

Debate Issues [6]

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TERRORISM

QUESTION

What should be done about international terrorism?

ANSWER

A. Attack Points

1. The administration has shown no leadership in getting an international agreement on terrorism; inexcusable that no agreement--or progress toward one--exists so many years after terrorism became a regular international occurrence.

2. Administration has not even enforced the anti-terrorism laws on our own books--such as law to deny landing rights to aircraft from countries--like Libya--which support terrorist activities.

B. Positive Points

1. Would make an international agreement the highest priority; only such an agreement--one designed to ensure the swift and certain punishment of terrorists--can end the problem; action of Israelis at Entebbe was heroic, but their skill and courage is unusual and such counter-measures cannot be counted upon as a permanent solution.

2. Countries which do not participate in an agreement--and continue to provide sanctuary and support for terrorists--must be treated as international outlaws as well; that lesson must be taught to Libya and Uganda immediately.

3. My commitment to solving the terrorist problem is example of type of moral leadership needed; human life must be given higher priority than at present, when international trade and balance of power are preoccupying concerns.

DETENTE/HELSINKI/EASTERN EUROPE/SOVIET JEWRY

QUESTIONS

1. How can you take a tougher line with the Soviets without losing your leverage with them?
2. You say we pay too much attention to the Soviets, yet you say these relations are essential to peace. So don't they deserve a lot of attention?
3. You advocate a complete withholding of trade if the Russians provoke as in Angola. But the Soviets can buy from other countries, so what would this accomplish?
4. You criticize the Helsinki Accords for recognizing Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Would you have refused to sign the Accords?
5. Would you send aid to the communist states of Eastern Europe? What would you do to make them more independent? Wouldn't that raise false hopes, or intensify Soviet repression?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Republicans have been out bargained
 - a. grain sales 1972
 - b. space flight
 - c. Soviets encouraged oil embargo, intervened in Angola, worked against Israel at UN.
 - d. Helsinki--recognized borders in exchange for vague promises.
2. Republicans give human rights low priority; Mr. Ford's statement about Eastern Europe far more than a slip of the tongue.
 - a. Sonnenfeldt doctrine held out no hope
 - b. Solzhenytsin snub
 - c. No effective protests over treatment of soviet Jews, jamming of Radio Free Europe, refusal even to let Nobel Prize winner leave the country.
3. Arms control on the back burner too
 - a. Vladivostok ceilings too high
 - b. SALT II still pending

4. Detente used for domestic political purposes
 - a. Summit meetings to distract from domestic embarrassments
 - b. Detente tied to Kissinger's personal prestige
 - c. Vacillation: detente first oversold, then dropped from vocabulary.

B. Positive Points

1. Russia needs our food, electronics, heavy machinery, and credits.
2. I would bargain from strength
 - a. strong economy
 - b. strong modern defense
 - c. our allies in support
 - d. our people united behind leaders they can trust
3. A clear sense of purpose and resolve
 - a. not silent or timid about human rights
 - b. reduce nuclear arsenals and opposing forces through verifiable agreements.
 - c. avoid confrontations in Korea, Africa, the Mid-East, the Indian Ocean.
 - d. seek Soviet cooperation in limiting arms sales, and dealing with other global problems.

GENERAL ATTACK THEME

This Administration has failed us in national security and foreign policy because it has forgotten just who and what we are. We have lost respect in the world because we have failed to live up to our own ideals.

The United States of America is not a 19th century monarchy attempting to establish hegemony through balance-of-power policies. It is not a closed society where one man, appointed by the President, can make and carry out ad hoc foreign policy decisions without either Congressional or public consultation or support. It is not an authoritarian state where bargains are to be made with other states over the heads of our allies and partners.

Our country is a democracy, where policies are to be formulated and carried out with the knowledge and support of the people. It is a country which identifies with movements throughout the world toward greater human freedom and well-being. It is a great engine which, once set to work, has great capacity for good in the world and for its own people.

But until our economy gets moving again...until our leaders will again trust the people to participate in decisions about their country's role in the outside world...and until our relations with our allies in Western Europe and Japan, and with the developing peoples of the southern hemisphere, are restored to health, this country will not be respected as the shining symbol of still-young revolution. Nor will we regain our self-respect or the respect of others, until our leaders set forth a comprehensive view of where our interests lie and just where we are going. I say this Administration has no such view -- except for a 19th

century balance of power view -- and the people sense it. The world is waiting for us to come awake. I mean to do the waking.

draft of ML
1 of 4

Telecopy to Atlanta
For: Stuart Eisenstat/Al Stern
From: John Stewart
Third Debate

With the series tied one to one, the third debate will be decisive in determining the "winner". It is also likely, I assume, that viewer interest will be more intense, at least among voters who are undecided between Carter and Ford or who are unsure of whether or not they will vote. In other words, unlike 1960, the critical debate will be the last debate instead of the first debate.

Carter has already demonstrated his command of facts and of his ability to stand up to an incumbent President. These goals need not be accorded the same priority as in debates one and two. Above all other considerations, however, is the need for Carter to project an attractive, comfortable, competent, and responsible image. . . the kind of image that would lead people to want to have him around for four years as President. It is my strong feeling that people are not going to be attracted by someone who is perceived as divisive, bitter, personal in his attacks, no matter how "informed" these salvos might appear.

Several objectives flow from this approach ^{for} debate three:

1. A return to the basic themes of the first debate, especially those touching on the need for "new leadership." Viewers will be attracted by the man who is better able to articulate a national future that is achievable, believable, and advantageous in personal terms. No one believes that everything can be set right again by a new President, at least within the confines of his first term, so it is a mistake to oversell what can be accomplished. But we can begin, get things back on the right track, and slowly build the kind of government that serves the needs and concerns of people. The essential elements of this message are clear articulation, composure, self-confidence without being arrogant, and an occasional note of humor, and a generosity of spirit.

2. Carter attack themes should be focused almost exclusively on the Ford economic record. I would not mention anything more about Ford's income tax returns, the special prosecutor, Eastern Europe, brainwashing, etc. In fact, I would urge Carter simply to ignore Ford in the sense of pointing out his personal deficiencies in the Presidency. Carter's criticisms should be directed toward Ford policies. Let the viewer make the obvious connection between incompetent policies and the incompetent incumbent.

2/ Stuart Eisenstat/Al Stern

3. Ford is bound to come at Carter like a buzz saw, thereby giving Carter the opportunity to appear the more composed and cool. However, Carter must be ready with short, fact-supported answers on defense cuts, the cost of the Democratic platform, tax reform, the Playboy interview, taxing of church property, the administration of the Georgia state government, the 1970 campaign contributors, and the conduct of the 1970 campaign.

4. Whatever the issue, Carter should work in the theme of "Where do we want this country to go for the next four years?" The winner will be the candidate who can better answer this question, and who demonstrates the ideas and insights to move the country forward combined with the personal ability to put these ideas and insights to work. The economy is Carter's jumping-off point for this central theme.

5. Lastly, the undecided viewer will be influenced by the candidate who demonstrates the personal characteristics that can promote good-feeling and cooperation among the contending forces in American society. This suggests, at least to me, the desirability of toning down somewhat the very tough populist rhetoric. There are positive ways of making these same points, such as emphasizing the need for a government that serves the interests of all the people, that is open and responsive, that is not afraid to admit its mistakes, etc. In essence, this is the Carter message that brought him through the primaries successfully. It should dominate the third debate.

Questions

Defense
Cut

✓ 1. Governor Carter, you have been charged by President Ford as advocating defense policies that would seriously weaken our military posture in the world. More specifically, he has charged you with advocating a \$15 billion cut in the defense budget. These charges were made in the second debate but never answered. Will you address yourself specifically to the \$15 billion reduction? Did you ever make such a proposal? And how can you defend your proposal for a \$5-7 billion cut which, I believe, you have never denied making?

Fuj/lebin

✓ 2. Governor Carter, you have been attacking the Ford Administration for its inability to control inflation, as illustrated by your comments following the most recent increase in the wholesale price index. But President Ford and others

have pointed to your support of the Democratic platform which is estimated to increase government spending by another \$100 to \$200 billion. How can you expect voters to believe your criticism of Ford economic policies in terms of controlling inflation when you are supporting the level of governmental spending advocated by the Democratic platform? Won't your proposals for national health insurance, welfare reform, and government jobs guarantee another round of inflation?

W.C. Pittman

3. Governor, you have taken President Ford to task for his remarks about the absence of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Without raising the issue of what Mr. Ford may have meant by those comments, aren't we faced with some stern realities of Soviet power in that part of the world? You have called President Ford's remarks a "disgrace", but what new policies would you pursue as President that could bring some additional hope to the people of Eastern Europe so that someday they might be free of Soviet domination? Would you risk a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union over the freedom of people living in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia?

E.E. ✓
See Chicago Tribune

4. Governor, you have said that as President you would consider another Arab oil embargo to be an economic declaration of war against the United States and that, in the event of another embargo, you would cut-off all U.S. economic contact and assistance to countries participating in the embargo. But don't we need their oil more than they need our food and oil rigs? Isn't your statement just a bluff that the Arab members of OPEC would call? Then where would the United States be, given our increased dependence on Arab oil?

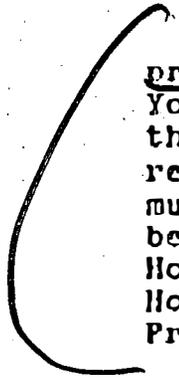
Oil Embargo
See
Unemployment

5. Governor, in the first debate you were asked about your program to lower unemployment. I think you would agree that your answer was lacking somewhat in clarity. Your most consistent attack against the Ford Administration has dealt with its alleged failure to lower unemployment. Could I ask you again what specific steps you would take as President to bring down unemployment and how these steps can be taken without triggering a new inflationary spiral?

Corporate Contributions

6. Governor, you have been very critical of President Ford in his handling of campaign funds and in his reporting of these matters to the Internal Revenue Service. You've also criticized him for accepting golfing weekends from corporate friends. But your record as Governor of Georgia discloses some of the same kind of activities, where you accepted rides on corporate planes and used corporate recreational facilities. How do you distinguish between President Ford's conduct in this regard and your own as Governor of Georgia? More specifically, when can we expect you to release the names of corporate contributors to your campaign for Governor in 1970?

7. Governor, what can you say specifically about the priorities of your first term if you are elected in November? You have promised a lot to the voters over the course of this campaign. But if there is any lesson to be learned from recent Administrations, it is that delivering on promises is much harder than making them. What do you realistically believe can be accomplished over the course of four years? How would the country be different from what it is today? How would your goals differ from the ones espoused by President Ford?



8. Governor, your program of economic recovery seems to be premised on the belief that this country can maintain a 5% to 6% economic growth rate for the next four years, and that this can be done without setting off another inflationary spiral. Yet even today, in the immediate aftermath of the worst recession since the 1930s, our economic growth rate seems to be slipping back to a 4% annual range. What specific policies would you initiate that would lead to this accelerated rate of economic growth and how will this be done without setting off a new round of inflation?

✓ Econ growth

9. It's been almost a month since we first learned of your controversial interview in Playboy. In the aftermath of its publication, have you come to any conclusions about the wisdom of granting the interview in the first place. Do you think it was wise to permit the interview. . . or was it a mistake? Is there anything in the interview, in addition to the remarks about President Johnson, that you would change? How much political damage has it done, particularly among the more conservative religious denominations

Playboy

10. Governor, you would spell out the specifics of your tax reform program? We've heard many proposals over the course of the last year, such as repeal of the mortgage interest deduction and tax increases for everyone over the median annual income, that were later clarified or changed. More recently, you've been quoted as saying that tax-free church property should be taxed. And you've been highly critical of the present tax structure. What, then, is the Carter tax reform program?

Tax Reform

11. Governor, your critics have charged you with being ruthless and vindictive. For example, you once said that you regretted Senator Humphrey's decision not to challenge you in New Jersey because you looked forward to defeating him. More recently, you have said that President Ford probably was brainwashed during his trip to Poland. Do you actually believe that the President was brainwashed? And if you don't, why are you out on the stump making such charges? Is that any way to build the people's confidence in their government?

NO

(Stu/Al: I'll keep working on additional questions but these are among the more obvious ones, it seems to me.)

1. Governor Carter, in the last debate you were asked on the
occasions to give us your view of America's economic state in the
world. You did not give us a full answer, however, would you
share your view with us now?

Likely questions to Carter:

win the election.
and the Republicans' failure in handling them, is our worst fear
will other international issues, the Reagan-and-Kruger economies,
changes. Eastern Europe will come up, surely, in the debate. Is
a leader: Republican economic policies have failed; it is time for
Mr. By contrast, should care in on our central issues, Ford is not

experience, is ill equipped for the Presidency.
theater: That Carter is an unknown quantity who, by temperament and
issues ranging from tax reform to nuclear power. His
(last debate); and that Carter has flip-flopped on a number of
vetoes); that his relationship in Georgia was a failure (on the
the Democratic Congress (Fitz Mondale voted against all the Ford
international affairs: that he would be a capable of the job--
out the defense budget: that Carter is inexperienced in handling
Ford will no doubt press his claim that Carter would irresponsibly

candidate hoping to on what he considers to be his strong suits.
almost surely be restricted to large, central issues -- with each
issues ... the focus will likewise narrow. The final debate will
As the campaign narrows to the final days, the questions ... the

RE: Question areas for final debate, per your request

FROM: Ted Van Dyk
TO: Stu Eizenstat
NY Stein

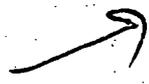
October 22, 1976
2021 465-3781
WASHINGTON DC 20006
156 EIGHTH STREET NW

State and Government Affairs

VAN DYK ASSOCIATES, INC.

embargo

2. Would you cut off arms aid to Saudi Arabia and Iran? To what level? What would be the effect of any such cutoff or reduction? Don't we need those nations as a buffer against Soviet influence? Isn't Israel protected by our relationship with these countries?



3. You referred to "economic warfare" which you might wage against oil-producing countries. Isn't this an irresponsible approach -- aren't you taking a simplistic, hawkish approach to a complex problem by talking this way?

B. E. H. H.

4. What proof do you have that we overthrew the Allende government in Chile?

5. You have ridiculed Mr. Ford's comments concerning Soviet domination, or lack of same, in Eastern Europe. On a more serious level, however, just what steps do you propose to increase freedom for Eastern European nations and peoples? Which of Mr. Ford's policies would you change?

Hels.

E. E.?

6. You have been quoted as saying you would not have signed the Helsinki agreement. Isn't this an irresponsible return to Cold War policies? Exactly which provisions of that agreement do you find unacceptable and why?

Helsinki

7. You have indicated you would return sovereignty to U.S. foreign policy and would change our policies toward such countries as Chile and Brazil. Just how would you change our policies? Just how do you propose to make these ~~countries~~ change their policies, short of intervention in their internal affairs? And, finally, isn't this kind of thinking exactly the kind which drew us into Vietnam? Are we the world's policeman -- you seem to indicate we are -- or does the United States have interests which it is a President's responsibility to protect?

how many more world policies

8. You say Japan should play a more central role in our foreign policy calculations. Yet you have called for a withdrawal of U.S. forces and weapons from Korea. Wouldn't that, in effect, place a Communist dagger at Japan's heart -- causing Japan to rearm and possibly develop its own nuclear weapons?

Japan

You have talked about love and honesty in politics -- to replace animosity and nasty partisanship. Yet your attacks on Mr. Ford in recent days have been personal, sharp and, in the judgment of some, unfair. Isn't it true that Mr. Ford is a moral, honorable man, just as you are? Who are you talking about when you talk about replacing dishonesty with a new morality?

Character

Church

Your record as Governor doesn't square with your claims. It is true that the state doesn't have a record of your record. But that you could clean up the federal government. Even, state employees, what makes you think, on that evidence, that you could clean up the federal government?

Goodman

6/1/70

17. Please explain your receipt of \$160,000 in political money during the past year, from a handful of major contributors and your sending of a letter to these pleaders to discontinue contributions. Is this what you mean when you say you are the special interests' whipping boy?

M's

18. You have called for the public release of the Ford's tax returns. Why don't you release your own? The returns for 1970 contributor 1967

19. You have made much of the inflation and unemployment rates in this country. But our rates of inflation and unemployment look good compared to those of some other industrial countries. And most economists in the West agree that we need to keep inflation with restraint but not to let it rise to the point where it is a threat to the Ford administration doing a good job. Why don't you call for a speedup?

1/17

20. You have spelled out a reorganization of government in the executive branch -- yet neglected to mention the Department of Education. Will you clarify on that? Also, what other departments are you planning to reorganize?

ev

21. Just what cuts would you take to save \$5.7 billion to the defense budget? What cases would you close? What programs would you phase out? How would you spend the money?

Dixie

22. You have cast doubt on the integrity of Mr. Ford's tax returns. Do you have any evidence that Mr. Ford has cheated on his taxes or used political money for his personal use? If you do not have evidence, how do you justify raising the issue?

Ford

23. You have compared Mr. Ford unfavorably as a President with Mr. Nixon. Do you really mean that? If not, why would you say so?

Nixon

24. Mr. Schlesinger was long identified with Mr. Nixon and Mr. Ford. Now he has surfaced as an important player in your administration. Do you plan to appoint him to an important place in your administration? If it was your intention to appoint yourself, such advisors wouldn't voters be better advised to vote for a Ford or a Keating?

Ad

Tax pay got
- how? and?

19. You have called the federal tax code "a disgrace to the human race." First, Senator McCarthy has said it is not a disgrace, but a most responsible document. Second, isn't it true that the Democratic Congress has written every bit of that code over the past 40 years? What makes you think that same Congress will reform it now? Who's at fault, Mr. Ford or the Democrats?

20. You've talked about cutting out four-martini expense-account luncheons as a means of closing tax loopholes and making the tax code fairer. But surely you're aware that almost no revenue could be captured by such a change. Just what loopholes -- big loopholes -- do you intend to close and how much revenue would you gain on each one?

- the reform
- budget
- main

21. You've pledged a balanced budget four years after taking office. Doesn't this amount to total abandonment of your own, and your party's, promises to institute such programs as national health insurance and welfare reform? How does your balanced budget pledge square with Senator Mondale's votes against any one of Mr. Ford's vetoes?

22. You say you prefer the Burger Court to the Warren Court. In what respect? With which decisions of the Warren Court do you disagree? How would you change them?

23. Listening to your presentation in the first debate -- in which you pledged a balanced budget -- and the second debate -- in which you attacked Mr. Ford for being soft on the Russians -- why should anyone vote for you or the Democratic Party? Aren't you in fact running on a conservative Republican platform? Why shouldn't any voter feeling that way cast his vote for the real thing -- for a Republican?

24. Why was Mr. Butz' take about blacks any different than your remark about ethnic purity?

25. What makes you think "fireside chats" are the answer to greater public participation in foreign policy? Isn't foreign policy too sensitive and complex for that kind of thing? Isn't Mr. Ford doing the right thing by consulting professional leaders -- isn't that the most we should realistically expect?

26. You say that your religion would not in any way conflict with your role as President, that you believe in separation of church and state. Then why do you keep talking about it? More specifically, why did you keep talking about it in your Playboy interview, aside from your remarks about sex?

11/17/74
- h

27. In the primaries you made scathing remarks about Senators Humphrey, Kennedy, Jackson, Congressman DeLoach, Governors Wallace and Brown, among others. Recently you've made sharp remarks about former President Johnson as well as ridiculed Mr. Ford and compared him to Mr. Nixon. What is moral or unifying or decent about that? Do you expect that, as President, you could continue that kind of attack on real or potential opponents and still enjoy broad public support?
28. How can you get this country back to work -- as per the Humphrey-Hawkins bill you support -- without creating a disastrous inflation? Isn't it true that many structural problems are causing the present unemployment, and that just "putting people back to work," as a promise, isn't the answer unless that work is real and in the private sector? How would you do it and how would you pay for it?

date

very

I'll arrive Thursday afternoon. Please have Paula reserve a room for me at the Fairmont for Thursday and Friday evenings.

B-1 BOMBER

QUESTIONS

1. Are you still opposed to production of the B-1?
2. Don't we need the B-1 to replace the 30-year-old B-52's?
3. How can we have a strong defense with a 30-year-old bomber?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Administration failed to be open with Congress and people about the choices and costs involved; tried to push full B-1 production without careful examination of need.
2. Whatever the reasons for the B-1, one of them is not Governor Reagan's victory over President Ford in the Texas primary.
3. Ford changed entire timetable of B-1 solely for political purposes. Outrageous politicizing of a major issue.

B. Positive Points

1. The B-1 should be built only if case is proved that it is best way to maintain our manned bomber deterrent.
2. Cost to build now projected at \$100 million a plane, or the most expensive plane in history. If we buy the number sought by Pentagon (244) the total cost for this one weapon will be \$24 billion at a minimum.
3. That is not too high a price to pay if it can be publicly shown that B-52 is obsolete and cannot be modernized or alternative types of bombers are inadequate; U.S. must have strong defense, no matter what the cost. But Administration tried to go from Pentagon blueprints to full production without careful examination of need. Stopped only by Congressional restraints.
4. I have favored continued R&D funds. The decision about production must be made shortly after new term; by then, the further research I have supported will provide the information upon which I, along with the Congress, can make an informed decision about how best to maintain a bomber deterrent.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

QUESTIONS

1. Won't support for the blacks lead to guerrilla warfare, dictatorships, and communist influence?
2. Failing to stop the Russians in Angola -- isn't that a signal that we've lost our will?
3. How can you gain South African cooperation for Rhodesia and Nambia, when South Africa's policy of apartheid is the root cause of these problems?
4. Do you support Kissinger's South Africa policy?
5. Would you use economic leverage to influence South African policies?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. For years the Administration has ignored the rights of the majority, under a policy begun by Nixon and Kissinger with National Security Study Memorandum #39, in 1969. Policy was based on false belief that colonial regimes were "here to stay."
2. The first U.S. Veto in U.N. history, in 1970, was against further sanctions on Rhodesia.
3. With the Byrd Amendment in 1971 the U. S. became the only country in the world to support sanctions of Rhodesia, and then violate them. Ford led House fight for Byrd Amendment.
4. Only after the Angola fiasco, which was ended by Congress, did Secretary Kissinger finally see the need to support majority rule and end colonialism.

B. Positive Points

1. I welcome Kissinger's belated efforts; I also hope they will hold up, unlike the Vietnam peace settlement.
2. Doubts about rabbits out of the hat
--how much will it cost?
--what assurances has he made? (Prime Minister Smith has talked of "categorical assurances" for Kissinger)
3. We must avoid such crises by better understanding of the aspirations of other people's.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

QUESTIONS

1. Implement a different trade policy?
2. How protect U.S. workers from import competition?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Under Republican Administration, nation recorded its first trade deficit in 1973 (imported more than exported); for first half '76 - running deficit at annual rate of \$5.3 billion

2. Trade balance will continue to worsen as long as American economy continues no-growth performance; unemployment is at ~~second~~ levels; value of dollar is weakened as result of rampant inflation; and the no-energy policy requires massive importing of expensive foreign oil.

3. Administration allowing current round of trade negotiation in Geneva--which would broaden greatly the markets for American products (especially agricultural)--to ~~bog America down and~~ become deadlocked

B. Positive Points

1. First step toward improved trade position is improved economy: need to reduce unemployment, curb inflation; utilize full industrial capacities. Strong domestic economy will lead to improved world economy.

2. Also must adopt a national energy policy that can produce domestic energy at affordable cost (example: expand coal use, develop solar economy); get away from Ford's policy of higher prices and increased Arab imports (more now than before embargo).

3. Must get trade negotiations off dead center; can do this by applying greater pressure and by showing far greater concern for the problem; because the subject is boring to him, Kissinger has not become interested enough to show that concern. Our goals in negotiations should be to reduce both tariff and non-tariff barriers, in order to expand markets for us. *And encourage world economic growth.*

WORLD FOOD POLICY

QUESTIONS

1. What do about population outstripping food resources?
2. What do about disorder in food supply that Soviets can cause?
3. What do about a major famine in underdeveloped world?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Administration has completely failed to develop a well-managed, coherent food policy; the result has been periodic disasters for foreign as well as domestic consumers.

2. Examples of disasters:

-- '72--sold grain to USSR at bargain prices as result of detente policy--result here was greatly increased bread prices

-- '73--allowed price of soybeans to triple before determining domestic supply

-- only after 4 domestic food shortages and 4 embargoes did Administration initiate monitoring system to determine likely foreign needs

-- stop-and-go policies on food price controls--especially beef have caused our food prices to increase nearly 50% in last 4 years.

B. Positive Points

1. World food problem concerns all Americans: half-billion starving people pose long term security threat--national self-respect requires concern and assistance.

2. Do not want permanent international giveaway program--that only breeds increased dependence; need forthright, imaginative strategy to feed world's poor while keeping domestic prices below inflated levels.

3. My program:

-- encourage mutually beneficial trade between developed and developing countries; for U.S., would mean more exports

-- provide more food aid to poor countries -- directed to economic and humanitarian needs and not short-term political purposes (in '74 great part of food aid went to support military programs in Southeast Asia--should be Food for Peace, not war)

-- encourage all-out U.S. food production to sustain both growing food trade and food aid -- provide farmers with adequate price incentives and stable policy -- not sudden embargoes

-- encourage agricultural development in poor countries (technical and research aid); they must carry main burden in long run

4. This program would avoid the rapid fluctuations in supply and demand of past 8 years; would also be beginning of policy to prevent possibility of any one nation distorting world food supplies or of any nation suffering famine.

CIA OPERATIONS

QUESTIONS

1. Continue to allow covert operations?
2. How control illegal domestic actions of CIA?

ANSWERS

A. Attack Points

1. Administration has made only cosmetic changes to control our intelligence agencies; the Control Board intended to monitor the agencies has done nothing to arrest abuses recently disclosed-- it has almost no staff or budget
2. Administration failed to cooperate fully with Congressional committees investigating abuses; and failed to clean house at conclusion of investigations; failed to prosecute any of those who broke the law--domestic spying, break-ins, opening mails
3. Administration learned nothing from revelations; tried to conduct CIA covert war in Angola; tried to give greater wiretap authority to govt.--allowing wiretaps of citizens not even suspected of criminal activity

B. Positive Points

1. Country needs its intelligence agencies--perform vital function; planning our defense depends on getting best information possible.
2. Information can be gathered mostly from open sources, though some clandestine ones also needed; doesn't require subverting or overthrowing govts.; assassinating foreign leaders; surveillance of our own citizens; opening our citizens' mail; conducting secret wars-- these types of abuses undermine our democratic system more than they preserve it.
3. Would take following steps to end abuses:
 - end all CIA activities inside U.S.
 - stop covert action against other countries except under the most extraordinary circumstances truly threatening our security, and then only under closest personal control--Angola was not such a circumstance
 - clean house in intelligence agencies
 - work with--not against--Congress to adopt precise legislation adopting authority of intelligence agencies
 - take personal responsibility for actions of our intelligence services -- not allow them to operate on their own.

4. Would be a President who took charge and made sure laws obeyed; officials caught violating laws would not escape prosecution--as in this Administration; only professional and thoroughly honest officials would be placed in charge of intelligence agencies.

BASIC RESPONSES TO FORD

1. Peace

Peace is more than the temporary absence of war. We are living, at best, in a period of transition in which we have only a short time to prepare for the dangerous period that lies ahead. The way we are drifting now, and selling arms and nuclear technology to all comers, within a decade over 40 nations could be able to play the game of nuclear blackmail. Some of these nations are: Egypt, Iran, India, Pakistan, South Korea, to name only a few. This Administration has no policy to stop it. We are in the midst of a genuine energy crisis, and this Administration's only policy is to buckle under to OPEC blackmail. Our relations with our partners in Japan and Western Europe have deteriorated and our standing in the developing countries -- those countries which used to look to us for leadership -- has never been lower. We can use this time, or we can drift in a kind of caretakership for another four years. I don't think we can afford to drift.

2. Increased Spending

No administration has been quicker to make arms policy a political pawn than this one -- whether it is selling missiles to Saudi Arabia or manipulating the defense budget in response to Ronald Reagan's primary campaign. Our economy is weak and stagnant -- that is the cornerstone of national security. The roles and missions for which our defense establishment must prepare have not been systematically reviewed since 1947. We are wasting precious resources on useless and duplicative support missions, while we have too little budgeted

for strengthening our actual combat strength. We are spending billions (?) preparing for contingencies like another land war in Asia, in which we will surely never become involved again, while resources are inadequate for serious dangers we face in other areas. Too much for support -- not enough for combat capability. This administration has no clear view of our interests in the world -- other than a 19th century balance-of-power view which places a higher value on relations with our potential adversaries than with our friends and allies. And the American people do not know where their country is headed in the world. More dollars to the Pentagon won't set that right, but a new President will.

CARTER ATTACK POINTS

Q.: Who makes Republican foreign policy? Mr. Kissinger, Mr. Ford, or Mr. Reagan?

A.1.The Republican platform -- from its statements on the Panama Canal to its implied criticisms of Mr. Kissinger's agreements with the Soviet Union -- is not Mr. Ford's platform. It is Mr. Reagan's platform. It seems apparent to me that Mr. Ford is perfectly willing to delegate his foreign policy not only to Mr. Kissinger, but also to Mr. Reagan or to anyone else who seems to have a strong view. The President is the man who must lead in this area, not abdicate his role to others.

2. 19th century balance of power politics and neglect of Allies.

The present administration policy is built on 19th century balance-of-power principles. It places relations with our potential adversaries ahead of relations with our allies, such as Western Europe and Japan. We do not have the confidence of people in the world we must depend upon. Nor have we bought the respect of our adversaries.

3. Policy made in secret by one man, without Presidential leadership

Our present policies are conceived and carried out by one man, often in secret. That man is not the President. The American people will not support policies which they do not understand

or favor. The President himself must take charge of foreign policy. He must tell the American people what he is thinking, and listen to what they are saying. The President cannot delegate this life-and-death responsibility to someone else. If I were President, the buck would stop with me.

4. U.S. policy does not reflect the United States of America.

The people of the United States do not support the crushing of Cypriot independence . . . the surrender that has been made to the OPEC oil cartel and the Arab boycott . . . the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine which abandons the people of Eastern Europe . . . the grain giveaway to Russia . . . the secret and non-so-secret interventions in Cambodia, Chile, Angola . . . the humiliation and snubbing of Mr. Solzhenitsyn when he came to this country. But that is what our policy has been. U.S. policy can and must reflect the will of the American people.

5. Waste and mismanagement in national security sector

Mr. Ford added an extra 3 billion dollars to the defense budget he proposed this year as "a cushion" -- and those are the words of his own Office of Management and Budget -- against possible reductions by the Congress. New weapon systems are built to replace old weapons systems -- not because they meet any defense priority, but because the contractors and the Pentagon are ready to build them. We must have thoughtfully-conceived policies and programs which fit the needs of the future. No airplane or tank should be built . . . no action should be taken

6. Sonnenfeldt Doctrine and Helsinki

7. Detente

This administration can't seem to decide whether it's for detente or against it. I have no problem about this. I'm for detente -- that is, relaxing tensions with the Soviet Union -- but only when it does not mean one-sided concessions to the Soviet Union or leaving ourselves or our allies in a position of insecurity. We had peace and cooperation with the Russians under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, summit meetings, negotiations, arms limitation agreements, cultural exchanges. The only difference the Republicans'

detente seems to have made is that we now cannot criticize deprivations of human rights within the Soviet Empire or entertain Alexander Solzhenitzen. For instance, I think we might well have gotten greater Soviet concessions -- especially in the field of human rights -- for the big grain giveaway and for the Helsinki agreement. We need to bargain hard and patiently with the Soviets on issues where we both have something to gain -- arms limitation, for instance. We need to enter that bargaining with a strong national defense. We need to bring our allies into the process from the very beginning. If we don't do those things, detente will be just one more fancy word and the world will be far less safe.

8. Solzhenitsyn

Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger humiliated and embarrassed America by their snub of Mr. Solzhenitsyn when he visited this country. He should have been publicly honored at the White House, but he was snubbed. I can assure you that the Soviet leaders would have respected us more, rather than less, had the administration given Mr. Solzhenitsyn the honor that was due him. Surely we haven't become so cynical, or timid, that we would pretend Mr. Solzhenitsyn didn't exist.

9. Israel

This administration's policy toward Israel must be judged by deed, rather than by word. Contrary to what President Ford said at the end of the last debate, his officials induced Senator Tower to filibuster to kill legislation which would have penalized those

who participate in the boycott. That law will pass if I am President. His officials also lobbied and testified against the provisions of the tax reform bill, which he takes credit now for signing, and indeed they even threatened a veto if the anti-boycott provisions stayed in the bill. In my judgment, this administration has given too much weight to the interests of the big oil companies and the Arab oil producers. It has armed the Arab countries to the teeth -- 10 billion dollars in sales made or pending since 1974. It has buckled under to the Arab boycott of American companies. It has surrendered to OPEC oil blackmail.

10. Cyprus

The Ford administration policies have been unjust to both Greece and Cyprus. We have alienated two close friends without buying the friendship of a third (Turkey). I would, as President, make fairness, equity and international law the basis of our policy in the eastern Mediterranean. I would begin by making real efforts -- not cosmetic efforts -- to allow the Cypriot refugees to return to their homes.

11. Arms Sales

When Mr. Ford defends the free enterprise system, and when he supports the right of anyone to bear arms, he undoubtedly has in mind our international arms traders. In places like Iran and Saudi Arabia, the Defense Department seems to function as if it were a branch of the International Chamber of Commerce. But his policy is one of "Let the seller beware" -- and the seller is the United

States. No one's interests except the big arms manufacturers' are served by this unprecedented weapons merchandising campaign. Certainly the world five or ten years from now will not be safer for us or for Israel or for any of our allies if this keeps going on. Last year alone the United States sold 10 billion dollars in arms to the rest of the world. In many cases, these sales have been without regard to whether the recipient nations could afford sophisticated weapons . . . whether they had personnel or skills to utilize them . . . and whether the sales contributed to instability and arms buildups in various parts of the world. As President, I would make a careful assessment as to just how and where arms sales might be justified or in our interest.

12. Energy Policy

The oil companies could see the oil crisis coming. The Arabs could see it coming. Our government could not. Today, two years after the embargo, we are importing more OPEC oil than ever. It now accounts for percent of our total energy supply. The big winners from our rising dependence on foreign oil have been the Arab governments and the big energy companies. The rest of us have been left out in the cold. This administration's policy thus far has amounted to nothing more than higher prices at the gas pump and the slogan "energy Independence." That slogan is a joke. There is an energy crisis and the American people should be told the truth about it. We need to provide more of our own energy -- most immediately, from coal. And, as we begin to do that, we need to institute immediate conservation measures to save the energy we have. Unless and until we do that, we are hostage to the OPEC cartel and

this administration.

13. Nuclear Proliferation

The world is playing nuclear roulette.

Only five countries are now known to possess nuclear weapons. But if present trends continue, some 40 countries could have the bomb within a decade -- Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, India, Taiwan, South Korea, and many others. This administration is pursuing policies that could hasten the spread of the power to play the game of nuclear blackmail. Some nations, feeling insecure or unsure of our support, may soon opt to build their own nuclear weapons. Others, because of present slipshod transfers of nuclear materials for so-called peaceful uses, could do the same. I would do what this administration has not done. I would take immediate steps to curb further proliferation, beginning with a call upon all nations to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national sale or purchase of enrichment or reprocessing plants. Unless we take these and other steps immediately, we are buying Armageddon on the installment plan. But, just as with energy and other pressing world problems, I see no coherent administration plan of action.

14. Human rights

Whether the issue has been oppression of Soviet Jewry...the invasion of Cyprus...or violations of human rights in Chile, Uruguay or Brazil, this administration has consistently put realpolitik ahead of human values.

For instance, in June, Mr. Kissinger asserted the importance of human rights in Chile. Then Secretary Simon followed with a whitewashing trip, putting a fine, positive polish on the regime there. Then Mr. Kissinger returned to the United States to oppose a Senate amendment cutting off arms to Chile. When it passed, he signed a midnight 9-million dollar arms deal for Chile before the final bill could become law.

I do not suggest that we have it within our means to directly stop violations of human rights in other countries around the world. If we do not at least speak out, and place pressure on repressive regimes, we are guilty for our silence. Beyond that, I, as President, would press for Senate ratification of several important treaties drafted in the United Nations for the protection of human rights. These include the Genocide Convention drafted more than 25 years ago, the convention against racial discrimination that was signed during the Johnson Administration, and the covenants on civil and political rights, and on social and economic rights.

15. Domestic economic weakness

We will not be strong or secure in the world so long as we are weak and insecure at home -- and I am talking about the condition of our domestic economy. On that score, this Administration has failed.

When our economy is operating below full capacity...when millions are unemployed and millions underemployed...when our rate of inflation is unacceptably high...when the Administration

continues to incur record budget deficits, we are weakening ourselves internationally just as surely as if we were cutting the size of our army or navy or utilizing tanks and planes from World War II.

Mr. Ford seems to equate national security with whether or not the Pentagon budget is bigger this year than it was the year before. We need a strong defense establishment -- an efficient and modern defense establishment able to meet roles and missions assigned to it by the President of the United States. And, if I am President, we will have that kind of defense establishment. But it is also a President's job to foster a strong domestic economy, able to carry our burdens both at home and overseas; to forge a unity and sense of purpose among the American people; and to define the international interests which the United States shall choose to pursue. On all those counts---on management of the economy, on unifying and leading our people, on setting forth a coherent world view -- this Administration has failed in the area of national security. I do not intend to fail.

16. Arab Boycott

Contrary to what President Ford said at the end of the last debate, his officials induced Senator Tower to filibuster to kill legislation which would have penalized those who participate in the boycott. That law will pass if I am President. His officials also lobbied and testified against the provisions of the tax reform bill, which he takes credit now for signing, and indeed they even threatened

a veto if the anti-boycott provisions stayed in the bill. The whole purpose of foreign policy is to enable our citizens to enjoy the American way of life, free from foreign interferences. The Republican administration has approached the Arab blacklist question in the spirit of making a business deal. The Arabs want our government to become a partner in a venture designed to make some of our own citizens second-class participants in our own economy. No deal is the only answer an American government should ever make to that sort of proposition! The whole purpose of foreign policy is to enable our citizens at home to enjoy the American way of life, free from foreign threat. If ever there was a direct foreign threat to our freedom to follow our Constitution and our way of life, this has to be it. Participation in the Arab blacklist ought to be against the law, and it would be, if the man on my right had not killed the bill that would have outlawed such discrimination. My administration will never appease pressures which demand a compromise between special financial interests and human rights.

17. Angola

The Congress had the common sense to say "No" to another Vietnam in Angola, while Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger wanted to get us in up to our necks. Nothing in Angola could possibly justify the risk of a single American life. Yet this Administration provided \$32 million in secret military assistance to two factions in the Angolan civil war. When the Senate voted to stop such assistance, the Administration tried to sneak another \$28 million

in secret funding into Angola. Both the policy -- leading to an African Vietnam -- and the procedure -- secretly committing U.S. money and people without public knowledge or debate -- illustrate what is wrong with the thinking of this Administration.

18. United Nations

I regret having to say, in this city on this day, that many of our shining hopes for the United Nations have been diminished. The ideals which underlay the U.N. at its founding are still, I am convinced, in the hearts of most of the world's people. One day, as President Eisenhower once said, the people of the world are quite likely to push the leaders of the world aside and declare peace. But even if our hopes have been diminished, I believe the U.N. is still worthy of our participation. And we should try to make those changes in U.N. procedures--such as weighted voting--which might make it once again a more viable and responsible body. I regret to say that I do not believe the present administration views the U.N. seriously any longer and is not likely to make any real effort toward reform. Certainly, for the past eight years, we have been constantly on the defensive in the U.N.

CARTER POINTS TO MAKE

1. Sweeping the House of Government Clean.

If you don't clean house when you move in, you won't clean it two years later. President Ford has already been in office for 800 days--nearly as long as President Kennedy. What has Mr. Ford done to reorganize the government and cut the costs and waste and unresponsiveness in Washington? Not only has he done nothing--he hasn't even made a serious attempt to get the statutory authority necessary to undertake reorganization. The revelations of pervasive, blatant fraud and mismanagement in major programs like Medicaid, food stamps, housing, and others appear more and more frequently with each passing week. But we don't hear so much as a response from the White House, and we are not going to get any action to solve these problems as long as this caretaker Republican administration stays there. If I am elected, I will take a new broom to Washington and sweep the house of government clean. And I won't wait two years to begin.

2. Inflation.

Economic statistics are complicated and hard for everyone to evaluate. But there is one recent figure which every shopper will understand all too well--the wholesale price index jumped almost one percent in September --which is about ten percent on an annual basis. The Republicans have deliberately held the economy back, tolerated unconscionable unemployment and stagnation, because they say all this is necessary to stop inflation. The result is that double-digit inflation is once more just over the horizon. My policy is that of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson--strong growth, low unemployment, and low inflation maintained by vigilant and active monitoring of the big corporations and industries which can raise prices at will. President Kennedy had the courage to stand up to U.S. Steel in 1962, but U.S. Steel has a different kind of relationship with the current resident of the White House. General Motors announced record profits in 1975 and promptly raised its prices for new cars by more than seven percent. There wasn't a word from the White House.

3. Unemployment and Deficits.

For every added one percent of unemployment, the federal government loses \$16 billion in revenue from lost taxes and added expenditures for welfare and unemployment insurance. That means that unemployment is not only a tragedy for the families where fathers and mothers have no jobs. That \$16 billion is the

equivalent of almost \$300 for every family in the country, employed or unemployed. I will cut the deficit by putting this country back to work -- and by getting people off welfare and back on the tax rolls.

4. Tax Relief Plan

President Ford's tax relief plan is like an insurance contract. When you look at the fine print, you will see that it won't really provide \$250 for every person, or \$1,000 for every family of four, as he implies. It will only reduce the taxes they pay on that last \$250 or \$1,000 of income. That would be \$700 in tax-savings for a family earning \$110,000, but only \$_____ for a family earning \$8,000. The savings for low and middle income plan would actually be less than the new and higher social security taxes which he wants to impose, effective next January. So from the individual taxpayer he will be taking more with one hand than he gives with the other. The only taxpayers who will really benefit from President Ford's concern about high taxes will be corporate taxpayers and the people who own them. Corporations now bear only about one seventh of the total income tax burden, although twenty years ago they accounted for one fourth. President Ford's tax plan proposes ten all-new loopholes which would cut the corporate tax contribution by still another twenty percent.

5. Balancing the Budget

I am not a big spender and I never have been. As a businessman I had to balance a budget and meet a payroll. As Governor, I always had a budget surplus. We can balance the federal budget only by putting the economy back to work at full capacity, putting people back to work so they become taxpayers instead of tax-dependents. Last year alone we spent about \$17 billion, or roughly \$300 for each family in the land, for increased unemployment benefits and welfare costs generated by the Republican recession. The Republicans say it is too expensive to put people back to work. The truth is, it is too expensive not to.

6. Government Morality

The Republicans often excuse the lack of any notable achievements over the past two years by pointing to the difficult circumstances under which President Ford took office. But for a truly creative leader, those difficult circumstances would have been an opportunity, not a roadblock or an excuse for inaction. That's the way it was with President Roosevelt in 1933, with Harry Truman in 1945, and with President Johnson in 1963. Watergate was not replaced by reform, but with a return to business-as-usual. President Ford has written no new code of ethics into law and he has opposed the efforts of Congressional leaders to do so. The Calloway affair and other widely publicized cases are just the tip of an iceberg. The laws against conflicts of interest in the bureaucracy have been filed away and forgotten in this Administration, as a long series of studies by the Comptroller General have shown. I have announced a code of ethics for the federal government and campaigned for it over the past two years. If elected, I will enact that new code through executive orders which I will issue

myself, and through new legislation. Most important, I will enforce the law and require rigid adherence throughout the federal government.

7. Knocking down the Charges

(To be said on first Carter rebuttal or the first time that Ford makes his ritual charges that the Democratic Platform will cost \$100-\$200 billion in new programs; that Carter will raise taxes for all people making over \$14,000; and that Carter will abolish mortgage interest deduction.) President Ford has just repeated charges that he and his speechwriters must know are in error. Tonight I will respond just this once. Our time is better spent on the real issues of leadership and policy than retracing the same ground to correct the factual record.

First, as I have said throughout my two-year campaign, I will introduce no new programs except to the extent permitted by new revenues produced increased economic growth -- growth, by the way, that we will have under a Democratic Administration. I will not raise taxes for lower and middle-income taxpayers. I will give them tax relief. Second, my tax reform program will only raise taxes for the rich who can take advantage of the loopholes I will eliminate -- that's why the Republicans are desperate enough to keep repeating this charge, based on a mistaken transcription. Third, I would not eliminate the home mortgage interest deduction.

I. America's role in the world -- basic philosophy?

A. Criticism of Ford

1. Traditional power politics view of the world without morals or America's traditional values (excessive secrecy, covert action).
2. Failure to take into account the new problems created by nuclear proliferation and excessive arms sales.
3. Concentration on relations with the Soviet Union to exclusion of allies and friends and one-sided agreements with Soviets.

B. My view of the world

1. Rapidly changing world -- new problems of hunger and nuclear proliferation.
2. Need for America to stand up for human rights in all of its foreign policy -- beacon of hope for the world's people.
3. Closer attention to problems of proliferation and poverty, closer cooperation with allies and with developing nations.
4. Positive steps to end the arms race and reduce the sale of conventional weapons.

II. Governor Carter, isn't it true that you are totally inexperienced in foreign policy?

- 1) First American since Dwight Eisenhower to run for the Presidency as a graduate of one of our military academies -- extensive career military experience throughout the world.
- 2) Trained as a nuclear engineer -- familiar with all the dangers of nuclear weapons -- first candidate in history with this detailed knowledge.
- 3) As much defense in foreign policy experience and as widely read as JFK and Truman.
- 4) Most important experience is the ability to articulate America's values and principles in our foreign policy -- in last two years have traveled extensively and know America's yearning to be again seen as a spokesman for human rights and freedom.
- 5) Have traveled extensively both as naval officer and Governor and met on numerous occasions with foreign leaders from Asia, Middle East, Europe and Latin America.
- 6) Foreign policy is not the secret business of a few people -- rather it derives from an understanding of the goals, principles and values that the American people have at home and wish to demonstrate abroad.

III. Detente -- what do you mean by being tougher in detente with the Russians?

- 1) In our relations with the Soviets, we have given them access to our sophisticated research and development and to our trade credits.
- 2) We have not sufficiently insisted in return on restraint by the Soviet Union in their international conduct (Angola) or a greater respect for human rights.
- 3) Helsinki is perfect example of the U.S. having traded tangible benefit to the Soviet Union for mere promises -- promises we have not called upon the Soviet Union to fulfill.
- 4) We have allowed the Soviets to define detente to suit their own purposes -- for example, detente in Western Europe but not in the Middle East or in fomenting disorder in other areas such as Africa.
- 5) Russia needs detente as much as United States does -- maybe even more (weak economy, etc.).
- 6) State detente must be reciprocal and comprehensive.
- 7) Russia is a growing military power but yet one with real internal weaknesses -- will take advantage of situations where they can but not reckless -- Russians respect hard bargaining.

IV. Middle East -- Soviet role -- imposed settlement?

- 1) The Soviet Union has so far acted as the spoiler in the Middle East.
- 2) Hopes for Soviet restraint and would press for it.
- 3) The U.S. should be stronger in Eastern Mediterranean.
- 4) The Soviet Union should be made to feel part of an eventual arrangement so that it doesn't more easily succumb to the temptation to subvert it.

V. What would you do differently than the current Administration to bring peace to the Middle East -- aren't your statements about the boycott and arms sales to Arabs likely to reduce our influence with them?

- 1) Current policy has tended to create instability in the area by both defensive and offensive arms to the Arab and Moslem countries -- we have reversed percentage of aid to Israel, vis-a-vis Arabs.
- 2) As shown by 1975 "reassessment", we have used aid as a lever to force concessions from Israel and have given appearance of being equivocal in our commitment to her.
- 3) I suggest following positive policy:

- a) Step-by-step negotiations have run their course -- now time to set out comprehensive proposals.
- b) Encourage face-to-face negotiations to implement those principles using Resolution 242 as basis.
- c) Recognition of Israel's right to exist as Jewish state as key element.
- d) Spread out implementation settlement over period of years to give both sides time to develop mutual confidence.

NOTE: If pressed, your position on the Palestinians is that they are entitled to their own homeland, if possible, preferably in some relationship to Jordan. Should there be a separate Palestinian state?

VI. How would your foreign policy differ from that of the current Administration?

A. Specific Criticism

- 1) Our policy has been immoral -- has not stressed basic American values (Vietnam, Cambodia, CIA) -- it has failed to recognize human rights (Arab Boycott, Soviet immigration, Solzhenitsyn) -- it has been secret (Vietnam assurances).
- 2) Rather than lead, the President has been led -- dropping name of own foreign policy -- his foreign policy repudiated by his own party's platform -- made foreign policy according to Ronald Reagan (Panama) -- Simon-Kissinger conflict shows no leadership at top.
- 3) Improper priorities (too much attention on Soviets -- too little on allies and total slighting third world) -- no sense of direction and history of foreign policy in this Administration.

B. Positive Programs

- 1) Renewed emphasis on morality and human rights and openness -- American foreign policy based on American principles
- 2) Presidential leadership to restore basic American values to foreign policy and more integrated management of our foreign policy.
- 3) Greater attention to allies -- third world -- problems of hunger, arms control and proliferation.

VII. Isn't secrecy necessary to the type of agreements Kissinger has been able to negotiate?

- 1) Agreements don't last which are based on having told parties to the agreements different things -- for example, Vietnam agreement has collapsed.
- 2) Of course, negotiations must be in secret, but once agreement is reached, all of its terms must be made known to the parties and to the American people -- for example, secret assurances to Ian Smith, to General Thieu, etc.
- 3) Agreements must reflect America's basic moral principles or they cannot deserve the support of the American people.
- 4) Agreements have not brought lasting peace -- for example, Mid-East -- have not been followed up -- for example, SALT -- or collapsed -- for example, Vietnam.
- 5) Isn't secrecy necessary?

VIII. Who will your advisors be in foreign affairs?

- 1) Improper during a campaign and never done before for candidate to attempt to name his Secretary of State.
- 2) I have used a blend of experienced hands and new faces and have attempted to obtain input from a wide variety of opinions -- problem with many Presidents has been that they overly limited the advice coming to them -- I will not do this.
- 3) I have clearly enunciated my views on foreign affairs and the need to restore basic American principles and presidential leadership to foreign affairs -- I would expect my advisors to fit in with this philosophy.
- 4) Will get advice from wide range of people, but regardless of who my Secretary of State is or other advisors are, as President, I will make the decisions.

IX. You supported the Vietnam war -- how can you now speak of the need for morality and not intervention?

- 1) Like most Americans, I initially supported the United States' response to North Vietnamese aggression. From the first, it was obvious that the United States' role was to make South Vietnam strong enough to defend herself -- because of South Vietnam's corruption and lack of populace support, it became obvious she would never be able to defend herself. Also, it became obvious that America's national interests were not directly affected by that civil war.

2) Lessons from this involvement are:

- a) The United States should not become involved in civil wars unless its national interest is directly affected.
- b) We should not support regimes which are incapable of obtaining populace support and defending themselves.
- c) It also failed because American principles and values were not reflected in our policy.

X. Doesn't your proposal for Korean troop withdrawals serve as signal to the world as lack of American commitment to resolve?

- 1) South Korea, due to our help over the last 25 years, is a strong and healthy military power.
- 2) President Park has himself stated that by 1980 his country will not need American ground forces.
- 3) My proposal is for a vast long-term withdrawal based on full consultations with Korea and Japan -- with indefinite maintenance of air and sea-based American forces.
- 4) Nuclear weapons should be withdrawn over a fast period of time since they serve as more of a danger than a deterrent, and we are unlikely to use them in any local war, and their use should be unnecessary.
- 5) Never recommended unilateral troop withdrawals from Western Europe. Troop reductions only within context of MBFR talks.
- 6) America has been planning for a protracted ground war in Europe which many military experts feel is unlikely to occur and for which our adversary is not planning.

XI. China - Taiwan?

- 1) Since 1972, no real movement in U.S.-Chinese relations -- let golden opportunity pass -- leaders then are dead now -- era of uncertainty.
- 2) Normalization of relations with China must come but within context of assurances by China that there will be no use of force against Taiwan.
- 3) Arms sales -- we need not reach this question, since China has never requested them -- if they did ask in the future, our response would depend on the circumstances of our relationship with them and others.

XII. Proliferation -- undercutting our allies?

- 1) We will consult with our allies and not, as has been done in the last eight years, dictate to them.
- 2) Any restraints would be reciprocal so that the United States would receive a unilateral advantage.
- 3) Restate your own non-proliferation policy -- for example, U.S. must be ready source of enriched uranium, we should not sell reprocessing plants, etc.
- 4) Remind audience of your speech to U.N. on this subject and your personal experience as nuclear engineer.

XIII. Congressional involvement -- how can it be done?

- 1) Any foreign policy without wide congressional support will ultimately fail.
- 2) In developing wide range of opinions for foreign policy formulation, congressional leaders should be consulted at the beginning before policy is formulated and should be involved at all stages of development and implementation of such policy.
- 3) Most productive American foreign policy period was immediately after World War II where leaders of both parties (for example, Senator Vandenberg) were deeply involved in all phases of policy.

XIV. Should Israel withdraw to her pre-1967 borders?

- 1) Resolution 242, which all parties, including Israel, accept is a basis for solution. This Resolution requires a real peace for a territorial withdrawal -- but such withdrawal should only be made by Israel in face-to-face negotiations -- he should not be required to return to indefinable borders.
- 2) Note Foreign Minister Allon's recent suggestion of territorial withdrawals Israel is prepared to make as sign of Israeli flexibility and desire for peace.

XV. Terrorism: What can we do?

- 1) Support for international convention on terrorism.
- 2) International sanctions and U.S. sanctions against any country which harbors, trains or facilitates terrorism -- for example, suspension of landing rights in the United States.

XVI. Role of CIA abroad?

- 1) We must maintain a CIA as an effective gatherer of intelligence in imperfect world.

- 2) President must assert closer oversight on CIA and other intelligence units.
- 3) We should not engage in the violent overthrow of governments.
- 4) Covert activities by the CIA must be ended, except under the most extraordinary circumstances that directly threaten our own security and then only under close and direct control of the President.
- 5) CIA should not be used for any domestic intelligence.

XVII. Defense cuts -- don't they jeopardize our position as leader of the free world?

- 1) We need a tougher defense -- which involves certain additions to the defense budget (Navy, troop readiness, NATO standardization) and the elimination of waste.
- 2) What I am suggesting is a 5% net savings from the levels of spending which have been proposed by Mr. Ford in the current budget.
- 3) These cuts will come in the following areas -- cut insurance, cost overruns (renegotiation board), standardization of NATO, improvements in training and travel, waste (give examples of subsidized hunting, golf courses, Pentagon lunches, excessive military brass, etc.).
- 4) None of the cuts are in weapons systems.
- 5) Waste and inefficiency weaken our defense and our capacity to respond.

XVIII. Trade and human rights?

- 1) We should use all means at our disposal to encourage the Soviet Union to respect human rights and accord greater immigration.
- 2) I will implement all existing laws to encourage this, including Jackson-Vanik.
- 3) We must show that we are a country concerned with human rights and that our actions will be guided by the response of the Soviet Union in this area.
- 4) Under Helsinki, the Soviet Union has an obligation to accord human rights and greater independence for Eastern Europe. We should insist publicly on Soviet compliance with these promises.

XIX. You talked a lot about helping developing countries. What specifically would you do?

- 1) Insure that our aid goes directly to the people and not to buy limousines for their leaders -- we must target our development aid for basic human needs.

- 2) We have defaulted on our commitments to multilateral development agencies. These commitments must be kept.
- 3) We must make greater use of multilateral agencies, such as the world bank.
- 4) We should take a closer look at long-term commodity agreements to insure a stable supply of raw materials for this country and a stable market for developing countries.
- 5) We should insist on greater Soviet involvement in sharing the burden of aid to LDCs -- Soviet Union gives only 1/10 of 1% of its GNP to foreign aid.

XX. What implications does Soviet buildup have for American foreign policy and defense policy?

- 1) We cannot ignore trends in Soviet military buildup.
- 2) Our response must be to make clear to the Soviets that we expect them to moderate that buildup as a central element in continued good relations -- otherwise detente is good for very little -- as President, I would never let the Soviet Union obtain a unilateral military advantage over us.
- 3) How can the Administration on the one hand say that there has been a success in detente and on the other hand tell us that there is a massive Soviet buildup?
- 4) We have had too much feast or famine in the defense budget with wild swings up and down -- we need a consistent, steady course -- a consensus on defense spending in this country -- for our own internal reasons as well as to impress the Russians.
- 5) Cutting waste will make our defense tougher as well as a shift in emphasis to troop readiness, NATO standardization, etc.

XXI. Southern Africa?

- 1) As shown by NSSM 39 of 1969 the Republican Administration for eight years sided time and time again with the minority rulers in Africa.
- 2) Only when we were at the brink did we recognize the moral and political imperative of majority rule.
- 3) We have focused on Rhodesia but done little with South Africa. The Administration opposed time and again compliance with U.N. sanctions against Rhodesia (Byrd Amendment).
- 4) We are moving in the right direction now, but it may be too late -- we hope the Rhodesian matter will be settled, but there are already signs it is falling apart -- what secret assurances were made to Smith, if any?

- 5) As shown by our policy in Angola and in Rhodesia, we react only when the Soviet Union attempts to exploit a situation -- we need leadership that will act rather than react.

XXII. Neglect of allies?

- 1) There has been a consistent Republican failure to consult our allies -- for example, on dealing with the Middle East -- the year of Europe never came.
- 2) We profoundly hurt our relations with Japan through the failure to consult them on China, through the soybean embargo and by failing to be more cooperative with the Lockheed scandal.
- 3) In 1975, we imposed a virtual arms embargo on Israel, our closest ally.
- 4) We continue to deal directly with the Soviet Union on matters of direct import to Europe and inform Europe of it only thereafter.

XXIII. Won't reduction of arms sales give Russia advantage?

- 1) We must insure that our close allies have all the arms necessary for their defense -- but Mr. Ford's policy has been simply to sell arms to anyone with money.
- 2) We have often armed mutual antagonists -- for example, India-Pakistan -- we have given Saudi Arabia offensive missiles which could be used against Israel.
- 3) Since the Republicans have taken over, we have shifted our priorities of arming our friends to arming potential adversaries of our friends. Indeed, we are arming other countries before ourselves -- for example, F-14s to Iran before our own forces are fully equipped with them. Our priorities ought to be first ourselves, our traditional allies NATO and Israel and only then other countries with defensive arms.

XXIV. What specifically would you do that the Administration has not done to bring peace to Cyprus?

- 1) This Administration, despite repeated warnings, failed to prevent the 1974 coup against Makarios, failed to prevent or limit the Turkish invasion and failed to speak up for the rule of law.
- 2) Peace must be based on the U.N. resolution of 1974, an end to foreign troops of all kind and a respect for the rights of Cypriots, including Greek-Cypriots, who should be allowed to return to their homes.

XXV. The Soviet navy has grown tremendously, but our own Navy has fewer ships than before Pearl Harbor. What can we do about this challenge? How can we do anything if you are going to cut \$5-7 billion from the defense budget?

- 1) Mass savings will be only in cutting waste -- I am on record as favoring increased naval buildup -- but of a different emphasis -- less on outmoded, costly and vulnerable carriers.
- 2) Shift in emphasis to less costly and greater number of ships.
- 3) Navy is perfect example of mismanagement (for example (1) lack of five-year ship building plan has resulted in fewer and fewer shipyards willing to do naval work (2) ship building contracts are such a mess that two shipyards are threatening to stop all current navy work, (3) there are construction delays in 50 out of 56 navy ships currently under construction, (4) the fleet is in such poor condition that the Navy's own official inspection showed that only 2 out of 51 ships picked at random could perform all of their primary missions).

XXV. Question re B-1?

- 1) See your standard response.
- 2) Perfect example of Ford Administration using defense department for political purposes.

5:10

*Sino-Sov
War*

TO: CPL.
TEXT --
TO: MILT GWIRTZMAN

FROM: AL STERN

RE: FORD CHARGES AND RESPONSES

FORD CHARGE: CARTER HAS SAID WE ARE STRONG AND THAT WE ARE NOT STRONG.

RESPONSE: THE STRENGTH WE HAVE IS MILITARY STRENGTH AND AN UNDERLYING ECONOMIC CAPACITY. THE WEAKNESS IS OUR LACK OF POLICY AND LEADERSHIP, OUR DAMAGED MORALS AND OUR UNDERUTILIZED ECONOMIC CAPACITY.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER CLAIMS THAT THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT IS NOT MAKING PROGRESS.

RESPONSE: THE RATE OF JEWISH EMIGRATION IS THE SAME AS PRE-HELSENKI AND LOWER THAN EARLIER YEARS. SOVIET CITIZENS ARE NO LONGER RECEIVE FOREIGN CURRENCY. SOVIET DISSIDENTS ARE UNDER PRESSURE. ANDREI SAKHAROV WAS NOT ALLOWED TO GO TO OSLO TO GET THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. RADIO FREE EUROPE IS STILL BEING JAMMED. NO RELAXATION OF OPPRESSION OR PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

FORD CHARGE: GOVERNOR CARTER WAS COMPLETELY WRONG IN CLAIMING THE UNITED STATES WAS EMBARKING UPON ANOTHER VIETNAM-LIKE SITUATION IN COVERTLY PROVIDING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO FORCES IN ANGOLA.

RESPONSE: THE FACTS DISPROVE THIS. WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE CONGRESS ARE NOT APPRISED OF \$32 MILLION IN COVERT MILITARY ASSISTANCE BEING CHANNLED IN A SINGLE YEAR TO A CIVIL WAR IN A DISTANT CONTINENT, WITH \$28 MILLION MORE IN THE WORKS, IT IS READILY APPARENT THAT VIETNAM IS A PROPER ANALOGY. WHEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND CONGRESS ARE NOT GIVEN FACTS AND MUST INSTEAD RELY ON NEWS REPORTS OF UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT, FINANCIALLY OR MILITARILY, THE VIETNAM ANALOGY BECOMES PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE. WHILE IT HAS NEVER BEEN DISCLOSED THAT TROOPS OF OUR ARMED FORCES WERE USED IN ANGOLA -- AS DISTINGUISHED FROM CIA PERSONNEL OR CIA-SUPPORTED PERSONNEL -- THERE IS NO WAY OF TELLING WHERE THE FORD ADMINISTRATION'S OPEN-ENDED AND SURREPTITIOUS COMMITMENT WOULD HAVE STOPPED, ABSENT SENATE ACTION TO BAN AN FURTHER COVERT ASSISTANCE TO ANGOLA.

FORD CHARGE: GOVERNOR CARTER SAID THE GAO REPORT ON MAYAGUEZ WAS APPROVED BY THE ADMINISTRATION. THAT IS INCORRECT.

RESPONSE: THE GOVERNOR DID NOT STATE AS A FACT THAT THE REPORT HAD BEEN CLEARED. IN CONTEXT, HE SAID, "I UNDERSTAND THAT BOTH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT HAVE APPROVED THE ACCURACY OF TODAY'S REPORT, OR YESTERDAY'S REPORT AND ALSO THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY. I DON'T KNOW WHAT WAS RIGHT OR WHAT WAS WRONG OR WHAT WAS DONE. THE ONLY THING I BELIEVE IS THAT WHATEVER THE KNOWLEDGE WAS THAT MR. FORD HAD SHOULD HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." IN OTHER WORDS, THE GOVERNOR SAID I DON'T KNOW WHAT WAS DONE BY THE FORD PEOPLE, INCLUDING THEIR REVIEW OF THE REPORT, BUT I DO KNOW AN ACCOUNTING IS DUE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THE ENTIRE MAYAGUEZ INCIDENT. THE ONLY RESPONSE THE FORD PEOPLE HAVE IS DIVERSIONARY. IGNORING COMPLETELY A FULL ACCOUNTING TO THE PUBLIC, THEY HAVE INSTEAD CHOSEN TO POINT OUT THE REPORT WAS NOT CLEARED FOR ACCURACY. WELL THAT IS NICE TO KNOW, BUT SO WHAT -- THAT IS NOT THE REAL ISSUE.

ATTENTION: PRINT

TO: RULF GUERTZMAN

FROM: AL STERN

RE: FORD CHARGES AND RESPONSES

FORD CHARGE: CARTER HAS ADVOCATED A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN ITALY.

RESPONSE: AT NO POINT IN HIS TWO YEARS OF CAMPAIGNING HAS CARTER EVER ADVOCATED A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT FOR ITALY. AS HE SAID IN THE DEBATE, "THAT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE A RIDICULOUS THING FOR ANYONE TO DO WHO WANTED TO BE PRESIDENT." THE CARTER QUOTE NOW BEING CITED BY FORD DOES NOTHING MORE THAN RECITE CARTER'S BASIC POSITION: THAT IF A COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE FAIRLY ELECTED IN ITALY, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT CLOSE THE DOOR TO FRIENDSHIP WITH THAT GOVERNMENT AND THE ITALIAN PEOPLE. IF MR. FORD THINKS FRIENDSHIP WITH AN ALLY WHO MAY HAVE COMMUNISTS IN THE GOVERNMENT IS UNTHINKABLE WE WONDER ABOUT THE MEANING OF DETENTE.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER WAS WRONG IN SAYING THAT U.S. BECAME INVOLVED IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ONLY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

RESPONSE: BASED ON THE EVIDENCE NOW BEING SUPPLIED BY FORD, CARTER WAS CLEARLY RIGHT ON TARGET WHEN HE SAID KISSINGER'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAME JUST BEFORE THE 1976 ELECTIONS. THAT EVIDENCE, WHICH ONLY SAYS THAT KISSINGER TOOK SOME PRELIMINARY STEPS IN 1975 (THOUGH AFTER FORD REVERSED HIS EARLIER POSITION AND DECIDED TO SEEK ELECTION) OVERLOOKS THE FOLLOWING: IN 25 YEARS AS A CONGRESSMAN, FORD NEVER TOOK A SINGLE STEP TOWARD CURTING THE APOCALYPSE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND IN FACT HE DID THE REVERSE -- HE VOTED FOR THE BYRD AMENDMENT TO ALLOW THE IMPORTING OF RHODESIAN CHROME; IN 1969, KISSINGER'S NSC STUDIED THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM AND CONCLUDED (NSC MEMO #39) THAT NOTHING COULD BE DONE TO HELP THE BLACK INEQUITIES AND, AS A RESULT, THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON POLICY OF CONTACTS WITH LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WAS MAINTAINING ENDED; AND ONLY BECAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN ANGOLA WAS ADMINISTRATION ATTENTION FINALLY FOCUSED BACK TO SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE LATTER PART OF 1975. ANYONE WHO HAS FOLLOWED MR. FORD'S RECORD IN CIVIL RIGHTS CANNOT HELP BUT CONCLUDE THAT THE RECENT INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA STEMS LESS FROM A DESIRE TO HELP THE BLACK MAJORITY THAN FROM A HOPE FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL GAINS.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER WAS WRONG IN SAYING FORD'S ADMINISTRATION OVERTHREW THE CHILE GOVERNMENT.

RESPONSE: CARTER SAID IN THE DEBATE THAT "THIS ADMINISTRATION OVERTHREW A UNITED GOVERNMENT AND HELPED TO ESTABLISH A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP." ALL THAT FORD IS NOW ABLE TO CITE IN REBUTTAL IS THAT THE OVERTHROW DID NOT OCCUR WHILE HE WAS PRESIDENT, BUT WHILE HE WAS NIXON'S LEADER IN THE HOUSE. TO BEGIN WITH, CARTER SAID, "THIS ADMINISTRATION," WHICH AS ANYONE WHO HAS EVER LISTENED TO HIM KNOWS, MEANS THE "NIXON-FORD" ADMINISTRATION, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, FORD HAS NEVER CRITICIZED -- IN FACT, HE SUPPORTED -- THE CIA'S ACTIONS IN CHILE: SHORTLY AFTER BECOMING PRESIDENT (9/16/74), HE RESPONDED TO A QUESTION ABOUT CHILE BY DEFENDING THE COVERT OPERATIONS THAT HAD BEEN UNDERTAKEN THERE. THOSE WHO STILL DENY THAT THESE COVERT OPERATIONS LED TO ALLENDE'S OVERTHROW SHOULD CONTACT SENATOR CHURCH.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER'S ADVOCACY OF A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON MIA'S WOULD NOT BE PRODUCTIVE.

RESPONSE: AGAIN, WHAT FORD SAYS IS A "CONTRADICTION AND INCONSISTENCY" TURNS OUT TO BE A DISAGREEMENT IN POLICY. IN THE DEBATE, CARTER RESTATED HIS POSITION: THAT A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION IS NEEDED TO SEEK OUT THE INFORMATION ABOUT THE MIA'S AND THAT FORD HAS REFUSED TO APPOINT SUCH A COMMISSION. FORD IS NOW CLAIMING THAT A COMMISSION WOULD PRODUCE NO NAMES UNTIL BILLIONS IN AID IS GIVEN TO VIETNAM. UNDER FORD'S METHOD OF NEGOTIATING, THAT MAY BE TRUE. BUT ALL THAT CARTER IS SAYING IS THAT A COMMISSION CAN EXPLORE THE VARIOUS AVENUES TO GET THE MIA INFORMATION, INCLUDING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE VIETNAMESE AND TRIPS TO SOUTH EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES. NOTHING NEEDS TO BE GIVEN TO THE VIETNAMESE TO EXPLORE SUCH AVENUES. FORD DOES NOT KNOW THIS BECAUSE OF HIS REFUSAL TO APPOINT A COMMISSION -- OR ANYONE -- TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF GETTING MIA INFORMATION.

RESPONSE: THE CONFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHICH MR. FORD CITED AS EVIDENCE OF HIS INTEREST IN PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAS FAILED TO REACH ANY AGREEMENTS WHICH PREVENT THE SALE OR SPREAD OF TECHNOLOGY TO MAKE THE BOMB. WHILE THE CONFERENCE HAS MET SIX TIMES SINCE MAY 1975, IT HAS NOT BEEN ATTENDED EITHER BY MR. FORD OR MR. KISSINGER. ITS MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD IN SECRET AND THE DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN ATTENDED ONLY BY MIDDLE LEVEL BUREAUCRATS. THE CONFERENCE HAS FAILED TO STOP THE SALE OF SPENT FUEL REPROCESSING TECHNOLOGY BY FRANCE TO PAKISTAN OR BY WEST GERMANY TO INDIA, TWO OF THE MOST CRITICAL STEPS TOWARD FURTHER WEAPONS PROLIFERATION WHICH HAVE OCCURRED DURING THE FORD PRESIDENCY.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER CLAIMS THAT FORD BLOCKED THE PASSAGE OF NON-PROLIFERATION LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS. CARTER SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT HE DOESN'T THINK THE PRESIDENT WOULD DENY THIS.

RESPONSE: MR. FORD MADE NO ATTEMPT TO DENY THAT HE AND HIS ADMINISTRATION PUT PRESSURE ON CONGRESS NOT TO ENACT MODEST NON-PROLIFERATION LEGISLATION, IN SPITE OF THE CARTER CHALLENGE TO DOD ADMINISTRATION SPOKESPERSONS TESTIFIED AGAINST MEASURES PROPOSED BY SENATORS RIBICOFF, GLENN, AND PERCY AS GOING TOO FAR. FORD TOLD THESE SENATORS THAT HE WOULD NOT PERMIT COMPROMISE NON-PROLIFERATION LEGISLATION TO BE CONSIDERED UNLESS CONGRESS ALSO AGREED TO CONSIDER HIS PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE AN \$8 BILLION SUBSIDY FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN URANIUM ENRICHMENT FACILITIES.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER SAYS FORD HAS FAILED TO SUPPORT ENLARGEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED FACILITY AT PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, HOLDING IT HOSTAGE TO HIS PROPOSAL TO SUBSIDIZE PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE URANIUM ENRICHMENT BUSINESS.

RESPONSE: WHILE FORD RESPONDS THAT HE SUPPORTS THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE PORTSMOUTH FACILITY, HIS SUPPORT WAS BOTH LATE IN COMING AND HELD HOSTAGE TO ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION TO GIVE AN \$8 BILLION SUBSIDY TO MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS TO INVEST IN PRIVATE URANIUM ENRICHMENT PLANTS. HE DID NOT ANNOUNCE HIS SUPPORT FOR THE PORTSMOUTH ENLARGEMENT UNTIL ONE DAY BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY IN OHIO. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN COLUMBUS OHIO ON MAY 26, 1976, FORD SAID, "AS SOON AS CONGRESS PASSES THE NUCLEAR FUEL ASSURANCE ACT (THE PRIVATE SUBSIDY BILL), I WILL ASK THE CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE \$170 MILLION FOR FY 1977 TO PROCEED WITH THE DESIGN, PLANNING, AND THE PROCUREMENT OF LONG LEAD TIME CONSTRUCTION ITEMS FOR THE PORTSMOUTH PLANT."

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ACTION: PRINT

TO: LPL

TO: MILT SWIRTZMAN

FROM: H. STERN

RE: FORD CHARGES AND RESPONSES

FORD CHARGE: IT IS FALSE TO SAY WE HAVE MADE NO PROGRESS ON SALT.

RESPONSE: THE PACE OF NEGOTIATIONS IS GLACIAL. TWENTY-TWO MONTHS HAVE GONE BY AND NO FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN MADE. THIS IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF SECRECY. WE HAVE NOT EVEN MADE THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENTS PERMANENT AND TIME IS RUNNING OUT -- AS FORD SAID.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER CLAIMS OF ECONOMIC REACTION TO AN EMBARGO OF OIL ARE WRONG POLICY.

RESPONSE: FORD WOULD DO NOTHING. HIS LACK OF COHERENT POLICY AND ACCORD WITH ALLIES MAKES A COMMON FRONT IMPOSSIBLE TO CONSTRUCT, EVEN WHERE COMMON INTERESTS WOULD DICTATE ONE.

FORD CHARGE: THE GRAIN EMBARGOS WERE NOT WRONG; THEY WERE NEEDED TO KEEP CONSUMER PRICES LOW.

RESPONSE: THE FARMERS WILL BE INTERESTED TO HEAR AGAIN DIRECT FROM FORD'S LIPS THIS REASON FOR THE EMBARGOS. CONSUMERS CAN ONLY LOOK AT THE SUPERMARKET CHECKOUT SLIPS TO SEE HOW INEFFECTIVE THIS POLICY WAS.

FORD CHARGE: THE CLAIM THAT THE SALE OF F-14'S TO IRAN IS IN PREFERENCE TO OUR OWN FORCES IS FALSE.

RESPONSE: ACCORDING TO MR. BLECHMAN OF THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTE, THE STATEMENT ON AIRCRAFT DELIVERED TO IRAN BEFORE OUR FORCES IS CORRECTLY ANSWERED AS FOLLOWS. IT IS TRUE OUR FORCES WERE RECEIVING F-14'S BEFORE THE SALES TO IRAN. HOWEVER IN ORDER TO ACCOMMODATE OUR SALES TO IRAN, OUR OWN DELIVERY SCHEDULE WAS STRETCHED OUT SO THAT AS THE FORD FIGURES SHOW OUR NAVY WILL BE RECEIVING PLANES AFTER THE IRANIAN DELIVERIES HAVE BEEN MADE. THE U.S. DELIVERIES ARE OBVIOUSLY NEEDED SO THAT THE DELAY PROVES THAT IRAN HAS BEEN GIVEN PRECEDENCE OVER OUR OWN FORCES. IN JANUARY 1975 IN SECRETARY OF DEFENSE POLICY STATEMENT IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT PRODUCTION WAS REDUCED FROM 6 TO 3 PLANES PER MONTH TO ACCOMMODATE IRAN.

RE: FORD CHARGES AND RESPONSES

FORD CHARGE: CARTER CLAIMS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NO LONGER A BREADBASKET OF THE WORLD. THAT IS WRONG.

RESPONSE: IN GOVERNOR CARTER'S CLOSING STATEMENT, THE QUESTION IS ASKED: "CAN WE BECOME A BREADBASKET OF THE WORLD INSTEAD OF THE ARMS MERCHANT OF THE WORLD?" THIS QUESTION MUST BE LOOKED AT IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS ENTIRE STATEMENT -- WHICH FOCUSED ON "LEADERSHIP, UPHOLDING THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR COUNTRY AND PROPER PRIORITIES IN COMMITMENTS FOR THE FUTURE." GOVERNOR CARTER WAS TALKING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY AND ITS IMAGE IN THE WORLD. ("I WANT TO SEE OUR NATION RETURNED TO A POSTURE AND AN IMAGE AND A STANDARD TO MAKE US PROUD ONCE AGAIN.")

THE QUESTION IN ISSUE WAS THUS MERELY A QUESTION ABOUT OUR FUTURE PRIORITIES AND IMAGE IN THE WORLD. IN OTHER WORDS, IN THE FUTURE, WILL THIS COUNTRY GIVE PRIORITY TO AND DEVELOP AN IMAGE OF BEING PRINCIPALLY THE BREADBASKET OF THE WORLD OR WILL WE CONTINUE THE FORD ADMINISTRATION POLICIES OF INCREASING EMPHASIS ON BEING THE ARMS MERCHANT OF THE WORLD? THE QUESTION IN NO WAY SAID THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER PROVIDES FOOD ASSISTANCE ABROAD.

FORD CHARGE: CARTER WAS WRONG IN SAYING FORD HAS PERMITTED THE ARAB BOYCOTT AND IN SAYING THAT FORD HAS OPPOSED ANTI-BOYCOTT LEGISLATION.

RESPONSE: AS I SAID IN THE DEBATE, MR. FORD HAS PERMITTED THE ARAB BOYCOTT TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY AGAINST AMERICAN BUSINESSES. THE TIMID APPROACH HE HAS TAKEN HAS BEEN ALMOST TOTALLY INEFFECTUAL -- THE RATE OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE BOYCOTT IS STILL 94 PERCENT. HE HAS STILL REFUSED TO TAKE THE ONE ACTION THAT WOULD BE EFFECTIVE -- TO MAKE COMPLIANCE WITH THE BOYCOTT UNLAWFUL.

MR. FORD DID NOT TRY TO CONVINCE CONGRESS TO AMEND THE EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT SO AS TO "TAKE STRONG AND EFFECTIVE ACTION" AGAINST THOSE WHO PARTICIPATE IN THE BOYCOTT. WHAT HE DID DO WAS HAVE SENATOR TOWER USE A FILIBUSTER TO PREVENT ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD HAVE DONE EXACTLY THAT, AND WHICH WAS OPENLY OPPOSED BY ADMINISTRATION WITNESSES IN THEIR TESTIMONY TO CONGRESS. AT THE LAST MINUTE THE WHITE HOUSE BRIEFLY OFFERED A "COMPROMISE" THAT WAS CONSIDERABLY WEAKER THAN THE PENDING LEGISLATION, BUT BEFORE THIS OFFER COULD BE RESPONDED TO IT WAS WITHDRAWN WITH THE EXPLANATION THAT SENATOR TOWER, THE ADMINISTRATION'S OWN SPOKESMAN, OBJECTED TO IT.

WHILE MR. FORD DID SIGN THE TAX REFORM BILL, HE CAN HARDLY TAKE CREDIT FOR ITS PROVISIONS, AND PARTICULARLY THE ANTI-BOYCOTT PROVISION. WHAT HE HAS DELIBERATELY AVOIDED MENTIONING IS THAT HIS ADMINISTRATION VEHEMENTLY OPPOSED THAT PROVISION RIGHT UP TO FINAL CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, EVEN THREATENING TO VETO THE ENTIRE TAX REFORM BILL IF IT CONTAINED THE ANTI-BOYCOTT PROVISION.

FORD CHARGE: OUR FIGURES ON ARMS AID TO ISRAEL AND ARABS ARE FALSE.

RESPONSE: PERCENTAGE ARMS SALES TO ISRAEL AS 21% OF ARMS TO MID EAST INCLUDING IRAN IS CORRECT. ALSO APPROXIMATELY 40% OF ARMS TO MID-EAST WITHOUT IRAN.

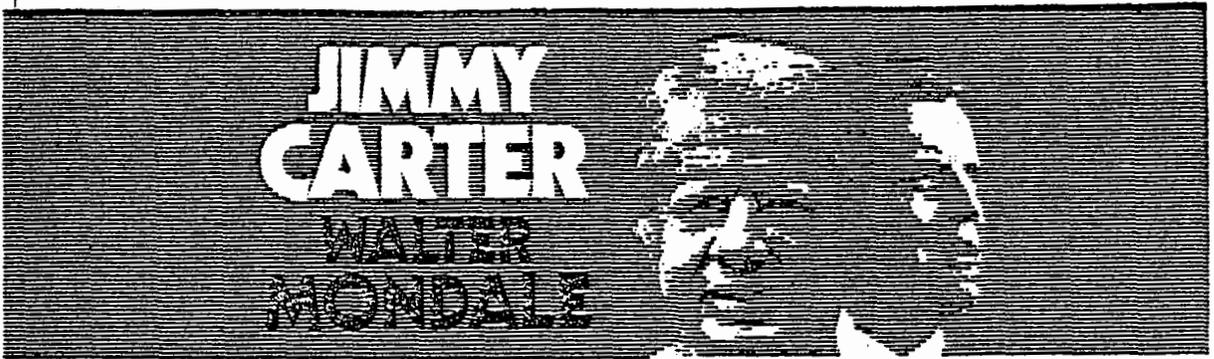
FORD CHARGE: 7.5 BILLION TO IRAN AND SAUDIS IS FALSE.

RESPONSE: IF ONE ADDS CALENDAR '76 ARMS FOR IRAN - \$5.3 BILLION TO SAME BASE FOR SAUDI - \$2.9 BILLION THE RESULT IS \$8.2 BILLION FOR BOTH. NOT ADEQUATE BUT MY SOURCES CAN DO NO BETTER. WILL LES ASPIN TOMORROW. ADVISE -- AVOID "NUMBERS GAME!"

ONE APPROACH TO HANDLING THE RESPONSE TO THIS LIST OF CHARGES IS TO MAKE FUN OF THE TRIVIAL AND SPURIOUS NATURE OF THE CHARGES. SUGGEST SOMETHING ALONG THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE TO JUDY --

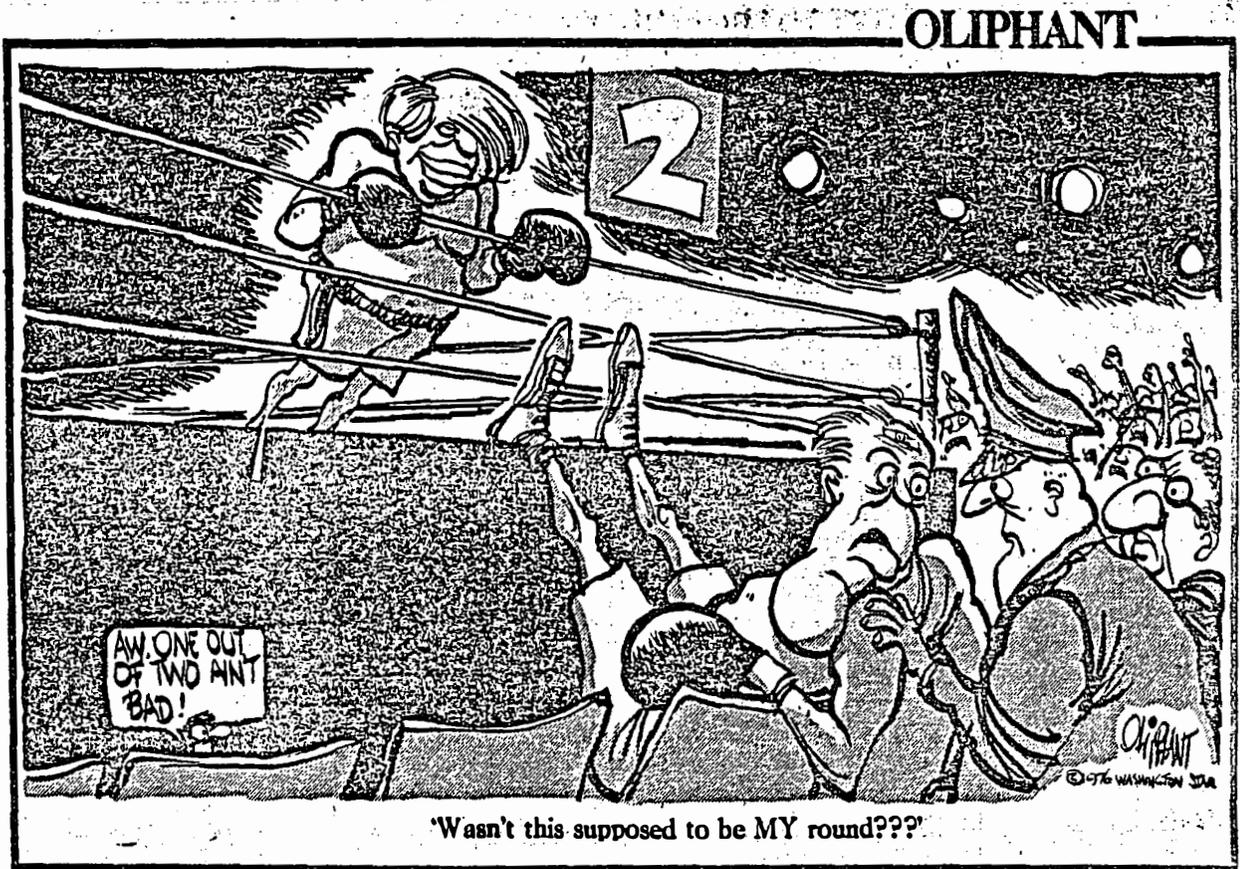
"THIS LIST WAS OBVIOUSLY COMPILED AFTER 72 HOURS OF INTENSIVE WORK BY 14 NITPICKERS ON THE PRESIDENT'S STAFF. AS PART OF OUR REORGANIZATION PLAN FOR THE WHITE HOUSE THOSE POSITIONS ARE GOING TO BE ABOLISHED."

A 1200



Leaders, for a change.

The Debate, October 6th, 1976



Transcript of Foreign Affairs Debate Between Ford and Carter

Following is a transcript of last night's debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco, as recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of ABC News. The moderator was Pauline Frederick of National Public Radio. The questioners were Max Frankel of The New York Times, Henry L. Trehwhitt of The Baltimore Sun and Richard Valeriani of NBC News.

MODERATOR: Good evening. I'm Pauline Frederick of N.P.R., moderator of this second of the historic debates of the 1976 campaign between Gerald R. Ford of Michigan, Republican candidate for President, and Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Democratic candidate for President.

Thank you, President Ford and thank you, Governor Carter, for being with us tonight.

This debate takes place before an audience in the Palace of Fine Arts Theater in San Francisco. An estimated 100 million Americans are watching on television as well. San Francisco was the site of the signing of the United Nations Charter, 31 years ago. Thus, it is an appropriate place to hold this debate, the subject of which is foreign and defense issues.

The questioners tonight are Max Frankel, associate editor of The New York Times; Henry L. Trehwhitt, diplomatic correspondent of The Baltimore Sun, and Richard Valeriani, diplomatic correspondent of NBC News.

The ground rules tonight are basically the same as they were for the first debate two weeks ago. The questions will be alternated between candidates. By the toss of a coin, Governor Carter will take the first question. Each question sequence will be as follows: The question will be asked and the candidate will have up to three minutes to answer. His opponent will have up to two minutes to respond. And prior to the response, the questioner may ask a follow-up question to clarify the candidate's answer when necessary with up to two minutes to reply. Each candidate will have three minutes for a closing statement at the end. President Ford and Governor Carter do not have notes or prepared remarks with them this evening, but they may take notes during the debate and refer to them.

Mr. Frankel, you have the first question for Governor Carter.

Q: Governor, since the Democrats last ran our foreign policy, including many of the men who are advising you, the country has been relieved of the Vietnam agony, the military draft, we've started arms control negotiations with the Russians, we've opened relations with China, we've arranged the disengagement in the Middle East, we've regained influence with the Arabs without deserting Israel, now, maybe, we've even begun a process of peaceful change in Africa. Now you've objected in this campaign to the style with which much of this was done, and you've mentioned some other things that you think ought to have been done. But do you really have a quarrel with this Republican record? Would you not have done any of those things?

CARTER: Well I think this Republican Administration has been almost all style and spectacular and not substance. We've got a chance tonight to talk about, first of all, leadership, the character of our country and a vision of the future. In every one of these instances, the Ford Administration has failed, and I hope tonight that I and Mr. Ford will have a chance to discuss the reasons for those failures.

Call for Strength and Respect

Our country is not strong anymore; we're not respected anymore. We can only be strong overseas if we're strong at home, and when I become President we will not only be strong in those areas but also in defense—a defense capability second to none.

We've lost in our foreign policy the character of the American people. We've ignored or excluded the American people and the Congress from participation in the shaping of our foreign policy. It's been one of secrecy and exclusion. In addition to that we've had a chance to become now—contrary to our longstanding beliefs and principles—the arms merchant of the whole world. We've tried to buy success from our enemies, and at the same time we've excluded from the process the normal friendship of our allies.

In addition to that we've become fearful to compete with the Soviet Union on an equal basis. We talk about détente. The Soviet Union knows what they want in détente, and they've been getting it. We have not known what we wanted, and we've been outraded in almost every instance.

The other point I want to make is about our defense. We've got to be a nation blessed with a defense capability that is efficient, tough, capable, well organized, narrowly focused—fighting capability—the ability to fight, if necessary, is the best way to avoid a chance for or the requirement to fight.

Republican Platform Cited

And the last point I want to make is this: Mr. Ford, Mr. Kissinger have continued on with the policies and pledges of Richard Nixon. Even the Republican platform has criticized the lack of leadership in Mr. Ford and they've criticized the foreign policy of this Administration. This is one instance where I agree with the Republican platform.

I might say this in closing, and that is that as far as foreign policy goes, Mr. Kissinger has been the President of this country. Mr. Ford has shown an absence of leadership, and an absence of a grasp of what this country is and what it ought to be. That's got to be changed. And that's one of the major issues in this campaign of 1976.

MODERATOR: President Ford, would you like to respond?

FORD: Governor Carter again is talking in broad generalities. Let me take just one question that he raises, the military strength and capability of the United States.

Governor Carter in November of 1975 indicated that he wanted to cut the defense budget by \$15 billion. A few months later, he said he wanted to cut the defense budget by \$8 or \$9 billion. And more recently, he talks about cutting the defense budget by \$5 to \$7 billion. There is no way you can be strong militarily and have those kinds of reductions in our military appropriation.

Now let me just tell you a little story. About late October of 1975, I asked

the then Secretary of Defense, Mr. Schlesinger, to tell me what had to be done if we were going to reduce the defense budget by \$3 to \$5 billion.

A few days later, Mr. Schlesinger came back and said if we cut the defense budget by \$3 to \$5 billion, we will have to cut military personnel by 250,000, civilian personnel by a hundred thousand, jobs in America by a hundred thousand. We would have to stretch out our aircraft procurement, we would have to reduce our naval construction program, we would have to reduce the research and development for the Army, the Navy, the Air Force and Marines by 8 percent. We would have to close 20 military bases in the United States immediately. That's the kind of a defense program that Mr. Carter wants.

Let me tell you this straight from the shoulder: You don't negotiate with Mr. Brezhnev from weakness. And the kind of a defense program that Mr. Carter wants will mean a weaker defense and a poor negotiating position.

MODERATOR: Mr. Trehwhitt, a question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, my question really is the other side of the coin from Mr. Frankel's. For a generation the United States has had a foreign policy based on containment of Communism. Yet we have lost the first war in Vietnam; we got a shoving match in Angola. The Communists threatened to come to power by peaceful means in Italy and relations generally have cooled with the Soviet Union in the last few months.

So let me ask you first—what do you do about such cases as Italy? And secondly, does this general drift mean that we're moving back toward something like an old cold-war relationship with the Soviet Union?

President Cites Some Successes

FORD: I don't believe we should move to a cold-war relationship. I think it's in the best interest of the United States, and the world as a whole, that the United States negotiate rather than go back to the cold-war relationship with the Soviet Union.

I don't look at the picture as bleakly as you have indicated in your question, Mr. Trehwhitt. I believe that the United States has had many successes in recent years, in recent months, as far as the Communist movement is concerned. We have been successful in Portugal where a year ago it looked like there was a very great possibility that the Communists would take over in Portugal. It didn't happen. We have a democracy in Portugal today.

A few months ago—or, I should say, maybe two years ago—the Soviet Union looked like they had continued strength in the Middle East. Today, according to Prime Minister Rabin, the Soviet Union is weaker in the Middle East than they have been in many, many years.

Ebb in Soviet Relations Seen

The facts are the Soviet Union relationship with Egypt is at a low level. The Soviet Union relationship with Syria is at a very low point. The United States today, according to Prime Minis-

ment. But at the time that I submitted the Sinai agreement to the Congress of the United States, I submitted every single document that was applicable to the Sinai II agreement. It was the most complete documentation by any President of any agreement signed by a President on behalf of the United States.

Average of One Meeting a Month

Now as far as meeting with the Congress is concerned, during the 24 months that I've been the President of the United States I have averaged better than one meeting a month with responsible groups or committees of the Congress—both House and Senate. The Secretary of State has appeared in the several years that he's been the Secretary before 80 different committee hearings in the House and in the Senate. The Secretary of State has made better than 50 speeches all over the United States explaining American foreign policy.

I have made myself at least 10 speeches in various parts of the country where I have discussed with the American people defense and foreign policy.

MODERATOR: Mr. Frankel, a question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, I'd like to explore a little more deeply our relationship with the Russians. They used to brag back in Khrushchev's day that because of their greater patience and because of our greed for business deals that they would sooner or later get the better of us. Is it possible that despite some setbacks in the Middle East, they've proved their point? Our allies in France and Italy are now flirting with communism. We've recognized the permanent Communist regime in East Germany. We've virtually signed in Helsinki an agreement that the Russians have dominance in Eastern Europe. We've bailed out Soviet agriculture with our huge grain sales. We've given them large loans, access to our best technology and if the Senate hadn't interfered with the Jackson Amendment, maybe you would have given them even larger loans. Is that what you call a two-way street of traffic in Europe?

Cites Examples

FORD: I believe that we have negotiated with the Soviet Union since I've been President from a position of strength. And let me cite several examples.

Shortly after I became President in December of 1974, I met with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and we agreed to a mutual cap on the ballistic missile launcher at a ceiling of 2,400, which means that the Soviet Union, if that becomes a permanent agreement, will have to make a reduction in their launchers that they now have or plan to have.

I negotiated at Vladivostok with Mr. Brezhnev a limitation on the MIRVing of their ballistic missiles at a figure of 1,320 which is the first time that any President has achieved a cap either on launchers or on MIRV's.

It seems to me that we can go from there to grain sales. The grain sales have been a benefit to American agri-

culture. We have achieved a five and three-quarter-year sale of a minimum six million metric tons, which means that they have already bought about four million metric tons this year and are bound to buy another two million metric tons to take the grain and corn and wheat that the American farmers have produced in order to have full production and these grain sales to the Soviet Union have helped us tremendously in meeting the costs of the additional oil—the oil that we have bought from overseas.

Defends Helsinki Agreement

If we turn to Helsinki—I'm glad you raised it, Mr. Frankel. In the case of Helsinki, 35 nations signed an agreement, including the Secretary of State for the Vatican. I can't under any circumstances believe that the—His Holiness, the Pope—would agree by signing that agreement that the 35 nations have turned over to the Warsaw Pact nations the domination of Eastern Europe. It just isn't true. And if Mr. Carter alleges that His Holiness by signing that has done, he is totally inaccurate.

And what has been accomplished by the Helsinki agreement? No, I, we have an agreement where they notify us and we notify them of any military maneuvers that are to be undertaken. They have done it. In both cases where they've done so, there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford Administration.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter?

Q: I'm sorry, could I just follow—did I understand you to say, sir, that the Russians are not using Eastern Europe as their own sphere of influence in occupying most of the countries there and making sure with their troops that it's a Communist zone, whereas on our side of line the Italians and the French are still flirting with . . .

FORD: I don't believe, Mr. Frankel, that the Yugoslavians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Rumanians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union.

Each of those countries is independent, autonomous, it has its own territorial integrity and the United States does not concede that those countries are under the domination of the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, I visited Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania to make certain that the people of those countries understood that the President of the United States and the people of the United States are dedicated to their independence, their autonomy and their freedom.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter, now if you will respond.

CARTER: Well in the first place, I'm not criticizing His Holiness the Pope. I was talking about Mr. Ford.

The fact is that secrecy has surrounded the decisions made by the Ford Administration. In the case of the Helsinki agreement: It may have been a good agreement at the beginning, but we have failed to enforce the so-called basket three part, which insures the right of people to migrate, to join their families, to be free, to speak out. The Soviet Union is still jamming Radio Free Europe—Radio Free Europe is being jammed.

We've also seen a very serious problem with the so-called Sonnenfeldt document—which apparently Mr. Ford

has just endorsed—which said that there's an organic linkage between the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. And I would like to see Mr. Ford convince the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country that those countries don't live under the domination and supervision of the Soviet Union behind the Iron Curtain.

We also have seen Mr. Ford exclude himself from access to the public. He hasn't had a tough cross-examination-type press conference in over 30 days. One press conference he had without sound.

Yielding to Soviet Pressure

He's also shown a weakness in yielding to pressure. The Soviet Union, for instance, put pressure on Mr. Ford and he refused to see a symbol of human freedom recognized around the world, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The Arabs have put pressure on Mr. Ford, and he's yielded, and has permitted a boycott by the Arab countries of American businesses who trade with Israel, or who have American Jews owning or taking part in the management of American companies. His own Secretary of Commerce had to be subpoenaed by the Congress to reveal the names of businesses who were subject to this boycott. They didn't volunteer the information. He had to be subpoenaed.

And the last thing I'd like to say is this: This grain deal with the Soviet Union in '72 was terrible, and Mr. Ford made up for it with three embargoes, one against our own ally in Japan. That's not the way to run our foreign policy, including international trade.

MODERATOR: Mr. Trehwitt, a question for Governor Carter.

Q: Governor, I'd like to pick up on that point, actually and on your appeal for a greater measure of American idealism in foreign affairs. Foreign affairs come home to the American public pretty much in such issues as oil embargos and grain sales, that sort of thing. Would you be willing to risk an oil embargo in order to promote human rights in Iran and Saudi Arabia, withhold arms from Saudi Arabia for the same purpose? I think, as a matter of fact, you've perhaps answered this final part, but would you withhold grain from the Soviet Union in order to promote civil rights in the Soviet Union?

'Economic Declaration of War'

CARTER: I would never single out food as a trade embargo item, if I ever decided to impose an embargo because of a crisis in international relationships. It would include all shipments of all equipment.

For instance, if the Arab countries ever again declare an embargo against our nation on oil I would consider that not a military but an economic declaration of war and I would respond instantly and in kind. I would not ship that Arab country anything—no weapons, no spare parts for weapons, no oil-drilling rigs, no oil pipe, no nothing. I wouldn't single out just food.

Another thing that I'd like to say is this: in our international trade, as I said in my opening statement, we

have become the arms merchant of the world. When this Republican administration came into office we were shipping about \$1 billion dollars worth of arms overseas, now \$10 to \$12 billion dollars worth of arms overseas to countries that quite often use these weapons to fight each other.

A 'Disturbing' Shift on Mideast

The shift in emphasis has been very disturbing to me, speaking about the Middle East.

Under the last Democratic administration 60 percent of all weapons that went into the Middle East were for Israel. Now 60 percent goes to the Arab countries and this does not include Iran. If you include Iran in our present shipment of weapons to the Middle East, only 20 percent goes to Israel. This is a deviation from idealism; it's a deviation from a commitment to our major ally in the Middle East, which is Israel; it's a yielding to economic pressure on the part of the Arabs on the oil issue, and it's also a tremendous indication that under the Ford Administration we have not addressed the energy policy adequately.

We still have no comprehensive energy policy in this country. And it's an overall sign of weakness. When we are weak at home economically, high unemployment, high inflation, a confused government, a wasteful defense establishment, this encourages the kind of pressure that's been put on us successfully.

It would have been inconceivable 10 or 15 years ago for us to be brought to our knees with an Arab oil embargo. But it was done three years ago and they're still putting pressure on us from the Arab countries to our discredit around the world.

A Matter of Being Tough

These are the weaknesses that I see and I believe it's not just a matter of idealism. It's a matter of being tough. It's a matter of being strong; it's a matter of being consistent. Our priorities ought to be first of all to meet our own military needs, secondly to meet the needs of our allies and friends and only then should we ship military equipment to foreign countries.

As a matter of fact, Iran is going to get 80 F-14's before we even meet our own Air Force order for F-14's. And the shipment of Spruance-class destroyers to Iran are much more highly sophisticated than the Spruance-class destroyers that at present are being delivered to our own Navy. This is ridiculous and it ought to be changed.

Q: Governor, let me pursue that if I may. If I understand you correctly you would in fact use my examples: withhold arms from Iran and Saudi Arabia even if the risk was an oil embargo and if they should be securing those arms from somewhere else, and then if the embargo came, then you'd respond in kind. Do I have it correctly?

CARTER: Iran is not an Arab country, as you know, it's a Moslem country. But if Saudi Arabia should declare an oil embargo against us, then I would consider that an economic declaration of war. And I would make sure the Saudis understood this ahead of time so there would be no doubt in their mind. I think under those circumstances they would refrain from pushing us to our knees as they did in 1973 with their previous oil embargo.

MODERATOR: President Ford?

FORD: Governor Carter apparently doesn't realize that since I've been

President we have sold to the Israelis over \$4 billion in military hardware. We have made available to the Israelis over 45 percent of the total economic and military aid since the establishment of Israel 27 years ago. So the Ford Administration has done a good job in helping our good ally, Israel, and we're dedicated to the survival and security of Israel.

I believe that Governor Carter doesn't realize the need and necessity for arms sales to Iran. He indicates he would not make those. Iran is bordered very extensively by the Soviet Union.

Iran has Iraq as one of its neighbors. The Soviet Union and the Communist-dominated Government of Iraq are neighbors of Iran, and Iran is an ally of the United States. It's my strong feeling that we ought to sell arms to Iran for its own national security, and as a strong ally of the United States.

Necessary for Our Security'

The history of our relationship with Iran goes back to the days of President Truman when he decided that it was vitally necessary for our own security as well as that of Iran that we should help that country. And Iran has been a good ally.

In 1973 when there was an oil embargo, Iran did not participate. Iran continued to sell oil to the United States. I believe that it's in our interest, and in the interest of Israel and Iran and Saudi Arabia, for the United States to sell arms to those countries. It's for their security as well as ours.

MODERATOR: Mr. Valeriant, a question for President Ford?

Q: Mr. President, the policy of your administration is to normalize relations with mainland China. That means establishing at some point full diplomatic relations and obviously doing something about the mutual defense treaty with Taiwan. If you are elected, will you move to establish full diplomatic relations with Peking, and will you abrogate the mutual defense treaty with Taiwan? And, as a corollary, would you provide mainland China with military equipment if the Chinese were to ask for it?

FORD: Our relationship with the People's Republic of China is based upon the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972, and that communiqué calls for the normalization of relations between the United States and the People's Republic. It doesn't set a time schedule. It doesn't make a determination as to how that relationship should be achieved in relation to our current diplomatic recognition and obligations to the Taiwanese Government.

The Shanghai Communiqué does say that the differences between the People's Republic on the one hand and Taiwan on the other shall be settled by peaceful means.

The net result is this Administration, and during my time as the President for the next four years, we will continue to move for normalization of relations in the traditional sense, and we will insist that the dispute between Taiwan and the People's Republic be settled peacefully, as was agreed in the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972.

The Ford Administration will not let down, will not eliminate or forget our

obligation to the people of Taiwan. We feel that there must be a continued obligation to the people, to the some 19 to 20 million people in Taiwan. And as we move during the next four years, those will be the policies of this Administration.

Q: And sir, the military equipment for the mainland Chinese?

FORD: There is no policy of this Government to give to the People's Republic, or to sell to the People's Republic of China, military equipment. I do not believe that we, the United States, should sell, give or otherwise transfer military hardware to the People's Republic of China, or any other Communist nation, such as the Soviet Union and the like.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter?

CARTER: I would like to go back just one moment to the previous question, where Mr. Ford, I think, confused the issue by trying to say that we are shipping Israel 40 percent of our aid. As a matter of fact, during this current year we are shipping Iran, or have contracted to ship to Iran, about \$7.5 billion worth of arms, and also to Saudi Arabia, about \$7.5 billion worth of arms.

Also in 1975, we almost brought Israel to their knees after the Yom Kippur War by the so-called reassessment of our relationship to Israel. We in effect tried to make Israel the scapegoat for the problems in the Middle East, and this weakened our relationship with Israel a great deal and put a cloud on the total commitment that our people feel toward the Israelis.

There ought to be a clear, unequivocal commitment without change to Israel.

In the Far East I think we need to continue to be strong, and I would certainly pursue the normalization of relationships with the People's Republic of China.

We opened up a great opportunity in 1972, which has pretty well been frittered away under Mr. Ford, that ought to be a constant in connection toward friendship, but I would never let that friendship with the People's Republic of China stand in the way of the preservation of the independence and freedom of the people in Taiwan.

MODERATOR: Mr. Frankel, a question for Governor Carter?

Q: Governor, we always seem in our elections, and maybe in between, too, to argue about who can be tougher in the world. Give or take a few billion dollars, give or take one weapons system, our leading politicians, and I think you, too, gentlemen, seem to settle roughly on the same strategy in the world at roughly the same Pentagon budget cost.

How bad do things have to get in our own economy, or how much backwardness and hunger would it take in the world, to persuade you that our national security and our survival required very drastic cutbacks in arms spending and dramatic new efforts in other directions?

CARTER: Well, always in the past we've had an ability to have a strong defense and also to have a strong domestic economy, and also to be strong in our reputation and influence within the community of nations. These characteristics of our country, have been endangered under Mr. Ford. We're no longer respected, and in a show-down vote in the United Nations or

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in any other international council, we're lucky to get 20 percent of the other nations to vote with us.

Our allies feel that we've neglected them. The so-called Nixon shock against Japan has weakened our relationships there. Under this Administration we've also had an inclination to keep separate the European countries, thinking that if they separate, then we can dominate them and proceed with our secret, Lone Ranger-type diplomatic efforts.

I would also like to point out that we, in this country, have let our economy go down the drain. The worst inflation since the great Depression. The highest unemployment of any developed nation of the world. We have a higher unemployment rate in this country than Great Britain and West Germany.

Our unemployment rate is twice as high as it is in Italy, is three or four times as high as it is in Japan. And that terrible circumstance in this country is exported overseas. We comprise about 30 percent of the world's economic trade power influence. And when we're weak at home—weaker than all our allies—that weakness weakens the whole free world. So strong economy is very important.

Allies 'Have Felt Neglected'

Another thing that we need to do is to re-establish the good relationships that we ought to have between the United States and our natural allies and friends. They have felt neglected. And using that base of strength, and using the idealism, the honesty, the predictability, the commitment, the integrity of our own country, that's where our strength lies. And that would permit us to deal with the developing nations in a position of strength.

Under this Administration we've had a continuation of the so-called balance of power politics, where everything is looked on as a struggle between us on the one side, the Soviet Union on the other. Our allies and smaller countries get trampled in the rush.

What we need is to try to seek individualized bilateral relationships with countries, regardless of their size, and to establish world-order politics, which means that we want to preserve peace through strength. We also want to revert back to the stature and the respect that our country had in previous administrations.

Now I can't say when this can come. But I can guarantee it will not come if Gerald Ford is re-elected and his present policies continue. It will come if I'm elected.

Q: If I hear you right, sir, you're saying guns and butter both, but President Johnson also had trouble keeping up both Vietnam and his domestic programs. I was really asking when do the needs of the cities and our own needs and those of other backward and even more needy countries and societies around the world take precedence over some of our military spending. Ever?

CARTER: Well, let me say very quickly that under President Johnson, in spite of the massive investment in the Vietnam

War, he turned over a balanced budget to Mr. Nixon. The unemployment rate was less than 4 percent. The inflation rate under Kennedy and Johnson was about 2 percent—one third of what it is under this Administration. So we did have at that time as good management, the ability to do both.

Number One Responsibility

I don't think that anybody can say that Johnson and Kennedy neglected the poor and the destitute people in this country or around the world. But I can say this: the number one responsibility of any

President, above all else, is to guaranty the security of our nation, and ability to be free of the threat of attack or blackmail and to carry out our obligations to our allies and friends, and to carry out a legitimate foreign policy. They must go hand in hand, but the security of this nation has got to come first.

MODERATOR: President Ford?

FORD: Let me say very categorically you cannot maintain the security and the strength of the United States with the kind of defense budget cuts that Governor Carter has indicated.

In 1975, he wanted to cut the budget \$15 billion. He's now down to a figure of \$5 to \$7 billion. Reductions of that kind will not permit the United States to be strong enough to deter aggression and maintain the peace. Governor Carter apparently doesn't know the facts.

As soon as I became President, I initiated a meeting with the NATO heads of state and met with them in Brussels to discuss how we could improve the defense relationship in Western Europe.

Cites Meetings With Leaders

In November of 1975 I met with the leaders of the five industrial nations in France for the purpose of seeing what we could do acting together to meet the problems of the coming recession.

In Puerto Rico, this year I met with six of the leading industrial nations' heads of state to meet the problem of inflation so we would be able to solve it before it got out of hand.

I have met with the heads of Government bilaterally as well as multilaterally. Our relations with Japan have never been better. I was the first United States President to visit Japan. And we had the Emperor of Japan here this past year and the net result is Japan and the United States are working more closely together now than at any time in the history of our relationship.

You can go around the world—and let me take Israel for example. Just recently, President Rabin said that our relations were never better.

MODERATOR: Mr. Trehwhitt, the question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, you referred earlier to your meeting with Mr. Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974. You agreed on that occasion to try to achieve another strategic arms limitation — SALT — agreement within the year. Nothing happened in 1975, or not very much publicly at least. And those talks are still dragging and things got quieter as the current season approached.

Is there a bit of politics involved there, perhaps on both sides? Or perhaps more important, are interim weapons developments—and I'm thinking of such things as the cruise missile and the Soviet SS-20 intermediate-range rocket—making SALT irrelevant, by-passing the SALT negotiations?

FORD: First we have to understand that SALT I expires Oct. 3, 1977. Mr. Brezhnev and I met in Vladivostok in

December of 1974 for the purpose of trying to take the initial step so we could have a SALT II agreement that would go through 1985.

As I indicated earlier, we did agree on a 2,400 limitation on launchers of ballistic missiles. That would mean a cutback in the Soviet program; it would not interfere with our own program.

At the same time, we put a limitation of 1,320 on MIRV. Our technicians have been working since that time in Geneva, trying to put into technical language an agreement that can be verified by both parties.

In the meantime, there has developed the problem of the Soviet Backfire—their high-performance aircraft which they say is not a long-range aircraft and which some of our people say is an intercontinental aircraft. In the interim, there has been the development on our part primarily the cruise missiles: cruise missiles that could be launched from land-based mobile installations; cruise missiles that could be launched from high-performance aircraft, like the B-52's or the B-1's, which I hope we proceed with; cruise missiles which could be launched from either surface or submarine naval vessels.

New Arms Complicate Talks

Those gray-area weapons systems are creating some problems in the agreement for a SALT II negotiation. But I can say that I am dedicated to proceeding, and I met just last week with the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and he indicated to me that the Soviet Union was interested in narrowing the differences and making a realistic and a sound compromise.

I hope and trust in the best interests of both countries, and in the best interests of all people throughout this globe, that the Soviet Union and the United States can make a mutually beneficial agreement. Because if we do not and SALT I expires on Oct. 3, 1977, you will unleash again an all-out nuclear arms race with the potential of a nuclear holocaust of unbelievable dimensions.

So it's the obligation of the President to do just that, and I intend to do so.

Q: Let me follow that up by—I'll submit that the cruise missile adds a whole new dimension to the arms competition—and then sight a statement by your office to the Arms Control Association a few days ago in which you said the cruise missile might eventually be included in a comprehensive arms limitation agreement but that, in the meantime, it was an essential of the American strategic arsenal. Now, may I assume from that you're tending to exclude the cruise missile from the next SALT agreement, or is it still negotiable in that context?

The Cruise Missile

FORD: I believe that the cruise missile, which we are now developing in research and development across the spectrum from air, from the sea, or from the land, can be included within a SALT II agreement. They are a new weapons system that has a great potential, both conventional and nuclear-armed. At the same time, we have to make certain that the Soviet Union's

Backfire, which they claim is not an intercontinental aircraft and which some of our people contend is, must also be included if we are to get the kind of agreement which is in the best interest of both countries. And I really believe that it's far better for us and for the Soviet Union, and more importantly for the people around the world, that these two super powers find an answer for a SALT II agreement before Oct. 3, 1977. I think good will on both parts, hard bargaining by both parties and a reasonable compromise will be in the best interests of all parties.

CARTER: Well, Mr. Ford acts like he's running for President for the first time. He's been in office two years and there has been absolutely no progress made toward a new SALT agreement. He has learned the date of the expiration of SALT I, apparently.

We've seen in this world a development of a tremendous threat to us. As a nuclear engineer myself, I know the limitations and capabilities of atomic power. I also know that as far as the human beings on this earth are concerned that the nonproliferation of atomic weapons is No. 1. Only the last few days with the election approaching has Mr. Ford taken any interest in a nonproliferation movement.

Would Talk to Allies

I advocated last May in a speech at the United Nations that we move immediately as a nation to declare a complete moratorium on the testing of all nuclear devices, both weapons and peaceful devices, that we not ship any more atomic fuel to a country that refuses to comply with strict controls over the waste, which can be reprocessed into explosives.

I've also advocated that we stop the sale by Germany and France of reprocessing plants for Pakistan and Brazil. Mr. Ford hasn't moved on this. We also need to provide an adequate supply of enriched uranium. Mr. Ford again, under pressure from the atomic energy lobby, has insisted that this reprocessing or rather re-enrichment, be done by private industry and not by the existing government plants. This kind of confusion and absence of leadership has let us drift now for two years with a constantly increasing threat of atomic weapons throughout the world.

We now have five nations that have atomic bombs that we know about. If we continue under Mr. Ford's policy by 1985 or '90 we'll have 20 nations that have the capability of exploding atomic weapons. This has got to be stopped. That is one of the major challenges and major undertakings that I will assume as the next President.

MODERATOR: Mr. Valeriani, your question for Governor Carter.

Q: Governor Carter, earlier tonight you said America is not strong any more; America is not respected any more. And I feel that I must ask you: Do you really believe that the United States is not the strongest country in the world, do you really believe that the United States is not the most respected country in the world? Or is that just campaign rhetoric?

Strong and 'Gotta Stay That Way'

CARTER: No, it's not just campaign rhetoric. I think that militarily we are as strong as any nation on earth. I think we gotta stay that way and continue to increase our capabilities to meet any potential threat.

But as far as strength derives from commitment to principles, as far as strength derives from the unity within our country, as far as strength derives

from the people, the Congress, the Secretary of State, the President, sharing in the evolution and carrying-out of a foreign policy, as far as strength derives from the respect of our own allies and friends, their assurance that we will be staunch in our commitment, that we will not deviate and that we'll give them adequate attention, as far as strength derives from doing what's right, caring for the poor, providing food, becoming the breadbasket of the world instead of the arms merchant of the world—in those respects, we're not strong.

Also, we'll never be strong again overseas, unless we're strong at home. And with our economy in such terrible disarray and getting worse by the month, we've got 500,000 more Americans unemployed today than we had three months ago; we've got 2.5 million more Americans out of work now than we had when Mr. Ford took office. This kind of deterioration in our economic strength is bound to weaken us around the world.

Problems That Reach Overseas

And we not only have problems at home but we export those problems overseas. So as far as the respect of our own people toward our own Government, as far as participation in the shaping for concepts and commitments, as far as the trust of our country among the nations of the world, as far as dependence of our country in meeting the needs and obligations that we've expressed to our allies, as far as the respect of our country—even among our potential adversaries—we are weak.

Potentially we're strong. Under this Administration, that strength has not been realized.

MODERATOR: President Ford.

FORD: Governor Carter brags about the unemployment during Democratic Administrations and condemns the unemployment at the present time. I must remind him that we're at peace and during the period that he brags about unemployment being low, the United States was at war.

Now let me correct one other comment that Governor Carter has made. I have recommended to the Congress that we develop the uranium enrichment plant at Portsmouth, Ohio, which is a publicly-owned U.S. Government facility and have indicated that the private program which would follow on in Alabama is one that may or may not be constructed. But I am committed to the one at Portsmouth, Ohio.

Initiatives Cited

The Governor also talks about morality in foreign policy. The foreign policy of the United States meets the highest standards of morality. What is more moral than peace and the United States is at peace today?

What is more moral in foreign policy than for the Administration to take the lead in the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 when the United States committed 6 million metric tons of food, over 60 percent of the food committed for the disadvantaged and underdeveloped nations of the world?

The Ford Administration wants to eradicate hunger and disease in our underdeveloped countries through the world.

What is more moral than for the United States under the Ford Administration to take the lead in southern Africa, in the Middle East? Those are initiatives in foreign policy which are of the highest moral standards and that is indicative of the foreign policy of this country.

MODERATOR: Mr. Frankel, a question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, can we stick with morality? For a lot of people it seems to cover a bunch of sins. Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger used to tell us that instead of morality we had to worry in the world about living with and letting live all kinds of governments that we really didn't like, North and South Korean dictators, Chilean fascists, Chinese Communists, Iranian emperors and so on. They said the only way to get by in a wicked world was to treat others on the basis of how they treated us and not how they treated their own people.

But more recently we seemed to have taken a different tack. We seem to have decided that it is part of our business to tell the Rhodesians, for instance, that the way they're treating their own black people is wrong and they've got to change their government or we put pressure on them. We were rather liberal in our advice to the Italians as to how to vote.

Is the new Ford foreign policy in the making? Can we expect that you are now going to turn to South Africa and force them to change their government to intervene in similar ways to end the bloodshed, as you called it, say, in Chile or Chilean prisons, and to throw our weight around for the values that we hold dear in the world?

'Highest Standards of Morality'

A: I believe that our foreign policy must express the highest standards of morality. And the initiatives that we took in southern Africa are the best examples of what this Administration is doing and will continue to do in the next four years. If the United States had not moved when we did in southern Africa, there's no doubt there would have been an acceleration of bloodshed in that tragic part of the world. If we had not taken our initiative, it's very, very possible that the Government of Rhodesia would have been overrun and that the Soviet Union and the Cubans would have dominated southern Africa.

So the United States, seeking to preserve the principle of self-determination to eliminate the possibility of bloodshed, to protect the rights of the minority as we insisted upon the rights of the majority, I believe followed the good conscience of the American people in foreign policy, and believe that we have used our skill.

Kissinger's African Mission

Secretary of State Kissinger has done a superb job in working with the black African nations, so-called front-line nations, he has done a superb job in getting the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. Vorster, to agree that the time had come for a solution to the problem of Rhodesia.

Secretary Kissinger, in his meeting with Prime Minister Smith of Rhodesia, was able to convince him that it was in the best interest of whites as well as black in Rhodesia to find an answer for a transitional government and then

a majority government. This is a perfect example of the kind of leadership that the United States, under this Administration, has taken.

And I can assure you that this Administration will follow that high moral principle in our future efforts in foreign policy, including our efforts in the Middle East where it is vitally important because the Middle East is the crossroads of the world. There have been more disputes in this area where there's more volatility than any other place in the world.

An American Lead in Sinai

But because Arab nations and the Israelis trust the United States, we were able to take the lead in the Sinai II Agreement. And I can assure you that the United States will have the leadership role in moving toward a comprehensive settlement of the Middle Eastern problems. I hope and trust as soon as possible. And we will do it with the highest moral principles.

Q: Mr. President, just to clarify one point: There are lots of majorities in the world that feel they're being pushed around by minority governments, and are you saying they can now expect to look to us for not just good cheer but throwing our weight on their side—in South Africa or on Taiwan, or in Chile, to help change their governments, as in Rhodesia?

FORD: I would hope that as we move to one area of the world from another and the United States must not spread itself too thinly—that was one of the problems that helped to create the circumstances in Vietnam—but as we as a nation find that we are asked by the various parties, either one nation against another or individuals within a nation, that the United States will take the leadership and try to resolve the differences.

Let me take South Korea as an example. I have personally told President Park that the United States does not condone the kind of repressive measures that he has taken in that country. But I think in all fairness and equity we have to recognize the problem that South Korea has. On the north they have North Korea with 500,000 well-trained, well-equipped troops. They are supported by the People's Republic of China. They are supported by the Soviet Union. South Korea faces a very delicate situation.

Korean Conference Suggested

Now the United States, in this case this Administration, has recommended a year ago, and we have reiterated again this year that the United States, South Korea, North Korea and the People's Republic of China sit down at a conference table to resolve the problems of the Korean peninsula. This is a leadership role that the United States under this Administration is carrying out, and if we do it, and I think the opportunities and the possibilities are getting better, we will have solved many of the internal domestic problems that exist in South Korea at the present time.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter.

CARTER: I notice that Mr. Ford didn't comment on the prisons in Chile. This is a typical example, maybe of many others, that this Administration overthrew an elected government and helped to establish a military dictatorship.

This has not been an ancient history story. Last year under Mr. Ford, of all the Food for Peace that went to South America, 85 percent went to the military dictatorship in Chile.

Another point I want to make is this. He said we have to move from one area of the world to another. That's one of the problems with this Administration's so-called shuttle diplomacy. While the Secretary of State's in one country, there are almost 150 others that are wondering what we're going to do next, what will be the next secret agreement. We don't have a comprehensive understandable foreign policy that deals with world problems or even regional problems.

Another thing that concerned me was what Mr. Ford said about unemployment, insinuating that under Johnson and Kennedy that unemployment could only be held down when this country is at war. Karl Marx said that the free enterprise system in a democracy can only continue to exist when they are at war or preparing for war. Karl Marx was the grandfather of Communism. I don't agree with that statement. I hope Mr. Ford doesn't either.

'Vietnam in Angola'

He has put pressure on the Congress—and I don't believe Mr. Ford would even deny this—to hold up on nonproliferation legislation until the Congress agrees for an \$8 billion program for private industry to start producing enriched uranium.

And the last thing I want to make is this. He talks about peace and I'm thankful for peace. We were peaceful when Mr. Ford went into office. But he and Mr. Kissinger and others tried to start a new Vietnam in Angola and it was only the outcry of the American people and the Congress when their secret deal was discovered that prevented our renewed involvement in that conflagration which was taking place there.

MODERATOR: I'm sorry we do not have time enough for two complete sequences of questions. We now have only 12 minutes left. Therefore, I would like to ask for shorter questions and shorter answers. And we also will drop the follow-up questions. Each candidate may still respond, of course, to the other's answer. Mr. Trehwhitt, a question for Governor Carter.

Q: Governor Carter, before this event the most communications I received concerned Panama. Would you as President be prepared to sign a treaty which at a fixed date yielded administrative and economic control of the Canal Zone and shared defense, which, as I understand it, is the position the United States took in 1974?

CARTER: Well, here again, the Panamanian question is one that's been confused by Mr. Ford. He had directed his diplomatic representatives to yield to the Panamanians full sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone at the end of a certain period of time. When Mr. Reagan raised this question in Florida Mr. Ford not only disavowed his instructions, but he also even dropped parenthetically the use of the word "détente."

I would never give up complete control or practical control of the Panama Canal Zone, but I would continue to

negotiate with the Panamanians. When the original treaty was signed back in the early 1900's, when Theodore Roosevelt was President, Panama retained sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone. We retained control as though we had sovereignty.

Would Negotiate

Now I would be willing to go ahead with negotiations. I believe that we could share more fully responsibilities for the Panama Canal Zone with Panama. I would be willing to continue to raise the payment for shipment of goods through the Panama Canal Zone. I might even be willing to reduce to some degree our military emplacements in the Panama Canal Zone, but I would not relinquish practical control of the Panama Canal Zone any time in the foreseeable future.

MODERATOR: President Ford.

FORD: The United States must and will maintain complete access to the Panama Canal. The United States must maintain a defense capability of the Panama Canal. And the United States will maintain our national security interest in the Panama Canal.

The negotiations for the Panama Canal started under President Johnson and have continued up to the present time. I believe those negotiations should continue. But there are certain guidelines that must be followed, and I've just defined them.

Let me take just a minute to comment on something that Governor Carter said. On nonproliferation, in May of 1975, I called for a conference of nuclear suppliers. That conference has met six times. In May of this year, Governor Carter took the first initiative, approximately 12 months after I had taken my initiative a year ago.

MODERATOR: Mr. Valeriani, a question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, the Government Accounting Office has just put out a report suggesting that you shot from the hip in the Mayaguez rescue mission and that you ignored diplomatic messages saying that a peaceful solution was in prospect. Why didn't you do more diplomatically at the time; and a related question: Did the White House try to prevent the release of that report?

FORD: The White House did not prevent the release of that report. On July 12 of this year, we gave full permission for the release of that report.

I was very disappointed in the fact that the G.A.O. released that report because I think it interjected political partisan politics at the present time.

But let me comment on the report. Somebody who sits in Washington, D.C., 18 months after the Mayaguez incident, can be a very good grandstand quarterback. And let me make another observation. This morning, I got a call from the skipper of the Mayaguez. He was furious because he told me that it was the action of me, President Ford, that saved the lives of the crew of the Mayaguez.

And I can assure you that if we had not taken the strong and forceful ac-

tion that we did, we would have been criticized very, very severely for sitting back and not moving.

'We Did the Right Thing'

Captain Miller is thankful. The crew is thankful. We did the right thing. It seems to me that those who sit in Washington 18 months after the incident are not the best judges of the decision-making process that had to be made by the National Security Council and by myself at the time the incident was developing in the Pacific.

Let me assure you that we made every possible overture to the People's Republic of China and through them to the Cambodian Government. We made diplomatic protests to the Cambodian Government through the United Nations. Every possible diplomatic means was utilized. But at the same time, I had a responsibility, and so did the National Security Council, to meet the problem at hand. And we handled it responsibly and I think Captain Miller's testimony to that effect is the best evidence.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter?

CARTER: Well, I'm reluctant to comment on the recent report—I haven't read it. I think the American people have only one requirement—that the facts about Mayaguez be given to them accurately and completely.

Mr. Ford has been there for 18 months. He had the facts that were released today immediately after the Mayaguez incident. I understand that the report today is accurate. Mr. Ford has said, I believe, that it was accurate, and that the White House made no attempt to block the issuing of that report. I don't know if that's exactly accurate or not.

I understand that both the Secretary of the Department of State and the Defense Department have approved the accuracy of today's report, or yesterday's report, and also the National Security Agency. I don't know what was right, or what was wrong, or what was done. The only thing I believe is that whatever the knowledge was that Mr. Ford had should have been given to the American people 18 months ago, immediately after the Mayaguez incident occurred.

What the People Want

This is what the American people want. When something happens that endangers our security, or when something happens that threatens our stature in the world, or when the American people are endangered by the actions of a foreign country, just 40 sailors on the Mayaguez, we obviously have to move aggressively and quickly to rescue them. But then after the immediate action is taken, I believe the President has an obligation to tell the American people the truth and not wait 18 months later for the report to be issued.

MODERATOR: Gentlemen, at this time we have time for only two very short questions. Mr. Frankel, a question for Governor Carter.

Q: Governor Carter, if the price of gaining influence among the Arabs is closing our eyes a little bit to their boycott against Israel, how would you handle that?

CARTER: I believe that the boycott of American businesses by the Arab countries because those businesses' trade with Israel or because they have American Jews who are owners or directors in the company is an absolute disgrace. This is the first time that I remember in the history of our country when we've let a foreign country circumvent or change our Bill of Rights.

I'll do everything I can as President to stop the boycott of American businesses by the Arab countries. It's not a matter of diplomacy or trade with me. It's a matter of morality. And I don't believe that Arab countries will pursue it. When we have a strong President who will protect the integrity of our country, the commitment of our Constitution and Bill of Rights and protect people in this country who happen to be Jews—if may later be Catholics; it may later be Baptists who are threatened by some foreign country, but we ought to stand staunch.

I think it's a disgrace that so far Mr. Ford's Administration has blocked the passage of legislation that would have revealed by law every instance of the boycott and it would have prevented the boycott from continuing.

MODERATOR: President Ford. 23

FORD: Again Governor Carter is inaccurate. The Arab boycott action was first taken in 1952. And in November of 1975 I was the first President to order the executive branch to take action, affirmative action, through the Department of Commerce and other Cabinet departments, to make certain that no American businessman or business organization should discriminate against Jews because of an Arab boycott.

And I might add that my Administration—and I'm very proud of it—is the first Administration that has taken an antitrust action against companies in this country that have allegedly cooperated with the Arab boycott.

Just on Monday of this week I signed a tax bill that included an amendment that would prevent companies in the United States from taking a tax deduction if they have in any way whatsoever cooperated with the Arab boycott.

Arab Cooperators to be Named

And last week, when we were trying to get the Export Administration Act through the Congress—necessary legislation—my Administration went to Capitol Hill and tried to convince the House and the Senate that we should have an amendment on that legislation which would take strong and effective action against those who participate or cooperate with the Arab boycott.

One other point. Because the Congress failed to act, I am going to announce tomorrow that the Department of Commerce will disclose those companies that have participated in the Arab boycott. This is something that we can do; the Congress failed to do it, and we intend to do it.

MODERATOR: Mr. Trewhitt, a very brief question for President Ford.

Q: Mr. President, if you get the accounting of missing in action you want from North Vietnam—or from Vietnam, I'm sorry, now—would you then be prepared to reopen negotiations for restoration of relations with that country?

FORD: Let me restate our policy. As long as Vietnam, North Vietnam, does not give us a full and complete accounting of our missing in action, I will never go along with admission of Vietnam to the United Nations.

If they do give us a bona fide, complete accounting of the 800 M.I.A.'s, then I believe that the United States should begin negotiations for the admission of Vietnam to the United Nations. But not until they have given us the full accounting of our M.I.A.'s

MODERATOR: Governor Carter.

CARTER: One of the most embarrassing failures of the Ford Administration, and one that touches specifically on human rights, is his refusal to appoint a Presidential commission to go to Vietnam, to go to Laos, to go to Cambodia and try to trade for the release of information about those who are missing in action in those wars. This is what the families of M.I.A.'s want. So far, Mr. Ford has not done it.

Lack of Response Criticized

We've had several fragmentary efforts by members of the Congress and by private citizens. Several months ago the Vietnam Government said, "We are ready to sit down and negotiate for release of information on M.I.A.'s." So far, Mr. Ford has not responded.

I also would never formalize relationships with Vietnam, nor permit them to join the United Nations until they've taken this action. But that's not enough. We need to have an active and aggressive action on the part of the President, the leader of his country, to seek out every possible way to get that information which has kept the M.I.A. families in despair and doubt, and Mr. Ford has just not done it.

MODERATOR: Thank you Governor Carter. That completes the questioning for this evening. Each candidate now has up to three minutes for a closing statement. It was determined by the toss of a coin that Governor Carter would take the first question and he now goes first with his closing remarks. Governor Carter. 24

CARTER: The purpose of this debate and the outcome of the election will determine three basic things: Leadership, upholding the principles of our country, and proper priorities and commitments for the future.

This election will also determine what kind of world we leave our children. Will it be a nightmare world threatened with the proliferation of atomic bombs, not just in five major countries but dozens of smaller countries that have been permitted to develop atomic weapons because of a failure of our top leadership to stop proliferation?

Will we have a world of hunger and hatred and will we be living in an arms camp stripped of our friendship and allies, hiding behind a tight defense that's been drawn around us because we are fearful of the outside world?

Will we have a government of secrecy that excludes the American people from participation in making basic decisions and therefore covers up mistakes and makes it possible for our government—our government—to depart from the principles of our Constitution and Bill of Rights?

An Appeal for Unity

Or will we have a world of peace with the threat of atomic weapons eliminated, with full trade, with our people at work, inflation controlled, openness in government, our people proud once again, Congress, citizens, President, Secretary of State working in harmony and unity toward a common future? Or will our people have enough to eat and a world where we care about those who don't? Can we become breadbasket of the world in-

Continued on Following Page.

Summation of Candidates' Views on Foreign Affairs

Continued From Preceding Page.

stead of the arms merchant of the world?

I believe we can and we ought to. And we've been hurt in recent years in this country, in the aftermath of Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Pakistan, Angola, Watergate, C.I.A. We've been hurt. Our people feel that we've lost something precious. That's not necessary.

I want to see our nation return to a posture and an image and a standard to make us proud once again. I remember the world of NATO and the world of Point Four and the world of the Marshall Plan and the world of the Peace Corps. Why can't we have that once again? We ought to be a beacon for nations who search for peace and who search for freedom, who search for individual liberty, who search for basic human rights. We've haven't been lately. We can be once again.

We'll never have that world leadership until we are strong at home, and

we can have that strength if we return to the basic principles.

It ought not to be a strength of bombast and threats. It ought to be a quiet strength based on the integrity of our people, the vision of the Constitution and in a strong will and purpose that God's given us in the greatest nation on earth—the United States.

MODERATOR: President Ford.

FORD: As we have seen tonight, foreign policy and defense policy are difficult and complex issues. We can debate methods, we can debate one decision or another, but there are two things which cannot be debated—experience and results.

In the last two years, I have made policy decisions involving long-range difficulties and policy and made day-to-day judgments not only as President of the United States but as the leader of the free world.

What is the result of that leadership?

America is strong; America is free; America is respected. Not a single young American today is fighting or dying on any foreign battlefield. America is at peace with freedom.

Thank you, and good night.

MODERATOR: Thank you, President Ford. Thank you, Governor Carter.

I also want to thank our questioners and the audience here this evening.

The third and final debate between President Ford and Governor Carter will take place on Oct. 22 at 9:30 P.M. Eastern daylight time on the campus of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va.

The subject matter will cover all issues. These debates are sponsored by the League of Women Voters Education Fund to help voters become better informed on the issues and to generate greater voter turnout in the November election. Now, from the Palace of Fine Arts Theater in San Francisco, good night.

ELECTION REFORM

Questions

1. All the new election reforms--campaign finance disclosure, limits, and subsidies--new primaries--party reforms--have they really produced any meaningful improvements in the way we select a President?
2. Have the new reforms endangered the nation by leaving the Presidency more open to capture by unknown, inexperienced, and demagogic candidates?
3. Would you make any significant additions to, or subtractions from, the new reformed structure of our national election system?
4. The reforms have produced a petty, unenlightening campaign, and an electorate repelled by the candidates. Is that the fault of the system or the candidates?

Attack Points

1. Silver lining in the cloud created by Watergate--popular awareness of capture of government by special interests and political elite, and need for reform. Republican administration resisted as long and hard as possible, never offered leadership and has continued to let the people into the process of election and government only to the extent required by public pressure--

--Ford vetoed 1974 Freedom of Information Act (after pledge of openness when he took office)--gave no support for Watergate Reform bill which died in House because of lack of support from White House--gave no support to sunshine bill and permitted administrative leaders to lobby against it.

--Ford and his administration have neglected and actively fought effective enforcement of conflict of interest statutes and executive order, FOIA, Privacy Act. His attorney general failed to support constitutionality of campaign finance reforms in the Supreme Court--He has already stated his intent to control disposition of the records of his administration and not leave them intact with the government, as I did in Georgia.

3. Ford's political managers have violated at least the spirit of new laws--and old--by permitting misuse of White House and other Executive Branch personnel, paid by taxpayer funds, for campaign.

Positive Points:

1. It may be that these new election reforms prove the most important changes of our time--the aim was to put the people all across America--not just the special interests and the political elite in Washington--in control of our government.

2. I think these reforms have worked amazingly well--they have made it possible for a President to enter the White House owing nothing to any special interests or wealthy pressure groups, and everything to the voters.

3. Because that is true, it is now possible to think realistically about achieving things we have never been able to deliver--tax reform, government reorganization--and to restore things we knew in the past but have lost--integrity and respect for justice throughout the government.

4. By taking big money out of the general election campaign, reforms have had a beneficial impact on policy--Republicans cannot accept big business contributions like in 1972 and previously and during primaries--desire of the public for legislative reforms like sunshine legislation, antitrust improvements, toxic substances control, the tax reform act has had more sway and President Ford has signed these bills though he did not support them when they were pending in Congress (whether he will enforce them adequately is another question, but at least they have been allowed to become law).

5. We need certain additional new laws, and above all, dedicated, all-out enforcement, to make government as truly open and honest and responsive as it can and should be--

--public financing of congressional campaigns

--full financial disclosure for congress and executive
(would have been provided by Watergate reform bill)

--provision for a truly independent special prosecutor--

--new executive orders to strengthen requirements for financial disclosure and prevention of conflicts of interests, which I will issue immediately upon assuming office.

--strong enforcement throughout government--which we have had not had at all up till now.

--regional primaries (perhaps) to cut down time and expense of primary campaigning

5. Electoral College abolition (direct popular vote) (7)

--advantage--assure rule of one-man, one-vote--remove possibility of popular vote loser becoming electoral vote winner (has not happened since 1888)

--disadvantages--lose fact that candidates are obliged to seek the votes of individual states--travel there--get to know the people and needs of all parts of the country--with direct popular election would be easier to sit back in Washington or anywhere and campaign on national television.

NOTE:

Standing by themselves, attack points on these issues are weak. We suggest that positive points be emphasized, with attack points interwoven and given secondary emphasis.

MEMORANDUM TO: Stu Eizenstat, Dick Holbrooke, Jack Watson

FROM: Ted Sorensen

October 14, 1976

I - SUGGESTED DEBATE TACTICS

1) To be aggressive, you need not be strident or sarcastic or engage in personal criticism.

2) To use questions on a limited topic as a vehicle for declaring broader positions, first answer the question briefly, then with a transition sentence go to the broader statement.

3) Some long-range proposals and visions, some inspiring eloquence not already familiar to the audience, some expression of human concerns in human terms instead of statistics and Washingtonese -- in the Q & A as well as the Closing Statement -- are needed to rise above the petty partisan level of the debate.

4) Select a specific question, not rhetorical or obviously loaded but to which there is only one truthful answer -- and politely ask that question of Ford at the close of your answer to a question on that topic, just before his time to comment begins.

II - SUGGESTED REVISED DEBATE THEMES (With an eye on key swing states)

1) The need to restore confidence in the competence and strength of our national leadership.

2) The need to get our national economy back on the solid growth track of curtailing unemployment without runaway inflation.

3) The need to remake our older cities into safe, clean centers of commerce and culture with safe, clean neighborhoods for all their residents.

... End P. 1 of 4

Rebuttal to Ford Charges of Misstatements in Second Debate

1. Charge: Carter lied in saying he had never advocated \$15 billion defense cut.

Rebuttal: 1) Did not recall saying it; said once/twice two years ago.

2) For two years been saying \$5-\$7 billion cut is possible; well-known as my position; Ford trying to cloud issue of Defense waste.

2. Charge: Carter wrong about Ford Administration's overthrow of Chile government.

Rebuttal: 1) Did not say "Ford Administration" but "this Administration", meaning Nixon-Ford.

2) Under Nixon-Ford, CIA covert operations to destabilize Allende government led directly to the military coup; confirmed by Church Committee.

3. Charge: Carter wrong about Ford's permitting Arab boycott; began in 1952; Ford first President to take anti-boycott actions.

Rebuttal: 1) Said in debate that Ford permitted boycott to operate effectively; from 1952 until Ford, wasn't enforced.

2) Now 94% compliance rate; and Ford opposed anti-boycott legislation (despite his claim in last debate).

3) Ford also failed to disclose names of participating companies, despite pledge in last debate.

4. Charge: Carter wrong about State and Defense having approved GAO Mayaguez Report.

Rebuttal: 1) Said understood that they had approved, but did not know.

2) But also said important to have facts out; unfortunate that White House -- unlike State and Defense -- blocked release of report for five months; all material should have been made public immediately after Mayaguez.

5. Charge: Carter did advocate a Communist government for Italy.

Rebuttal: 1) As said in debate, ridiculous to say a Presidential candidate would advocate such a thing.

2) My quote now cited by Ford -- to effect that if Italian government had some Communists in it, U.S. should not close doors to friendship thereby forcing government to turn to Soviets -- in no way is advocacy of Communist government.

3) If Ford thinks friendship with government having Communists in it is unthinkable, what about detente?

6. Charge: Carter was inconsistent; said U.S. not strong anymore; later said U.S. as militarily strong as any nation.

Rebuttal: 1) No inconsistency; U.S. is not strong in terms of leadership, underutilized economy, vision of future.

2) U.S. is strong in strictly military terms; will ensure it stays that way.

7. Charge: Carter wrong that U.S. not respected anymore by foreign countries.

Rebuttal: 1) Ford's evidence is a few quotes from foreign leaders (France, Germany, Ireland) saying U.S. ties are closer than recent past; closer ties is not the same as respect.

2) Ford can supply no quotes in which respect is favorably discussed; truth is that Republicans have lost respect of Truman and Kennedy years; does remark about Eastern Europe bring respect for our leader's abilities?

3) To say respect is down is not to criticize American citizens -- it is only to criticize those who run the country so poorly.

8. Charge: Carter wrong that 80 F-14's went to Iran before our own forces' needs were met.

Rebuttal: 1) While our Navy did receive some F-14's before Iran, our own delivery schedule was stretched out so Navy will be getting many F-14's only after deliveries to Iran.

2) Delay in our own deliveries is proof of preference to Iran (with which Nixon signed unlimited arms sale agreement).

9. Charge: Carter wrong that Helsinki Agreement not enforced and that progress not made.

Rebuttal: 1) Rate of Jewish emigration lower than pre-Helsinki.

2) Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty jammed.

3) Soviet Nobel Peace Prize winner (Sakharov) not allowed to accept in Oslo.

4) No evidence of diminished oppression of human rights.

10. Charge: Carter wrong that Angola would turn into another Vietnam; American troops never intended to go there.

Rebuttal: 1) American people not told of \$60 million spent or planned for covert CIA operations in Angola.

2) No way of telling how this similarly open-ended commitment to Angola would have resulted; forces may have been sent.

3) Secrecy in Angola war policy is enough of an analogy to Vietnam.