

The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Briefings - Central Intelligence Agency Geopolitical Briefing (2)” of the John Marsh Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

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 Gerald R. Ford donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections.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

MAR 30 1976

D-R-A-F-T

29 March 1976

1. Title-
Theme globe
background

① GLOBAL ISSUES CONFRONTING THE UNITED STATES

NARRATIVE:

In its 200 year history the United States has overcome many serious challenges, and its varied achievements have earned widespread admiration around the world. ②

2. Skylab
in flight

We still confront many global problems. Some are the familiar ones of potential military conflict; others are relatively new to us, such as energy needs, resource shortages and environmental degradation.

3. Bicentennial
Year Seal

③ In this Bicentennial Year, the United States finds itself no longer independent of others for its needs. Industrialization and technological advances have made the world increasingly interdependent.



The world has also become

- 4. Small globe ④ smaller.
- 5. The crowd ⑤ more crowded.
- 6. LA Freeway ⑥ more complex.
- 7. Skyjacking scanner ⑦ and more dangerous.

These circumstances impose heavy demands

- 8. Air shot/DC upon the American people ⑧ and upon all
branches of their government. Let us focus
briefly on some of the military tension points
around the world. . .

- 9. Theme globe - highlighting Middle East In the Middle East, ⑨ continuing incidents
quickly
could/escalate into major war. It is a particularly
important region. . . . as a major communications
crossroads between Asia and Europe, and as the
source of 65% of the world's known petroleum
reserves.



It is also a focal point of deep-rooted religious conflict -- as between warring Christian and Moslem factions in Lebanon --

....of the intense Arab-Israeli antagonism --

10. Photo -
Refugee Camp

(10)and of a long festering Middle East refugee problem.

11. Map -
Global perspectives

Outside powers (11) -- Western Europe, the

USSR, and the U.S. -- have important and, at times, conflicting political, economic, and strategic stakes in the region.

12. Africa map

(12) Throughout adjacent Africa, the situation is unstable and inflammable. The final remnants

of the colonial era are disappearing -- Angola,

The Spanish Sahara, and Rhodesia are recent

13. Africa map-
Colonial era

(13) examples. There are 42 independent countries

in Africa; almost every one of them gained independence since 1943. There is little permanent



or secure about their political systems, their national boundaries, or their international ties. Tribal loyalties frequently are more important than national affiliation. (14) The

14. / Ethnic map

5,000 tribes speak 800 separate languages.

15. | Photo -
Capetown

Primitive societies and modern cities, (15) such as Capetown, exist, uneasily, side by side.

It is almost certain that Africa faces a long period of strife and turmoil within and among its various countries. Outside interference is likely to continue.

16. Chart ranking
top 11 armed
forces - high-
lighting Korea's

In the Far East, (16) tension continues between South Korea, the world's fifth largest military force, and North Korea, the eleventh largest. Incidents along the ceasefire line keep the pot simmering.



All is not tranquil between the major

17. Sino-Soviet
border map
w/men on it

Communist nations. (17) Along the Sino-Soviet
border, shooting incidents have occurred
between Soviet and Chinese soldiers over seem-
ingly worthless small islands in the rivers that
mark the frontier. In recent years almost two
million troops have been moved into the troubled

77
Whose

18. (New Graphic)

(18) border area. This hostility reflects tensions
between two major Communist powers seeking leader-
ship primacy; it also reflects historic national
antagonism and suspicion between Russia and China.

19. Photo -
USSR missile

(19) Overshadowing these many world tension
points is the uncertainty of relations between
the United States and the Soviet Union with
their large arsenals of complex nuclear weapons.

20. NATO graphic

(20) In central Europe, the two powers directly
confront each other, with NATO and Warsaw Pact



forces maintaining guard over their respective areas. The one side is backstopped by the United States, the other by the Soviet Union.

Nuclear weapons held by the United States and the Soviet Union could wipe out civilization the world over. Both sides feel insecure and constantly wonder whether their retaliatory capability is sufficient to deter any possibility of a first attack and whether an attack might be launched accidentally [or by an irrational man.]

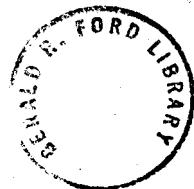
Thus far the world has avoided a nuclear holocaust. Can it continue to do so?

Part of the answer has been sought in the

U.S.-USSR Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, called SALT. Since the talks began in 1969, there have been eight extensive meetings. The aim is to stop the nuclear arms race and, then, move gradually toward

21. Photo -
Nuclear
mushroom

22. SALT graphic



mutual nuclear disarmament. Both sides have negotiated with great caution.

23. ABM silhouette

SALT has produced an agreement to limit the defensive anti-ballistic missiles ⁽²³⁾(ABM's) to 100 for each side. This is intended as a restraint against either side launching an attack on the other. The reasoning is that 100 ABM's are far too few to guarantee any kind of effective defense against the diversified, widely deployed, ⁽²⁴⁾ and well-protected retaliatory nuclear missiles, and therefore it would face the same kind of destruction moments later.

24. (Need graphic)

25. Chart showing the "balance" figures

SALT also agreed, in 1972, ⁽²⁵⁾ to freeze each country's offensive nuclear missiles at specified levels for an interim five-year period. These levels are designed to create an overall balance of nuclear arms power between the two countries.



26. MIRV chart

For instance, the USSR is permitted higher numbers of land and sea-based missiles to offset U.S. superiority in bombers and multiple independent re-entry vehicles. These weapons, called MIRV's, (26) contain several warheads that separate from the main vehicle and can be independently targeted -- to one target or several targets.

27. Photo -
POSEIDON Sub

Modern technology now makes it possible for the MIRV to change targets in flight to evade anti-missile missiles. The U.S. has a 3-to-1 lead in number of warheads and is deploying MIRV's on more than 1000 missiles, (27) including those on the POSEIDON submarine. Also, the U.S. strategic bomber force is 3 times larger than that of the USSR and has some 16 times more nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Soviets have greater destructive power in their largest land-based missiles (ICBM's).



28. | Map graphic of
"Nuclear Club"

28 To further complicate the global nuclear picture, additional nations have developed their own nuclear weapons: the UK in 1952, France in 1960, China in 1964, and, in 1974, India set off a nuclear device. Israel may have developed nuclear weapons. Others have or are developing the potential to do so. Neither the technology nor the expense now preclude nuclear proliferation. There is even justifiable concern that terrorist groups, such as the PLO, might develop nuclear weapons.

29. | (Add graphic -
Photo of India's
power plant -
or some other one)

29 India's nuclear device used plutonium fuel diverted from a nuclear power plant purchased from Canada. There are now nearly 600 nuclear power plants in operation or under construction in more than 30 countries. It takes only 10 pounds of plutonium to make a simple atomic bomb. 30

30. | Graphic showing
contrast of
plutonium
availability

years ago all the world's plutonium was in the



possession of the U.S. and was stored in a container the size of a cigar box. By 1980, approximately 1 million pounds will have been accumulated from nuclear power reactors the world over.

In 1968 a majority of the nations of the world agreed to a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. (31) It was ratified simultaneously by Washington and Moscow on the fifth of March 1970.

31. Photo -
Split: Kremlin/
U.S. Capital

China and France have not adhered to the treaty, although in practice, they have abided by its main provisions not to export nuclear weapons or weapons technology. (32) The treaty included

32. (Add graphic)

safeguards to prevent secret use of nuclear power reactors to make nuclear weapons. Over 90 countries have signed the treaty, but many who signed it have not ratified. And among the non-signatories are several of the nations most



33. (Add South Africa's atomic energy building?)

likely and most able to make nuclear arms such as South Africa ⁽³³⁾ -- whose plutonium enrichment is shown here -- and Brazil, Argentina, and Pakistan.

34. Graphic - Theme globe - listing of issues

However ⁽³⁴⁾ there are other global issues equally serious and complex -- and in some ways more insidious because they are difficult to perceive.

DRIVING ^{Factors}

35. Graphic - Food production Population growth

The increase in world food production ⁽³⁵⁾ is not keeping up with the increase in world population, and the trends indicate an approaching global crisis. In some regions of the world -- South Asia and central Africa for example -- the crisis has arrived.

36. Graphic - Population bomb

In 1975 ⁽³⁶⁾ there were about 3.9 billion people in the world and the global rate of population increase was 1.9%. At that rate, in just 25 years the population will be nearly 7 billion.

37. Graphic - Chart - Rate of population increase

The highest rates of population increase ⁽³⁷⁾ are in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. At current rates China will have a population of 1 billion by 1984



Often the rate of population increase is highest in underdeveloped nations which can neither produce sufficient food for themselves nor pay to import food from surplus producers.

38. Photo -
Malnutrition
(2 children)

Much of the world's population ⁽³⁸⁾ is undernourished; famine and starvation are regular occurrences in many areas. Only a few nations

39. Photo -
Grain ship
loading

produce large surpluses of basic foods, ⁽³⁹⁾ such as wheat, rice, soybeans, and meats, for export.

Among the major exporters of basic food crops are Canada, Argentina, Australia, France and the United States.

40. Chart showing
major food
exporters and
importers

⁽⁴⁰⁾ 55% of the world's grain exports originate in the U.S.; the percentage is increasing.

In 1975-76 the U.S. will export about 84 million tons of grain; Canada about 15 million tons; Argentina 12.5 million; and Australia and New Zealand combined, 11 million.



41. Photo -
Wheat field

Although the United States (41) produces surpluses

in agricultural products, it has serious shortages in essential mineral resources, as do many other advanced, industrial nations -- Japan, Germany, Italy, France, for example.

42. Photo -
Strip mine

Just 35 years ago, (42) almost all minerals used in the U.S. were produced domestically. Our petroleum production exceeded our needs; the Minnesota iron deposits were the largest in the world; the world's most productive copper mine was in Utah. Now many of our prime reserves have been severely drawn down, and exploitation of remaining deposits is very expensive.

Gispan >

43. Photo -
Industrial shot

The raw material demands of twenty-five years of economic boom, three wars, (43) the world's largest industrial complex, and a standard of living far above any other in the world have taken their toll

*Consumption
of resources*



44. Chart/graphic showing percentages

of U.S. mineral resources. (44) With 6% of the world's population, the U.S. now uses 40% of the world's non-energy minerals, and 30% of its energy.

45. Graphic - Gas consumption or photo on rush or cars

of world petroleum consumption. (45) Gas consumption in the U.S. alone in 1950 was 41 billion gallons; in 1975 it rose to 122 billion. Two hundred and fifteen million Americans own and operate more than

46. Photo - Stacked junked cars

125 million motor vehicles. (46) Hundreds of thousands of automobiles are junked each year, but new ones

47. Photo - Cars on dock in Japan

are being produced (47) throughout the world by the millions -- 10 million annually in the U.S. alone.

48. Graphic - World oil consumption

In Western Europe, Japan, and the U.S., in the past 30 years, (48) oil consumption has also been increased by the large-scale conversion from coal to oil and natural gas for household heat, industrial uses, and to generate electricity.



The United States leads the world in the import of oil. It is also a major exporter of machinery, transportation equipment, chemicals. Its main export markets are Canada, Japan, and West Europe.

49. Graphic w/pie charts showing % of dependence and source

49 In addition to oil, the United States must depend upon imports for all or critical amounts of many essential minerals.

Most of the nations that supply raw materials to the U.S. and to other industrial nations of the world are underdeveloped; many are dependent upon one resource.

50. Photo - Closed gas station

50 The Arab oil embargo of 1973 was a turning point in the policies and attitudes many of raw material producing nations. Producers of such other needed resources as bauxite and copper are now seeking similar cartel arrangements.

water



The interdependence of the nations of the world is increasingly apparent; adjustment to it is halting and uncertain.

51. Photo -
Sea scape

(51) The global issues involved in the exploitation and management of the resources of oceans reflect the same uncertainty. The oceans cover more than 70 percent of our earth's surface.

Next Sec

For centuries they have provided man with open avenues for maritime transport and trade and with a seemingly endless supply of fish.

52. Photo -
Japanese fish
factory

Recently there's been a tremendous increase in these traditional uses of the seas. (52) Using new technology, the world's fish catch has increased

53. Chart of
fish catch --
1950-70

(53) from 26 million metric tons in 1955 to a high point of 70 million metric tons in 1970. Many fishing grounds have been overfished, and the world catch dropped in recent years. Declining fish stocks

have brought on confrontations like the "Cod



War" in the North Atlantic involving Iceland and the United Kingdom.

54. Chart -
Increase in
sea cargo

Sea shipping has increased ⁽⁵⁴⁾ from 500 million metric tons of cargo in 1950 to 2.5 billion tons in 1970. The number of ships and their size has also increased greatly,

55. Navy chart
of major
sealanes of
the world

⁽⁵⁵⁾ and the world's sealanes and choke points are becoming overcrowded. For example, an average of 820 vessels per day transit the Straits of Dover. More than sixty percent of the oil that moves internationally passes through the Straits of Hormuz, which connects the Persian Gulf with the Indian Ocean.

Jugular
Arrows

56. Photo -
Offshore
drilling rig

Modern technology has also made it possible to drill for offshore oil and natural gas ⁽⁵⁶⁾ thousands of feet below the ocean's surface.

In 1958 only 5 percent of oil produced came from beneath the seas; today the figure is about 20



percent, and petroleum geologists estimate that half of the world's future oil supply will come from undersea petroleum deposits.

57. Photo -
Nodules

(57) Another ocean development is the discovery on the deep ocean beds of potato-size lumps that are rich in copper, manganese, nickel, and

58. Graphic diagram
of nodule dredge

cobalt. A whole new industry, (58) led by the U.S., is developing to scoop up these valuable metals from 2-3 miles beneath the ocean's surface.

Coastal countries recognizing the economic value of the oceans are claiming exclusive rights to exploit offshore resources -- some out to 200 miles. These claims could threaten navigational freedoms.

59. Photo -
Gibraltar
Skylab

(59) Traditional freedom of navigation through international straits such as Gibraltar, shown here from Skylab, may also be threatened. A 12-mile territorial sea -- instead of the



60. Map showing
choke points

historic 3-mile limit -- has been widely
accepted. That brings under potential national
sovereignty more than 100 straits, a dozen or
more of which are extremely important to world
trade. ⁶⁰ Naval movements, as well as global
trade, may be endangered as narrow passageways
linking oceans and continents are susceptible to
interdiction.

One hundred and forty nations of the world
are attempting to cope with these important and
far-reaching issues at a series of law of the sea
conferences.

61. Photo -
Jackson's Hole

⁶¹ We take pure water and air, and good earth
for granted. Few comprehend their vulnerability,
or the extent to which they have been degraded
by abuse. Air, water, and land pollution are
global phenomena. Localized pollution spreads,
like ripples in a pool. Mankind is reliant upon



a narrow band of atmosphere, a thin crust of land, and a limited quantity of fresh water, all in delicate balance.

62. Photo -
Garbage scow or
similar

The oceans are the final dump ⁶² for the waste of all mankind. Industrial waste, air-borne pollutants, oil spills, chemicals, and garbage by the millions of tons per day are dumped into the oceans. Large as they are, the oceans cannot absorb waste in such amounts forever without ill effects. The Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, for example, are deteriorating rapidly. Though they are semi-closed seas, they provide a preview to the ultimate fate of the oceans.

63. Photo -
Tanker

⁶³ The world oil tanker fleet now numbers 4,000 vessels, some of them supertankers as long as three football fields. When fully underway such supertankers may take 11 miles to stop. One billion, two hundred and fifth million tons of oil per year are transported by tanker.

*Stress
something
more than
pollution*



64. Photo -
Oil spill
Burning tanker

(64) Intentional discharges to flush the tanks,
and accidental oil spills, dump one and one-half
million tons of oil into the oceans each year.

65. Photo -
Industrial
plant

(65) Industrial air pollution is increasing world-
wide at rapid rates. In Tokyo, Rome, Mexico City,

66. Photo -
Paris traffic

(66) Paris, and elsewhere throughout the world,
traffic jams also pollute the air.

67. Graphic -
Map - terrorist
acts

(67) Other important global issues confront the
United States. Terrorism, for example, is not a
new phenomenon, but one used increasingly by
dissident groups in the past ten years. Hijacking,
kidnaping, bombing, and assassination have become
commonplace. Many of the terrorist groups are
aided and abetted by sympathetic nations that view
terrorism as a legitimate means of political
activism and provide support in the form of money,
training and equipment.



68. Graphic -
Record of
punishment

68

Disunity of policy among the concerned

nations of the world, and a weak and inconsistent international record of punishment for those caught has done little to discourage the terrorists.

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest international links between major dissident organizations. These include the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army, the Japanese Red Army Group, the Turkish Popular Liberation Front, the Quebec Liberation Front, and the Basque separatist movement.

69. Map -
Drug Smuggling
routes

69

The growing use of narcotics and dangerous

drugs is another serious international issue.

Drug smuggling routes bind the globe in an intricate web.



Opium from the poppy fields of Mexico, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East is converted to heroin in underground labs and smuggled into the U.S. and Western Europe on a large scale. Cocaine from the coca plantations of the South American Andes flows north in increasing amounts. Marijuana, hashish, and pills of all sorts join the rising tide of illegal drugs pouring across international borders (70) Drug abuse in the United States alone is estimated to reach 19 billion dollars a year in crime, police, medical, and social costs.

70. Photo -
Girl w/needle

No single solution to the problem has proven totally effective. (71) Suspension of legal poppy cultivation in Turkey in 1973 and 1974 reduced the world opium supply for a while but increased production, especially in Mexico, more than made

71. Photo -
Poppy plant



72. Photo -
Remote poppy field

up the difference. Illegal poppy fields scattered through ⁷² remote mountain regions are difficult to reach and destroy. And it is hard to persuade the farmers to give up their profitable drug crops. A Mexican peasant may make more from two or three good seasons of poppy cultivation than from a whole lifetime of growing corn and beans.

Only determined national efforts and close international cooperation can bring this global problem under control.

73. (Graphic)
Repeat #34
ISSUES :

⁷³ The seriousness of major global issues confronting the United States is clear. The complexity and urgency of the demands those issues place on the American Government and the American people is also clear.

But even our best efforts will not be enough unless there is a matching willingness



by other nations to work toward solutions.

The choice is up to the peoples and nations
of the world. Will there be. . . .

74. Photo:
Mushroom
cloud

(74)

Devastation

or

75. Photo:
Sunset

(75)

tranquility?

76. Photo:
Malnutrition-
children

(76)

Poverty

or

77. Photo:
Harvest scene

(77)

plenty?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 6, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RAY WALDMANN *Ray W.*

SUBJECT: ~~Geopolitical Briefing~~

As I have mentioned to you, I believe the CIA briefing could be improved and its usefulness to the White House enhanced if it had a message or theme - if it built to some conclusions.

In an attempt to show you what I mean, in the attached I have taken the topics of the CIA briefing, expanded them and added a few others, organized them along the lines of my original outline, and indicated where the text could come from. - - I think it could be prepared with little "original" work.

~~What's your reaction?~~

Ray -

*like your
outline -*

W



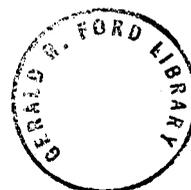
Geopolitical Briefing

A. Introduction

1. U. S. in 200 years has risen from 13 weak and divided colonies to the first power of the world.
(new text)
2. U. S. is oldest and best functioning democracy under a constitution.
(new text)
3. Questions are raised about our will, our abilities and our responsibilities as leader of the free world.
(new text)
4. We will explore briefly four topics in turn -- the geophysical world, the economic world, the military world and the political world -- and the U. S. position in each.
(new text)

B. Geophysical world.

1. World has become smaller, crowded and complex.
(CIA text, pp 1-2)
2. Land masses, mountain ranges etc not barriers they once were, given air mobility and ICBMs.
(new text)
3. Middle East, traditional trade hub for centuries, now a focus for air, shipping and oil.
(CIA text, p 2-3)



4. Oceans cover 70% of earth's surface, yet just a few choke points can make large areas inaccessible.
(CIA text, pp. 16, 17, 18)
5. Oil and minerals will be found off-shore in increasing quantities.
(CIA text, p. 17)
6. Pollution and environment are or should be concerns in every country.
(CIA p. 19-21, reduced)
7. Agreed rules and negotiations (in new areas such as Law of Sea) are critical to harmony.
(CIA p. 19 plus new text)

C. Economic World

1. U.S. no longer independent as prevailing myths 200 years ago, or even 3 decades ago thought.
(CIA p. 13)
2. U.S. must now import increasing amounts of oil and minerals, increasing our vulnerability.
(CIA pp 13, 15)
3. Population growing faster than food, and U.S. supplies large portion of food deficit.
(CIA pp. 11-12)
4. Petroleum needs growing, meaning more tankers, more dependence on foreign sources.
(CIA p. 14, 17)



5. Cartels and economic arrangements new arena.
(CIA p. 15 plus new text)
6. Economic pressures drives narcotics and drugs smuggling (Turkey, Mexico cash crops; - connections with global underworld).
(CIA text, pp 22-24)
7. How can we ensure supplies? By exporting our production, by maintaining relations with supplier countries, and by tough "realistic" bargaining with unfriendly countries.
(new text)

D. Military World

1. U.S. is a superpower; in event of war we would not have time while others fight to mobilize as in World Wars I and II; - we must have forces deployed.
(new text)
2. USSR is our major adversary, in spite of relaxation; it is investing heavily - 12-15% of GNP vs 6% for U.S. - in defense.
(new text)
3. USSR is deploying overseas rapidly - Mediterranean, southern Africa, Indian Ocean, and to bases in foreign countries; it is also advancing faster technically.
(new text)
4. US/USSR strategic arms balance is limited by SALT.
(CIA pp. 6-8)
5. Nuclear proliferation possible - plutonium is now widely available.
(CIA pp 9-11)



6. Standing armies are large in potential trouble spots - North and South Korea, Middle East, NATO/Warsaw, India/Pakistan, Soviet/Sino.
(CIA text pp 3, 4, 5, and 6)
7. Military and covert action is discredited in U.S. since Vietnam - e.g. Angola.
(new text)
8. While U.S. spending declines, USSR increases, USSR R&D advances and military production expands in all major categories. What are the USSR's ambitions?
(new text)

E. Political World

1. Decolonization around world has lead to instability - Vietnam, India/Pakistan, Middle East, Africa - process almost complete in Africa (language and racial differences).
(new text plus CIA p. 3-4)
2. White/Black, north/south, rich/poor tensions are still growing.
(new text)
3. There are few democracies in world (25 or so) vs. many totalitarian, communist and dedicated regimes.
(new text)
4. No isolated areas left; events in China affect NATO; Angola is part of US/USSR conflict; there are no "civil" wars since outside intervention is potential or real.
(new text)



F. Conclusions

1. World will not be better place if we withdraw - we are force for good.
(new text)
2. Must judge commitment by our actions - our support for military developments and defense strength, and diplomacy based on our willingness to use it.
(new text)
3. Serious issues confront U. S. , need to work toward solutions.
(CIA p. 24-25)

RJW
April 6, 1976



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR JACK MARSH
FROM: RAY WALDMANN *Ray W.*
SUBJECT: Geopolitical Briefing

I have taken the CIA Geopolitical Briefing and fitted it into my revised outline, drafting new text where required. The numbers in the text refer to the CIA slides.

If you agree, I would like to have some people around here review the text - Mike, Russ, Bill Hyland, Bill Kendall, Charlie Leppert, Dave Gergen, for instance. If it survives, I will then rearrange the CIA graphics to determine whether we need to fill any gaps. Your reaction?



draft

Geopolitical Briefing (1)

The United States has risen in its 200 years of history from 13 weak and divided colonies to the first power of the world. In spite of challenges and internal divisions within that 200 year history, we have always managed to recapture the basic dreams and objectives which the founders expressed for our country.

We have been able to develop and maintain that power under free and democratic governments. In fact, among the democracies of the world functioning under constitutions, the United States has shown resiliency and leadership which has been the envy of the world. Nevertheless, questions are now being raised about our will to exercise that leadership and our ability to discharge the duties which fall to us as leaders of the free world.

(2) We confront many global problems. Some are the familiar ones of potential military conflict; others are relatively new to us, such as energy needs, resource shortages and environmental degradation.



In the course of this brief presentation, we will explore the challenges to the U.S. of the geophysical world, the economic world, the military world and the political world.

Geophysical World

Turning first to the geophysical world, it has become (4) smaller, (5) more crowded, (6) more complex and (7) more dangerous.

In the decades before World War II, before air power and satellites, we thought of the world in terms of land boundaries. Land masses and oceans, for example, formed the basis for international political thinking and determined the strategy of major powers. Mountain ranges, deserts and even major rivers determined the outcome of wars as well as more peaceful trade and migrations between countries.

One such traditional hub of commerce is the Middle East, (9) where continuing incidents could quickly escalate into major war. It is a particularly important region . . . as a major communications crossroads between Asia and Europe, and as the source of 65% of the world's known petroleum reserves.



It is also a focal point of a deep-rooted religious conflict between warring Christian and Moslem factions in Lebanon, and of intense Arab-Israeli antagonism, (10) and of a long-festering Middle East refugee problem.

Outside powers (11) -- Western Europe, the USSR, and the U.S. -- have and will continue to have important and, at times, conflicting political, economic, and strategic stakes in the region.

(52) The global issues involved in the exploitation and management of the resources of oceans reflect the same uncertainty. The oceans cover more than 70 percent of our earth's surface. For centuries they have provided man with open avenues for maritime transport and trade and with a seemingly endless supply of fish.

Recently there has been a tremendous increase in these traditional uses of the seas. Troublesome issues may be settled by a new Law of the Sea, now under negotiation. (53) Using new technology, the world's fish catch has increased (54) from 26 million metric tons in 1955 to a high point of 70 million metric tons in 1970. Many fishing



grounds have been overfished, and the world catch has dropped in recent years. (55) Declining fish stocks have brought on confrontations like the "Cod War" in the North Atlantic involving Iceland and the United Kingdom.

Sea shipping has increased in volume 5 times in 20 years, (56) from 500 million tons to 2.5 billion tons by 1970. There are now over 21 thousand merchant ships, most of them larger vessels than in 1950, crowding the world's sealanes and choke points like international straits. (57) For example, an average of 820 vessels per day transit the Straits of Dover. More than sixty percent of the oil that moves internationally passes through the Straits of Hormuz, which connects the Persian Gulf with the Indian Ocean.

Modern technology has made it possible to drill for oil and natural gas (58) thousands of feet below the ocean's surface. In 1958 only 5 percent of oil produced came from beneath the seas; today the figure



is about 20 percent, and petroleum geologists estimate that half of the world's future oil supply will come from undersea petroleum deposits.

(59) Another ocean development is the discovery on the deep ocean beds of potato-size lumps that are rich in copper, manganese, nickel, and cobalt. A whole new industry, (60) led by the U.S., is developing to scoop up these valuable metals from 2-3 miles beneath the ocean's surface.

Coastal countries, recognizing the economic value of the oceans, are claiming exclusive rights to exploit offshore resources -- some out to 200 miles. These claims could threaten navigational freedoms.

(61) Traditional freedom of navigation through international straits such as Gibraltar, shown here from Skylab, may also be threatened. A 12-mile territorial sea -- instead of the historic 3-mile limit -- has been widely accepted. That brings under potential national sovereignty more than 100 straits, a dozen or more of which are extremely important to world trade. (62) Naval movements, as well as global trade, may be endangered as narrow passageways linking oceans and continents are susceptible to interdiction.



(63) We take pure water and air, and good earth for granted. Few comprehend their vulnerability, or the extent to which they have been degraded by abuse. Air, water, and land pollution are global phenomena. Localized pollution spreads, like ripples in a pool. Mankind is reliant upon a narrow band of atmosphere, a thin crust of land, and a limited quantity of fresh water, all in delicate balance.

(64) Industrial waste, airborne pollutants, oil spills, chemicals, and garbage by the millions of tons per day are dumped into the oceans. Large as they are, the oceans cannot absorb waste in such amounts forever without ill effects.

(65) The world oil tanker fleet now numbers 4,000 vessels, some of them supertankers as long as three football fields. When fully underway such supertankers may take 11 miles to stop.

(66) Intentional discharges to flush the tanks, and accidental oil spills, dump one and one-half million tons of oil into the oceans each year.



(67) Industrial air pollution is increasing world-wide at rapid rates, in major cities throughout the world. New rules may be needed to deal with pollution of all forms.

Economic World

The Economic World poses new challenges for the United States in its relations with other countries. How we can insure the availability of needed supplies of raw materials? We can pay for them by exporting our production and by sharing our technology and expertise. We must maintain relations with the supplier countries of all shades of opinion and political persuasion. And finally, we must recognize the necessity for tough bargaining on a "realistic" basis with unfriendly countries.

Just 35 years ago, (43) almost all minerals used in the U.S. were produced domestically. Our petroleum production exceeded our needs; the Minnesota iron deposits were the largest in the world;



the world's most productive copper mine was in Utah. (50) Now many of our prime reserves have been severely drawn down, and exploitation of remaining deposits is very expensive. We face demands for imports of essential minerals, as do many other advanced industrial nations - Japan, Germany, France, and Italy for example.

The raw material demands of twenty-five years of economic boom, three wars, (44) the world's largest industrial complex, and a standard of living far above any other in the world have taken their toll of U.S. mineral resources. (45) With 6% of the world's population, the U.S. now uses 40% of the world's non-energy minerals, and 30% of its energy.

The motor vehicle accounts for a major part of world petroleum consumption. Two hundred and fifteen million Americans own and operate more than 125 million motor vehicles. (47) Hundreds of thousands of automobiles are junked each year, but new ones are being produced (48) throughout the world by the millions -- 10 million annually in the U.S. alone.



In Western Europe, Japan, and the U.S., in the past 30 years, (49) oil consumption has also been increased by the large-scale conversion from coal to oil to generate heat and power.

(37) In March 1976 the world's population reached the 4 billion mark, with a rate of increase of nearly 2%. At that rate, in just 25 years, the world population will be almost 7 billion.

The highest rates of population increase (38) are in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. At current rates China will have a population of 1 billion by 1984. The rate of population increase tends to be highest in underdeveloped nations which can neither produce sufficient food for themselves nor pay to import food from surplus producers.

Much of the world's population (39) is under nourished; famine and starvation are regular occurrences in many areas. Only a few nations produce large surpluses of basic foods, (40) such as wheat, rice, soybeans, and meats, for export. Among the major exporters of basic food crops are Canada, Argentina, Australia, France and the United States.



(41) 55% of the world's grain exports originate in the U. S. ; the percentage is increasing. In 1975-76 the U.S. will export about 84 million tons of grain; Canada about 15 million tons; Argentina 12.5 million; and Australia 11 million.

The increase in world food production (36) is not keeping up with the increase in world population, and the trends indicate an approaching global crisis. In some regions of the world -- South Asia and central Africa for example -- the crisis has already arrived.

(71) The growing use of narcotics and dangerous drugs is another serious international issue.

Drug smuggling routes bind the globe in an intricate web.

Opium from the poppy fields of Mexico, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East (72) is converted to heroin in underground labs and smuggled into the U.S. and Western Europe on a large scale. Cocaine from the coca plantations of the South American Andes flows north in increasing amounts. Marijuana, hashish, and pills of all



sorts join the rising tide of illegal drugs pouring across international borders. (73) Drug abuse in the United States alone is estimated to reach 19 billion dollars a year in crime, police, medical, and social costs.

No single solution to the problem has proven totally effective. (74) Suspension of legal poppy cultivation in Turkey in 1973 and 1974 reduced the world opium supply for awhile but increased production elsewhere, especially in Mexico, more than made up the difference. Illegal poppy fields scattered through (75) remote mountain regions are difficult to reach and destroy. A typical half-acre field, such as the one shown here in Mexico, may yield 9 pounds of opium gum which can be sold to laboratory operators for as much as \$12,000. A Mexican peasant may make more money from two or three good seasons of poppy cultivation than from a whole lifetime of growing corn and beans.



Only determined national efforts and close international cooperation can bring this global problem under control.

Most of the nations that supply raw materials to the U.S. and to other industrial nations are underdeveloped; many are dependent upon one resource.

(51) The Arab oil embargo of 1973 was a turning point in the policies and attitudes of many raw-material-producing nations. Producers of such other needed resources as bauxite and copper are now seeking similar cartel arrangements.

Developing countries are looking toward the leadership of the oil producing countries and the opec cartel for new strength in bargaining with the developed world. In the view of developing countries economic strength will be achieved through economic arrangements and controls, not through competition or capitalism. These beliefs form the new arena within which economic bargaining and transactions may take place.



Military World

In the military world, the United States, in the years following the Second World War, became a superpower. It was recognized that in the event of war, we would not have the time we have had in the past to mobilize our forces while others fought. Our overriding strategic necessity was to have our armed forces ready and in place around the world.

Our major adversary, the Soviet Union, recognizes a similar need today and is seeking bases outside its boundaries. In spite of the period of relaxation which has followed the ending of the Cold War, the Soviet Union has become a military world leader. The Soviet Union invests from 12 to 15% of its gross national product in defense, compared with some 5 to 6% in the United States and in most Western democracies, even less. Even allowing for the inefficiencies of the Soviet system, their lack of combat readiness and the greater sophistication of western arms, there is cause for concern.



The Soviet Union is deploying its forces overseas at a rapid rate. The Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean have expanded rapidly to the point where Soviet forces can conduct a world-wide tactical maneuver. The Soviet military technical establishment is large, well-funded, focused on military development programs; it is rapidly closing the technological gap.

Nuclear weapons held by the United States and the Soviet Union could wipe out civilization the world over. (22) Both sides feel insecure and constantly wonder whether their retaliatory capability is sufficient to deter any possibility of a first attack and whether an attack might be launched accidentally, or by an irrational man.

Thus far the world has avoided a nuclear holocaust. Can it continue to do so?

Part of the answer has been sought in the (23) U.S. -USSR Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, called SALT. Since the talks began in 1969, there have been eight extensive meetings. The aim is to stop the nuclear arms race and, then, move gradually toward mutual nuclear disarmament. Both sides have negotiated with great caution.



SALT has produced an agreement to limit the defensive anti-ballistic missiles (24) (ABM's) to 100 for each side. This is intended as a restraint against either side launching an attack on the other. The reasoning is that 100 ABM's are far too few to guarantee any kind of effective defense against the diversified, widely deployed, (25) and well-protected retaliatory nuclear missiles, and therefore the attacking nation would face the same kind of destruction moments later.

SALT also agreed, in 1972, (26) to freeze each country's offensive nuclear missiles at specified levels for an interim five-year period. These levels are designed to create an overall balance of nuclear arms power between the two countries.

For instance, the USSR is permitted higher numbers of land and sea-based missiles to offset U.S. superiority in bombers and multiple independent re-entry vehicles. These weapons, called MIRV's, (27) contain several warheads that separate from the main vehicle and can be independently targeted -- to one target or to several targets. Modern



technology now makes it possible for the MIRV to change targets in flight so as to evade anti-missile missiles. The U.S. has a 3-to-1 lead in number of warheads and is deploying MIRV's on more than 1000 missiles, (28) including those on the POSEIDON submarine. Also, the U.S. strategic bomber force (29) is 3 times larger than that of the USSR and has some 16 times more nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Soviets have greater destructive power in their largest land-based ICBM's.

(30) To further complicate the global nuclear picture, additional nations have developed their own nuclear weapons: the UK in 1952, France in 1960, China in 1964, and, in 1974, India set off a nuclear device. Israel is reported to have developed nuclear weapons. Others have or are developing the potential to do so. Neither the technology nor the expense now precludes nuclear proliferation. There is even justifiable concern that terrorist groups, such as the PLO, might acquire nuclear weapons.



(31) India's nuclear device used plutonium fuel diverted from a nuclear power plant purchased from Canada. There are now nearly 600 nuclear power plants in operation or under construction in more than 30 countries. It takes only 10 pounds of plutonium to make a simple atomic bomb. (32) Thirty years ago all the world's plutonium was in the possession of the U.S. and was stored in a container the size of a cigar box. By 1980, approximately 1 million pounds will have been accumulated from nuclear power reactors the world over.

In 1968 a majority of the nations of the world agreed to a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. (33) It was ratified simultaneously by Washington and Moscow on the fifth of March 1970. China and France have not adhered to the treaty, although in practice, they have abided by its main provisions not to export nuclear weapons or weapons technology. The treaty included safeguards to prevent secret use of nuclear power reactors to make nuclear weapons. Over 90 countries have signed the treaty, but many who signed it have not ratified. Among the non-signatories



are several of the nations most likely and most able to make nuclear arms such as South Africa (34) -- whose plutonium enrichment plant is shown here -- and Brazil, Argentina, and Pakistan.

In central Europe, (21) the two major nuclear powers directly confront each other, with NATO and Warsaw Pact forces maintaining guard over their respective areas.

In the Far East, (16) tension continues between South Korea, the world's fifth largest military force, (17) and North Korea, the eleventh largest. Incidents along the ceasefire line keep the pot simmering.

All is not tranquil between the major Communist nations. (18) Along the Sino-Soviet border, shooting incidents have occurred between Soviet and Chinese soldiers over seemingly worthless small islands in the rivers that mark the frontier. In recent years almost two million troops have been moved into the troubled border area. (19) This hostility reflects tensions between two major Communist powers seeking leadership primacy; it also reflects historic national antagonism and suspicion between Russia and China.



While the conventional military forces continue to pose threats to world peace, the United States is less able to conduct a foreign policy of variable response. Many feel it to be impossible to conduct covert action without its escalating to full-blown military warfare. Recent Congressional actions denied funds for Angola; there is continuing debate about the effectiveness of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union now has substantial military production capabilities and is outstripping U.S. production in all major equipment categories. Perhaps even more disturbing the groundwork is being laid in the Soviet Research and Development efforts for future technical breakthroughs. What ambitions does the Soviet Union have which demands this commitment and dedication of its scarce resources?



Political World

Part of that answer is to be found in examination of the political world. Decolonization following the breakup of the large European empires has led to instability. For over 30 years troubles in Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, the Middle East and Africa have been spawned by political readjustments. And the process is not yet complete. Even within countries, for example, we can expect political issues to arise, given their internal problems.

For example, (12) throughout Africa, the situation is unstable and inflammable. The final remnants of the colonial era are disappearing -- Angola, the Spanish Sahara, and Rhodesia are recent examples.

(13) There are 42 independent countries in Africa; almost every one of them gained independence since 1943. There is little permanent or secure about their political systems, their national boundaries, or their international ties.



(14) The 5,000 tribes inhabiting Africa speak 800 separate languages. Tribal loyalties frequently are more important than national affiliation. Primitive societies and modern cities, (15) such as Capetown, exist, uneasily, side by side.

It is almost certain that Africa faces a long period of strife and turmoil within and among its various countries. Outside interference is likely to continue. Many of these increasing tensions are between rich countries and poor countries, between the "north" and the "south". The United Nations is attempting to mount programs and develop acceptable doctrines to bridge these gaps. Yet the problems grow and the solutions appear to be even further beyond our reach, perhaps in part because of their enormity when considered against the resources being devoted to them.

One of the casualties of the economic and military trends affecting the world has been the fate of the political democracies. There are perhaps only 25 or so functioning democracies



in the world of 150 countries. Not all the others are dedicated communist regimes, but many are nevertheless totalitarian in outlook. The rest of the world often has little patience with our democratic processes, our diversity of interests and our defense of free enterprise.

The world is becoming even more closely inter-related. Events in China, for example, may have impact on the structure and composition of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Angola becomes a part of the competition and conflict between the Free World and the Communist. Are "Civil Wars" possible when the parties claim ideological bases for their actions?

(69) Terrorism, for example, has been used increasingly by dissident groups in the past ten years. Hijacking, kidnaping, bombing, and assassination have become commonplace. Many of the terrorist groups are aided and abetted by sympathetic nations that view terrorism as a legitimate means of political activism and provide support in the form of money, training and equipment.



(70) Disunity of policy among the concerned nations of the world, and a weak and inconsistent international record of punishment for those caught, has done little to discourage the terrorists.

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest international links between major dissident organizations. These include the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Irish Republican Army, the Japanese Red Army Group, the Turkish Popular Liberation Front, the Quebec Liberation Front, and the Basque separatist movement.

(76) The seriousness of major global issues confronting the United States is clear. The complexity and urgency of the demands those issues place on the American Government and the American people is also clear.

We cannot comfortably assume that the world will be a better place if we withdraw from it. In spite of our frequent self-criticism and that of others, we are recognized to be a force for good. Our commitments will be judged by our actions.



But even our best efforts will not be enough unless there is a matching willingness by other nations to work toward solutions. The choice is up to the peoples and nations of the world. Will there be

(77) Devastation

or

(78) tranquility?

(79) Poverty

or

(80) plenty?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH
FROM: RAY WALDMANN *Ray W.*
SUBJECT: GEOPOLITICAL BRIEFING

The Defense University folks will try to test the briefing on some groups in the next two weeks. They will make changes in the text along the lines of our comments.

My reaction: it is too wordy in the early part. Once the content is settled, I would like to edit their script heavily in places to smooth it out. Perhaps a professional editor should go over it as well. Please let me know if you agree.

Agree it needs

editing JM

*gave Ray the
above msg.
7/30
5:10
ac*



August 2, 1976

Dear Duke:

Many thanks for your letter, and I am particularly pleased to know that you are back in the swing of things.

I was quite impressed by the presentation of the briefing on Friday and this is a view shared by all those here at the White House. We made several suggestions which we think would contribute to the overall format; however, vast progress had been made since the earlier presentation.

I understand you will be doing some testing of this on various audiences and I would very much like to get their reaction.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President

Admiral M. G. Bayne
President
National Defense University
Washington, D. C. 20319

JOM/dl



AUG 2 1976



NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

PRESIDENT

30 July 1976

Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Jack,

You have given us a challenging assignment in this briefing; yet I believe what you will see today is a big step in the right direction.

As you view it, may I ask that you determine whether or not we have highlighted the world's "hot spots" to such an extent to imply that U.S. Foreign Policy is reactive only; rather than built on a firm policy base requiring the maintenance of stability among nation states; the support of free peoples everywhere; and a system of carefully built alliances and commitments from which we cannot and should not back away; i.e. NATO, Israel; South Korea; Japan, etc.

I expressed concern to the briefers that this implication could be drawn from the presentation as now put together, and asked that they attempt to soften it by proper lead-in statements. They may achieve that by the time you see it this afternoon, but I have my doubts.

New subject: May I suggest for your consideration that after the affair in Kansas City is over next month, the President's slogan during the Ford-Carter campaign period could well be, "It is risky to change a winning game."

Warm regards,


M.G. BAYNE

Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy



Boyer

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20319

OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE, \$300

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

DOD-314



NDU-P

Mr. John O. Marsh, Jr.
Counsellor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Personal