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THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1976

MR. PRESIDENT:

Re: Second Debate

Attached is a briefing book prepared by Brent Scowcroft and Bill Hyland. It provides a general overview of your policies.

We are preparing cards with suggested language for use during the debate.


Mike Duval



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN . . .

GENERAL

THE FORD RECORD IN FOREIGN POLICY

FORD POSITION

In the past two years, we have accomplished a great deal through dynamic diplomacy and firm leadership in seeking solutions to many complex international political and economic issues. Let's review the record. First:

- We are at peace; no Americans are fighting on any battlefield.
- Our relations with allies in Europe and Asia have never been stronger.
- We are the acknowledged leader of the free world.
 - We are unsurpassed in our military strength
 - We have led the world out of economic recession
 - We have set the course for achieving solutions to the most pressing problems before us: energy, food, population, and trade and monetary matters.
- We have succeeded as peacemakers as represented most notably by our efforts in the Middle East (Sinai II) and in Africa.
- We have shown strength and the determination to use force where necessary (Mayaguez and Korea).
- We have reaffirmed our commitment to the security and survival of Israel with more than \$4.2 billion in assistance.
- We have maintained a sound relationship with the Soviet Union.
- I have established relationships of trust with leaders throughout the world in more personal meetings with Heads of State and Governments than any other President in a corresponding period of time.

-- In short, we have restored the United States to a position of respect and trust in the eyes of our friends and allies and our enemies.

We are on the move again internationally and leading the world to solutions in each of its major problem areas:

- Arms control
- Economic stability and growth (trade, commodities)
- Peaceful settlement of disputes
- Protection of the environment and other resources (Law of the Sea)



FORD GOALS



Our foreign policy has been very successful.

We are at peace. We are firmly allied with the great democracies. We are reducing tensions with our opponents. We are using our position of world leadership to resolve bitter conflicts. We have taken the lead in directing world attention and action toward the new international issues -- food, environment, energy, economic growth.

My overriding duty as President is to preserve the security and well being of the United States, to ensure that peace is preserved, and that we pass on to our children a safer, better world. We cannot afford to retreat and withdraw from our responsibilities. I will do not what is popular, but what is right.

And what is right? I have five major goals:

1. First, we must remain strong; our national defense cannot be weakened by mindless cutting of vital weapons programs and resources; a weak America is a recipe for international disaster. We will lose the respect of our adversaries and the confidence of our allies. This guarantees chaos or worse.

2. Our strength is essential, but it is not enough. We must remain closely linked to the great democratic countries that are our allies.

3. We must use our strength and our leadership to find ways to reduce the danger of confrontation and conflict with our opponents -- we

have a duty to bring the dangerous competition in strategic nuclear weapons under control and to reduce these weapons. I intend to complete the agreement I worked out with General Secretary Brezhnev to accomplish this goal.

4. We must continue to use our influence to resolve the tensions that can erupt into dangerous conflicts, such as in the Middle East and in Africa.

-- 1977 can be a year for major progress for peace in the Middle East and Africa.

-- We have made a major breakthrough to southern Africa, because the US took the initiative.

5. Finally, we have to face the new challenges that will be with us for the remainder of the century:

-- to provide the leadership essential to achieving sustained growth in the international economy and stability in the international monetary system.

-- to ensure adequate energy and the steady expansion of the world economy without inflation.

We are the world's leading country. We must continue to exercise world leadership -- for the security and well being of our own people and for all mankind.

It is our duty to bear the burden of leadership, to help build a world that is safer, more prosperous, and more just. That is what our foreign policy is all about.



These are the objectives of our policy. Every American can be proud of what this country has done, and is doing. I am tired of hearing our country denounced as immoral by people who clearly don't know what they're talking about.



MORALITY IN FOREIGN POLICY

We stand on moral principles

FORD POSITION

We hear a lot of talk about morality in foreign policy.

I agree -- American foreign policy, if it is to have public support, must represent the ideals of the American people. Our policy does.

-- I believe that seeking agreements that push back the specter of nuclear war is a moral policy.

-- I believe that mediating conflicts, as in the Middle East, is a moral policy.

-- I believe that organizing world cooperation to boost food production, or to promote economic advancement in the poorer countries, is a moral policy.

-- I believe that improving the solidarity and promoting the survival of the democratic nations, as we did at the two Economic Summit meetings I attended, is a moral policy.

-- I believe that standing loyally by our allies when they seek to defend themselves against aggression is a moral policy.

And we have seen, just in the last couple of weeks, in Africa, the United States engaged in helping achieve solutions that avert bloodshed and widening war. We are seeking racial justice -- majority rule and minority rights. We are seeking an end to killing and a cooperative effort of progress.

HUMAN RIGHTS



FORD POSITION

The objectives of freedom for all men and women, the dignity and security of the individual, and the sanctity of law must always be a fundamental element in our foreign policy.

My Administration has spoken out forcefully for human rights and supports strengthening the international protection of human rights, including the right to emigrate.

As we pursue these goals, if we really care about results, we must avoid moral arrogance and self-righteousness. We must recognize the great differences between our own history and our culture and those of other nations. And we must take into account the external and internal threats other governments must deal with.

Let's take an example. Korea is often cited as a repressive country where we supply assistance to a dictatorship. But let's look for a moment at Korea's circumstances. It faces more than 400,000 hostile, modern, well-trained North Korean troops across the DMZ. In fact, it is virtually surrounded by the Soviet Union, the PRC and North Korea and is subject to severe externally-supported subversion and frequent aggressive acts by North Korea. We can and have made known our views on human rights to Korean leaders but it would be capricious and irresponsible to threaten/withdrawal of our support until they measure up to our standards --

particularly in view of the threats they face. Experience has proven that results in this area are best achieved by quiet diplomacy, not extortion or threats.



KISSINGER

QUESTION: The Republican National Convention adopted a plank called morality in foreign policy, that has been widely interpreted as a repudiation of Henry Kissinger. And in the primary campaign, the Secretary was attacked for his handling of policy, mainly on the grounds that he was too soft on the Soviets, that he conducted secret policies, without any moral principle for a foundation. How do you explain the growing controversy about Kissinger and what changes in policy would you make if Kissinger leaves in your next term?

FORD POSITION:

Every President ought to want the strongest advisers he can have. This is especially true in foreign policy, where the United States has an enormous responsibility as the keystone of western security and the bulwark of the international economy. He needs a Secretary of the highest caliber, strong, intelligent, articulate, to advise him and to implement his policies. Washington chose Jefferson. Harry Truman chose Dean Acheson, who you remember was not exactly popular at the time. Now I want a strong Secretary of State and Henry Kissinger is just that.

Your judgment and mine on the performance of the Secretary of State ought to be based upon results -- the extent to which United States interests abroad are secured and American ideals and values reflected in our relations with other countries. On both counts, Henry Kissinger has been enormously successful. Respect for the United States internationally has never been higher. We are the

acknowledged and respected political military and economic leader of the free world. Our strength is unsurpassed. On every major issue of our time, the world looks to the United States for solutions as the sure, steady, inspirational defender of principle and the bastion of hope for the preservation of self-government, individual freedom and human rights.

Secretary Kissinger's record speaks for itself. Let's remember the oil embargo: Kissinger went to the Middle East and not only got the embargo lifted, but promoted the first real steps toward peace in 20 years. And he negotiated another such step in the Middle East last year. He engineered the opening to China, which was a major breakthrough in American policy. Recently, he has been the prime mover in heading off a bloody conflict in Africa. In short, he has always worked brilliantly and tirelessly for peace. What is more moral and in tune with our fundamental principles than that?

Any strong active man will be criticized. That is not the issue. The important questions are, is he good, is he effective? On those central questions, Henry Kissinger is second to none.



SECRECY

FORD POSITION

My record in foreign policy is there for all to see. There are no secret deals. The agreements we have reached have been disclosed -- in keeping with all the new requirements.

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

Diplomacy can't be conducted without confidentiality during negotiations, and Governor Carter knows it. An Administration can't be run without enabling people to state their views candidly and freely. The Supreme Court has recognized this.

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

for example,
After the Sinai Agreement, every single document connected with that was turned over to the foreign affairs committees of the Congress -- even documents that were not relevant to the American commitment that was being made. Some said there was fuller disclosure of that negotiation to the Congress than they had ever seen before.



TERRORISM

FORD POSITION

Based on our belief that the United Nations is the best forum to achieve the solution to what is truly an international problem, the US introduced a draft convention to the United Nations General Assembly in 1972, designed to prevent the spread of terrorist violence; few nations supported us then. But we have persisted. Last summer the US along with the UK, introduced a resolution in the Security Council after the Entebbe incident calling for the condemnation of hijacking and all other terrorist acts and calling upon all countries to take every necessary measure to prevent and punish terrorist acts. The most pressing need is to deny sanctuary to hijackers and other terrorists. We will pursue our efforts toward this end with our Allies and friends, and with any nation that is willing to cooperate to end terrorism.



TERRORISM

Q: What steps has the Administration taken to combat international terrorism?

A: Based on our belief that the United Nations is the best forum to achieve the solution to what is truly an international problem, the US introduced a draft convention to the United Nations General Assembly in 1972 designed to prevent the spread of terrorist violence; few nations supported us then. But we have persisted. Last summer US along with the UK introduced a resolution in the Security Council after the Entebbe incident calling for the condemnation of hijacking and all other terrorist acts and calling upon all countries to take every necessary measure to prevent and punish terrorist acts. We believe that world-wide cooperation is needed to deny sanctuary to hijackers and other terrorists and thus help eliminate this problem. We will pursue our efforts with our Allies and friends, and with any nation that is willing to cooperate to end terrorism. We will also do whatever we can using our own resources to insure that these international criminals no longer threaten innocent lives.

TERRORISM

Q. Can the U.S. rely solely on the U.N. to solve the problem of terrorism?

A. No. We are working closely with many other nations on a bilateral basis as well as taking steps on our own.

Our bilateral approach has been met with an excellent response from our Allies and friends, especially in the important area of intelligence exchanges. We have also learned from the unfortunate experiences of some countries and have been able to help them on some of the technical aspects of preventing terrorism. Exchange visits by U.S. and foreign experts and government officials charged with combatting terrorism have also proved mutually beneficial.

In addition to these bilateral actions, we are taking steps on our own. The Departments of State and Justice have established special units to seek solutions to the problem of terrorism. State has also taken steps to enhance the security of our missions overseas. In cooperation with local political officials, the FBI, Customs, and other Federal law enforcement agencies have focused on the practical problems of preventing and reacting to terrorist incidents. For example, the security measures implemented at U.S. airports over

the last few years, though causing some inconvenience, have resulted in a marked reduction in hijacking attempts in this country.

The recent hijacking of the TWA plane was the first in some four years, but it shows that we need to improve our security and redouble our efforts. I have asked the FAA to look into airport security again and report the findings to me. As you know, the hijackers of the TWA plane did not in fact carry weapons onto the aircraft and this certainly was a major factor in the successful conclusion of that hijacking.

We believe our bilateral and unilateral measures are effective means of deterring terrorism. We will continue, however, to institute new procedures and, in concert with other countries, strengthen our measures even further in the years ahead.

US-USSR



US/SOVIET RELATIONS

FORD POSITION

US and Soviet Union are the two strongest nuclear powers. We have an obligation to our people to reduce the danger of confrontation and nuclear war. It is my intention, while preventing Soviet expansionism, to move beyond constant confrontation and crisis and to develop a more stable relationship with them. That requires, before all else, unquestioned military strength. We have deep differences, we have fundamentally different systems, but from a position of strength, we can seek to reduce tensions, to resolve issues peacefully. We won't solve every problem; we will resist when challenged, but we will seek to resolve issues in a constructive and mutually beneficial way.

We will not go back to the cold war. Relations with the Soviets require hard bargaining. We will not be taken advantage of, but we will seek to reduce tensions so that every issue does not lead to dangerous confrontation. We have made real progress.

-- In November 1975, we reached at Vladivostok an agreement on limiting strategic nuclear weapons. We agreed to limit both sides to an equal number of missiles and bombers. This was a major breakthrough -- endorsed by the Senate in an overwhelming vote last May.

-- We have further limited nuclear testing, for the benefit of the entire world.

-- We have undertaken negotiations for mutual reduction of forces in Central Europe.

-- We also have achieved a good agreement on grain sales to Russia. They will buy at least six million tons a year for five years. This gives us a stable market for our farmers and avoids the drastic price fluctuations which have plagued us in recent years.

-- We have a number of joint projects, in areas such as medicine, housing, agriculture, the environment, science, in which we exchange experience for the benefit of both people.

Our relationship with the Soviet Union is complex. We have made progress and have had setbacks. The way is not easy but our obligation to mankind compels us to try to find some way to live together.



QUESTION: Haven't relations with Russia deteriorated badly under your Administration?

-- The Soviets haven't cooperated in the Middle East. They intervened in Angola. Now they are attacking Kissinger in Africa. SALT has not made any progress. You eliminated the word detente, and the Soviets failed to live up to the Helsinki Agreements. They have continued a major military effort.

FORD REBUTTAL

We have to see relations with the Soviet Union in historical perspective. For decades we were bitter enemies. Only recently has there been a relaxation of extreme tensions. So it is not surprising that the record is mixed. There are several aspects to our relations:

1. Strategic nuclear competition is the most dangerous aspect; we have to bring nuclear weapons under control. In this I have made substantial progress in negotiations for a new strategic arms agreement.
2. For the area of direct military confrontation -- NATO -- the situation is stable. We have undertaken negotiations for the mutual reduction of forces.
3. In other areas of the world, we expect Soviet restraint, not the provoking of tensions or promoting proxy wars. The record in third world areas is mixed, but we have no chance of succeeding if we do not stand firm when challenged. The Congress cannot back down, such as in Angola, and then blame the Soviets for continuing when they are unopposed -- or for taking risks in other areas.
4. Finally, in bilateral relations we have encouraged common interests in trade, in scientific cooperation. There has been progress. Trade is now almost \$2 billion, with more than \$1 billion in grain sales by American farmers.

So, overall, the record has been on the plus side during my term. I saw Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on Friday, and we agreed that there is still strong mutual interest in making more progress.

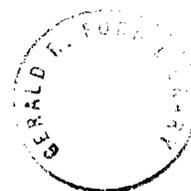
QUESTION: You are accused of slapping on too many grain embargoes. If the Soviets confront us on some issues, would you apply new embargoes?

FORD REBUTTAL

In 1975 we faced a situation where the Soviets had a poor harvest. They were going to be in the market for large purchases of grain. I wanted to avoid a situation where they bought millions and millions of tons in a very short period and drastically drove up prices in this country. This would have been unfair to our consumers and to the farmers who sold early when the market was low. So, I took action and halted sales temporarily until we could see what our own supply situation would be.

That situation will not arise again. I have negotiated a long term agreement which levels out the peaks and valleys of Soviet grain purchases.

We got a solid package. The Soviets will buy each year at least six million tons of grain, and eight million if they want. Now we can plan on that. There will not be any inflationary effect on prices. If the Soviets want more grain, they can negotiate to buy it. So we have protected our markets, but also guaranteed sales of \$4-5 billion, rather than storing grain at subsidized prices to rot.



THE US-SOVIET NAVAL BALANCE

FORD POSITION

-- The United States Navy is unsurpassed today as it has been since World War II.

-- However, in the past decade, the Soviet Navy has developed from a force principally dedicated and structured for defense of the Soviet homeland to a force capable of challenging U.S. naval power worldwide.

-- The capabilities of this force are improving, although still primitive in important areas.

-- There are important geopolitical reasons why we must maintain maritime superiority over the Soviet Union. Hawaii, the commonwealths of Puerto Rico and Guam, several territories and 41 of our 43 allies lie overseas.

-- Our ability to reinforce U.S. and Allied forces in time of conflict is heavily dependent on sea power. Nearly all of our major allies are also dependent on the seas. The standard of living and well-being of our citizens are closely linked to world trade.

-- Thus, we must maintain the freedom of the seas and the ability to control vital sea lanes in both peace and war.

-- The Soviet maritime objective is simpler. It is to be able to disrupt our use of the seas, to expand their influence through naval visits around the world and homeland coastal defense.

-- These differing maritime objectives lead to forces which differ in composition and size. Much of the debate over the past two years has focused on various numbers games which overlook this fact. What is important is to determine whether our Navy can continue to carry out its objective of keeping the sea lanes open.

-- We can do so today. I have been concerned, however, about the trends in the U.S. -Soviet naval balance.

-- Throughout my 27 years of public service in the Congress and in the White House, my record is one of total commitment to a strong national defense. The two defense budgets I have submitted to Congress have reflected that commitment.

-- Over the past decade the Congress has hacked away at the defense budget, cutting a total of \$50 billion. Last year, this Congress cut almost \$7 billion from the first budget I submitted.

-- This year, I decided that we should meet the Congressional challenge head-on. I submitted a budget that would keep our forces strong and capable of carrying out any of the missions assigned to them. While cuts were again made, they were smaller than in previous years and resulted in the largest appropriation for defense in our Nation's history.

-- Included in my two budget submissions were significant increases in naval shipbuilding. In January, I also directed that the National Security Council initiate a review of our overall shipbuilding program. Based on

an interim report from the review group, in May I submitted a supplemental budget request for \$1.1 billion in additional shipbuilding. The Congress has failed to act on that request. Nevertheless, I remain convinced that we must build more, capable ships. I will continue to press for additional naval shipbuilding.

-- The program I have submitted over the past two years includes an additional nuclear-powered carrier, Trident submarines to maintain deterrence of nuclear war, and a mix of nuclear-powered strike cruisers and conventionally-powered guided missile destroyers. These ships will be equipped with anti-ship missiles to engage hostile surface combatants at long range. We are also counting on a new class of guided missile frigates for the sea control mission. To maintain the qualitative superiority of our attack submarine force, additional LOS ANGELES class submarines are included. Finally, in keeping with the concept of a balanced fleet, additional modern support ships are provided.

-- This shipbuilding program, when combined with existing units, will maintain our superiority at sea. Failure to fund this program adequately will severely degrade our national security. I do not intend to let that happen.

EUROPE/
NATO



ALLIANCES

FORD POSITION

Nothing is more fundamental to American foreign policy than our alliances with Europe and with Japan. This is the cornerstone of our policies, and has been since Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

One hour after I took office I met with Ambassadors from NATO countries to pledge my Administration to the Western Alliance. That Alliance is the essential deterrent against attack. US troops (200,000) play a crucial role and cannot be unilaterally reduced or withdrawn without devastating impact.

I have made it a priority task to strengthen that Alliance. We have increased combat troop strength and made good progress in standardization of equipment. We have increased the contribution of the member nations. The military strength and cohesion of our alliances maintain the global balance of power and enhance the security and freedom of all nations.

But alliances must mean more than military defense. We want to use Western unity for peace; we want to reduce military tensions and confrontation in Central Europe where almost two million men face each other. We want to promote cooperation between Western and Eastern Europe; by expanding trade, exchanges of people, and ideas we can create more peaceful relations. Finally, we work together with the

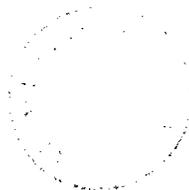


industrial democracies because we have major common interests in such global problems as energy, trade, commodities, and relations with less developed countries.

In the Far East, our security pact with Japan is indispensable to stability in Asia. It is with gratification I say that relationship has never been stronger.

I have met twice in summit conferences with leaders of Europe and Japan to work out solutions of world-wide inflations and recessions, and we have made solid progress.

In all areas -- military, political, and economic -- we must in our own self-interest cooperate with our Allies. We cannot lapse back into isolationism -- we know what that has cost in the past. We face new and unprecedented problems, particularly in global economics, so closer relations among the industrial democracies is indispensable.



CYPRUS - GREECE - TURKEY



FORD POSITION

The US has made a major effort to reconcile the conflict between Greece and Turkey and find a solution to the Cyprus crisis.

Unfortunately, the Turkish arms embargo passed by Congress in February 1975, severely disrupted and damaged our ability to remain even-handed. It blocked progress toward reconciliation. As a result, our early efforts at a diplomatic solution to the Cyprus problem met with little success and valuable time was lost.

Nevertheless, we have worked with all parties to find a fair solution. We believe:

-- A settlement must preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus;

-- Ensure that both communities on the island can live in freedom and have a large voice in their own affairs;

-- Any dividing lines must allow for the economic requirements of the Greek-Cypriot community and take account of its self-respect;

-- There must be provision for the withdrawal of foreign military forces.

We have pressed our views at the highest levels in Athens and Ankara and supported the efforts of United Nations Secretary General Waldheim to bring the sides together. The United States, through the UN

Refugees

High Commissioner for Refugees, has contributed some \$25 million
in each of the past two years to help to alleviate these problems.

In the Aegean, the US has been actively urging Greece and Turkey to agree upon some pacific procedure for the resolution of their differences over sovereignty in the Aegean Islands and surrounding waters.

On August 25, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution co-sponsored by the United States, which asked Greece and Turkey:

- to resume direct discussions toward resolving their differences;
- to consider all appropriate forums, including the International Court, in which elements of the Aegean dispute might be settled.

The Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers will be meeting in New York to continue discussions and we will remain active in urging both parties to settle the outstanding issues in the Aegean.



US-GREEK SECURITY AGREEMENT

FORD POSITION

On April 15, the United States and Greece initialed a "framework" security agreement, including approximately \$700 million in US assistance for Greece over the next four years. The negotiations on the details of the US-Greek Security Agreement are continuing. We are hopeful that the few remaining differences will soon be settled and that the agreement will soon be sent to the Congress for its approval.

We believe that vital US and NATO security interests are at stake in this agreement. Aid to Greece is not given as "rent" for our bases, as some would suggest, but rather as a contribution to our common security.

The agreement does not include any obligation to armed military intervention in regional disputes. The public exchange of letters between the Secretary of State and the Greek Foreign Minister on April 15 underscores the concern with which we would view a resort to force by any nation in resolving the problems of the area.



US-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

FORD POSITION

On June 16, I sent the new US-Turkish bilateral Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA) -- signed by Secretary of State Kissinger and Turkish Foreign Minister Caglayangil in Washington on March 26 -- to the Congress for approval.

The agreement with Turkey reflects the vital defense interests we share as NATO allies in the Eastern Mediterranean. The DCA makes an important contribution to the national security interests of the United States and for this reason is very much welcomed.

This administration has fully supported early and favorable consideration by both Houses of the Congress. On September 14, Administration witnesses testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in favor of early acceptance. The Turkish Foreign Minister reportedly has said that any amendment to the DCA by the Congress would amount to rejection of the accord and that US operations at the joint defense bases in Turkey would not be resumed. We will continue to urge the Congress to take favorable action.



EASTERN EUROPE



FORD POSITION

My policy toward Eastern Europe is quite clear. It is reflected in my visits to Poland and Yugoslavia and Romania.

We strongly support the national independence and autonomy of peoples everywhere, including the peoples of Eastern Europe. I am totally opposed to so-called spheres of influence -- or "dominion" of Eastern Europe -- by any power.

We have implemented this policy by practical actions: We have a new trade agreement with Romania. I met with Polish First Secretary Gierk in Washington in October 1974 and again in Warsaw in July 1975, and we agreed on the improvement of relations between our two countries. We have provided for the further development of commercial economic, cultural, scientific and technological cooperation. Trade between us has increased over the last two years by 27 percent to over \$800 million a year. I have also met in Belgrade with President Tito last summer.

In all these efforts, I have stressed my hope for closer cooperation between Eastern and Western Europe. That was one of the objectives of the Helsinki Summit of July 1975, which was supported by all Europeans and the Vatican.

I believe that this policy and the actions we have taken to implement it are creative and cooperative toward the nations of Eastern Europe. It is the policy that embraces our most important ideals as a nation and it is one I intend to continue.

ARMS SALES



FORD POSITION

Assisting friendly countries in strengthening their self-defense
does not threaten peace, it strengthens world stability. By the end of
the troubled 1960's it was obvious that the U.S. could not and should
not try to be the world's policemen. Instead, we must be able to
rely on our allies to assume greater regional security responsibilities.
Wherever countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia have assumed
the major responsibility for maintaining stability in their regions,
the United States has not had to do so. But we do have a clear interest
in helping such friends help themselves, as a means of reducing our
direct involvement.

Let's take Iran, which has been the subject of controversy.
That country has a common border with the Soviet Union on the north.
It borders Iraq on the west, which is heavily supplied by the Soviet
Union. It delivers oil through the narrow straits of the Persian Gulf.

So it is not surprising that Iran wants to be able to defend itself.
They have ordered fighters for air defense and destroyers and patrol
craft for naval defense. Naturally, they want the most modern
equipment for their money. And they could buy from other suppliers.

So I think it is clearly in the U.S. interest to be cooperative with
Iran. And we must remember that during the oil embargo Iran continued
delivering oil to the U.S.

ARMS
CONTROL

SALT



FORD POSITION

In the nuclear age, there is no higher duty of the President than to push back the danger of nuclear war that would kill hundreds of millions. A critical step is to bring nuclear weapons under control, and limit them. We did this in 1972 with two agreements:

5 #1 /
(1) A treaty to limit anti-ballistic missile defense to only two sites, and (2) A five-year agreement to freeze the number of ICBM's and submarine-launched missiles.

Shortly after I took office I agreed to meet with General Secretary Brezhnev to work out a long-term agreement. We agreed on a basic framework in November 1974 in Vladivostok. That agreement will run through 1985, and accomplishes three positive steps:

1. First, we agreed to equal limits on the total numbers of missiles and bombers at 2400 -- this is slightly more than we have, so we are building up to it -- but the Soviets will have to reduce to get to the ceiling.

2. Second, we agreed to an equal limit on missiles with multiple warheads (1320).

3. Finally, and most important, we agreed on the need to reduce the numbers of strategic weapons.

This is major progress. And recently (in May) the Senate endorsed completing this Agreement as soon as possible by a vote of

89 to 7. We are now close to a final treaty, which is being worked out in Geneva.

I spoke with Foreign Minister Gromyko on this last Friday, and I am optimistic about being able to complete the remaining work. The remaining issues are tough ones, but I think they can be solved.

Question: It has been almost two years since you agreed on SALT with Brezhnev in Vladivostok, but there is no agreement.

- Some say you are afraid to complete the agreement, because it will be opposed by conservatives such as Governor Reagan.
- Others say you cannot get agreement within your own Administration, that Kissinger wants an agreement but the Defense Department and Arms Control Agency are opposed.

FORD REBUTTAL

The Vladivostok Agreement was a basic framework. The main issue then was whether the ceilings would be equal, or whether the Soviets should get a bonus because we had bases overseas and the British and French have strategic nuclear weapons. We settled that overriding issue on favorable terms. The ceilings are equal. This could only be resolved at the Summit because it was a political decision. There has been major progress on a wide range of issues since then.

major

There are only two/iss'ues left. They are difficult for two reasons:

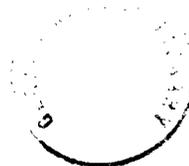


-- First, the Soviets have a bomber that is not truly a long-range bomber, but is better than a medium range one. So the question is how do you deal with a weapon which does not fall into a neat category? This is still being discussed, and we are seeking ways to resolve it in a way which meets the requirements of both sides.

-- Second, there are the cruise missiles -- a sort of winged missile -- that already exist for short ranges of about 150 miles but could be developed to go much further. We are debating how to limit

these kinds of weapons, which are quite new. Some are strategic weapons; others are purely tactical. They can be launched from airplanes, surface ships, submarines, and from land. We are seeking new formulations to cope with this new and unusual weapon.

Strategic arms limitation is too important an issue to use it for partisan politics. We will make an agreement as soon as we have terms which are in the national interest and both sides are in accord, but I will neither rush an agreement to make a headline nor delay for fear of criticism.



QUESTION: Many people say that the SALT Agreements were hastily negotiated by Kissinger so that Nixon could use them for the elections of 1972. They point out that the Soviets have taken advantage of loopholes and have even cheated. How can we have confidence in a new agreement?

FORD REBUTTAL

Both sides have lived up to the agreements. This is a new experience; these are the first such agreements in our history. It is not surprising that there have been some uncertainties and ambiguities. As a matter of fact, the 1972 agreement foresaw just such problems and established a joint commission to deal with them. It has worked well.

The National Security Council and the Intelligence Agencies have special groups to monitor these agreements very closely. They report to me regularly and in some cases we have taken action and raised with the Soviets actions that have worried us. In each case, we have settled the issues. In fact, in one case the Soviets volunteered to us that they had not met the agreed schedule on dismantling of older missiles. We already knew of this, and gave them conditions for settling the matter which they accepted. So, with good intelligence and careful monitoring we can see to it that agreements are kept.



NUCLEAR ENERGY AND NON-PROLIFERATION

FORD POSITION:

Nuclear energy offers great potential to substitute for our dwindling oil supply and to provide electric power with little environmental impact. Nuclear energy is one of the world's great alternative sources of power, and it is our obligation as the technologically most advanced country to exploit its potential for the benefit of the entire world.

However, in addition to its tremendous benefits, nuclear energy also has unparalleled potential for evil. It not only can be transformed into explosives of unimaginable destructiveness, but some of its forms are highly toxic and highly indestructible, posing substantial problems of environmental contamination.

The U.S. has been the world's leader in devising protection dangers from the / of nuclear energy while developing its potential for good. As a result of our efforts:

- There are 100 countries belonging to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which precludes possession of nuclear weapons,
- The International Atomic Energy Agency has been established to provide international inspection and safeguards over the world's nuclear facilities..
- The export guidelines of the major nuclear supplier nations have been concerted in order that commercial competition

does not undercut non-proliferation objectives,

- We remain the most important international nuclear supplier -- and it is from this role and its relationships that we have influence and control over the nuclear policies of recipient countries,
- We have programs to dispose, permanently and safely, of the radioactive wastes produced by these plants,
- In order to assure that the construction and utilization of nuclear power plants is carried out under completely safe conditions, we established the federal Nuclear Regulatory Commission to oversee and regulate the siting, engineering, and operation of these plants.

I am satisfied that these actions have been very effective in preventing proliferation and improving safety. However, the problem is so crucial that I am not willing to rely on past policies. I have a complete review of non-proliferation under way at this time, and expect soon to announce further objectives and initiatives to put a cap on the possibility of the spread of nuclear weapons, while retaining the benefit represented by nuclear energy.

