, in return for some verbal commitments which the Soviets have already made clear they do not intend to keep?



What action, if any, should we take to prevent the inclusion of Communists in the governments of Italy and France?

How can we even consider intervening in the internal politics of our allies?

Should we not welcome and encourage the movement of Communist parties in Western Europe away from the Soviet Union?

Do we agree with Chancellor Schmidt (ex-Chancellor?) that the U.S., Germany, France, and Britain will not participate in a loan rescue operation to Italy if Communists are included in the Italian government?

When are we going to stop bailing out the cost of Britain's disastrous experiment with socialism?

Why do we maintain forces in Western Europe when such forces would quickly and easily be overwhelmed by any Soviet attack?

MIDDLE EAST

Why have we consistently forced Israel to take risks in negotiations with the Arab states, without reciprocating moves from the Arabs?

Why do we not recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to their own homeland on the West Bank?

Would the U.S. support making Jerusalem an international city? If not, what is the solution to the problem of Jerusalem?

Sentiment aside, does the U.S. have any national interest in defending Israel?

TRADE

What do you intend to do about the trade deficit with Japan? How can we prevent the Japanese from deliberately undervaluing the yen?

What steps will we take to break another Arab oil embargo if one should occur?

Why have we allowed ourselves to become more dependent on the Arabs for oil than we were before the embargo?

Would you agree to trying to work out an overall agreement with the developing countries controlling the prices of all commodities, including oil?

THIRD WORLD

How can the U.S. pretend to support human rights when we give military and economic aid to such totalitarian dictatorships as those governing South Korea, Chile, and Brazil?

The U.S. has five percent of the world's population but consumes more than 30 percent of its resources. How can this possibly be justified?

Why does the U.S. devote a lower percentage of its GNP to foreign aid than almost any other developed country?

Are we prepared to accept slower economic growth for ourselves during the rest of this century in order to help the poorer nations of the world catch up with the developed nations?

Would you support development of an international treaty -- not a "code" -- to eliminate unfair business practices by multi-national corporations?

DEFENSE

Why do we spend 6.1 percent of our GNP for defense, when Britain spends only 5 percent, France only 4 percent, West Germany only 3.6 percent, and Japan only 1 percent?

Despite all of our domestic needs and problems, the percentage of our federal budget devoted to defense has again begun to rise. Aren't we running the risk of bankrupting our economy, as George Humphrey warned we would if we spent too heavily on defense?

Can you honestly pretend that there is not \$5 billion of fat in the defense budget?

Why have we allowed the Soviet Union to get ahead of us in submarines?

What response do you plan to the Soviets' current lead in nuclear missiles?

UNITED NATIONS

Doesn't the vote by the UN equating Zionism with racism give clear proof that the UN has become simply a rubber stamp for our enemies -- so shouldn't we at least reduce our financial support of UN activities?

What possible purpose is served by keeping Vietnam and North Korea out of the UN?

CHINA - TAIWAN

-- World 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.

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AFRICA

This past year, events in Africa threatened to get out of control. Because we failed to stop Soviet-Cuban intervention in Angola, the trend toward radicalism and violence was sharply accelerated. Guerrilla war was underway.

Because we alone had the trust of both sides, we were asked by many African leaders to use our good offices to help promote peaceful solutions while there was still time. That 's why I sent Secretary Kissinger to Africa in April and in September.

Our initiative was warmly welcomed by Africans of all races. We worked closely with Britain which has an historical responsibility for Rhodesia.

Our success last month is only the beginning of a process. But Britain has now called for the negotiation to begin, and we believe it will succeed.

McFarland to rewr. it



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MIKE DUVAL
FROM: DAVE GERGEN

Here are the flip card materials which we discussed.



FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

1. My overrriding 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 sow 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.

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.

If we move steadily toward those 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.



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.

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 Khrushchev 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:

-- 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.

Rebuttal:

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 every single major document from those negotiations to the foreign policy committees of the Congress.

-- Mr. Carter has accused two of my predecessors, Nixon and Johnson, of being deceitful and lying to the country on foreign policy; so far, he hasn't said that about me -- and for good reason: he knows it's not true.

3. I will say that there are times when dipolmacy 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.

period

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.

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

1. 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.

