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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 6, 1975

THE PRESIDENT'S BRIEFING BOOK

Key Questions For

NEW ENGLAND

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LACK OF CANDOR

- Q. Many critics feel that you were less than candid last Monday night when you announced your Cabinet changes. What was the real reason for those changes?
- A. I told the truth last Monday night. People who suspect otherwise are barking up the wrong tree. I made the Cabinet changes because I wanted my own team working with me.

There were no hidden motives.

All the speculation is a bit like the old story of the two psychiatrists who passed on the way to their offices. One said "Good morning," and the other spent the whole day saying to himself, "I wonder what he meant by that?"

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INTELLIGENCE - GENERAL

- Q. What have you done to clean up the intelligence community and prevent future abuses?
- A. The intelligence community has served this Nation with distinction. It performs a critical function which is absolutely essential for our ability to maintain an effective national defense and for the President to conduct foreign relations.

Legitimate questions have been raised concerning some past practices of the intelligence agencies. I have moved quickly to stop abuses and prevent any reoccurrence. For example:

- I created the "Rockefeller Commission" to investigate the domestic activities of CIA;
- I collected materials concerning allegations of assassination plots by the intelligence community and made it available, under appropriate safeguards, to the Congress and the Justice Department;
- I have taken steps to implement administrative changes to prevent further abuses;
- I have ordered an intensive and comprehensive review to determine whether new legislation is needed;
- I have made it clear that I will not tolerate illegality or impropriety by any Executive Branch official while I am President, and
- I have endeavored to provide the appropriate Committees of Congress substantial information concerning the intelligence community under procedures designed to facilitate the Committees' investigations while maintaining the confidentiality of ongoing foreign intelligence activities.

CIA - BUSH/Politics

- Q. You have said you want to clean up the intelligence community to prevent abuses. Is putting a former Chairman of the RNC in as Director of CIA the way to do this?
- A. I have nominated George Bush as Director of Central Intelligence and head of the CIA because I believe he is the best man for the job.

The intelligence community needs new leadership. The Nation must have an effective intelligence capability.

George Bush brings excellent qualifications to the job. He was formerly Ambassador to the United Nations and currently is our envoy to the Peoples' Republic of China.

I do not believe that a qualified man should be denied public office just because he served, with distinction, as head of one of our political parties. The two party system is a fundamental and important part of the political process - it helps make our democratic system work.

In fact, I believe the intelligence community will benefit by having a leader with a background in elective politics. He knows the importance of being responsive to the American people.

I will hold the entire intelligence community to the highest standards of integrity and legality. Ambassador Bush reflects these same standards.

INTELLIGENCE - LEGALITY

- Q. Are the current activities of the intelligence community being conducted in a legal and proper manner?
- A. I have given umambiguous instructions that all members of the Executive Branch -- including the intelligence community -- must conduct their activities legally and in accordance with the high ethical principles I hold.

Attorney General Levi, in testimony before the Senate Select Committee, pointed out that, at my instructions, the personal approval of the Attorney General is required before any non-consensual electronic surveillance may be instituted within the United States without a judicial warrant. He went on to stress that there are no warrantless taps or electronic surveillance directed against American citizens, and none will be authorized unless the target is an agent or collaborator of a foreign power.

It is the Attorney General's view that the Justice Department's present policy and the actions taken under that policy are unquestionably in full compliance with the law.

- Q. Why are you trying to cover up the intelligence community abuses in the areas of the assassination reports, covert actions and NSA?
- A. It is not a question of withholding information required by the Congress to carry out its inquiries into the intelligence community. On the contrary, I have endeavored to make all of the information available to Congress so that legislation can be proposed, if necessary, and to the Justice Department to facilitate any investigation indicated. However, we must distinguish between disclosure to the Congressional Committees of sensitive information and publication of that information which is harmful to the national interest and may endanger the physical safety of individuals.

There is no question about access to these materials by appropriate officials. The only issue concerns publication which obviously cannot be limited to Members of Congress and other American citizens.

Public release of some of these official materials and information will do grievous damage to our country. It would likely be exploited by foreign nations and groups hostile to the United States in a manner designed to do maximum damage to the reputation and foreign policy of the United States. It would seriously impair our ability to exercise a positive leading role in world affairs.

INTELLIGENCE AGENCY FUNCTIONS

- Q. Are you going to make additional intelligence agency moves? Are you going to change how the agency functions? Reports to the President?
- A. At my direction, a comprehensive review is underway to determine if there is any need to restructure the intelligence community. We are looking at legislative and administrative alternatives.

INTELLIGENCE - CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

- Q. Do you agree with Vice President Rockefeller's assessment that the current Congressional investigations of the intelligence community have harmed the Nation's ability to defend itself?
- A. There is absolutely no doubt that leaks of highly classified intelligence information are adversely affecting our ability to conduct foreign intelligence activities.

It is possible for Congress to conduct its inquiries and consider legislation without publishing materials which should remain classified in order to permit our intelligence community to operate effectively.

INTELLIGENCE - PROSECUTIONS

- Q. Who will make the final decisions on whether CIA and FDI personnel will be prosecuted -- you or the Attorney General?
- . A. When the Attorney General comes to his conclusions, he has said that he will discuss them with me.

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ANOTHER EMBARGO'S EFFECT ON NEW ENGLAND

- Q. How will New England fare if there is another oil embargo?
- A. As you know, New England is dependent on petroleum for approximately 85 percent of its energy as compared to a national dependence of about 45 percent. If the Congress does not enact my comprehensive energy program to reduce demand and increase energy supplies, another oil embargo could have double the effects on this Nation as the last one had. As a direct result of the 1973 embargo, GNP dropped approximately \$20 billion and 500,000 workers were unemployed. Since New England is almost twice as dependent on petroleum as the rest of the Nation, another embargo could have devastating effects on this region.

NEW ENGLAND'S CHOICE

- Q. What energy choice does New England have but to import more crude oil and petroleum products?
- A. Until the oil embargo of 1973, New England has for years enjoyed the economic benefits of cheap foreign oil. The result has become excessive dependence on imported petroleum, particularly products. New England has two choices: first, greater conservation of petroleum and greater efficiency, and secondly, increased development of its own energy supplies to a far greater extent.

In the longer term, we believe that the Northeast can bring its dependence on petroleum products in balance with other regions of the country and thus eliminate to some extent adverse impacts of petroleum price increases. Several programs included in my comprehensive program, including coal conversion in electric utilities, and OCS leasing, will tend to reduce the dependency of the Northeast on imported oil. In addition, its dependence can be reduced substantially by accelerating construction of nuclear power generation capacity and local refinery capacity.

HOW EIA HELPS NEW ENGLAND

- Q. What is the Energy Independence Authority and how could it help New England?
- The Energy Independence Authority (EIA), if enacted Α. into law, will be a new government corporation to help achieve energy independence for the U.S. by providing loans, loan guarantees, price guarantees, or other financial assistance to private sector energy projects to supplement and encourage private capital investment. Its scope will range across a broad spectrum of energy supply, conservation and energy-related environmental projects. There are several areas in which the EIA could prove useful to New England as well as other regions of the country. Because some emerging technologies and methods to use energy more efficiently have uncertain economics due to technological uncertainties and long lead times, such energy projects will find financing more difficult. Many new projects, such as uranium enrichment plants, are too large as well as economically risky to be financed by the private sector alone. EIA would assist in supplementing and encouraging private capital investments in these areas.

EFFECT OF NATURAL GAS: SATISFIED?

- Q. Are you satisfied with the action taken by the Congress to date on natural gas legislation?
- A. No, I have been dismayed with Congress's, and particularly the House's, failure to pass natural gas legislation. As you know, I submitted a legislative recommendation in January to deregulate natural gas. In September, FEA submitted to Congress certain emergency authorities, since it hadn't yet acted upon my January request. In late October, the Senate passed the so-called Pearson-Bentsen bill which I generally support.

In the House, scheduled mark-ups have been postponed for 2 weeks and another Congressional recess is coming up. Frankly, I am concerned that emergency provisions will not be in place in time to be very helpful this winter.

EFFECT OF NATURAL GAS SHORTAGE

- Q. What kind of impact will the present natural gas curtailment situation have on New England this winter? Will there be unemployment as a result of the shortage?
- A. A recent report by FEA found no substantial difficulties from natural gas shortages in New England this winter, although a large amount of high-priced supplemental gas will have to be used to offset pipeline curtailments.

Unfortunately, several other parts of the Nation are not as fortunate and we do anticipate some resultant unemployment. We do not expect any residential curtailments. However, noncurtailed residential users can make a significant contribution by conserving gas, thereby making it available for industrial users who would otherwise be curtailed.

DEALING WITH SHORT-TERM NATURAL GAS PROBLEM

- Q. What legislation are you requesting to deal with the short-term problem of natural gas shortages?
- A. We requested legislation authorizing the purchase of intrastate gas by curtailed pipelines and endusers on an emergency basis; extension of authorities prohibiting the use of natural gas as a boiler fuel; and extension of propane allocation authorities. I believe that these authorities could enable us to limit this year's natural gas problem to last year's level.

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WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX

(Change)

| | 1975 | 1974 | 1973 |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|
| January | -0.3% | +3.1% | |
| · February | -0.8% | +1.2% | |
| March | -0.6% | +1.3% | |
| April | +1.5% | +0.7% | * |
| May | +0.4% | +1.3% | +2.0% |
| June | -0.1% | +0.5% | +2.3% |
| July | +1.2% | +3.7% | -1.4% |
| August | +0.8% | +3.9% | +6.2% |
| September | +0.6% | +0.1% | -1.5% |
| October | +1.8% | +2.3% | +0.3% |
| November | | +1.2% | +1.8% |
| December | , | -0.5% | +2.2% |

REAGAN DEBATE

- Q. Would you be willing to debate with Ronald Reagan during the New Hampshire Primary Election?
- A. I am not aware that there has been any formal invitation to debate.

I think there is a problem with an incumbant President debating anyone, however. A President knows too much, and it might be dangerous to put him into a situation in which some information, vital to national security, might inadvertantly slip out.

200-Mile Fisheries Bill

- Q: Mr. President, there is considerable attention at present in the Senate and on editorial pages being given to the U.N. Law of the Sea negotiations and the related issue as to whether or not the United States should unilaterally extend its fisheries limits to 200 miles. What is your position on this unilateral legislation?
- A: I am fully in sympathy with those throughout America who are calling for proper safeguarding of U.S. fisheries interests.

 The Administration is acting vigorously to safeguard those interests in a number of current negotiations with nations whose commercial fishing fleets work off our coasts.

At the same time, the United States is participating with other nations in the U.N. Law of the Sea conference in negotiations on the broad range of oceans interests of such great importance to this country including our fisheries interests. I believe that international agreement coming from the Law of the Sea negotiations -- agreement concluded on terms acceptable to us and in reasonable time -- would offer the best prospect for the safeguarding of our fisheries interests. It is my hope that we can proceed quickly and successfully with the other conference participants to conclude a satisfactory international agreement.

Possible Review of US Force Deployments in Europe

- Q: It has been reported in the press that Secretary Kissinger and Secretary Schlesinger had been involved in a dispute over the deployment plans for US forces in Europe. Reports suggest that Secretary Schlesinger wanted to reduce some US forces -- including one of the two aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean and the number of US F-4 aircraft in Europe -- and that Secretary Kissinger opposed these moves. Could you comment on the reports of a dispute and indicate whether any drawdowns of US forces in Europe are planned?
- A: The US reviews its force deployments in Europe each year as part of the normal NATO planning process involving all our NATO allies. This year's review is well underway, but as yet our plans have not been finalized. Overall US policy toward Europe, however, remains steadfast. We fully support the NATO alliance and will continue to meet our force commitments there as we have in the past.

DEFENSE STRATEGY

- Q. The current argument over the Defense Department Budget seems to be centered around numbers and not over the more important issue of what we are spending the money for. Could you explain what our defense concept is, what type of armed forces you feel we need now, and how they would be used both on local wars, such as the Vietnam War or a possible conflict in the Middle East, and in a major direct threat against the United States?
- A. Your question has occupied hundred of our finest minds for years, and involves too many details for me to answer here.

 I refer you to the Annual Defense Report to Congress for a detailed discussion of our defense strategy and forces.

However, let me repeat a statement I made earlier:

"A strong defense is the surest way to peace. Strength makes detente attainable. Weakness invites war..."

To keep our defenses strong, my program calls for the improvement of our strategic nuclear forces to maintain a clear strategic deterrent. It calls for strengthening the ability of our general purposes forces -- land, sea, and air -- to deter or repel attacks ranging from isolated incidents to major assaults by a combination of opponents. My defense program also is designed to increase our research and development efforts to keep U.S. forces modern and to maintain technological superiority.

World peace depends upon a strong American defense effort.

I cannot let our defenses erode.

BUDGET IMPACT OF AID REQUESTS

- Q: How can you justify the huge outlays for aid to Israel and other countries in view of the President's action in cutting domestic programs to the bone?
- A: Our foreign aid budget has declined over the years also. It is now at a minimum level which serves important, and specific, foreign policy needs. We have gone over this budget very carefully and believe that every specific part of it is justified and necessary.

TURKEY, GREECE AND CYPRUS

- Q: How do you explain the aid levels for Greece and Turkey in the absence of movement toward a Cyprus settlement?
- A: The action of Congress in partially lifting the arms embargo against

 Turkey marked an essential first step in our efforts:
 - -- to assist the parties directly involved in the Cyprus negotiations to move toward a peaceful and equitable settlement;
 - -- to continue American assistance to ease the plight of Cyprus refugees;
 - -- to restore the proper balance in our relations with Turkey;
 - -- to work with Greece to determine that country's most urgent needs for economic and military assistance;
 - -- and, collectively, through these efforts, to safeguard with our friends and allies our vital strategic interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The present request is an attempt to continue with these efforts, which we believe give the best hope of lasting peace in the area.

US-SPANISH BASES NEGOTIATIONS

- Q: Mr. President, the 1970 US-Spanish Agreement of Friendship and Cooperation expired on September 26 without the parties reaching agreement on renewal. What are the prospects for a new agreement and must we now begin withdrawal of our forces based in Spain?
- As you know, the United States has been holding consultations with Spain on this issue on a regular basis since the summer of 1974. Or October 4, Secretary Kissinger and Spanish Foreign Minister Corti a concluded two weeks of consultations by agreeing to the broad outlin's of an agreement governing cooperative relationships between the Unite States and Spain, including bases arrangements. I wouldn't want to comment at any greater length until the details of the new agreement are worked out between our two countries.

US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

Q: Mr. President, you will shortly be travelling to Europe for an economic summit meeting with the leaders of the major western powers -- your third trip to Europe in six months. Setting aside the economic aspects of the trip, can you tell us the purpose of these visits and review your policy toward Europe?

A: There are no peoples with whom America's destiny has been more closely linked than those of Western Europe. None of the members of the Atlantic Community can be secure, prosper or advance unless all do so together. At this time in our history, our close collaboration is essential for our common security, to improve East-West relations and especially to cope with the economic challenges we face in common.

From the outset of my Administration, I have made intensified consultations and closer cooperation with our NATO allies a central element of American foreign policy. To this end, I participated in the NATO Summit meeting in Brussels in May, attended with our allies the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki in July, have met with the leaders of all our friends and allies in Western Europe many of them more than once, and have visited a number of allied capitals.

I believe these efforts by the United States have contributed to stronge?

Alliance and trans-Atlantic solidarity today than at any time in the last decade. Together we have maintained a strong and credible defense, improved the process of consultations and proceeded with the agenda for relaxation tensions with the East. We have jointly faced economic

challenges and an energy challenge of unparalleled proportions.

We have cooperated in creating the International Energy

Agency and our upcoming economic meeting is for the purpose

of enhancing our cooperation in dealing with the current

economic problems of the industrialized world.

We have accomplished much in collaboration with our allies over the past year; much still remains to be done and pursuit of these objectives will remain a central element of my foreign policy.

Presidential Visit to the Philippines and Indonesia

(If the official announcement has been made that the President will visit Manila and Jakarta, use the Q&A below.)

- Q: Why have you decided to visit the Philippines and Indonesia in conjunction with your trip to Peking?
- A: President Marcos has extended an invitation to me to visit

 Manila, and I have accepted. This stopover will give

 President Marcos and me a chance to personally discuss

 matters of mutual interest. The U.S. has a long and special

 relationship with the Government of the Philippines within

 the Manila Pact and our bilateral defense agreement.

Indonesia, as one of the leading and most influential countries in Southeast Asia, has been a good friend of the United States. In accepting President Suharto's invitation to visit, I hope to emphasize that we are looking forward to continuing and increasing cooperation between our two peoples.

(For use if no official announcement has been made.)

- Q: There are news reports that you will visit the Philippines and Indonesia in conjunction with your planned visit to Peking.

 Are they correct?
- A: We are still working out the details of my trip to Peking. Until all matters pertaining to the trip are firm, I prefer not to comment on any aspects of it.

however, we seek to strengthen our bilateral relations with China, and in this regard we look forward to continued contacts between our two countries in such fields as cultural and scientific exchanges and trade. It is important that the Chinese and American peoples develop increased understanding of each other if we are to build a more secure and just world.

CHINA

- Q: But isn't the trip in some doubt? We hear stories about the Chinese being angered that you have shortened the length of your visit, and have added two stops in Jakarta and Manila to "put the Chinese in their place." There was also the "mix-up" in the departure of the advance team last Monday. This has suggested to some that your visit is in jeopardy.
- A: (On the assumption that we have received affirmative word from Peking about the date of an announcement of your visit, and the date of arrival of the advance team*): There has been no change in my plans to visit Peking before the end of the year. We will be in a position to give you more details in a few days. Despite some minor problems of coordination in advance preparations, we are proceeding on schedule for the visit.
 - *[NOTE: If on Saturday, November 8, we receive word that
 the Chinese are not prepared to receive you as presently
 scheduled, or if we are still in a state of indecision, alternative
 talking points will be provided.]

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SENATOR HENRY JACKSON'S DEFENSE POSITIONS

Compiled from DOD Newsclips and Transcripts

January 29, 1975

Senator Jackson, appearing on "Face The Nation", said that both the Soviet Union and the United States had unnecessary strategic forces which could be reduced to lower levels of equivalency saving billions of dollars.

Jackson said the U.S. had a large force level it maintains only because the Soviet Union continues to maintain large force levels. He said the real test of U.S. and U.S.S.R. sincerity and their interest in peace would be a mutual reduction of those forces.

March 7, 1974

Jackson called on President Nixon to propose and negotiate the demilitarization of the Suez Canal -- with the canal closed to the war ships of all outside powers, including those of the Soviet Union and United States. The senator called U.S. acquiescence to the reopening of the canal "premature and unwise. and asserted that the reopening of the canal "should be considered only in the context of an overall peace settlement" providing defensible boundaries for Israel.

April 18, 1974

Senator Jackson proposed that China should be asked to participate in the on-going SALT negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union -- "sooner or later, Chinese participation will be necessary if the agreements reached are to prove durable." Jackson said China has indicated that it is suspicious of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. arms control motives and believes that the two countries are seeking to gain permanent world dominance.

April 22, 1974

Senator Jackson, speaking at the Overseas Press Club in New York City, urged that the U.S. advance a strategic arms limitation plan that would cut-back weapon delivery capability of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union and would throw long-range bombers

into the ICBM/SLBM mix. Jackson also stated that the Soviets have developed "two quite different MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle) technologies" and a mobile land-based ICBM.

June 21, 1974

Jackson claimed that "rather startling new information" showed the Soviet Union could exceed the nuclear missile level reported to Congress in the 1972 Strategic Arms Accord with the United States. This is a result of "interpretations and agreements" reached privately between the United States and the Soviet Union, Jackson claimed in a news conference.

July 27, 1974

Senator Jackson, who had sponsored a bill restricting U.S. Military Aid to Greece, asked that the legislation be dropped.

August 12, 1974

Senator Jackson called for a "more openness and a gradual lowering of old barriers between the United States and China that still stand in the way of human contact."

September 8, 1974

Senator Jackson called on the Ford Administration to "move at once" to reconsider the offer by the Nixon Administration to supply nuclear reactors to Egypt.

December 8, 1974

Senator Jackson disputed the contention of Secretary of State Kissinger that congressional rejection of the Vladivostok Agreeme to arms control would spur a new arms race and imperil further Soviet-American relations Interviewed on the CBS Network television program "Face The Nation," Jackson said that the United States had the bargaining power to force a new accord with the Russians, setting lower limits on missiles and bombers than that agreed by President Ford and Leonid Brezney.

January 23, 1975

Evans and Novack reported that Senator Jackson, "long a rugged and lonely champion of strong National Defense and this country's international commitments, has decided to oppose emergency military aid for embattled South Vietnam -- a drastic change casting sober shadows on both Indo China and the Senator."

February 9, 1975

Appearing on "Meet the Press," Senator Jack of said that he felt the Defense Budget could be cut. "I have had, since the very beginning, serious reservations about the B-1 bomber," (This seems to be an inconsistency. On January 7th, Newsday said Jackson was considering opposing the controversial strategic bomber, but the next day Jackson denied such opposition.)

August 7, 1975

Senator Jackson said that he would oppose and American presence in the Sinai. His opposition, according to aides, was based on the fear that the Soviets would follow suit and station their personnel between Arab and Israeli forces — if not in the Sinai between the Egyptians and the Israelis, then between Syrians and Israelis on the northern front.

Positions on Issues

Following is a summary of the positions taken by Jackson since he has been in Congress:

National Defense

Jackson has been a consistent proponent of a strong national defense and has regularly supported Pentagon requests for major weapons systems.

A member of the Armed Services and Joint Atomic Energy Committees, he has been a reliable source of support for Navy nuclear submarine programs. In 1957 and 1958, he led floor fights in the Senate to provide funding for the fledgling Polaris submarine system. In 1973, he managed a successful effort, opposed by Senate liberals, to fund an accelerated Trident missile-firing submarine program. The base for the 10-vessel fleet has been assigned to Jackson's home state.

Jackson's national security stance has its roots in the Cold War era. During the 1950s, he constantly warned of a growing "missile gap" between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1962, he raised a conspicuous voice of opposition to the nuclear test ban treaty negotiated with the Soviets by President Kennedy. Jackson lobbied against the treaty in the Senate, then switched his position at the last moment and voted for ratification.

Similarly, after President Nixon's 1972 visit to the Soviet Union, Jackson questioned the interim strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) agreement that grew out of the trip. For several months he held up Senate approval of the agreement by his insistence on an amendment guaranteeing that any future treaty "not limit the United States to levels of intercontinental strategic forces inferior to" those of the Soviet Union. The Nixon administration feared that the amendment would bind its bargaining hand in future negotiations, but accepted it after attempts to weaken it were defeated.

Jackson has charged that the United States was frozen into a position of inferiority by the SALT I treaty, and he has been a ceaseless critic of the ongoing negotiations. In 1975, he criticized President Ford's Vladivostok agreement for setting too high a ceiling on the two countries' strategic weapon levels.

Anti-Ballistic Missiles

In 1969, Jackson was a leader of Senate Pentagon supporters who fended off an attack by liberals on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile (ABM) program. With Jackson wielding charts on the Senate floor to illustrate what he claimed was a Soviet missile threat, the ABM supporters defeated by only two votes an amendment to limit the Safeguard system. He helped lead support for the ABM in a similarly bitter but less prolonged debate in 1970.

In recent years, Jackson has tempered his national security position. In 1974, for instance, he led opposition to a Pentagon plan to test its Minuteman intercontinental force over the western United States. In 1975, he joined other senators in cutting back the Pentagon's arms procurement request.

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What is your answer to those, including some Republicans who have Parties the habit Rebuild leaders by referriticised you for spending too mach time making political speeches around the country, and not snaff lime biling Mearances xare designed to strengthen the Repblican party. A number of thoughtful observes of American politics have lamented the decline A Name of A series of the desired and a desired to the desired and the desired and the desired and a series of the desired and of the imfleuene of the parteis xxxxxxxx which can serve as a link betweeen the government and the voters and provide continuity and moderate public As Presidenty IAM also the Leader of the pelected officials. I share this view. As party leader It is my responsibility to do want I can to strengthen the Republcian party. It is ture that a strengthened party will aid my recelction, but that is not the main reason for my efforts. Q. Don't your frequent trips to California indicated that you are worried that Gov. Reasgan might defeat you? A. I am fully a confident that I will be nominated. California is very simply the singly most imporatnt state to any aspirant to the Presidency becuase it has m ore electoral votes than any other state. In secent years it has also been on providing a candidate with momentum toward occasion the deadsive state in A. I am fully confident that I will be nominated. California is a very important stae politically and it has a strong Republican party. By aiding the party I hope to elect more Congressmen and Senators from Californai. Califrnoai is an important state to any spinxaspirant to the Presidentcy because it has more elctoral votes than any other state. A strong REpublican rty in Californai

willhelp to elect a REpublican President in 1976. Items



Why did you assign DR to DoD? Don't you need him to run your political effort in the White House?

- 13. Aren't you out of step with the American people? If so, how can you get elected?
- 14. How do you explain the appearance of chaos in your Administration?
- 15. Are you running scared?
- 16. Why didn't you ask Rocky to stay?
- 17. Why do you travel so much? Hasn't the travel been counterproductive?

IV. Energy

- 1. Are we making progress on the energy problem?
- 2. Do you intend to force a rise in prices even if it means a substantial price increase at the gasoline pump?
- 3. If you don't get your energy bill; what will you do next?
- 4. What do you think OPEC will do on energy prices next year?

 Over the next five years?
- 5. Are we on target in solving our energy shortage by 1985?

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II. Foreign Policy - National Security Questions

A. Philosophical Questions

- 1. What is the U.S. national interest vis-a-vis the USSR, the PRC, the West, the Developing Countries?
- 2. How does your foreign policy differ from RN's?
- 3: Does the RN doctrine still hold?
- 4. How do you see our relations with the USSR evolving? with the PRC? with the Third World? with the West?
- 5. What are the most important problems facing the international community today?
- 6. How do you intend to solve them?
- 7. How do we deal with the problems of the have not nations? What should the U.S. do to help them?
- 8. How do we prevent nuclear proliferation? Does this problem concern you?
- 9. How do we tie the economies of the West together more effectively?
- 10. What will the future of NATO be? What do you intend to do to make it more effective?
- 11. How do we meet the problems of world-wide shortages? in fuel, food, natural resources?
- 12. What is the future of democracy in the world order? Can it survive? What do you make of developments in India?
- 13. What is your view of the UN?
- 14. What do you see happening in the Far East?

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15. What do you see happening in the Mid East? What are you going to do next?

I. World View - National View Type Questions

- 1. What are the major problems facing the world today?
- 2. What do you intend to do about them?
- 3. What are the major problems facing the U.S. today?
- 4. What do you intend to do about them?
- 5. Looking at our 200th birthday, what kind of country do you want America to be in the Third Century? Or the next 25 years?
- 6. How does your view square and take into account the major trends in the world today?
 - technological advance?
 - world resource shortages?
 - haves vs. have nots?
 - rising expectations?
 - breaking down of traditional institutions?
 - -- the Church
 - -- the business ethic
 - -- the achievement society
 - --the family
- 7. Your recent Cabinet decisions seem to be knee jerk. How do these decisions fit into your concept of how the government should operate and implement your solutions to the world's and the nation's problems?
- 8. How should the society accommodate:
 - new attitudes toward government?
 - new attitudes toward property and wealth?
 - new attitudes toward what is a satisfactory life?
- 9. Many say that a world of shortages demand governments that allocate shortages and thus must limit individual freedoms of choice for the sake of the common good. How do you square this with your policy to encourage more individual freedom and freedom of choice?

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- 15. What recommendations are you going to make to correct intelligence abuses? When?
- 16. Why are you battling to keep past abuses secret?

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WORLD VIEW

Where We Are

America is in a position of responsibility in the world because of our tremendous military and economic strength. The world balance of power and world prosperity depend on our strong defenses and the vitality of our economy. Our alliances depend on our leadership. Relations between East and West, and between industrial and developing countries, hinge on what we do. Peace in many regions of the world, such as the Middle East, depends heavily on our contribution.

Therefore, even though America may not have the overwhelming prodominance it had in the 1940's and 1950's, we are still the largest single factor in international affairs. In a much more complex world, our creative contribution is more needed than ever before.

How We Got There

Many international issues we face today are partly the result of the success of American policy over 30 years. Our allies are stronger and more prosperous, and therefore our alliance relations have to be more balanced. Because we have kept a stable balance of power, we have realistic opportunities of negotiating solutions to problems -- like Berlin and arms control -- with Communist countries. Worldwide economic recovery, and the aspirations of the Third World, still depend on us because of our undisputed strength. Therefore I am confident for the future. Barely six months after the fall of Indochina, it is that we have to be a way that our position of leadership is still unchallenged.

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Where We Want to Go

America must, first of all, show the world a renewed sense of confidence. The hopes of all nations that count on us will be kept alive if they see us acting resolutely and purposefully. Therefore we must end division in this country, show executive-legislative cooperation, and stop tearing down our own institutions.

We must face up to the complexity of the world. We must understand the need for both strong defenses and efforts to ease tensions, for both vigilant defense of allied interests and seeking more constructive ties with the Communist powers. We must maintain a steady course, and not swing back and forth between excessive interventionism and frustrated isolationism. We cannot go back to the black-and-white simplicity of the Cold War -- because thermonuclear weapons make conflict intolerable, and because different Communist countries have different policies, and because real opportunities exist for solving concrete problems.

We cannot withdraw from the world. As the October 1973 Middle East war and oil embargo showed, the breakdown of peace, can touch our lives directly. Therefore we secure our domestic tranquility best by a prudent but active and responsible role of leadership in world affairs.

Social Issues (An overview)

Next year we mark the 200th anniversary of the freest, most productive, most benevolent nation in all human history. We will celebrate one of man's highest achievements—two hundred years as a constitutional republic founded on the concept that every person is a sovereign being, possessed of dignity and inalienable rights.

Two centuries ago, the Founding Fathers envisioned a nation of free people, at peace with themselves and the world--each with equal opportunity to pursue happiness his own way. Much of that dream has come true; much is still to be fulfilled.

I am committed to go forward to solve those problems that yet stand in the way of realizing that dream—a dream enhanced by free people working together, not in shifting alliances of separated minorities, but in unison of spirit and purpose.

In my view it is the striving of all of us--our striving together as Americans--that will move our nation continually onward to a new era of progress for man--progress toward more freedom, toward more self-reliance rather than government reliance, toward greater protection of individual rights, toward more

security from want and fear for those truly in need, toward greater fulfillment and happiness for all.

Specifically, we must:

- 1. Restore <u>fiscal responsibility</u> to government. This is <u>essential</u> if we are to stop inflation.
- 2. Create more private sector jobs and improve productivity.
- 3. Continue to restore <u>domestic tranquility</u> and integrity in government.
- 4. Guarantee national security.
- 5. Reduce the size and cost of the Federal government.
- 6. Build a better country that will bring a better life for all Americans.

I pledge to the American people that the 200th anniversary of this nation next year will be more than a celebration of two centuries of unequaled success;

I pledge it also to be the beginning of the third and greatest century for all of our countrymen.

Restoring Full Employment

Conventional wisdom is that inflation and unemployment are opposites. You cannot have both full employment and stable prices. I reject this idea.

The evidence of recent years clearly indicates that it is inflation which creates instability in our economy and hency unemployment. Thus, to restore a viable growing full employment economy we must eliminate the inflationary bias from our economy.

My program to curb the excessive growth in Federal spending and the deficits and inflation they imply will restore our economy to full employment and increasing standards of living.

New York City

We have done a thorough analysis of the causes of the New York City financial crisis and its consequences on the national economy. Although our analysis concludes that a default, should it occur, could generate some disturbances in the financial market and in the economy, our best judgment is that the consequences to the economy of a default would be small.

Many have argued that there are a lot of unknowns and hence no one can be <u>certain</u> that a default is riskless. Why should we expose ourselves to even a small risk?

Obviously if we could somehow avoid default by some simple federal action we would. But there are no federal policies which can eliminate these risks without creating others.

If we ever, for example, got to the point where we would be guaranteeing all municipal securities, national fiscal restraint would be exceptionally difficult. Having failed to confront the problem when it could have been easily handled several years ago, we must now focus on how to minimize the impact of New York City's financial problems on both its citizens, and those of the nation as a whole.

Energy

Through the first part of this century the United States had a surplus capacity of crude oil, which we were able to make available to our trading partners whenever there was a disruption of world supply. This surplus capacity enabled us to influence both supplies and prices of crude oil throughout the world. Our excess capacity neutralized any effort at establishing an effective cartel, and thus the rest of the world was assured of adequate supplies of oil at reasonable prices.

In the late 1960's, however, our surplus capacity vanished and, as a consequence, the latent power of the oil cartel could emerge in full force. Our growing dependence upon foreign sources has been adding to our vulnerability for years and we did nothing to prepare ourselves for an event such as the embargo of 1973.

Such as the embar

It will make us invulnerable to cut-offs of foreign oil.

It will require sacrifices. But it will work.

Economic Philosophy

Staring in the 1930's a mew approach to government and politics emerged f -the acceptance of a view that the Federal Government should have a program to "solve" every "problem" identified in our society. was characterized by growing emphasis upon federal spending programs to help individuals and specific special interest The essential ingredient of these programs was that the benefits to the particular constituents were visible and immediate, whereas the costs were largely defused over the taxpaying population. Essentially the costs were long-term and the particular identification of who paid them was largely "hidden." this new system of politics three decades by the prevailing view that the federal budget should generally be balanced, except in times of The inflationary consequences were also inhibited by the acceptance of the idea that the budget should be held in general balance.

But with the New Economics of the 1960's it was argued that government deficits were not dangerous so long as they disappeared with full employment. But while most of the special interest groups and advocates paid lip service to the fiscal restraint elements of the New Economics, in practice, they saw the possibilities of large deficits as a vehicle to rapidly expand the dispensing of "goodies."

As a consequence the transfer payments explosion took hold with the budgetary and inflationary consequences of which we are now all too well aware. I have difficulty remembring any significant Congressional expenditure action in recent years which has not prescribed a short-term benefit for some constituent group and whose long-term costs were defused and hidden. Conversely (unless my memory misserves me) I cannot recall any new legislation which carried with it long-term benefits with very visible short-term costs. fact a viable energy program would fall into this category, : i.e. a program with clear and unquestionable long-term benefits but with admitted and visible short-term costs. The problem that the Congress is currently having passing a meaningful energy program is clear evidence of their difficulty in breaking away from their short-term benefit, long-term cost mentality.

Moreover in recent years the one on-going program that is clearly of the long-term benefit, short-term cost variety has come under increasing attack of late: viz, national defense.

If we are to be honest with the American people we must end this game of making it appear that government can

create benefits to some without imposing costs on others. The President's proposals to the Congress and to the American people have endeavored to adhere to the proposition that benefits and costs should, as best they can be estimated, be clearly labelled with respect to both the beneficiary and supporter. Somehow we must counter the idea developed (and reinforced by practice) that the "Federal Government" is able to live outside the financial rules that apply to individuals and other institutions; that is, spending money without "collecting" it from someone through higher taxes and/or higher prices.

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