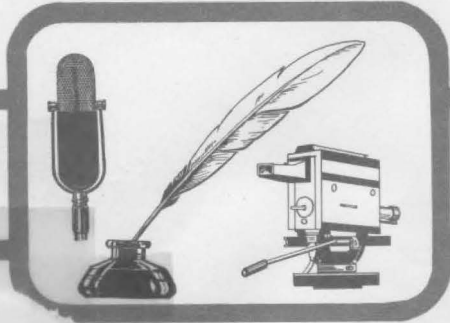


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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
February 5, 1968

The Johnson Administration apparently is getting ready to "confess" to North Korea that the Navy intelligence vessel, the Pueblo, intruded into North Korean territorial waters.

This comes as a shock to members of Congress who have relied upon earlier statements by the Administration and by our ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur J. Goldberg, flatly asserting that the Pueblo had not intruded upon the territorial waters of North Korea.

What is the truth? Members of Congress have called for a full congressional investigation of the Pueblo affair. A congressional investigation must include testimony by the skipper of the Pueblo and the members of the crew upon their release. This apparently is the only way the Congress can learn the truth about the course of the Pueblo.

The explanations given by Secretary of Defense McNamara for the lack of protection and lack of U.S. response to the North Korean seizure of the Pueblo indicates that capture of other U.S. intelligence ships by fifth-rate Communist powers could become almost an everyday occurrence.

Such an explanation for the lack of protection for the Pueblo and lack of resistance to capture demands a thoroughgoing review and overhaul of our policy regarding operation of U.S. spy ships.

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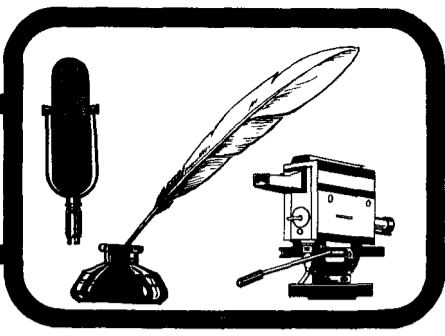
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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
April 3, 1968

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., re: Hanoi response

The public announcement by Hanoi Radio that North Vietnam is willing to "make contact with U.S. representatives" obviously is a response to the peace initiative launched by President Johnson last Sunday night.

I am hopeful that it is a step--however tiny--toward peace. It is, nevertheless, only a beginning--and a small beginning--in the long trek toward an honorable peace in Vietnam.

Certainly all Americans should unite behind President Johnson in his efforts to bring about an honorable settlement of the Vietnam conflict. I do not think it is helpful for any American to criticize the President for not having ordered a complete halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. He could not have done so without endangering the lives of U.S. fighting men in forward positions near the so-called Demilitarized Zone.

It is true, however, that the President's description of the bombing limitation was vague and led to some confusion. It now turns out that the 20th parallel is the bombing halt line. Had the President made this clear last Sunday night, it would also have become clear that he was proposing a carefully staged de-escalation of the Vietnam War as urged by Rep. F. Bradford Morse and a number of other House Republicans last July 10. In my view, the peace initiative currently underway is a bipartisan peace initiative based on a Republican peace plan which was suggested almost a year ago. I am pleased that we have had some response to it from Hanoi.

We must be ever mindful that in Korea the fighting continued for nearly two years while negotiations were being conducted at Panmunjom. More Americans were killed after the talks began than before. This should temper any optimism until we see more meaningful results--although all Americans hope this is the first step toward peace.

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10/1/68



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8 6800

NEWS

FOR RELEASE

FRIDAY AM's
April 5, 1968

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS FIVE-POINT PLAN
FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNIST EASTERN EUROPE

The Republican Coordinating Committee recommended today a five-point program to guide United States policy in dealing with the problem of Communist-dominated Eastern Europe, with the ultimate goal in view of self-determination for Eastern European peoples.

The proposals of the GOP policy group are embodied in a 12-page report, recently approved and released today by Republican National Chairman Ray C. Bliss.

The report criticizes the "inconsistency" of the present Democratic Administration's policy of trying to "build bridges" to European Communism over the heads of Western European allies, while fighting a war to prevent Communist expansion in Asia.

Pointing to the "current lack of cohesion" among allies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Coordinating Committee said:

"The Democratic Administration's proclivity for trying to 'build bridges' over the heads of our European allies has encouraged by example the other NATO nations to undertake their own bilateral negotiations with the East.

"This practice has undermined European confidence in U.S. sincerity and leadership, and unwittingly served the fundamental Communist goal of disrupting the North Atlantic partnership."

-MORE-

Recalling that all Communist governments in Eastern Europe came into power through the Russian military presence, and that "none has ever dared hold a free election," the Republican policy-makers recommended the following program to guide the United States in dealing with the present Eastern European problem:

1. "The United States should never abandon as its basic goal the right to self-determination for the peoples of Eastern Europe."
2. "The United States should seek to develop a coordinated Western policy toward Eastern Europe."
3. "The United States should not grant political concessions to the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe without a quid pro quo."
4. "The United States should make enlightened self-interest the foundation stone of its economic and trade policy toward Eastern Europe."
5. "Tourism and cultural exchanges between the people of the United States and the peoples of Eastern Europe should be expanded if possible."

The report adopted by the Coordinating Committee was prepared by its Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations, of which former Ambassador Robert C. Hill is Chairman. The basic work on the report was done by a Subcommittee of the Task Force headed by Nicholas Nyaradi, Director of the School of International Studies of Bradley University, who was Under Secretary of the Treasury in the Hungarian Government in 1946 and Minister of Finance in the Hungarian Cabinet in 1947 and 1948.

The Coordinating Committee pointed out that change in Eastern Europe "is characterized by advance and retrogression."

The Committee said:

"While favoring increased across-the-board communications, and while well aware of changes which have taken place, Republicans question whether these changes are profound and significant enough to justify the Democrats' current ardor for a detente with the Communists.

"To some extent, liberalization has become a means for altering the image Western peoples have of Communism, and thus for softening the Western alliance.

"This is not an argument against trying to exploit opportunities created by liberalization, but it is an argument for viewing liberalization with due detachment and for probing with maximum perception the realities of change."

The Coordinating Committee emphasized that the United States must continue to assure Eastern European peoples "who are now forced to live in the dark shadow of Russian tyranny that America remains true to her great traditions."

The GOP policy group added:

"We should reiterate to these people our great concern that free elections have not been held since the Communists seized power. We should also keep clearly in mind that our sole purpose in dealing with the current Communist regimes is to encourage and promote their evolution.

"Without dropping their military guard the Soviets are now opportunistic, where once doctrinaire, in their approach to Western Europe. The obvious intention is to exploit differences among the NATO allies. Our Government would do well to adopt a similar attitude toward restive Warsaw Pact members.

"We must be imaginative and selective in our approach, for diversities among Eastern European countries make clear that no single or simple policy will succeed."

On the subject of a coordinated Western policy toward Eastern Europe, the Coordinating Committee said the "current lack of cohesion among NATO allies and the low priority attached to Europe by Democratic Administrations" promote the destruction of the basic condition that induced Russia to adopt its present stance.

"Moreover," the Committee said, "the changes in Eastern Europe are, at least in part and perhaps principally, the result of Western containment. If NATO had not barred the way, the Soviets would have expanded westward, and victorious Communism need not have made any domestic concessions."

Recalling that an underlying principle of U.S. foreign policy since World War II has been to foster the development of a united Europe, the Coordinating Committee said:

"Eastern Europe should, if possible, be part of such a united Europe...

"Encouragement of all-European economic and political schemes would seem to provide the best, even though limited, chance for freeing Eastern Europe from economic serfdom and political fealty to the Soviet Union."

Pointing out that the United States is the first strong military power in modern history to abandon the old "divide and rule" tactic, and that it has attempted to build up Western Europe and emphasizing that this policy "is wise and must be continued," the Committee said:

"Thus, there is little rationale for the United States to become concerned if Western Europe takes the lead in developing relations with Eastern Europe. In fact, we might do better to coordinate our policies with those of Western Europe, rather than being so persistent about trying to be foremost in all things at all times."

In insisting on a quid pro quo for concessions to the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe, the Republican policy group said the United States has received nothing in return for concessions which the Democratic regime has granted to Hungary, such as acquiescence in shelving the United Nations resolution condemning Hungary for refusing to admit a U.N. investigating team after the Russian-suppressed revolution of 1956.

"It has become fashionable in the West," the Coordinating Committee said, "to talk about liberal reforms in Eastern Europe and even to speculate about 'the end of the cold war'. While no one would deny that changes have taken place, change is hardly sweeping through Communist capitals..."

"The U.S. Government should pursue and disseminate the truth about conditions in Eastern Europe. We should keep in mind that justified criticism, even ridicule

of police state methods, can be a stimulant for change in countries which are attempting reform and seeking acceptance in the world."

In contending that the U.S. should make enlightened self-interest the foundation of its economic policy toward Eastern Europe, the Committee said:

"The Johnson-Humphrey Administration's lack of clarity in explaining many of its policies has clouded the East-West trade issue as well."

Recalling that the State Department said as late as 1965 that economic contacts would not have great significance in changing political relations between East and West, and only nine months later was playing up the alleged political values of the Administration's East-West Trade Relations Act, the Coordinating Committee said:

"The Administration's credibility problem is further complicated by its tendency to talk of trade relations with the East in unrealistic terms. The 'bridge building' theme of the Administration ascribes inflated political values to a question which is more correctly viewed as economic by other nations of the world, particularly our NATO allies..."

"Republicans believe the Administration should clearly define the basic principles involved in East-West trade. At a minimum this would seem to require: a better definition of, and stricter controls over, the strategic goods list; credit limitations on trade in non-strategic goods so that trade does not in fact become 'aid'; and some firm distinctions about peace-time and war-time trade policies with Communist states, whether the wars are declared or undeclared."

The Committee said that, after trading strategy had been clearly established, the U.S. should seek a comprehensive agreement with big traders among its allies, such as NATO members and Japan, on trade terms to be offered the East.

"The United States should always be prepared," the Coordinating Committee said, "to exploit the fact that Communist nations have real need for expanded East-West trade. Eastern Europe, in particular, should feel great urgency to expand its trade

with the West, because most of its trade is currently conducted under most unfavorable terms with the Soviet Union."

The Coordinating Committee commented that the oppressive nature of Soviet trading policies was dramatically demonstrated in 1965 by the suicide of East German Planning Commission Chairman, Erich Apel, right after he was forced to sign a new five-year trade agreement with Russia.

In calling for an expansion, if possible, of tourism and cultural exchanges with Eastern Europe, the Committee again voiced the Republican belief that the cultural exchange program begun by President Eisenhower "plays a very beneficial role in increasing mutual understanding and respect between the people of Eastern Europe and the United States."

"While aware," the Coordinating Committee said, "that Eastern European governments still carefully screen those going abroad, with the result that all travelers are not necessarily bona fide visitors, we should nevertheless encourage people living under Communism to see what life is like in the West."

The Committee said that Communist regimes in Eastern Europe had failed to indoctrinate and motivate their young people ideologically, that these young people are "Communism's greatest weakness," and that "we must encourage the development of this intellectual 'fifth column'."

The Coordinating Committee said:

"With a growing number of Americans interested in visiting the Eastern European countries of their origin, the United States should seek to afford its citizens better protection against interference and possible harm by Communist officials.

"The abduction of Mr. Vladimir Kazan-Komarek from an international aircraft by Czech secret police and the mysterious death of Mr. Charles Jordan in Prague are recent examples which prove the Communists are not above intimidating and terrorizing our citizens.

"Now that the governments of Eastern Europe appear to be interested in improving relations with the United States, American officials should also pursue vigorously the outstanding financial and other legal claims which U.S. citizens have against the current Communist regimes."

Summing up its recommendations, the GOP policy group said:

"The recommendations presented above assume that the American Government and the American people will have the good sense and patience to support the people of Eastern Europe during an evolutionary process which will inevitably last a long time."

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Adopted by
The Republican Coordinating Committee

March 19, 1968

THE UNITED STATES AND EASTERN EUROPE

Prepared under the direction of:
Republican National Committee
Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Presiding Officer: Ray C. Bliss, Chairman, Republican National Committee

Former President

Dwight D. Eisenhower
300 Carlisle Street
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania

Former Presidential Nominees

Barry Goldwater (1964)
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Scottsdale, Arizona

Richard M. Nixon (1960)
Nixon, Mudge, Rose,
Guthrie, Alexander & Mitchell
20 Broad Street
New York, New York

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140 Broadway
New York, New York

Alf M. Landon (1936)
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1001 Fillmore Street
Topeka, Kansas

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South Dakota
Pierre, South Dakota

Daniel J. Evans
Governor of the State of Washington
Olympia, Washington

Republican National Committee

Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mrs. C. Wayland Brooks, Assistant Chrmn.
Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mrs. Collis P. Moore, Vice Chairman
Republican National Committee
Box 225
Moro, Oregon 97039

Donald R. Ross, Vice Chairman
Republican National Committee
1406 Kiewit Plaza, Farnam at 36th
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

Mrs. J. Willard Marriott, Vice Chrmn.
Republican National Committee
4500 Garfield Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20007

J. Drake Edens, Jr., Vice Chairman
Republican National Committee
Post Office Box 9385
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

President of the Republican State Legislators Association

F. F. (Monte) Montgomery
Speaker of the House of Representatives
State of Oregon
Salem, Oregon

Robert L. L. McCormick, Staff Coordinator

Members of the Republican Coordinating Committee's Task Force on
the Conduct of Foreign Relations

Robert C. Hill, Chairman
United States Ambassador to Mexico, 1957-1961

David N. Rowe, Vice Chairman
Professor of Political Science, Yale University

Gordon Allott
United States Senator from Colorado

Robert Amory, Jr.
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1952-1962

John B. Anderson
Member of Congress from Illinois

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Frances P. Bolton
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Lucius D. Clay
General of the United States Army, Retired

Philip K. Crowe
United States Ambassador to Union of South Africa, 1959-1961

Joseph S. Farland
United States Ambassador to the Republic of Panama, 1960-1963

Paul Findley
Member of Congress from Illinois

Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen
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Ernest S. Griffith
Dean, School of International Service, American University, 1958-1965

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Republican National Committeewoman for Indiana

Joe Holt
Member of Congress from California, 1953-1959

Walter A. Judd
Member of Congress from Minnesota, 1943-1963

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United States Ambassador to Spain, 1955-1961

Gerhart Niemeyer
Professor of Political Science, University of Notre Dame

Nicholas Nyaradi
Director of School of International Studies, Bradley University

Roderic L. O'Connor
Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs,
Department of State, 1957-1958

G. L. Ohrstrom, Jr.
Investment Banker

William W. Scranton
Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1963-1967

Richard B. Sellars
Republican National Committeeman for New Jersey

Robert Strausz-Hupe
Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania

John Hay Whitney
United States Ambassador to Great Britain, 1956-61

Kent B. Crane
Secretary to the Task Force

THE UNITED STATES AND EASTERN EUROPE

Introduction

Eastern Europe ^{1/} is one of the most complex areas in the world. Its half-million square miles of territory are inhabited by some 130 million people who speak a variety of tongues, and embrace different cultural traditions and religious faiths.

The region has a tragic history. For centuries it has been a thoroughfare of conquest and the object of partition and subjugation. World War II brutally affected the countenance of Eastern Europe. The land was laid waste, millions of people were slaughtered and the region fell prey, in turn, to the invading armies of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Finally in 1945, at Yalta, a Democratic President tacitly agreed to Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. ^{2/}

^{1/} For the purposes of this paper "Eastern Europe" includes parts of East Central Europe -- Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, and East Germany. The last two are special cases, and although it is obvious that a solution to the German question is a central issue in European policy considerations, the recommendations which follow are not intended to apply to Albania or the Soviet Zone of Germany.

^{2/} In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on January 30, 1967, the noted historian and diplomat, George Kennan, commented on Russian expansion into Eastern and Central Europe: "We were slow to realize the dangers of this development, but once it had occurred, and it had occurred partly with our blessing, we had, I think, little choice but to accept it. The alternative was to pile another great war onto the one we had just finished fighting. I do not think anyone in the world wanted to see that happen. I regarded the sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe as part of the price that we paid for the ability to defeat Hitler in this war."

The new Communist empire, however, soon showed signs of strain. Three years after the war, Yugoslavia defied Moscow's authority. The next year Mao's Communists triumphed in China, creating for the Soviets an ally in some respects but clearly a rival in others. After Stalin's death the situation underwent other alterations. Moscow's control and authority were shaken throughout the Communist movement by the disorders in Eastern Germany in 1953; by Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin; by the revolt in Poland and the armed rebellion in Hungary in 1956; by the Soviet attempt to patch up relations with Yugoslavia, which appeared to give Russian sanction to Tito's "independent" course; and finally by the developing Sino-Soviet conflict.

All of these events unfroze a static situation. An atmosphere in which change might take place was created, and change which altered the unity of the Communist Bloc did occur. Yet, change has not come quickly nor has it been all-embracing. Cautious experimentation by Eastern European governments has been conditioned by the dynamics of the Communist world and by the overpowering proximity of the Soviet Union.

All Communist governments in Eastern Europe came to power as a result of the Soviet military presence, and none has ever dared hold a free election. All Eastern European troops are fully integrated with and controlled by the Soviets under terms of the Warsaw Pact. Russian troop units are close at hand and the bitter lessons of Hungary are not lost on the population of Eastern Europe. Some countries have chafed against their appointed economic roles in COMECON (the Soviet response to the Western European Common Market which is used to perpetuate trading agreements favorable to the USSR), and have expressed interest in expanding trade with the West. Yet all Eastern European governments are increasing their total trade with the USSR, and after Soviet requirements

are satisfied, there is little left with which to finance trade with the West. Diplomatically some governments have taken individual initiatives abroad, but all still vote according to the Soviet party line in the United Nations. To date, on all major questions since becoming the first Communist President of the General Assembly, Rumania's Foreign Minister Manescu has supported Soviet positions.

Moreover, change in Eastern Europe is characterized by advance and retrogression. Innovations are never made across a broad front all at once. For example, most of the gains in personal liberties arising from the Polish revolt in 1956 have now been lost, and recent student protests have so far only increased the regime's oppression. Although Rumania has shown signs of national independence in its foreign economic and diplomatic policies, the harshness of its internal police restrictions exceed all other Eastern European countries with the possible exception of East Germany. Developments in Czechoslovakia bear close watching, but whatever gains are made should be judged against the exceedingly long tenure which hard-line Stalinist elements have so far enjoyed in that country.

While favoring increased across-the-board communications, and while well aware of changes which have taken place, Republicans question whether these changes are profound and significant enough to justify the Democrats' current ardor for a detente with the Communists. To some extent, liberalization has become a means for altering the image Western peoples have of Communism, and thus for softening the Western Alliance. This is not an argument against trying to exploit opportunities created by liberalization, but it is an argument for viewing liberalization with due detachment and for probing with maximum perception the realities of change.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration should realize that such opportunities as exist for the United States in Eastern Europe are not of a transient nature -- they need not be seized at once or be forever lost. A deft sense of timing is an indispensable element in the successful conduct of foreign affairs.

Recommendations

1. The United States should never abandon as its basic goal the right to self-determination for the peoples of Eastern Europe.

America's devotion to freedom and independence has been known to Eastern Europeans from the very beginning of our history as a nation when Polish patriots Kościuszko and Pulaski came here to fight in our War of Independence. Our country, in turn, became the focal point for the independence movements of Poland's Paderewski, Hungary's Kossuth and Czechoslovakia's Masaryk. It was the U. S. Government which insisted upon the restoration of Poland after World War I. The historic 1918 agreement that Czechs and Slovaks would unite to form a new nation was signed, not in Prague, but in Pittsburg. Moreover, the millions of American citizens of Eastern European descent, who have so enriched our culture and national life, are living proof of the fact that "The American Dream" was known, not only to the elite, but also to the people of Eastern Europe.

We must continue to assure those people who are now forced to live in the dark shadow of Russian tyranny that America remains true to her great traditions. We should reiterate to these people our great concern that free elections have not been held since the Communists seized power. We should also keep clearly in mind that our sole purpose in dealing with the current Communist regimes is to encourage and promote their evolution. Without dropping their military guard the Soviets are now opportunistic, where once doctrinaire, in their approach to Western Europe. The obvious intention is to exploit differences among the NATO Allies. Our Government would do well to adopt a similar attitude toward restive Warsaw Pact members.

We must be imaginative and selective in our approach, for diversities among Eastern European countries make clear that no single or simple policy will succeed.

2. The United States should seek to develop a coordinated Western policy toward Eastern Europe.

The extent to which Western policy in Europe has become the victim of its own success is tragic. The fact that Communist policy has evolved toward a more indirect, long-term style of advancing its interests is mainly due to the Western Alliance's strategic superiority, high rate of economic growth and firmness in resisting military pressures. The current lack of cohesion among NATO Allies and the low priority attached to Europe by Democratic Administrations paradoxically promote the destruction of the very instrument which forced the Communists to change their strategy.

Moreover, the changes in Eastern Europe are, at least in part and perhaps principally, the result of Western containment. If NATO had not barred the way, the Soviets would have expanded westward, and victorious Communism need not have made any domestic concessions. The controlled industry of Western Europe would have been available to supply consumer goods for Eastern European demand.

The Democratic Administration's proclivity for trying to "build bridges" over the heads of our European Allies has encouraged by example the other NATO nations to undertake their own bilateral negotiations with the East. This practice has undermined European confidence in U. S. sincerity and leadership, and unwittingly served the fundamental Communist goal of disrupting the North Atlantic partnership.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has failed to exploit for common good the obvious advantages of closer geographic, cultural and historic ties which Western Europe has in dealing with Eastern Europe. An underlying principle of our foreign policy since World War II has been to foster the development of a united Europe. Eastern Europe should, if possible, be part of such a united

Europe. Since the last invasion by Asian conquerors many centuries ago, the basic orientation of those European countries now under Communist domination has been toward the West, not toward the East. Encouragement of all-European economic and political schemes would seem to provide the best, even though limited, chance for freeing Eastern Europe from economic serfdom and political fealty to the Soviet Union.

The United States is the first strong military power in modern history which has abandoned the old political tactic of "divide and rule" and has consciously attempted to build up another major power (Western Europe). This policy is wise and must be continued. Thus, there is little rationale for the United States to become concerned if Western Europe takes the lead in developing relations with Eastern Europe. In fact, we might do much better to coordinate our policies with those of Western Europe, rather than being so persistent about trying to be foremost in all things at all times.

3. The United States should not grant political concessions to the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe without a quid pro quo.

During the Eisenhower Administration, the United States never conceded any advantage to the Communists. Initiatives taken by Democratic Administrations seem to indicate that this is no longer considered a worthy principle by which to guide our actions. A single example demonstrates the differences in approach. Following the Hungarian revolution, the Republican Administration expressed its indignation by maintaining only a charge d'affaires in Budapest and by supporting the United Nations' moral quarantine of the Soviet-imposed Hungarian regime. Now the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has decided to upgrade our mission in Budapest to Embassy level and has appointed the first American ambassador since the original Communist take-over after World War II. Moreover, the Democrats

have acquiesced to the shelving of the long-standing United Nation's resolution to condemn Hungary for refusing to admit a UN investigating team. It may be argued that those events in Hungary which so outraged the world took place a long time ago, but the man the Soviets placed in power after the 1956 revolution still leads the government, and the United States still finds it necessary to grant Cardinal Mindszenty asylum in Budapest. And what did the United States receive in return for the political concessions which the Democrats granted Hungary? Nothing.

It has become fashionable in the West to talk about the liberal reforms in Eastern Europe and even to speculate about "the end of the Cold War." While no one would deny that changes have taken place, change is hardly sweeping through Communist capitals. Accordingly, the U. S. Government should pursue and disseminate the truth about conditions in Eastern Europe. We should keep in mind that justified criticism, even ridicule of police state methods, can be a stimulant for change in countries which are attempting reform and seeking acceptance in the world.

4. The United States should make enlightened self-interest the foundation stone of its economic and trade policy toward Eastern Europe.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration's lack of clarity in explaining many of its policies has clouded the East-West trade issue as well. In July 1965, for example, the Department of State Bulletin quoted the Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs as follows:

...a rapid expansion of trade is not in the offing (because Eastern Europe lacks the means to pay for desired goods and has little to export of interest to Western buyers). Second, the expanding and mutually beneficial economic contacts will not be of over-riding significance in altering the basic political relationships between the East and the West or in inducing changes in the political structure of the Communist states themselves.

Nine months later the same publication carried the text of the Administration's East-West Trade Relations Act, and ever since it has been full of statements on how important and far-reaching the effects of the Act are likely to be.

The Administration's credibility problem is further complicated by its tendency to talk of trade relations with the East in unrealistic terms. The "bridge building" theme of the Administration ascribes inflated political values to a question which is more correctly viewed as economic by other nations of the world, particularly our NATO Allies. Former Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy has criticized the assumption that trade will promote or guarantee peace by pointing out that, "In no area were trading relations closer than in Europe, among Germany, the U.K. and France. Yet this did not prevent both world wars, nor did similar close trade relations between Japan and China keep the peace in Asia."

Republicans believe the Administration should clearly define the basic principles involved in East-West trade. At a minimum this would seem to require: a better definition of, and stricter controls over, the strategic goods list; credit limitations on trade in non-strategic goods so that trade does not in fact become "aid";^{3/} and some firm distinctions about peace-time and war-time trade policies with Communist states, whether the wars are declared or undeclared. Having clearly established our trading strategy, the United States should seek a comprehensive agreement with those of our Allies who are great traders (NATO members and Japan) on the terms of trade to be offered to the East.

^{3/} The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has also been fuzzy on deciding when trade actually amounts to aid. It has declared that trade with Rhodesia constitutes aid to an unrepresentative and authoritarian regime and so is to be prohibited. Yet no similar criteria about popular support for Communist regimes is applied when the Administration urges greater trade with Eastern Europe. Nor does the fact that Eastern European governments have little gold or hard currency and so must trade on credits from international institutions for which the United States provides most of the backing, seem to be taken into account by the Democratic Administration.

The United States should always be prepared to exploit the fact that Communist nations have real need for expanded East-West trade.^{4/} Eastern Europe, in particular, should feel great urgency to expand its trade with the West, because most of its trade is currently conducted under most unfavorable terms with the Soviet Union. The oppressive nature of Soviet trading policies was dramatically demonstrated in 1965 by the suicide of the East German Planning Commission Chairman, Erich Apel, right after he was forced to sign a new five-year trade accord with the USSR.

5. Tourism and cultural exchanges between the peoples of the United States and the peoples of Eastern Europe should be expanded if possible.

The Republican Party reconfirms its belief that the cultural exchange program begun by President Eisenhower plays a very beneficial role in increasing mutual understanding and respect between the people of Eastern Europe and the United States. While aware that Eastern European governments still carefully screen those going abroad, with the result that all travelers are not necessarily bona fide visitors, we should nevertheless encourage people living under Communism to see what life is like in the West.

We must also inspire those other than the kept Communist intellectuals to assert their creativeness, because such creativeness is bound to deviate from established totalitarian norms. Far from being successful in creating the "New Soviet Man," which was the ideal of Communism in the 1930's, the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe have failed even to indoctrinate and motivate their young people ideologically. Thus, they are Communism's greatest weakness, and

^{4/} For example, the Democrats might have attempted to extract some sort of concession from the USSR in 1963 when it badly needed wheat from the U. S., partly in order to fulfill Soviet wheat sale contracts abroad. Had we failed to obtain concessions, we might better have offered our wheat directly to Russia's foreign customers, thus exposing the weakness of Communist agricultural practices.

we must encourage the development of this intellectual "fifth column." On the other hand, although the culture and people of Eastern Europe have greatly enriched American life, our knowledge and understanding of Eastern Europe remain inadequate. We hope that universities and private groups or foundations will increase their research and publication in this field without official government inspiration.

With a growing number of Americans interested in visiting the Eastern European countries of their origin, the United States should seek to afford its citizens better protection against interference and possible harm by Communist officials. The abduction of Mr. Vladimir Kazan-Komarek from an international aircraft by Czech secret police and the mysterious death of Mr. Charles Jordan in Prague are recent examples which prove the Communists are not above intimidating and terrorizing our citizens. Now that the governments of Eastern Europe appear to be interested in improving relations with the United States, American officials should also pursue vigorously the outstanding financial and other legal claims which U. S. citizens have against the current Communist regimes. Moreover, the U. S. Government should officially deplore the growing anti-Semitism in Europe and throughout the Communist Bloc.

Conclusions

While we should encourage evolution of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, we must guard against becoming victims of our own wishful thinking on the opportunities this beneficial process creates. Changes which have so far taken place are primarily designed to achieve some degree of national independence from the domination of the Soviet Union. Personal freedom, which is quite different from national freedom, is still abridged by police controls internally, and we can still probably count on the Communists siding with each other if seriously challenged by the outside world.

The recommendations presented above assume that the American government and the American people will have the good sense and patience to support the people of Eastern Europe during an evolutionary process which will inevitably last a long time. Change in the Communist world is bound to proceed slowly for at least two reasons.

First, the repressive police state system inhibits innovators and sets strict limits on the growth of social and physical mobility. Both of these are critical factors in stimulating social change.

Second, there is a tendency in the West to consider the Communist states, particularly the USSR, "developed" countries because they have built up a strong, modern power base. The Communists try to foster this impression for propaganda purposes -- to intimidate their enemies and to impress the underdeveloped world. However, in fact, they are only "semi-developed," because the government has applied modern technology only to those sectors of society which will enhance its power and control. As a result, society as a whole has not experienced the full impact of modern technology. Hence, the prerequisites for total change are lacking and modifications in the power structure are bound to come slowly.

Therefore, given the long-range problem we face and the limited leverage we have to apply, the impatience demonstrated by the Democratic Administration in abruptly trying to modify our Eastern European policy is ill-advised at this time. There is a natural American tendency to want to accomplish things quickly -- to have a smash hit or a rags-to-riches success story. Republicans feel obliged, however, to be extremely critical of the inconsistency involved in forcibly trying to prevent the expansion of Communism in Asia, while urgently seeking to "build bridges" into the Communist camp in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.



REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8-6800

NEWS

FOR RELEASE

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS

The attached Republican Coordinating Committee paper, "United States Relations with the Soviet Union," is submitted to you for release Tuesday a.m., April 30, 1968.

The paper was drafted by the Coordinating Committee Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations, of which former Ambassador and former Assistant Secretary of State Robert C. Hill is Chairman. The basic work on the report was done by a subcommittee of the Task Force headed by Robert Amory, Jr., former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. The report was amended and approved by the Coordinating Committee subsequent to its meeting in Washington, D.C., March 19th.

Lists of the Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations and of the Republican Coordinating Committee membership are attached.

4/26/68

Adopted by
The Republican Coordinating Committee

March 19, 1968

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

Prepared under the direction of:
Republican National Committee
Ray C. Bliss, Chairman
1625 Eye Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C. 20006

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Robert C. Hill, Chairman
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David N. Rowe, Vice Chairman
Professor of Political Science, Yale University

Gordon Allott
United States Senator from Colorado

Robert Amory, Jr.
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Robert Strausz-Hupe
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Kent B. Crane
Secretary to the Task Force

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

No single aspect of American foreign policy is fraught with more importance to our people and the people of the whole world than our policy toward the Soviet Union. How the United States and the USSR, the world's only superpowers, act with relation to one another has and will continue to determine the course of history in this half century.

So serious is the matter that it would be irresponsible and inexcusable to approach it in a partisan spirit. For 20 years bipartisan efforts have checked Communist aggression. Today collaboration in major national security issues remains as essential as ever.

In that spirit, this paper attempts (1) to analyze the problem of dealing objectively with the Russians, taking into full account the lessons of the past two decades, and (2) to offer guidelines for future policy, with action recommendations to safeguard what we have to date assured, while offering a prospect for emergence from the dull and negative atmosphere of the Cold War.

I. Facts and Principles Underlying Soviet Policy

The Soviet Union is the direct inheritor of Imperial Russia, a state which only comparatively recently reached its present frontiers after centuries of defensive and offensive struggle.

The Soviet leaders, despite the schism with the Chinese Communists and disciplinary problems with other Communist leaders in Eastern Europe and the free world, still look on themselves as trustees of an historically ordained revolutionary movement destined ultimately to pervade the world. There is no evidence that they have abandoned this objective.

Soviet policy over the past half century, and for the foreseeable future, can be assessed only in the light of the tensions and ambivalence that arise out of the foregoing controlling factors -- both always in the picture, with one or the other dominant at different times or on particular issues.

Both as Russians and as Communists, the Soviets are obsessed with preserving the security of their state. From this stems the preoccupation of Soviet leaders with the security of border areas and air space and with assuring controlled or harmless states around Russia's periphery. The absorption of the Baltic States in 1940, the invasion of Finland in the same year, the 1946 occupation of Azerbaijan in Iran, and the establishment of the satellite regimes in Eastern Europe are examples of steps taken to secure this policy objective on the frontiers. The violent reaction to President Eisenhower's 1955 Open Skies proposal and the later "U-2" flights are similarly explainable.

For the past twenty years, the Soviet leaders have not been solely concerned with territorial expansion of their frontiers. Norway, Finland, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, two of which have no United States treaties to rely upon, seem relatively secure from Soviet aggression. This is not because the Soviets are eagle scouts but because they are realists. They apparently recognize that territorial aggrandisement does not of itself necessarily enhance their power.

As long as the United States maintains a decisive arms superiority, the post-Stalin Soviet leaders seem disposed to regard general or local war involving their own forces in the nuclear age inexpedient as an instrument of extending either Soviet control or Communist rule. So held at bay, they have relegated the active role of their own military establishment to the tasks of maintaining internal order and preparing for a possible ultimate nuclear confrontation. Russian expectations, in turn, have become identified with indigenous revolutionary wars of liberation or, when feasible, with the peaceful transition to Communist rule of peoples influenced by the example of the technologically powerful Soviet society.

In short, both as Russians and would-be world leaders, and as realists in the presence of American strength, they have inclined toward concentration on the physical, industrial, and military development of their already ample base. In this they have been notably successful. In 50 years, despite the Hitlerian ravages and many of their own inept economic policies, they have risen to a power position which, except for the United States, would be world-dominant. This achievement has given them internal strength also, for despite repeated failures in agriculture and a lack of emphasis on consumer production, the Russian people, still insulated from the full knowledge of Western progress, seem by and large content with their economic lot.

Even so, among intellectuals and youth there is clear evidence of revulsion at the drabness, the boredom and the repression of dissident or original ideas that characterize Soviet society. This alienation may well hold the seeds of a real crisis some time in the future. Yet, for now and probably the next decade, no realistic United States policy can be based on the expectation of either revolt or the replacement of the present by a more benign regime.

As a final general proposition, one must understand what the post-Stalin Soviet leaders mean by "co-existence." It is not a static concept of enduring stalemate. Rather, it is a dynamic concept envisaging a world in constant transition with two ever-contending forces which they call "Imperialistic-Capitalism" and "Revolutionary Communism," each striving to affect the direction of movement -- shouldering and shoving one another but never squaring off onto a collision course involving direct war between the superpowers. Yet, "co-existence" is deemed to afford ample room for opportunism -- seizing chances for disrupting free-world relationships, supporting national "wars of liberation," and promoting subversion and treason. This opportunism is bounded by a deeply held aversion to what the Soviets call "adventurism" -- getting involved in games they cannot win. Nevertheless, this does not always prevent them from overplaying their hand, as the introduction of offensive missiles into Cuba, the prolonged military support for Lumumba and Gizenga in the Congo, etc. will attest.

It must be reemphasized that only a firm attitude on our part can prevent this opportunism from going too far. If America is indecisive, we in effect entice these inveterate international gamblers to over-risk. The two superpowers are bound to spar with one another. It is for us to let the Soviets know clearly and in advance that we are not willing to stand for too much probing on our side of the containment line and that America's power is actually-- and comparatively -- undiminished.

II. Selected Specific Soviet Policies

(a) In Eastern Europe the Soviets desire above all the legitimization of the imposed status quo. Doubtless they would like the Allies out of West Berlin, but they have not used and present indications are that they will not use force to get us out as long as NATO remains firm. Increased satellite political and economic ties with the West are encouraged to the extent that they soften the NATO attitude, but are opposed and constricted once they threaten a disruption of inter-Communist collaboration and support of the East German government. Above all in this area the Kremlin professes to fear a reunified atomic-armed Germany. Under no presently foreseeable circumstances are the Communists likely to relinquish control over East Germany, and they might even risk war to prevent West Germany's development of an independent nuclear capability. While Russia cannot realistically fear conquest again by Germany alone, it professes to fear that a "revanchiste" Germany could precipitate a war which would pit the United States against it. Whether or not this is the actual estimate of the Soviets, they get a lot of propaganda value from it.

(b) Toward Western Europe and the Atlantic Alliance the Soviets maintain a pervasive and relentless effort to discourage and disrupt efforts at integration and miss no opportunity to sow discontent and suspicion among the NATO allies. The looser the ties that bind Europe economically and politically into a vital world force, the better the Soviets like it. Even more they seek to make capital of the latent antipathy of Europeans to economic, military or political dependence on the United States.

(c) The Soviets' hostility to the present Chinese Communist regime is deep: As Russians they have been historically concerned with geopolitical exposure of Eastern Siberia; as Communists they deplore the mess China has made of her

internal affairs and of the international Communist movement. The adventurism of Mao and his fanatic coterie causes the Soviets to worry that China might plunge into war with the United States and drag in the USSR. Yet, should Mao die or be deposed and his successors be more amenable to Soviet views, the current feud between Moscow and Peking could be largely composed in a relatively short time. No doubt such a renewed alliance would be plagued by mutual suspicions, but it could lead to the adoption of concerted policies that would present more difficulties for the United States than does the current split.

(d) The Vietnam conflict is looked upon by the Soviets as a classic example of a "war of liberation." They are no doubt content with a lengthy continuance of the present indecisive struggle designed to exhaust, isolate and divide the United States, with or without an overlay of protracted negotiations. In any event, the USSR's leverage on Hanoi is not unlimited because the Soviets cannot cut off material support for "fellow Socialist" Ho without unacceptable loss of face throughout the entire world and abdication of their leadership among Communist countries. While the Soviets would view an American pullout as a tremendous victory for world Communism, they almost certainly would have mixed feelings about exposing all Southeast Asia to dominance by the present Chinese Communist regime.

(e) The areas where the Soviets' self-interest has led them to act constructively with free world powers include Antarctica, outer space, and such problems as nuclear proliferation, though with respect to the latter their principal aim may well be to exacerbate United States' relations with West Germany. Moreover, in the 1965 Pakistan-Indian war they played an effective role as intermediary and pacifier, but this effort may have been primarily designed to thwart Chinese ambitions. In the Middle East the Soviets have gambled

heavily in military treasure, but not in direct military involvement, in order to poison the Arab world against the West. Though ostensibly a fiasco for their cause, the June 1967 Israeli-Arab war advanced this objective, and it is increasingly clear that the Soviet leaders cannot be expected to play a constructive or responsible role in easing the antagonisms of the area.

III. Characteristics of a Sound United States' Policy Toward the USSR

American policy must be two-pronged:

It must maintain the will and the power to deter and if necessary defeat direct and indirect aggression.

It must at the same time deal with the Soviet leaders on the postulate that they can be capable of constructive action and are presently unchallenged by any internal opposition.

Because Soviet restraint in recent years can largely be ascribed to the existence of the deterrent power of the United States and its NATO Allies, it would be extreme folly to allow this counterforce to decline, for even if the present rulers of the Kremlin are not likely to run amok there is always the chance of more extremist leaders some day ascending to power. Conversely there is nothing to be gained by challenging the legitimacy of the present government. We should have as a prime objective the encouragement of the more pragmatic, humane and friendly elements rather than the doctrinaire, hostile ones.

We must recognize the hard fact that we can have little direct leverage on the internal social-political structure of a power as large and strong and self-sufficient as Soviet Russia. We must concentrate on protecting in the broadest sense the rest of the world where we do have enormous leverage to the ends (1) that the Soviets will find a minimum of

troubled waters to fish in, and (2) that we gain the maximum support for collective actions to enhance the security and economic development of the free world. No United States policy toward the USSR is meaningful except in the context of our world-wide stance.

IV. Selected Policies Toward the USSR

(a) The militant nature of Communist doctrine makes it obvious that we must be able to deal with the USSR from a position of paramount military strength. Our nuclear deterrence must be unequalled and unassailable, as it was during the 1950's when Republicans were in office. Our Alliances, particularly NATO, must be reinvigorated for Western determination in resisting Soviet military pressures in the past has been at least partly responsible for the evolution of Communist policy.

(b) The announced Communist policy of promoting "wars of national liberation" makes it incumbent upon the United States also to maintain quick reaction forces, so that insurrection or local aggression in underdeveloped areas can be quickly checkmated with a minimum of force and of actual or threatened escalation. Wherever possible indigenous friendly forces should be employed so as to de-emphasize the impression that America is the world's sole policeman.

(c) We can see no respite from Communist front organizations seeking on a world-wide basis to discredit and disrupt free-world progress and development. We must therefore devise various ways and means to advance our cause by effective use of the special strengths and talents of private groups, supported as appropriate by publicly voted funds. The Democratic Administration's apparent abandonment of the struggle in this area because of recent embarrassments betrays our responsibilities as free-world leaders.

(d) Our position on negotiation should be that the United States desires a reduction of tension. Yet we must scrupulously avoid appearing to seek accommodation as a favor to us or at the expense of the fundamental interests of America or its free-world friends. We should be always willing to enter negotiations on outstanding issues which are susceptible of resolution by mutual give-and-take; nevertheless, we should be equally ready to terminate such negotiations when the Soviet's position turns out to be one of intransigence or pure propaganda. We should always bear in mind the lessons of history that the Soviets go to the bargaining table only to secure advantages for themselves, and we must be equally tough-minded.

(e) Tensions within the Communist camp should be exploited by the West in an effort to encourage modification of Communist society. Although our influence may be limited, we should deliberately try to encourage a multiplicity of interest groups in the Soviet Union, and wherever possible should attempt to favor those groups which are trying to achieve a degree of individuality and independence from the all-encompassing dictatorship of the Communist Party.

(f) Communication by political leaders at the highest level should be fostered both for long-range and potential crisis purposes. Summit meetings are on balance desirable from time to time, particularly after a change of leadership on either side. Such meetings should be meticulously prepared and carefully integrated in consultations with NATO and other principal Allies.

(g) Communications across the board are fundamentally desirable. Cultural, scientific and business groups should be encouraged to exchange visits on a reciprocal basis. Areas off limits to Communist visitors should be kept to the minimum, consistent with obtaining relatively comparable freedom of movement

for Americans in the Soviet Union. In order to demonstrate the faith we have in our free and open society, no restrictions should be placed on printed material coming to the United States, and constant efforts should be made to widen the distribution of American media in the Soviet Union.

(h) Outer space should be seen as the locus for ever increasing United States-Soviet collaboration rather than as the site of an endless series of increasingly expensive prestige races. Because our society is open, so much is known about our space program that inviting Soviet participation in the non-military projects would be unlikely to endanger national security. By insisting upon reciprocal privileges we would acquire much additional knowledge about their space efforts, thus achieving a net gain for United States security. At the same time, we must not intimate that the Soviets and ourselves have an exclusive role to play in this area. We must constantly reiterate our willingness to collaborate with NATO and other Allies in space technology.

(i) Oceanography and Arctic and Antarctic exploration and development, are other areas which should be characterized by collaboration rather than rivalry. For the long term we should propose a joint United States, Canadian, Norwegian, Danish and Russian Commission looking toward maritime and air development of the Arctic Ocean Basin.

Note: The Republican Coordinating Committee has issued policy statements on East-West Trade, Eastern Europe and the Middle East which should be considered in conjunction with this paper.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois
Thomas H. Kuchel
of California
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa
Margaret Chase Smith
of Maine
George Murphy
of California
Milton R. Young
of North Dakota
Hugh Scott
of Pennsylvania

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP
OF THE CONGRESS

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

May 3, 1968

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan
Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois
Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin
John J. Rhodes
of Arizona
H. Allen Smith
of California
Bob Wilson
of California
Charles E. Goodell
of New York
Richard H. Poff
of Virginia
William C. Cramer
of Florida

Office Copy

BY THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP:

Today marks the first day of the 21st year of independence of the State of Israel. We congratulate the men, women and children of Israel upon their extraordinary success to date.

* * * * *

Now the Middle East is becoming a tinder-box of fearful dimensions. And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

It is a cold, harsh fact that unless a firm, clear, credible policy for the Middle East is soon declared and implemented, the Eastern Mediterranean potential for World War III will take frightening root.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

Nearly a year ago -- and most recently this month -- the Republican Party, represented by the unanimous vote of its Republican Coordinating Committee, made the following specific recommendations:

1. The United States should assume active and imaginative leadership in the international community and in the United Nations to secure a political settlement in the Middle East based on the following principles:
 - a. An end to the state of belligerency between the Arabs and Israel and recognition by all states in the area of Israel's right to live and prosper as an independent nation.

(more)



b. As an essential part of a permanent settlement in the Middle East, the United States should insist on, and aid in, the rehabilitation and resettlement of the more than one million Palestine Arab refugees who have been displaced over the past 20 years.

c. The United States should join with other nations in pressing for international supervision of the holy places within the City of Jerusalem.

d. The United States should continue to strive for international guarantees of innocent passage through international waterways, including the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal.

2. The United States should propose a broad-scale development plan for all Middle Eastern States which agree to live peacefully with their neighbors. This should include the bold imaginative Eisenhower-Strass Plan to bring water, work and food to the Middle East by construction of nuclear desalinization plants.

3. The United States must fully recognize the implications of increasing Soviet activities in the Middle East and North Africa, and be alert, firm and resourceful in countering them.

4. The United States, in furtherance of peace in the Middle East, should strive with other nations for agreed limitations on international arms shipments to the area; but failing such an agreement the United States should be prepared to supply arms to friendly nations sufficient to maintain the balance of power and to serve as a deterrent to renewed open warfare.

5. Finally, the United States should make a determined effort to expose and isolate the militant troublemakers in the Middle East. We should support and encourage only non-aggressive non-Communist leaders.

(more)

The Republican Leadership of the Congress now reaffirms and again endorses each of these recommendations in its entirety.

Let no American be unaware of the fact that Russia has moved into the Middle East and the Mediterranean with tremendous and increasing naval and diplomatic strength in the biggest Soviet power-grab since the end of World War II.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

Spearhead of the Russian Middle East policy is the modern and constantly growing Russian navy. Today, for the first time, the Kremlin has a fleet on permanent duty in the Mediterranean. It has missile cruisers, missile submarines, a helicopter carrier and amphibious landing forces with the most modern of equipment. These give the Kremlin the means of intervening in troubled countries entirely around the Mediterranean rim.

It is an ominous fact that Russia is dramatically gaining in strength at sea in the strategic, vital Mediterranean area.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

The American people, so sorely troubled here at home, can no longer tolerate such blindness to the danger of World War III present today in the Middle East. We urge -- no, we demand -- of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration that it move now -- with courage, clarity and firmness -- to assure the State of Israel and the American people that peace and progress in the Middle East can and will be won.

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d. The United States should continue to strive for international guarantees of innocent passage through international waterways, including the Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal.

2. The United States should propose a broad-scale development plan for all Middle Eastern States which agree to live peacefully with their neighbors. This should include the bold imaginative Eisenhower-Strass Plan to bring water, work and food to the Middle East by construction of nuclear desalinization plants.

3. The United States must fully recognize the implications of increasing Soviet activities in the Middle East and North Africa, and be alert, firm and resourceful in countering them.

4. The United States, in furtherance of peace in the Middle East, should strive with other nations for agreed limitations on international arms shipments to the area; but failing such an agreement the United States should be prepared to supply arms to friendly nations sufficient to maintain the balance of power and to serve as a deterrent to renewed open warfare.

5. Finally, the United States should make a determined effort to expose and isolate the militant troublemakers in the Middle East. We should support and encourage only non-aggressive non-Communist leaders.

(more)

The Republican Leadership of the Congress now reaffirms and again endorses each of these recommendations in its entirety.

Let no American be unaware of the fact that Russia has moved into the Middle East and the Mediterranean with tremendous and increasing naval and diplomatic strength in the biggest Soviet power-grab since the end of World War II.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

Spearhead of the Russian Middle East policy is the modern and constantly growing Russian navy. Today, for the first time, the Kremlin has a fleet on permanent duty in the Mediterranean. It has missile cruisers, missile submarines, a helicopter carrier and amphibious landing forces with the most modern of equipment. These give the Kremlin the means of intervening in troubled countries entirely around the Mediterranean rim.

It is an ominous fact that Russia is dramatically gaining in strength at sea in the strategic, vital Mediterranean area.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration still has no firm policy there.

The American people, so sorely troubled here at home, can no longer tolerate such blindness to the danger of World War III present today in the Middle East. We urge -- no, we demand -- of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration that it move now -- with courage, clarity and firmness -- to assure the State of Israel and the American people that peace and progress in the Middle East can and will be won.



Republican National Committee

1625 EYE STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

NATIONAL 8-6800

NEWS

FOR RELEASE

WEDNESDAY A.M.'s
June 19, 1968

NOTICE TO CORRESPONDENTS

Attached is a report of the Republican Coordinating Committee, "Democratic Foreign Policy--The Crisis of Confidence," which is submitted to you for release Wednesday morning, June 19, 1968.

This report was drafted for the Coordinating Committee by its Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations, of which former Ambassador and former Assistant Secretary of State Robert C. Hill is Chairman.

The basic work on the report was done by a subcommittee of the Task Force headed by Roderic L. O'Connor, Vice President of CIBA Corporation and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State.

The report was amended and approved by the Coordinating Committee subsequent to its meeting in Washington, D.C., May 6, 1968.

Lists of the Task Force on the Conduct of Foreign Relations and of the Republican Coordinating Committee membership are attached.

6/12/68

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Members of the Republican Coordinating Committee's Task Force on
the Conduct of Foreign Relations

Robert C. Hill, Chairman
United States Ambassador to Mexico, 1957-1961

David N. Rowe, Vice Chairman
Professor of Political Science, Yale University

Gordon Allott
United States Senator from Colorado

Robert Amory, Jr.
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 1952-1962

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Philip K. Crowe
United States Ambassador to Union of South Africa, 1959-1961

Joseph S. Farland
United States Ambassador to the Republic of Panama, 1960-1963

Paul Findley
Member of Congress from Illinois

Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen
Member of Congress from New Jersey

Ernest S. Griffith
Dean, School of International Service, American University, 1958-1965

Mrs. Cecil M. Harden, Member of Congress from Indiana, 1949-1959;
Republican National Committeewoman for Indiana

Joe Holt
Member of Congress from California, 1953-1959

Walter A. Judd
Member of Congress from Minnesota, 1943-1963

John D. Lodge
United States Ambassador to Spain, 1955-1961

Gerhart Niemeyer
Professor of Political Science. University of Notre Dame

Nicholas Nyaradi
Director of School of International Studies, Bradley University

Roderic L. O'Connor
Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs,
Department of State, 1957-1958

G. L. Ohrstrom, Jr.
Investment Banker

William W. Scranton
Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1963-1967

Bernard M. Shanley
Republican National Committeeman for New Jersey

Robert Strausz-Hupe
Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania

John Hay Whitney
United States Ambassador to Great Britain, 1956-61

Kent B. Crane
Secretary to the Task Force

DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY - THE CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

I. INTRODUCTION

After nearly eight years of Democratic Administration, the wreckage of our country's foreign policy is strewn around the world for all to see. Since 1960 our strategic superiority has slipped. Our alliances have virtually disintegrated. Our strength has been dissipated in pursuit of secondary objectives.

In consequence, America is on the defensive throughout the world. Our friends turn away from us. Our leadership is disputed and openly challenged. Our prestige is gravely eroded. Our enemies are increasingly bold.

In this election year the American people have the right, indeed the obligation, to ask of the Party in power how and why this has happened.

The answer is not difficult to find. Democratic Administrations have forgotten two fundamentals upon which United States' foreign policy has traditionally been based:

First, America's policies and actions must always be based on principles derived from the moral and spiritual values of our heritage, and thus in accord with the highest aspirations of mankind. Instead principles have all too often been sacrificed to expediency.

Second, America's military and economic strength must be sufficient to protect the nation's vital interests anywhere in the world. Above all, our government's unmistakable determination to use its strength when necessary must be clear to friend and foe alike. Any doubts

about either our strength - or our leaders' resolve to use it - impair our credibility as a world power. Throughout the world, since 1960 our ambivalent policies have created more anxiety and doubt than confidence in America.

The true measure of our nation's foreign policy is whether or not it has enhanced the security and well-being of our people. By this test, the past two Democratic Administrations have failed -- the Bay of Pigs, the Berlin Wall and the Pueblo incident are only symbolic of the general malaise. The peace and stability in world affairs that prevailed during the Eisenhower Administration are gone. Today our nation is less secure. We are less strong. We are less sure of our purpose. America's prestige and credibility have crumbled.

How has this happened -- and, more important, how would a new Republican Administration remedy the situation?^{1/}

II. The World View

For purposes of strategic planning the world can be viewed in three parts: the Communist World, the Free World, and the Uncommitted World.

The safeguarding of America's vital interests requires a global strategy encompassing these major divisions and their complex interrelationships. Without this strategy our policies become inconsistent and contradictory.

^{1/} In eleven foreign policy reports issued during the past three years, the Republican Coordinating Committee has reviewed in detail most of the major areas of interest to the United States abroad. These papers have identified errors made by Democratic Administrations and presented specific recommendations for corrective action. The reports are entitled:

United States Relations with the Soviet Union, U.S. Foreign Policy in Vietnam, Our North Atlantic Alliance, The United States & Eastern Europe, The Middle East - Crisis and Opportunity (1967), Continuing Crisis in the Middle East (1968), Latin America - Progress or Failure?, East-West Trade, Foreign Economic Assistance, The American Image Abroad, and The United Nations

During the Eisenhower years, America's successful global strategy was based upon our preponderance of military and economic strength, buttressed by free world alliances. These alliances, always sanctioned and sometimes supported by the United Nations, required agreement on a common danger and a sharing of the burdens of maintaining the peace.

The strategy worked. An armistice was promptly achieved in Korea. Communism was contained. As long as Republican policies continued, peace was maintained. None dared challenge America's might or will. None dared challenge the free world's collective strength or purpose.

In 1960, after eight years of peace, the Democratic candidate for President charged:

"The Republican peace and prosperity is a myth. We are not enjoying a period of peace - only a period of stagnation and retreat, while America becomes second..."

Members of the new Administration apparently believed this allegation -- proved false by subsequent events -- because they immediately began tampering with established policies.

Not only were the new policies wrong, but their implementation became increasingly unsystematic. The National Security Council machinery - so carefully structured during the Eisenhower Administration to develop and coordinate our foreign policy - was dismantled. White House subordinates, unversed in practical foreign affairs, were permitted to dabble in this critical area. The professional diplomatic corps was expanded to make room for political appointees ready to support the new policies. Inevitably confusion and conflict replaced order and precision. The security of the nation and the well-being of the American people were placed in jeopardy.

Only because the previous Republican Administration had bequeathed to its successors a coherent body of foreign policy based upon unrivaled diplomatic, military and economic strength, were the Democrats able to improvise and

experiment for so long without having to account for their errors. Slow as the day of reckoning has been in arriving, it is now clearly at hand. We see it in the tragic loss of America's stature in the world.

A. THE COMMUNIST WORLD

For two generations and through two world wars the United States has opposed aggression by hostile totalitarian systems in Europe and Asia. We have considered such opposition essential to our own security and thus in the national interest.

Since the late 1940's Soviet and Chinese Communist governments have been the chief instigators of such aggression. As a result, containment of Soviet and Chinese Communism has been the foundation stone of American foreign policy and has received firm bi-partisan support. Throughout the Eisenhower Administration the worldwide Communist movement was contained without major armed conflict.

Shortly after the Democratic Administration took power this picture changed. While rapidly increasing United States assistance to Laos and South Vietnam, the new Administration simultaneously sought accommodation with the Russians. Intrigued by the USSR's declining influence over the world Communist movement and the Soviet's disinclination to continue domestically the worst excesses of the Stalinist era, our new President decided that the United States should somehow exploit the situation.

In its zeal to encourage ferment and change within the Communist world, the Administration gravely misjudged the influence an outside power can exert for internal reform in a largely self-sufficient totalitarian state. It was apparently assumed that the Soviets were so eager to raise the living standards of their own people that they would accept the polycentric and "liberalizing"

movements developing in the Communist camp.

Such suppositions led Democratic policy makers to focus more on presumed Soviet intentions than on Soviet actions, many of which continued to be inimicable to the United States. Wishful thinking induced the Administration to deal with the Soviets according to what they said, not what they did.

No one would fault the basic aims -- to relax tensions and end the arms race -- aims espoused long before by President Eisenhower. His Open Skies and Atoms for Peace proposals and his appointment of our first disarmament advisor created an atmosphere conducive to negotiation. But there was a critical difference in basic approach: in all negotiations Republicans required the Communists to meet us half-way.

On the other hand, since 1960 our leaders have acted as if we were obliged to demonstrate our sincerity -- not once, but again and again -- before the Russians could be expected to respond in kind. Disregarding policies which had sustained our leadership of the free world since World War II, new policy-makers innovated and improvised.

A prime result of this experimentation has been crippling policy contradictions. The most glaring include:

- The Administration's eager effort to "build bridges" to Communism in Europe while fighting Communist expansion in Asia. Over 80 percent of the weapons used against the United States in Vietnam have been produced in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Yet the President announced in 1964 that America would seek to "build bridges across the gulf" separating Communist regimes in Europe from the West primarily by offering to increase our trade with Iron Curtain countries. Such East-West trade obviously could help the Communists kill Americans by proxy in Asia.
- The Administration's exhortations for Western European nations to stand firm against Communism while America sought to negotiate arms control agreements with the USSR without adequate consideration of our allies' interests.

-The Administration's toleration of what has become an aggressive and openly avowed Communist state in Cuba only 90 miles from Miami, while American forces disperse all over the world to frustrate Communist designs. Following the disastrous Bay of Pigs venture, the Democratic Administration reversed its policy completely, denying Cuban exiles virtually all hope of returning home in the near future. Meanwhile, Castro-trained guerrillas have been active in such countries as the Dominican Republic, Guatamala, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia. Castro-financed propaganda and subversive activities have spread even beyond Latin America. Cuban mercenaries fought with the Congo rebels against the legally constituted government in Kinshasha, and a Cuban bodyguard unit foiled a coup attempt by indigenous African troops aimed at ridding the Congo (Brazzaville) of its leftist President. Conferences in Havana have repeatedly provided a forum for anti-American invective, including inflammatory statements urging revolution in the United States by black power advocate Stokely Carmichael.

-The Administration's eagerness to negotiate non-proliferation and space treaties without adequate safeguards despite mounting evidence of the USSR's increasing military capability. In their zeal to reconcile East-West differences, Democratic policy-makers even concluded that America's overwhelming military superiority had become a barrier to dealing successfully with the USSR. In order to help overcome the imagined Soviet inferiority complex, United States military policy has tended to emphasize "parity" in armaments rather than superiority over the Soviets.

Proponents of "parity" believe that our offensive capability is invincible and therefore that our development of more advanced weapons would merely increase our existing "overkill" capacity and accelerate the arms race. So believing, the Administration restricted America's weapons development, then tried to persuade the Russians to follow suit. The Soviet reaction should have been foreseen. They feigned interest but simultaneously increased their military budget and pushed vigorously ahead with new weapons.

For several years the Soviets have narrowed their strategic gap with the United States. At current relative rates of growth their strategic missile force will shortly equal ours. They have begun deployment of an extensive anti-missile system (ABM). After our failure to dissuade them from this action, not only by exhortation but also by our Defense Secretary's refusal to expend funds the Congress voted for ABM development, we belatedly

and half-heartedly started a very thin shield of our own. The Soviets have also unveiled a new orbital bomb system capable of launching nuclear strikes from outer space. This development contravenes the spirit, if not the letter, of a recent treaty hailed by the Administration as preserving outer space for peaceful use.

Tragically, the Democrats' false charge in 1960 about a "missile gap" now threatens to become a reality by virtue of policies that they have themselves imposed.

While rapidly expanding their missile strength, the Soviets have also qualitatively and quantitatively enlarged their air and naval power. For the first time they have displayed large naval forces in the Mediterranean. Their submarine fleet already exceeds ours numerically and nuclear-powered missile submarines are rapidly being added. Several new high-performance aircraft, unknown to the West until the 1967 Domodevodo air show, are operational. By contrast, America's F-111 aircraft (formerly the TFX), imposed by the Secretary of Defense over strenuous military objections, is too expensive, too heavy, too unreliable, and too late.

The Soviet research and development budget for new weapons now surpasses that of the United States. Expenditures for offensive strategic forces reportedly have doubled ours for the past four years. Because of the long lead-time required to develop major new weapons, the United States may be nearing a strategic crossover -- the critical point at which the net strategic advantage passes to the Soviet Union. During the long years when Mr. McNamara was Secretary of Defense, he emphatically denied this possibility -- with the same sureness, let it be noted, that he evidenced in repeatedly predicting an early end to American involvement in Vietnam.

Asia is vital in any assessment of the Communist world.

In January 1961 Republicans left this area in relative peace. Today, a major war drags on in Vietnam. South Korea is again actively threatened. India's borders remain tense after fighting erupted with both China and Pakistan. Hong Kong's future is uncertain following bloody civil disorders. Subversion of external Communist origin is active in a half dozen free nations.

In Asia we confront two major Communist powers. Soviet Russia and Communist China harbor deep antagonisms, but they are united in regarding the United States as the principal obstacle to their regional and world goals. They are also united in their determination to weaken our nation. So motivated, the Soviet and Chinese Communists vie to outstrip each other in aiding enemies in Vietnam.

Of all nations, Communist China is most openly hostile to the United States and to a stable world order. For many reasons, including her self-imposed isolation and belligerent attitude toward the world, Communist China has turned inward and she has convulsed. Continuing conflict and internal stress make it impossible now to predict whether the Communists will be able to retain centralized control of that huge country; or whether China will disintegrate into regional rule by warlords; or even whether the Chinese people will regain the freedom to choose a better form of government and then rejoin the free world. Therefore, this is a time for watchful waiting.

For years Communist China has stirred trouble abroad in order to distract her people from the deteriorating internal situation. She has twice attacked India, created disturbances in Macao and Hong Kong, nearly conquered Indonesia from within, launched wide-spread subversion in Africa, continually probed the Taiwan Straits, encouraged disgraceful conduct by her diplomats abroad, and mistreated foreign diplomats and newsmen in Peking. The world community can not

condone such tactics.

The stiff and successful British reaction to Communist provocations in Hong Kong last year provide a good example of what can be accomplished with a small amount of force applied with unswerving resolve.

-Recommendations-

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to the American people that our policies will be based not on euphoric speculation, but on realistic assessments of Communist capabilities. Our actions will be based on what the Communists do, not on what they say.

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge America's weapons superiority will be maintained, our system of alliances will be revitalized; and the credibility of our will to protect vital national interests will be restored.

Under a Republican Administration, we shall seek true détente -- but through strength, not weakness. No nation can negotiate successfully while its opponents are allowed to make gains at its expense. No general accommodation with the Communists can realistically be sought without an honorable settlement to the war in Vietnam.

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to seek greater knowledge of Communist China and to offer increased contacts if and when it abides by the normal rules of conduct in the international community. Although we may reaffirm our traditional friendship for the Chinese people, this is not the time for new initiatives which might legitimize current Chinese Communist rulers or help them overcome their grave internal problems. America should continue to support the Republic of China, whose energetic government has developed a viable free enterprise economy on Taiwan, and now stands ready to play an increasingly important role in Asian affairs.

In Vietnam, the Republican Party wishes the President well during this period of peace negotiations. We support his declared objective of an honorable peace, one that would rule out a Communist take-over. Acceptance of a settlement lacking proper safeguards would betray our allies and the South Vietnamese people. It would be an outrage in light of the sacrifices made by our men -- living and dead.

B. THE FREE WORLD

At the close of the Eisenhower years mutual defense pacts guaranteed the security of most of the free world under United States leadership. NATO, CENTO, SEATO, the ANZUS pact and a number of bilateral treaties coalesced free world strength and resolve. The Organization of American States (OAS), functioning as a regional alliance under the United Nations charter, and the United Nations itself, were used effectively to counter Communist aggression and maintain world stability.

Today all is changed. The United Nations is rendered increasingly impotent by factionalism and incipient bankruptcy. Cuban-sponsored subversion and revolution debilitate the OAS. SEATO defaults in the precise situation for which it was created. CENTO has largely disintegrated and the Soviets have at last achieved their goal of becoming a major force in Middle Eastern affairs.

Worse still is the deterioration of NATO. With no other part of the world is the United States more closely linked by ties of history, culture and trade. After World War II, America's stake in Europe grew larger than ever before. Having invested nearly \$50 billion to revive Europe economically, we led in the creation of the Western Alliance. Thus, the Soviet threat against Europe was contained, and the earth's second largest concentration of productive power remained with the free world. When President Eisenhower left office, the

Western allies stood resolute and united. We and our European friends looked to the day when our military alliance would evolve into a durable political community.

Since then, what has happened in Europe? Today the Western Alliance is in a shambles. France has withdrawn her military forces and her territory from NATO. Britain's world-wide influence is a mere shadow of its former self. The West Germans, perhaps following America's erratic lead, waver between commitment to the West and accommodation with the East. No longer do we enjoy the confidence or even the support of many of our traditional friends.

Early in the 1960's vacillations in U.S. strategic policy began to undermine Europe's trust in our pledge to defend her against Soviet attack:

In 1961, after repeatedly professing our determination to protect West Germany and West Berlin, the United States stood idly by while the East Germans erected the Berlin Wall in violation of the quadripartite covenants governing the status of the former German capital.

In 1962, the United States imposed a crucial change in defense policy on its NATO allies by unilaterally moving to a new strategy of "flexible response." At the time, a Democrat controlled Senate subcommittee commented caustically:

"There was little or no consultation with our allies, and the shift was explained in terms which, to say the least, caused doubt and confusion about what kind of counterblows the United States might be planning in the event of a Soviet attack on Europe. To some in Europe it looked as though the United States would rather switch than fight. The change in American doctrine forced modifications in Allied military doctrine as well, thus painfully underlining for the Allies how little influence they had on American policies of life and death importance to them."

Again in 1962, without prior consultation with our allies, all missiles were withdrawn from Italy and Turkey, leaving the impression that this was done in return for the withdrawal of Soviet missiles from Cuba. More recently we unilaterally withdrew troops from Europe for assignment elsewhere on the subterfuge that they were being rotated normally.

Also in 1962, the United States cancelled the Skybolt project, thus dealing a crippling blow to Britain's declining strategic

capability. Worse, the cancellation cast a pall over the United Kingdom's economic future, for the crude manner by which America sought to placate British disappointment afforded France one month later the rationale for rejecting Great Britain's application to join the Common Market. Later, after urging other allies into joint weapons development projects, we unilaterally cancelled many, such as the Main Battle Tank (MBT) and the Vertical Short Take-off and Landing (VSTOL) aircraft projects with West Germany.

Finally, Democratic Administrations have repeatedly sought bilateral negotiations with the USSR on such key matters as nuclear proliferation and the Washington-Moscow "Hot Line" without adequate regard for European sensitivities and vital interests. Germany is deeply concerned over the ramifications of the non-proliferation treaty. France has flatly refused to sign it. The Washington-Moscow "Hot Line" became symbolic of Europe's concern both that the decision-making process might by-pass them, and that they were not considered of sufficient importance to have their own "Hot Lines" with the White House.

In all such matters, Democratic Administrations have often appeared more willing to court and placate the Soviets than to assist our European friends. Small wonder that concern and resentment replaced respect and confidence for the United States in the capitals of Western Europe.

The fiscal irresponsibility of Democratic Administrations is another key factor in the world's declining respect and confidence in America. The reliability of a country which refuses to live within its means at home and verges upon bankruptcy abroad will be seriously questioned.

While our President boasts of unparalleled domestic prosperity, William McChesney Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, issues increasingly stern warnings about the true state of our economy:

"We are faced with an intolerable budget deficit and also an intolerable deficit in our international balance of payments."

"This country today is overextended and overcommitted... It's time we stopped talking about guns and butter."

"We have been living, to a certain extent, in a fool's paradise."

"The United States faces either an uncontrollable recession or an uncontrollable inflation if it does not correct its red ink budget and its balance of payments deficit... We are in the midst of the worst financial crisis we have had since 1931."

The world, Europe and Japan in particular, waits with growing impatience to see if the Administration will take the necessary steps to avert fiscal crisis. Foreign impatience with America's economic fumbling concerns all Americans, because foreign creditors now hold three times more dollars than the United States can redeem with its entire gold supply.

Our gold reserves have fallen to a thirty year low of less than \$11 billion, and yet the Democratic Administration continues to delay and temporize. The President still refuses to treat the root causes of our balance of payments difficulties by revising his inflationary domestic policies.

The Administration has resorted to temporary palliatives rather than lasting solutions in dealing with our critical economic problems. In the long run, the suddenly-imposed executive restrictions on American business abroad and the proposed restraints on tourist travel are likely to do more harm than good. Even the two-price gold system adopted by leading financial nations in March 1968 merely buys time for the United States. Neither this device nor the proposed Special Drawing Rights (SDR's) to be administered by the International Monetary Fund will correct the fundamental imbalance in America's deficit position. America's reckless spending has placed her at the mercy of Europe's central bankers. Our international viability now depends upon their continuing good will.

Not only in Europe, but everywhere in the free world people worry over America's future. They know their own security and economic well-being will be jeopardized if current policies persist.

In Asia there are many countries long of importance to America -- an American admiral "opened Japan" to trade with the West in 1853, an American Secretary of State authored the "Open Door" policy toward China which European powers subscribed to in 1899, and the last three wars America has fought

began in Asia. Many nations allied with us today are in Asia, as are three bellicose enemies -- Communist China, North Vietnam and North Korea. Japan, the world's third greatest industrial power and, with the exception of Canada, America's best customer, is increasing her role in Asian affairs. We must retain her as an ally and a cooperative friend.

How well we handle our security problems -- how imaginatively we approach development problems once we are freed to accord them more attention -- will profoundly influence the future of 900 million Asians outside the iron and bamboo curtains. In tomorrow's world these people may very well hold the balance of power. We must keep faith with them and they with us.

In Latin America, Democratic Administrations have promised a special effort to raise our closest neighbors' living standards. To date, only expectations have been raised. When the Alliance for Progress reached the half-way point after five years of highly-publicized effort only 7 of 19 countries, representing only 29% of the people in Latin America, had managed to meet the Alliance's minimum goal of increasing per capita income by 2½% a year.

Yet, if Latin America fails to make economic progress, political instability and further incursions by international Communism are the inevitable result. The security problems engendered for the United States by additional Castro-type regimes are obvious. Even now signs of declining United States' influence abound -- and are ignored by the Administration. In the past few months alone, an American Ambassador was expelled from South America and two American military advisors were murdered while performing their duties in Central America. The Johnson Administration did not even bother to protest these outrages. Moreover, the Democrats so mishandled negotiations over the future status of the Panama Canal that Panamanian discontent has increased despite our country's remarkable offer to surrender control over that vital communications link.

Under the past two Democratic Administrations the confidence of our friends in America's future has been shattered. It is urgently necessary to regain this trust and friendship.

- Recommendations -

We cannot revert to the peaceful and orderly world of 1960. Too many changes have occurred -- not the least of which are the alarming changes wrought by our nation's recent errors and failings. Still the fundamental precepts, the underlying ideals, of the former successful Republican policies provide useful guidelines for the future.

Under a Republican Administration, with America's spiritual, fiscal and military strength reestablished, we pledge an informed dialogue with our friends and allies on how best to restore our unity of purpose. As a prerequisite we pledge to deal with major Communist powers on issues of strategic importance within the framework of allied unity. Only thus can we hope to regain the confidence of our international partners.

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to improve the management of our foreign commitments. New initiatives may be necessary, but the United States should never again allow itself to become isolated from its friends. Only with the loyal support of our allies will the burdens of maintaining the peace weigh less heavily and exclusively upon us.

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to organize the immense resources of the free world which now lie fallow because of allied disunity. A renewed sense of purpose will not only improve the common security, but will release talent and resources for a collective assault on the problems of peaceful development. The United States should encourage greater regional and subregional cooperation as a means for stimulating other nations to play larger roles in dealing with their own problems of development and defense.

We will also endeavor to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations by calling for charter revision aimed at providing equitable solutions to the organization's financial insolvency and burgeoning membership.

C. THE UNCOMMITTED WORLD

The political problems accompanying newly acquired independence, and the economic and social problems created by a headlong rush into the modern technological world, make most developing nations inherently insecure and unstable. Only competent local leadership can prevent disorder in situations where peoples' expectations are likely to rise faster than society's ability to satisfy them.

Demagogues will inevitably try to exploit the grinding needs and revolutionary expectations of have-not peoples. This danger would exist independent of Communists, but they will typically seek to scavenge upon troubles of the struggling, young countries.

The Communists have put us on notice that they will provoke trouble wherever possible in the uncommitted world. They announced in 1961 and have consistently followed a policy of support for "Wars of National Liberation" aimed at undermining not only colonial administrations but also independent governments whose actions fail to win Communist approval. Vietnam is but one manifestation of this policy. How regrettable it is that the Administration's mismanagement of the Vietnam commitment has prevented any country from providing much needed leadership elsewhere.

For example, in a political sense most of Africa has emerged onto the world scene only since 1960. Twenty-nine of Africa's thirty-nine legally independent states have achieved freedom during the 1960's. As a result, Africa now accounts for nearly one-third of the votes in the United Nations. Despite this portentous change, Democratic Administrations have neglected

the huge continent. During the summer of 1967, for example, one-fourth of our embassies in Africa were without Ambassadors.

Worse, the Administration's urge to remodel our foreign policies has prompted our leaders to vie with Communists for the favor of endemic trouble-makers among the leaders of uncommitted nations. Too much of America's aid has gone to the Nassers, Sukarnos and Nkrumahs of the world -- men unwilling to face the hard decisions required for domestic development, yet all too willing to disrupt the progress of more responsible neighbors. The Democrats' over-riding desire to be popular among such leaders -- so-called "neutrals" who regularly display a callous disregard for America and the West -- has often prompted the United States to give more aid and support to those willing to injure us than to those inclined to support us.

Thus, America presents the "Third World" with a blurred and puzzling image -- an image of a powerful but vacillating giant, devoid of principle and still undecided about basic objectives.

This lack of U.S. leadership is dangerous in the extreme. The under-developed world holds a menacing potential for violence, even anarchy. Precisely because turmoil defeats progress, precisely because violence perpetuates human misery, the United States must promote the stability necessary for orderly growth and improved living standards. Americans, with a few other fortunate peoples, cannot exist indefinitely as an island of plenty in a sea of poverty, hunger, disease and rising resentment. Nor would it be true to America's great ideals and humanitarian traditions for us to fail to help close the enormous development gap between the "have" and the "have-not" nations.

Although the genuine needs of developing areas mount alarmingly, the Administration appears unable to unwilling to defend even its modest 1968 aid proposal -- the smallest request in foreign assistance history -- much

less to offer urgently needed new initiatives. The Republican Party has always endorsed the purposes of foreign aid. Our criticisms have focused on ineffective and wasteful methods of administration.

- Recommendations -

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to cooperate with leaders devoted to evolutionary rather than revolutionary change. Great change is inevitable; the United States must remain flexible to help direct it into peaceful channels, but without forsaking our principles to curry the favor of opportunists and demagogues.

Under a Republican Administration, we will urgently seek new ways of accelerating economic development abroad. We will encourage the cooperation of other nations, both those able to help others and those which must help themselves. Instead of restrictions on American business overseas, we will develop incentives to stimulate American enterprise to help solve the problems of economic development.

Under a Republican Administration, we pledge to follow up on recent international tariff reductions, which mainly secured advantage for wealthy nations, by seeking ways to open up the huge American market on a preferred basis to industrial products and agricultural commodities from selected developing areas.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In the final analysis, two Democratic Administrations have succeeded only in fostering a world instability perilous to our nation's security.

This country's confusing policies and unpredictable actions have caused America to lose both the confidence of her allies and the respect of her enemies.

America's credibility as a world power has been impaired by the absence of global strategy. Lacking an underlying theme our goals have fluctuated wildly; and even where our professed objectives have remained consistent our actions have denied our words. It is small wonder that our allies have drifted away from a leader whose sincerity they mistrust and whose wisdom and resolve they doubt.

Divisions in the free world and America's diminished stature have caused peace to become more remote because our confusion simply provokes the Communists into trying to exploit our weakness. When we fail to support our basic principles, and shrink from defending our vital interests, we invite our opponents to challenge our power and test our spirit in additional ways.

Nothing has so dramatically illustrated our deteriorating position in the world, or so damaged our credibility as a world power, as the Pueblo incident. After tiny North Korea captured a United States' naval vessel in international waters, the Secretary of State termed the unprecedented action an "act of war." The President sent the attack carrier Enterprise into the region and called up the Reserves. When the Communists called our bluff, the mighty United States backed away and meekly accepted defeat and humiliation. The Johnson Administration could then devise no better course of action than to ask the Soviets to intervene on our behalf. The Soviets' prompt refusal forced the United States into direct talks with North Korea, to the consternation of our South Korean allies.

Our country's ineptitude and lack of firm resolve in the Pueblo crisis may well have made plucking the Eagle's feathers an activity which other fourth-rate powers will presume they too can engage in with impunity.

In their totality, Democratic foreign policy failures have created a crisis of confidence in the world.

In 1960, while campaigning for the Presidency, the Democrats made much of America's alleged decline in prestige abroad. They demanded that the United States Information Service (USIA) release polls to prove the point. Once in office the Democrats not only refused to publish further foreign prestige polls, they even ordered USIA to cancel all future ones which the Administration suddenly decided "were of no value." It is obvious that the polls were abandoned because America's prestige and popularity abroad had plummeted.

But the American people do not need such polls; the headlines bear daily evidence of our nation's declining international stature.

The restoration of American leadership in the world depends upon the restoration of our government's credibility. The Democrats can neither regain America's lost reputation nor win back alienated friends. They are unable to divorce themselves from their own past errors. The Party in power can neither admit nor rectify its mistakes. Only a Republican Administration, unencumbered with past error and illusion, can restore credibility to our nation.

Only a Republican Administration can overcome the current crisis of confidence and return the United States to its former position of world leadership.



25 July 1968

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U. S. HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE

REP. JOHN J. RHODES, (R.-ARIZ.) CHAIRMAN • 1616 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING • TELEPHONE 225-6168

HOUSE REPUBLICAN POLICY COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON THE SEIZURE AND DETENTION OF THE USS PUEBLO

On January 23, 1968 while sailing in international waters, the USS Pueblo was forcibly stopped, boarded and seized by North Korean armed vessels. The crew of six officers, 75 enlisted men and two civilians was taken prisoner. The Pueblo was forced into the North Korean port of Wonsan.

The marks on the Communist prison wall reflect that 183 days have slowly come and gone. Hope is replaced by despair. Courage is attacked by doubt.

In the beginning, Arthur J. Goldberg, then the U. S. Representative to the United Nations, confidently stated:

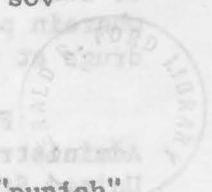
"Now, we will show by times and the course of the vessel exactly what occurred and you will see from this that the location of the Pueblo was constantly far away from Korean shores, always away from the 12-mile limit until it was taken into Wonsan by the North Korean vessels."

This positive recital has been replaced by the qualified statements of the Secretaries of State and Defense that there is a possibility that before its capture the Pueblo had penetrated North Korean waters.

President Johnson spoke for the American people when he declared that this "wanton and aggressive act...cannot be accepted." But his then Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, spoke for the Johnson-Humphrey Administration when he conceded to a nationwide audience that he might discipline the Captain of the Pueblo, "if he violated his instructions consciously or through negligence."

No wonder the North Koreans have been encouraged to the point of producing alleged "confessions" and threatening that "the criminals who have violated the sovereignty of another country and perpetrated a provocative act must receive due punishment."

North Korea's arrogant demand that Washington "admit," "apologize" and "punish" seems now to be accepted by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration as a basis for negot-
(over)



iations.

From the outset of this humiliating affair, misinformation, miscalculation and mishandling have been the rule rather than the exception.

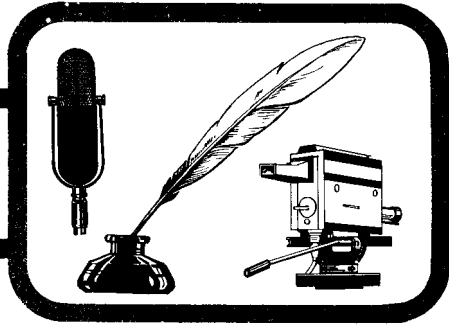
On January 6 and January 11, North Korea seized South Korean vessels. On January 21, North Korea's delegate at Panmunjom protested formally against the United States "having infiltrated into our coastal waters a number of armed spy boats, espionage bandits together with a group of South Korean fishing boats."

Despite these overt acts and warnings, precautions were not taken to provide the Pueblo with surface or air protection. There were only a mere handful of operational U. S. first-line fighter airplanes in all South Korea and these were loaded with nuclear weapons and could not be reconfigured with tactical weapons before the Pueblo reached Wonsan. Obviously no effective contingency plans existed for concerted American action to prevent or to respond to forcible attacks on exposed and vulnerable vessels.

For six months, representatives of the United States and North Korea have been discussing the Pueblo seizure at Panmunjom. After their 19th meeting, the State Department acknowledged there had been "no progress" made so far toward gaining release of the men. We have no way of knowing what the Administration has done or is prepared to do to gain their release. However, a Democratic Senator has predicted that the United States will apologize for intruding into North Korean waters and pay \$100 million by the end of August for release of the USS Pueblo's 82 surviving crew members.

Although this statement was flatly denied by the Administration, an abject apology to North Korea would be in the same pattern as the Johnson-Humphrey Administration apology to the Soviet Union which gained the release of an American commercial airliner from a Soviet base. This apology was given even though there is reason to believe that the Vietnam bound plane carrying 212 military passengers was illegally intercepted by Soviet jets over international waters and forced into Soviet airspace. It also would be similar to the course that was followed after the Bay of Pigs debacle wherein prisoners held captive by Castro were released in exchange for medicine and drugs at a cost of millions of dollars to the American taxpayer.

Failure in the conduct of international affairs by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, as in the Pueblo affair, has led to the widespread belief that the United States is indeed a "paper tiger."



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
August 21, 1968

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives.

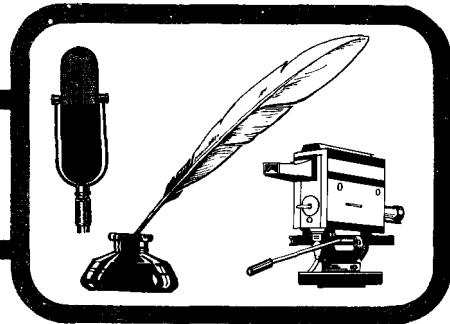
The sympathies of all Americans are with the freedom-loving Czechs so crudely suppressed by Soviet military might, but the United States should not become involved in this Communist family fight.

The brutal aggression ordered by Soviet leaders has shattered the dream world spun by some Americans in the spirit of Glassboro. Once again Red Russia has been exposed as an enemy of freedom and an enslaver of people.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russia and other Warsaw Pact powers is a clear violation of Czech sovereignty. It has again been made clear that the Soviet Union is an imperialistic power which looks upon its Communist neighbors as its colonies.

The United States should move with extreme caution in this situation, but certainly it would be appropriate to demand an immediate explanation from the Soviet Union in the world forum of the United Nations.

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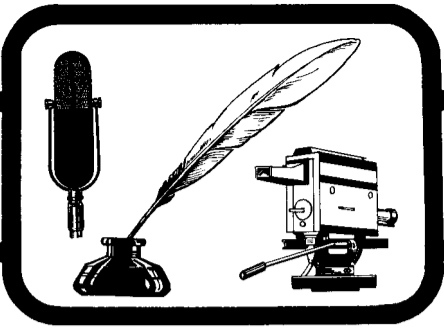
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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT--
August 23, 1968

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Reps.

The eyes of the world are focused on Czechoslovakia, where freedom-loving Czechs are gallantly resisting Soviet oppression. Meantime, in Biafra, women and children are dying by the thousands as innocent victims of starvation in the Nigerian civil war.

President Johnson has called upon the United Nations Security Council to condemn the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia and to demand withdrawal of the troops--and I applaud that action. But at the same time the White House is silent about the famine in Biafra caused by the Nigerian Government's refusal to allow relief supply planes to fly into Biafra over Nigerian territory.

While some supplies have been flown into Biafra by the International Red Cross despite the Nigerian Government's attitude, the relief thus afforded has been pitifully small. Now it is reported that the Nigerian Government will allow Red Cross planes to fly into Biafra if they first land in Nigerian federal territory, presumably to be searched for arms.

If this report is accurate, President Johnson should immediately move to implement airlifts of food and other supplies to Biafra. The United States should be in the forefront of nations going to the aid of the million refugees said to be starving in the Calabar area of Biafra.

At the very least, the Johnson Administration should immediately seek clear-cut Nigerian Government permission for Red Cross food airlifts into Biafra. This probably could be done through the British, who reportedly are giving arms aid to the Nigerian federal government and therefore must have considerable influence in Lagos.

We are not talking here about intervening in a civil war. This is not a question of military assistance or involvement. This is a matter of human decency--a need to put food into the mouths of starving people.

Here is an opportunity to demonstrate America's great compassion to the world at the very moment when the Soviet Union is exhibiting the cruelty that results from a fear of basic freedoms. Let us respond to this cry for help from the starving. Let us do what we know to be right.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
September 9, 1968

Statement by House Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

Like the legendary Roman hero Horatio of the Bridge, Hubert Humphrey apparently is the last to learn that his administration has gone off and left the gallant defenders of Israel's independence without adequate arms to match the massive Russian buildup in the Middle East.

The Vice-President addressed the Convention of B'Nai Brith here yesterday and apparently endorsed the position taken by the Republican Leadership of the Congress and the 1968 Republican Platform that Israel should promptly receive the latest supersonic jet aircraft from the United States. Does the Vice-President agree with the steadfast policy of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in denying this necessary protection to Israel on the specious grounds that the Russians may still be persuaded to limit the Middle East arms race?

Since the tragic event in Czechoslovakia, it should be apparent even to those who have repeatedly ignored the brutal facts of Soviet power politics that Moscow will make maximum use of its conventional military force in international affairs.

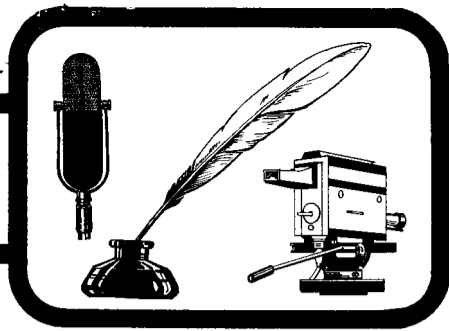
Senator Dirksen and I long ago warned that the Soviet Union was converting its 1967 military defeat in the Middle East into a strategic success by rapidly resupplying its Arab clients with the most modern weapons and military personnel. Together with other Republicans in the Congress and the Republican Coordinating Committee we have repeatedly urged the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to move quickly to redress the imbalance of power at this vital crossroads of the World.

I am happy that the Vice-President, now that he is the Democratic nominee, has seconded our Republican cause to make good on the long-standing and non-partisan American commitment to Israel's security which the Johnson-Humphrey Administration was the first to weaken in the 1967 showdown. But I believe Mr. Humphrey owes it to the American people to explain whether or not he is openly repudiating the present Middle East policy, or non-policy, of the Administration to which he owes his candidacy.

(more)

The record of the Republican Party and its candidates, Richard Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew, is consistent and crystal clear on this score. Not alone for Israel's sake, but in the interests of the United States and the Free World, further Russian penetration of the Middle East cannot go unanswered forever. If the Vice-President really favors providing Phantom jets to Israel, he should argue his case at the White House today. All that is required is President Johnson's approval, and Hubert Humphrey is his political protege.

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[Dictation from Rosemary Woods of Mr. Nixon's office 12:45 p.m. 10/1/68]

DETROIT - October 1, 1968
Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Immediately after Vice President Humphrey's address to the nation last evening the Republican leaders of the Senate and House, Senator Dirksen and Congressman Ford, telephoned the following message to Mr. Nixon:

"On the numerous occasions that we have been in the White House with the President, the Vice President, other members of the National Security Council, and Congressional leaders to discuss Vietnam problems, we have never heard the Vice President advocate the policies he advocated this evening -- never!

"We conclude that his 'new' policies have only a partisan motivation and purpose and should be so regarded and, therefore, disregarded."

Senator Dirksen and Congressman Ford requested that this message be released by Mr. Nixon in their behalf.



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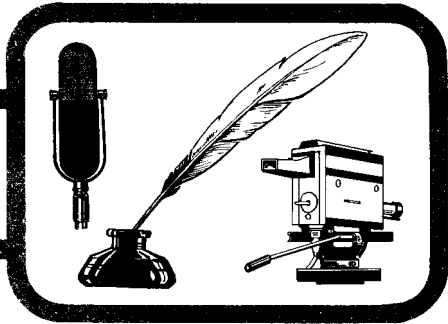


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"We must rely on the President's judgment that the bombing ~~halt~~ halt will not result in greater American casualties. We can only hope that the cessation of the bombing will lead to real progress toward a peace settlement. I don't think we should read too much into this development, although there may be some indication that bargaining at Paris now will begin in ~~E~~ earnest. I would not like to believe that the timing of the bombing halt has anything to do with Tuesday's election. This development does indicate to that a policy of firmness toward Hanoi--the policy of Johnson and Nixon--produces better results than the policies advocated by Hubert Humphrey.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
November 4, 1968

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Republican Leader, U.S. House of Reps.

We have botched up Vietnam again. In only three days since the bombing halt we have our ally, South Vietnam, hurt and angry. We have made our enemy's homeland a sanctuary--we have confused the Paris peace talks--we have the war back in domestic politics--and again America is humiliated before the world.

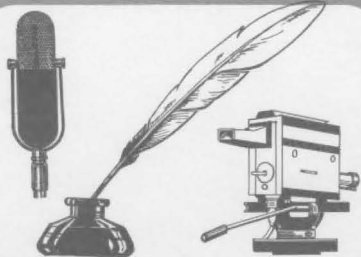
Yesterday Richard Nixon told the Nation that if he is elected tomorrow he will work arm-in-arm with our President and Secretary of State to help the President win his gamble for peace.

I am delighted with that assurance. Even as President-Elect, Richard Nixon can help us move forward again. But we will be far better off when we get a clean sweep in Washington.

We must have a new team in Washington. We have to stop fumbling every international ball we put into play. There is no hope for a better day with Hubert Humphrey. He is one of the architects of failure. No matter how hard he tried, he would just give us more of the same.

This is an over-riding reason why everyone who has had enough of trouble at home and trouble abroad ought to vote tomorrow for Richard Nixon for President.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

FOR SATURDAY AM'S RELEASE
DEC. 21, 1968

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Minority Leader, U.S. House of Reps.

It is a terrible tragedy that thousands of Biafrans should be starving to death as a result of the Nigerian civil war, and this is doubly pitiful during the Christmas season when we talk of "peace on earth, good will toward men."

I therefore take this occasion to urge President Johnson to employ his personal influence in an effort to bring about a cease-fire in Nigeria and to greatly augment food and medical relief for the Biafrans.

It is reported that the American contribution to Nigerian war relief has been two-thirds of the international effort. I think we can and should do more--much more.

One means of quickly expanding the relief effort would be to make U.S. Government transport planes available for mercy missions to be flown by private pilots. This could be done in cooperation with the International Red Cross. Emergency sea and land operations tied in with this airlift could also be launched.

I believe the United States should scrupulously avoid any kind of military involvement in the Nigerian civil war. We should not take sides with either the Nigerian federal government or the insurgent Biafrans. But in the name of humanity we must expand our obviously inadequate contribution to the relief of starving women and children in Biafra.

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