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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 16, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RON NESSEN *RNN*

Here is a part of your Q & A briefing book for the Tuesday night News Conference.

It includes suggested answers to a dozen or so major questions you may be asked.

I will be giving you additional Q & A briefing material early on Tuesday, including a lengthy set of Q & A's concerning the reorganization of the Intelligence Community.

In addition, an opening statement of approximately five minutes announcing the reorganization is being prepared and will be delivered to you Tuesday morning.



## POLITICAL OUTLOOK

Q: The polls show that you are in a tough race with Ronald Reagan in New Hampshire and other primary states. If you lose New Hampshire and other early primaries won't that make it impossible for you to win the nomination?

A: I believe the momentum of the campaign has changed. My campaign is going well and is getting better every day. I was encouraged by my trips to New Hampshire and Florida and by the reaction of the crowds I met.

I think I will do well in New Hampshire, in Florida, and in other early primaries.

But regardless of how those primaries turn out, I want you to know that I am firmly committed to be at the Republican convention in Kansas City in August. The roll call in Kansas City is the vote that really counts and I expect to win that one. And I also expect to go on to win the election in November.

REAGAN

Q. Since you are an incumbent President with all the power and publicity that goes with that office, isn't it embarrassing and probably fatal to your chances that you are running no better than you are against Ronald Reagan?

A. Where did you get the impression that I am not running well?

## DIFFERENCES WITH REAGAN

Q: You told us several weeks ago that there is no basic philosophical difference between you and Ronald Reagan. But in Florida you said Reagan was too extreme to be elected in November. Why have you changed your position?

A: The former Governor does seem to share many of the broad philosophical positions I have taken over the past 25 years in Congress, when I was Vice President, and now that I am President. Our differences come in the ways that these broad philosophical positions are translated into day-to-day policies and decisions.

I am more moderate, in the middle of the road. And I believe most Americans reject extreme approaches of politicians on both the right and the left. In addition, I have had 18 months of experience here in the White House making the hard decisions that a President must make day in and day out.

Let me give you a few examples of where I believe the former Governor and I differ on important matters of policy:

-- He has talked about making social security voluntary and about investing the social security trust fund in the stock market. My approach is, first to give all retired Americans the full cost of living increase on their social security this year, and, to make the social security system financially sound so that Americans now retired and those who will retire in the future are assured of the social security payments they have counted on all their working lives.

- The former Governor has proposed doing away with \$90 billion in federal programs which help individual Americans as well as our cities and states. He wants to turn the problems back to the states and require the states to raise their own money to pay for these programs. My approach is just the opposite. I want to give the states the money in the form of tens of billions of dollars in revenue sharing and bloc grants and let them use the money to solve their problems in the way best suited to their own local conditions.
  
- Former Governor Reagan's campaign manager in New Hampshire has said that the 14th amendment to our Constitution, or parts of it, which guarantees equal justice under the law, should be repealed. Now I don't know whether Governor Reagan agrees with his campaign manager on that or not.
  
- And finally, I have had day in and day out experience for 18 months dealing with the extremely complex foreign policy issues which can make the difference between peace and nuclear holocaust. These life and death foreign policy issues are too important and too complex to be treated like some bar room shoot-out in a Western movie.



REAGAN ATTACK ON  
FOREIGN POLICY

Q: Ronald Reagan has launched a broadscale attack on your foreign policy, suggesting in effect that your administration is too soft on communism. How do you respond to these charges?

A: Well, I would begin by saying that I hope Mr. Reagan is more faithful to the first 10 commandments than he has been to the 11th.

As to the substance of his comments, I don't think it is appropriate for me as the Chief Executive to comment upon the details of every charge hurled at us by political candidates of either party.

What I find generally is that our foreign policy is criticized most strongly by people at the extremes: on one extreme are those who want us to turn tail and run from every challenge. Those are the remnants of what used to be called the "bug out brigade", and we have seen them rise up in force on the Angola issue. I cannot and will not agree to that philosophy. America can secure peace only through a willingness to defend peace. I subscribe to the motto of "peace through strength", and I will never waver in that basic commitment.

On the other extreme are those who want us to present a much more belligerent face to the world. My 18 months of dealing with life and death foreign policy issues in the Oval Office makes me realize that those who sound "trigger happy" when they start talking about nuclear weapons



have a dangerous and simplistic view of the world.

The dangers of nuclear holocaust and the spread of nuclear weapons are so strong today that we must continue negotiating with our adversaries for a mutual reduction in the arms race. That challenge may not seem so urgent today because our nation is at peace, but the last thing I want to wish upon our children is a return to the worst days of the Cold War. That is why I am pursuing a strong, balanced foreign policy -- and to be candid about it, I think that is the main reason we are at peace today.

DOMESTIC

## JOBS

Q: George Meany says you have no compassion because you vetoed the Public Works Bill to create 800,000 jobs. What is your reaction?

A: The so-called Public Works Jobs Bill is a hoax. It would not create 600,000 jobs as its sponsors claim. It would create perhaps 120,000 jobs late next year or the year after at a cost of \$25,000 a year to the American taxpayers for each of those jobs.

The people who lack compassion are those who are falsely raising the hopes of our unemployed workers by claiming this bill is a cure-all for our economic troubles. The American people are sick and tired of politicians promising them quick and easy cures for all their problems and in keeping those promises.

The real answer to the unemployment problem is to build a strong and healthy economy which grows in a steady and stable way and provides real, permanent, well-paying, productive jobs. That is my policy and it is working. Under my economic policies more than 2 million new jobs have been created since last summer. More than 90% of the people who lost their jobs in the recession have gone back to work.

The government cannot provide a job to everyone who wants one. That would undermine our economy and change our whole society.

Q: How can you veto the Public Works Jobs Bill when 7 million or 8 million people are out of work?

A: The so-called Jobs Bill really ought to be called the Election Year Pork Barrel Bill. It would not do what its sponsors claim. It would create only 120,000 jobs sometime late next year or the following year at a cost to the American taxpayers of \$25,000 a year for each job.

That kind of government spending is going to set off a whole new round of double-digit inflation. And remember, it was the high rate of inflation which caused our recent deep recession and threw so many people out of work in the first place. We've got to get off that roller coaster once and for all. My jobs policy is designed to stimulate a steady and stable growth in the economy which will provide good jobs in private industry for every American who wants to work.

Just to keep up with the young people joining the labor force, we need 2 million new jobs a year. Obviously the government cannot and should not provide those jobs. Those young people want a productive and meaningful job in private industry. They don't want make-work jobs in the government.

And my economic policies are working. Unemployment took a sharp drop last month. More than 2 million new jobs have been created since last summer, and almost all the people who lost their jobs in the recession have now gone back to work.


In my 18 months of dealing in the Oval Office with our difficult economic problems, I have learned one thing: There is no quick fix or magic formula to solve our economic problems overnight. Anyone who tries to tell the American people there is some easy answer really lacks compassion and is playing that old political game of promising the American people what cannot be delivered.

HOUSE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE LEAK

- Q. What do you plan to do about the publication of the House Intelligence Committee report in the Village Voice? Do you plan to prosecute Daniel Schorr?
- A. The Executive Branch of the Government is reviewing this entire situation and since it may involve legal action, I don't believe it is proper for me to say any more about it. This is, to some degree, a matter that should be dealt with by the House of Representatives since the publication of this report was in complete violation of an overwhelming vote by the House members. For that reason, I have offered the full resources of the Executive Branch of the Government to Speaker Carl Albert to pursue the matter in whatever manner he sees fit.

Let me give you a little background to clear up what may be a misunderstanding on what I have said on this issue. I have never tried to prevent the House Intelligence Committee from publishing its findings, opinions, or recommendations. The Committee did approve by a 10 to 3 vote, an agreement with the Executive Branch to allow a review by the White House of any material it planned to publish, to determine whether the material contained classified information which would damage the National interest. In return for the Committee's agreement, I authorized the transmittal of literally tens of thousands of pages of classified information to the Committee to help the members in their investigation.

(More)



Now, the leaking of classified information--which I believe was done by some one at the Capitol--is in complete violation of the agreement with the Committee, and I am sure that the responsible members of Congress share my view that this leak was contrary to the intentions of a very large majority of House members.

LOCKHEED AND CORPORATE BRIBES

Q. What do you intend to do about Lockheed, and these other big corporations which have admitted to giving millions of dollars of bribes to foreign officials?

A. I want to say categorically that I condemn any and all illegal payments by American corporations both within the United States and overseas.

I will see to it that all American laws in this area will be enforced. In addition, I will ask for a complete review of the practices and laws in this area, perhaps at the highest level of my Cabinet. And, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the IRS, and the Justice Department are already investigating thoroughly the question of corporate bribery overseas.

Finally, the United States is negotiating with a number of foreign countries to agree upon a code of ethics which would apply to multinational corporations.

Q. But isn't Lockheed using taxpayers' money from its government loan to pay these bribes?

A. The Federal government has never given one penny of taxpayers' money to Lockheed. The government has guaranteed private loans to Lockheed and the company has repaid these loans under a very carefully supervised arrangement.

Let me just repeat that I will not condone any illegal corporate bribery.



HENRY KISSINGER

Q: How can you keep Henry Kissinger as your Secretary of State, much less say you would like him to stay for another term, when he seems to be worn out, under great emotional strain, and apparently discredited with many Members of Congress? Wouldn't it help you politically and be better for American foreign policy to fire Kissinger?

A: It certainly would not. I believe history will judge Henry Kissinger to be one of our great Secretaries of State. He has done a masterful job in advising me on foreign policy and in carrying out my foreign policy. He has helped to bring about this period of peace in which we live and he is working every day to help me promote harmony in the world. Let me just remind you of some of Secretary Kissinger's accomplishments:

The fact that he is greatly respected and trusted by both the Arabs and Israel was a key factor in reaching the peace accords now in force, and it enables him to continue working toward a permanent peace in the Middle East.

He brought about new accords involving Berlin and Germany which have greatly reduced the threat of war in Europe.

It was through his quiet diplomacy that the United States resumed relations with the Peoples' Republic of China, the world's most populous nation after 25 years of estrangement.

These last few years have been difficult and dangerous times in the world and I believe that Henry Kissinger has been a great statesman under trying circumstances.

NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA

Q. Why couldn't you stop former President Nixon from going to China?

A. Former President Nixon is going to China on a private visit, as a private citizen. He is not carrying any message from me, and I have no plans to receive a report from him when he returns.

He never asked me if I approved of the visit. The visit will have no impact on our day-to-day normal diplomatic contacts with the People's Republic of China, here in Washington, and in Peking.

Q. If he had asked you in advance, would you have approved of his visit.

A. I would not have encouraged him to go at this time.

Q. What effect will his visit have on your Primary campaign in New Hampshire?

A. None.

Q. If U. S. Marshalls try to seize the Chinese plane as payment for debts owed to Americans by the Chinese government, what will you do?

A. That is a matter that has not come to me yet for a decision.

FOREIGN

## ANGOLA

Q: Why have you persisted in blaming Congress for not letting the United States get involved in another Vietnam in Angola? Why do you want to drag the United States into that civil war where we have no interest at all?

A: Angola is important for two reasons: First, I felt that it was important to stand by our historic commitment to helping people who want to choose their own form of government without having a government imposed on them by armed forces from other countries far outside their borders. That is a position of morality and it is something America has always stood for and should continue to stand for.

Secondly and perhaps more important, I felt it was vital to let the Russians and the Cubans know that we would not tolerate military expansion in an area where they have no legitimate interest.

Unfortunately a majority of the Members of Congress lost their guts and tied my hands so that we could do little more than watch helplessly as Russian and Cuban military forces denied the people of Angola the right to chose the kind of government they wanted. The real damage Congress has done is to send Russia and Cuba a signal that may encourage them to try military expansion in another country of Africa or indeed, in another country somewhere else in the world. Weakness does not bring peace. Weakness only encourages Russia and Cuba to believe that they can expand their influence with military force somewhere else. Eventually we will have to face up to the question of where do we take a stand and say, "no more".

However, I am hopeful that Congress has learned a lesson from this experience and the next time Russia and Cuba try military expansion I believe Congress will do the proper thing and join me in efforts to stop that expansion.

Q: What did you mean when you said that you would come to the aid of Angola if Russia and Cuba tried to "colonize" it?

## CUBA

- Q. What are the prospects for improvement in our relations with Cuba in view of its intervention in the Angola conflict?
- A. Cuba's unjustified involvement in the domestic affairs of other nations, such as their encouragement of the Independence movement in Puerto Rico and, particularly, their massive military troupe involvement in the Angola conflict thousands of miles from Havana, is simply incompatible with lessening tensions and improving relations. The Cubans have sent over 10,000 troops to Angola, involving themselves in what should be purely an internal Angolan matter.

I flatly rule out the possibility of any improvement in relations between ourselves and Cuba under these circumstances.

KISSINGER TRIP TO LATIN AMERICA

Q. Secretary Kissinger is traveling to Latin America at a time when Cuban troops are heavily involved in Angola. Is one of the purposes of the visit to consolidate OAS support against the Cuban Government and to urge a freeze on any progress toward normalization of relations with Cuba?

A. The primary purpose of the Secretary's trip is to reaffirm the importance we attach to our relationship with Latin America and to continue to strengthen that relationship. In addition, the Secretary will be stopping in Guatemala to offer our continued assistance to that disaster-stricken area. This trip is not designed to generate a crusade against Cuba. At the same time, it is clear that there is no chance to improve relations with Cuba in view of that government's actions in Puerto Rico and its involvement in Angola.



## RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

Q: Isn't it inconsistent for you to denounce the Soviet Union for their involvement with Angola but at the same time negotiate a SALT II agreement with the Russians?

A: No, there is no inconsistency.

The only way we can have peace is through strength. That means standing up to the Russians whenever they try to expand their influence by military means or whenever they take any action which raises tension in the world and threatens world peace. We must be strong in order to stand up to the Russians and that is one reason I am so disappointed that Congress tied my hands and prevented the United States from helping its friends in Africa to oppose Russian and Cuban military activities in Angola.

On the other hand, I believe however we can reach a SALT II agreement with the Russians that would be in our own interest and would reduce the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It is my obligation to pursue those negotiations. The preliminary agreement I reached with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok allowed the United States to keep all or most of its missiles, submarines, and bombers. On the other hand, it required the Russians to cut back considerably on their plans for a nuclear arsenal. There was tough negotiating, and I believe we got a good bargain.

Incidentally, if we don't reach a SALT II agreement with the Russians, I will have to ask the Congress for at least \$20 billion for new weapons because the nuclear arms race surely would be renewed and we would have to keep up with the Soviet Union.

Let me say a word about those who suggest that we should not pursue a policy of reducing tensions and the threat of war when it is not in our own interest, who say we should not pursue this policy which has been given the name "detente":

In my 18 months of day in and day out experience dealing with life and death issues of foreign policy, I have found that these issues are extremely complex. They cannot be dealt with in a simplistic way or with a gun slingers' mentality. I know it is tempting for some to look on complex foreign policy issues as a kind of "shoot-out at OK corral!"

But we live in an extremely complex and dangerous world and if we try to go back to the dark and dangerous days of confrontation of the cold war, if some people get an itchy trigger finger, the chance of war increases and this period of peace in which we are now living will be endangered.

