OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES

ENERGY

- Conservation desirable, but key is higher production. It can be done:
  -- US has 47 year supply of oil (including shale)
  -- 27 years of natural gas
  -- 321 years of coal. (1980 report from DOE & reports from US Geological Survey)

- Carter talks about more production, but his actions discourage it:

  -- His Dept of Energy ($12 billion, 35,000 pages of regs) has increased red tape, bureaucracy.
  -- Oil:
     - His "windfall profits tax" will reduce production by 500,000 barrels/day by 1990 (enough for 250,000 cars/year).
     - Burdensome restrictions on offshore leasing. Only 4% of Outer Continental Shelf offered for lease; no off-shore leasing in Alaska, and Carter has locked up nearly 100 million square miles of Alaskan land.
  -- Coal: 1,000 new pages of regs has contributed to one of worst slumps in history (22,000 miners out of work)
  -- Natural gas: His opposition to dereg and then signature on faulty bill (creating 23 pricing categories, extending controls to intrastate natural gas) holding production down.
  -- Nuclear: Under JC, net of 4 new plants ordered, 36 orders cancelled. Net loss of 32 plants equivalent to 900,000 barrels/day of oil.

- Result of Carter policies: production far below potential

  -- Oil: In lower 48 states, production has fallen each year under JC; overall, down 12% (Total US production has gone up slightly because of new inflow from Alaska -- but that's only because of Alaskan pipeline, built over objections of many Democrats in Congress & long before Carter).
  -- Natural gas: production up only 2% in JC's first 3 years.
  -- Coal: Carter promised in 1979 to double production by 1985, but it has been increasing only 4% a year under JC so far.
  -- Nuclear: no new orders in 2 years.

- American consumers also paying high price for Carter policies:

  -- Gasoline prices have doubled under JC; frequent long lines.
  -- Home heating oil also up sharply. US average has increased from 41¢ per gallon in 1976 to $1.00 per gallon in 1980.
  -- Oil import bill has also doubled, creating worst trade deficits in US history, weak dollar.

- Reagan 4-Point Energy Policy

  1. Greatly accelerate production
     -- Dereg oil and natural gas ASAP.
     -- Accelerate federal leasing for oil, eliminate unnecessary regs on coal (consistent with good environment)
     -- Streamline nuclear licensing, upgrade nuclear safety standards, accelerate solutions for waste.

2. Encourage greater conservation, relying primarily on market.

   -- Between 1973-78, industry on own produced 12% more goods with 6% less energy.
   -- Continue tax credits, faster depreciation to encourage greater energy investment.

3. Accelerate development of national petroleum reserves

   -- 4 year old program is now 3½ years behind schedule. Designed to have 6 month supply, has only 2 weeks. Carter vulnerable in light of unsettled situation in Middle East.

4. For long term future, provide research funds to stimulate new technologies such as solar, fusion.

Other Notes

1. Abolition of DOE: Carter will criticize as simplistic. RR would transfer necessary functions such as defense research to other departments. Reduce reg/related programs now costing $2 billion a year.

2. Synthetic Fuel: RR has opposed Carter call for $88 billion Syn Fuels Corporation which commmits government to subsidize syn fuels. More big government; could create white elephants. Better to support research on new technologies, let private enterprise develop the most promising.

3. Windfall profits: Carter will assert RR trying to enrich big oil. But the tax actually hits small independents who drill 80-90% of exploratory wells essential to new oil finds. Tax also makes US most expensive place to search for oil.

4. 55 mph speed limit: RR does not reject -- wants to leave to states.

5. Other Carter attack lines:

   -- RR statement about more oil in Alaska. Some estimates do show potential in Alaska greater than Saudi reserves, but critical point is Alaska shouldn't be locked up.
   -- RR statement that US could be energy self-sufficient in 5 years. Critical point again is to move consistently in right direction. Not like Carter.
   -- RR statement that conservation only means running out more slowly. If Carter raises, point out pure conservation/anti-production will lead there. Critical point is to achieve balance.

6. US dependence on OPEC. Carter may claim it is down from 1979. But reason is the recession in 1980 and skyrocketing prices. If we get economy back on track, will discover that we are still excessively dependent on OPEC.

NUCLEAR POWER

- In next several years, U.S. has no choice but to rely upon more nuclear power and increased production of coal.

- Carter agrees, but his ineffective leadership has jeopardized nuclear industry:

  -- JC unable to prevent Democrats from adopting platform calling for phase-out of nuclear plants.

  -- Since 1977, plans for 32 nuclear plants (net total) have been cancelled. Will mean loss of nearly 900,000 barrels of oil/day.

  -- Cancellations due in large part to public concern about safety, unresolved issue of nuclear waste disposal.
  - Carter Administration apathetic about safety until Three Mile Island. Then appointed Kemeny Commission to review safety efforts of Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Safety recommendations welcomed -- and we should proceed on them; give us a safer foundation on which to build.
  - Administration and Congress also slow to address problem of nuclear waste. Technology has been largely developed, per experts, but hard political decisions still must be made on waste. Carter hasn't shown enough leadership here.

- Reagan Approach: Move ahead with safe program.

  1. Accelerate development of nuclear power through technologies that have been proven safe, efficient.

  2. Streamline licensing process through consolidation of present review process and through standardization of reactor design (outrageous that U.S., once the pioneer in nuclear power, now takes more than twice as long to plan and build new plant as Japan, many nations of Europe).

  3. Accelerate safety effort along lines of Kemeny report.

  4. Demonstrate waste disposal alternatives and try to solve difficult siting problems (no one wants in his backyard).

ENVIRONMENT

- Healthy environment not a luxury but a necessity. RR bows to no one in commitment.

- As Governor of California
  -- Clean air program left California with "toughest anti-smog laws in the country," according to Nader group.
  -- 1st major revision of water quality laws in 2 decades.
  -- Added 145,000 acres of park land.

- RR concerned that federal government going overboard. In the name of environmental purity, many regulations bring little environmental gain but have devastating impact on the economy.

  Example: Steel industry subject to 5,600 regulations, terrible unemployment, failing to compete. Carter election-year conversion not believable.

- As President, would carefully balance environmental and economic needs.
  -- Move positively on urgent environmental problems -- toxic and nuclear wastes. Must be no more Love Canals, and we must solve the nuclear waste problem.
     - Carter response has been weak on both; extraordinary that 1976 Toxic Wastes Act insufficiently funded until FY 81 budget; that little progress made on nuclear waste disposal.
  -- Comprehensive review of all regulations, modifying those that are inadequate, streamlining the burdensome, and eliminating the unnecessary.
  -- Re-evaluate goals and standards set by legislation passed nearly a decade ago (e.g., Clean Air Act up for review, renewal in 1981), using updated scientific evidence.
  -- Permit greater flexibility in meeting federal standards. Set standards but let individuals and companies find best way to meet.
  -- Open up more federal land to exploration for energy and minerals. Example: Alaska.

- Summary: Make no mistake. RR will not permit the safety of our people or our environmental heritage to be jeopardized, but RR reaffirms that economic prosperity of our people is a fundamental part of our environment.

- Other Notes on Environment
  1. Carter may attack RR on:
     a. Recent press statement that air pollution "substantially under control." Carter misunderstands RR's point: namely, that U.S. has made great deal of progress in cleaning up air pollution, but cost of achieving absolute purity (as some extremists want) could be extremely high in terms of lost jobs, weak economy. Carter's own Council on Environmental Quality, in latest report (Dec. 1979, pg. ix) said that "overall, the nation's air quality is improving."
     b. Idea that pollution comes from trees, Mt. St. Helens. The general point is that pollution comes from many sources; some are more dangerous than others; what the nation needs is a balanced program to preserve environment while also bringing economic growth.
     c. Carter may also charge that RR as governor defied Clean Air Act of 1970, proposing air pollution control program rejected by EPA on 5 counts. RR rebuttal: that was draconian plan for state, would have included gas rationing, parking restrictions, land use control, restrictions on 70-80% LA auto traffic. CA and other states rejected such plans. RR vindicated in 1977 when Congress revised Clean Air Act, preventing EPA from carrying out such impractical measures.

  2. Acid Rain: current issue in North East, Great Lakes (including Ohio), and eastern Canada. Acid rain believed by many to come from weak sulfuric and nitric acid precipitation resulting from power plants (coal esp.). CEQ has said that cause and impact of acid rain still not clear. RR recognizes that problem needs further study.

  3. Toxic wastes: Hot issue. Public aroused by Love Canal in NY where 263 families evacuated. CEQ estimates 1200-2000 U.S. disposal sites may pose risks; but 76 law (enacted under Ford) insufficiently funded under Carter. FY 81 budget finally requests increases. Costs estimated for clean-up range from hundreds of millions to billions of dollars (Love Canal alone as high as $150 million). Controversy continues, especially regarding $4-5 billion Superfund which Congress now debating. Two issues involved: (1) Coverage -- should oil spills be covered, for example? (2) Who should pay -- industry, government, combination?

URBAN & HOUSING POLICIES

URBAN

- The Carter Record: Carter proclaims his "Comprehensive Urban Policy"; the only thing comprehensive about it is its comprehensive failure. Examples:
  -- South Bronx: promises cruelly broken.
  -- Cleveland: out of 8500 workers in Ford plant, 7000 laid off now.
  -- Detroit: unemployment this summer hit 18% (for minorities, 56%).
  -- Miami: riots showed unrest seething below the surface.
  -- New York: over past 5 years, has lost 73,000 manufacturing jobs (problem afflicting other cities).
  -- Mayor Koch has hands tied by Federal regulations in trying to solve problem.
  -- Overall, number of large cities operating in the red has doubled over last two years (over half of cities of over 100,000 now in red according to Joint Economic Committee report).

  Note: Carter claims big progress on legislation, but all three of his major bills abandoned by Congress because too complex. Carter's own 1980 National Urban Policy Report documents continued pattern of decline in central cities.

- Reagan Agenda for the Cities

  1. Economic growth -- single most important solution.

  2. Private enterprise zones: in depressed urban areas, taxes and regulations would be reduced, encouraging new investment, job creation. Idea from England and now being tried there.

  3. Urban Homesteading: initiated by Ford in 1975, scaled down by Carter to bare minimum. Part of effort to revitalize neighborhoods.

  4. Give cities greater discretion over federal aid (block grants).

  5. Reduce federal regulatory requirements that increase local tax burdens or skew expenditures.

HOUSING

- Carter Record: As RR saw in housing development in Kansas City, Carter economic policies have been devastating for American housing:
  -- Under Carter, cost of new housing has doubled; housing starts (while showing temporary improvement) are half the level when JC took office; rental construction down 12%.
  -- Under Carter, interest rates have been highest since Civil War (prime rate recently raised to 14% by major banks; mortgage rates now at 14%).

-- In 1976, Carter attacked Ford on basis that only 25% of families could afford new home; today, less than 10% can afford. Median monthly payment on new house up to $556.
-- Total loss to economy of housing slump est. at $125 billion in lost jobs, income equivalent of bankruptcy of 5 Chryslers.

- Reagan Agenda for Housing

1. Economic growth -- again the solution.

2. Encourage new savings through tax provisions (saving rate at lowest level in 30 years).

3. Reduce regulatory maze (Seidel study for Rutgers est. that local, state, federal regs add 20% to cost of new house).

4. Expand home ownership thru alternative mortgage instuments for new homebuyers, older Americans, middle income Americans.

5. Place greater emphasis upon rehabilitation of existing stock (thru local initiatives for neighborhoods).

REAGAN AS FRIEND OF LABOR

RR happy to run as friend of working men and women:

-- 1st Presidential candidate in history who is former union president.

-- Solid labor record in California.

-- Welcome endorsements of Teamsters, Maritime unions.

-- Basic goal is that shared by working men and women: economic growth with lower inflation.

-- Also firmly support:

  -- Open door in Oval Office for everyone - including labor.
  -- Safety and health in workplace; no retreat;
  -- Adequately funded unemployment relief programs
  -- Fair trade as well as free trade - make US exports competitive again.

How can 4 more years of Carter economics help working people? Look at 1st 4 years:

-- 8 million people out of work (highest since Great Depression)
-- Hourly wages going down for past 2 years (real terms)
-- Taxes are nearly doubled.
-- Inflation has tripled.
-- And industries like steel, autos fighting for their lives against ever-increasing imports.

New Carter economic plan -- in curious reversal of roles for parties -- tilts more heavily toward business. Carter forgetting the working man and woman.

Note: During campaign, RR has spoken out on several key labor issues that show he is friend of working men and women. Among them:

Agree with Labor on
Don't repeal Davis-Bacon -- seek administrative improvements
Don't dismantle OSHA -- reform it.
Don't apply anti-trust laws to labor.
Support collective bargaining in public sector.
Support for Polish workers.

Disagree with Labor on
Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill (RR does not support)
Labor law reform bill (RR does not support)

HEALTH CARE

Carter Record abysmal on 3 counts:

1. Soaring costs of health care
   -- Cost of hospital bed in NY up 36% under Carter -- from $169 a day in '76 to $230 in '79 (Hospital Assn. of NY).
   -- Prescription drug expenditures up 33%.
   -- Nursing home expenditures up 56%.

2. Has created legislative merry-go-round
   -- His mandatory, national health insurance program never moved in Congress.
   -- Now pressing cost containment proposal that has twice been rejected by House as regulatory nightmare.

3. Failed to curb fraud/waste in Medicare & Medicaid
   -- In '76, claimed Medicaid "a national scandal", claimed as much as $7.5 billion wasted/stolen each year.
   -- In '77, set up special unit in HEW to attack but only has 54 inspectors, has managed only 21 indictments.
   -- When Sec. Joe Califano resigned last year, said massive fraud still plagues federal health, welfare.

Reagan sees 4 critical problems to address in 80s:

1. Cost of health care
   -- Must cut general rate of inflation (that accounts for over half of health care increases in 80s).
   -- Reduce regulatory burden (NY Hospital Assn. has estimated that 25% of cost of daily hospital bed due to federal, state, local regulations).
   -- Encourage "Voluntary Effort" already underway in hospitals. Has shown promising results over past 2½ years; since late '78, health care rising more slowly than CPI; Congress endorsed idea in 1979. Better than cost containment.

2. Access to health care
   -- Instead of federally directed systems (favored by JC), RR favors tax incentives, loan programs to encourage physicians to work in underserved areas. (U.S. moving toward a physician surplus by mid-80s per experts)

3. Insurance coverage
   -- Key problem the working poor. Middle income/upper income mostly covered through private plans (180 million Americans now enrolled in private plans); poor mostly covered by Medicare, Medicaid. Working poor -- 11-18 million strong -- have the serious problem.
   -- RR would stimulate private system (through tax incentives) to broaden coverage to these, also has supported catastrophic coverage during campaign.

4. Root out fraud and waste in health/welfare programs

EDUCATION - WELFARE

SCHOOLS

- Carter taking country down wrong track:
  --Only accomplishment is creation of new bureaucracy, the Dept. of Education ($15 billion, 17,000 employees). Will create more paperwork, more federal intrusion. Parents, local governments losing control of education.
  --Carter also broke 1976 campaign promise, working against tuition tax credits.
  --Meanwhile, test scores on college boards falling; lack of disipline continues to plague many schools.
  --A report released this month by the White House entitled "Science and Engineering Education for the 1980s and Beyond" concluded that most Americans are headed toward "virtual scientific and technological illiteracy."

- Reagan Alternative
  --Reduce federal intrusion, paperwork -- 5,000 man-years devoted by principals, teachers on federal forms annually.
  --Encourage local leadership -- that's the key to quality education.
    - convert 70 categorical grant programs to block funding for elementary-secondary education.
    - tuition tax credits: strengthen parental freedom over children's education.

WELFARE

- Carter Failures
  --Has failed to make much of a dent. Some 18 million now on welfare rolls; in NYC, one out of 6 on some form of welfare. In some families, beginning 2nd generation of welfare.
  --Carter 1st proposed massive federalization (cost est. from $20-60 billion: Sen. Long put $60 billion price tag on it). Plan failed in Congress. More recently, Carter has proposed scaled down program ($3-5 billion) but points in direction of guaranteed income, reduced work requirements. (Moynihan terms abandonment of reform in exchange for tireless tinkering of bureaucrats).
  --Democratic platform of 1980 calls for federalization.

- Reagan Alternative
  --Build on CA record, where trends reversed, number on welfare rolls reduced by 350,000 while benefits to truly needy up 40%. Proved good state leadership could solve much of problem.
  --Would decentralize through states; free states from wasteful federal rules (savings could help truly needy); orderly transfer of authority and financial resources to states.
  --Economic growth -- as in other areas, that again will take sting out of welfare problem.

WOMEN'S ISSUES

General

- Ronald Reagan firmly committed to equal rights; but interested in results, not rhetoric: legislative and Executive action rather than Constitutional amendment.

- As President, Ronald Reagan proposes:

  -- At the Federal Level: To follow President Ford's suggestion for legislation to make effective the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 re sex discrimination in federal programs.
  -- At the State Level: To set up a liaison with Governors of the 50 states to seek out and change laws which continue to discriminate against women.
  -- Appointments: To appoint qualified women to important positions throughout the government; to make one of his first appointments to Supreme Court a woman.
  -- Programs: Tax credit policy for locally-based dependent care programs (children, elderly, disabled).
  -- Correct inequities in social security and pension systems.
  -- Eliminate (not reduce -- Carter) discriminatory marriage tax.
  -- Explore alternate work schedules (including part-time, flex-time, job sharing).

- Carter has substituted rhetoric for results.

  -- Under Carter median average income of women has remained 59.4% of that of men.
  -- Carter has ignored suggestions of his own Justice Dept. to attack sex discrimination in federally assisted programs.
  -- Despite '76 endorsement ERA, no state ratified since he was inaugurated as President (Democrats control 13 out of 15 state legislatures that have not ratified ERA).

- Staff Notes

  -- Avoid references to supporting "protective laws" for women (e.g., maximum hour limits); these laws are invalid under Civil Rights Act of '64, and EEOC administrative rulings.
  -- Stress link with President Ford.
  -- Do not reiterate abortion position.
  -- California Record. Established credit and improved property rights for women; signed laws prohibiting sex discrimination (employment, real property, insurance, business); initiated programs to develop and improve child care centers.

MINORITIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Carter has been tremendous disappointment for Blacks, other minorities:

- Minority groups (Blacks, Hispanics and Indians) hardest hit by inflation and unemployment. Minority unemployment today 13.6%. Unemployment among black youths 40%+. After previous gains, black family income as a percentage of white family income has fallen under Carter to 57%.

- Carter Administration has not met its minority goals: Example: South Bronx (which Carter promised would be showpiece of his urban development program) remains in poverty, with 1/3 on welfare.

Reagan Approach

- Sound economic policies to reduce inflation and provide permanent, not makework, jobs (including tax cuts and accelerated depreciation to encourage investment for jobs).

- Enterprise zones to bring new businesses and jobs into urban communities.

- Put life into Urban Homesteading program started under Ford.

- Reduce government spending and regulation to stimulate private jobs.

- Vigorous enforcement of laws protecting minorities in marketplace.

- In area of education, tuition tax credits to give minority parents a choice in their children's education.

- Temporary youth differential minimum wage to help minority youth.

- Will work with Congress to improve enforcement provisions of Fair Housing Act.

Other Notes:

- Endorsements by Ralph Abernathy/Hosea Williams/Charles Evers.

- RR has good record of minority appointments in California.

FOREIGN POLICY +
DEFENSE OVERVIEW

FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE OVERVIEW

- Carter inheritance; As with the economy at home, Carter inherited an international situation that was greatly improving:

  -- Ford was healing wounds of Vietnam, and America was at peace.
  -- A supportable SALT II treaty was 90% complete .

  -- After decade of Congressional cuts in defense budgets, Ford in 1976 and 1977 achieved a turnaround of about 5% real budget authority increases per year; he put in place a sound defense budget for the future.
  -- Alliances were solid (leaders of Germany, Japan, Israel all publicly agreed on that).
  -- Soviet ambitions held in check in places like Persian Gulf, Afghanistan.

- Carter has squandered that inheritance thru policies that are inconsistent, incoherent, inept.

  -- Inconsistencies

  e.g., In Sept. 1979, said Russian troops in Cuba "not acceptable"; three weeks later, he humbly accepted them.
  In March, 1980, administration failed to veto UN resolution condemning Israel's policy on Jerusalem; 2 days later, reversed course.
  In summer, 1980, announced "open heart and open arms" to Cuban refugees; 10 days later, doors shut.
  Many other examples: Korean troop withdrawal, support for Shah, etc.

  -- Incoherence

  e.g., In June, 1978, Carter asserted his "deep belief" that Brezhnev "wants peace and wants to have a better friendship"; on New Year's Eve, 1979 (3 years into Presidency), admitted Afghan invasion made him realize "what the Soviets' ultimate goals are."
  For 3 years, hacked away at defense budget; cut Ford's budgets by $38 billion, delaying or cancelling vitally needed programs like MX, B-1; now campaigning for military build-up, MX, etc.
  Human rights policy has stuck it to U.S. friends (e.g., Argentina) while turning blind eye to genocide in S.E. Asia (some 4 million have died there) and repression in Soviet bloc.

-- Ineptness

e.g., Failures hastened downfall of Shah, allowed old friendship with Iran to be destroyed, contributed to seizure of hostages, outbreak of war in area.
Emasculation of CIA (fired 816 personnel, including top experts on Iran, China, USSR, Middle East) left U.S. blind in a dangerous world.
Negotiated defective SALT II treaty that has been blocked by his own party in the Senate.

- Carter's tragic legacy; Decline of U.S. respect & power; Soviet threat growing; rising tide of violence and warfare; many fear that world is slipping toward chaos.

-- Under Carter, a number of countries have fallen under totalitarian Marxist rule for 1st time; Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Nicaraugua, South Yemen.

-- American embassies have been stormed or burned in Libya, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan; an American Ambassador has been murdered in Afghanistan. (When was last time Soviet embassy or ambassador was hit?)
-- On single day that shall live in infamy(2/14/79) U.S. ambassador killed in Afghanistan, U.S. embassy stormed in Iran, U.S. President publicly insulted in Mexico.

-- Soviets invaded Afghanistan (1st direct military intervention outside Warsaw Pact since WW II) and military influence has grown in Persian Gulf, Asia, Africa, Carribean

-- Massive Soviet military buildup and weak U.S. response has allowed them to open "window of maximum danger" for U.S. in early 80s; our land-based missiles vulnerable to pre-emptive strike.

-- Number of Cuban troops overseas has doubled -- from 20,000 to 40,000.

-- War in Gulf area between Iran, Iraq. Chaos in Iran may turn out to be most critical event of postwar period.

-- At time of growing danger for U.S. our alliances are frayed;
-- Schmidt and Giscard much less inclined to follow U.S. lead.
-- Latin nations like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico have expressed anger, frustration with U.S. human rights, nuclear policies (Argentina openly defied U.S. call

for grain embargo).
-- Pakistan, once one of staunchest friends, openly refused U.S. aid after Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan
-- Saudis, other moderate Arabs worry about U.S. sticking power.
-- Other friends (like Israel) privately worry about U.S. tendency to dump old allies (e.g., Taiwan)
-- As detente falls apart, new areas of world (e.g. Caribbean) began to appeal to Soviet appetite.

- Stark symbol of U.S. impotence; Hostages (debate marks 359th day).

THE REAGAN 9 STEP STRATEGY FOR PEACE

1. Improved policy-making structure for State, NSC.
2. Clear approach to East-West relations (seek balanced, realistic relationship)
3. More realistic policy toward hemisphere (intensive economic development in Caribbean, North American Accord with Canada and Mexico)
4. Plan to assist African and other Third World development (promote more private investment overseas)
5. Send U.S. message abroad (strengthen Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, etc.)
6. Realistic policy for strategic arms reduction (move directly to Salt III)
7. Strengthen armed services (better compensation, benefits; reinstate GI bill)
8. Take leadership role concerning international terrorism; beef up CIA.
9. Restore margin of safety for peace.

SEND IN THE MARINES

Carter likely to charge this is RR's instinctive reaction.

Points to be Made:

1. Quoted out of Context: Mr. Carter has distorted many old quotes, blown them way out of proportion. Let's set record straight.

2. There are rare occasions when America must show its strength in order to keep the peace.

   Examples:
   a. Dwight Eisenhower sent the marines into Lebanon in 1957, preserved freedom there, permitted elections to be held.

   b. John Kennedy stood up to Russians and their Cuban missiles in 1962.

   c. Even Mr. Carter sent troops into Iran to rescue hostages from their humiliating captivity. The mission was badly bungled, but all Americans supported it in spirit.

   No American President has ever totally renounced the use of force -- nor can he.

3. But force must always, always be a last resort.
   For America to stay at peace -- as we must -- there must be two bulwarks:

   First,we must have an effective foreign policy -- one that is bipartisan in nature, closely coordinated with our allies, principled and consistent. That is lacking today, and I intend to rebuild such a policy.

   Second, history shows that America has never gone to war when America has been strong. I intend to rebuild the strength of America so that we can keep the peace for the rest of this century. As a parent -- as a grandparent -- my deepest wish is that my children and my grandson may grow up in a stable, peaceful world.

DEFENSE

DEFENSE

- RR's purpose is peace. Peace is best assured by strength and preparedness; it is risked by weakness and vacillation.

- Peace is in jeopardy. The margin of safety enjoyed for more than 30 years has eroded, as Soviets have engaged in most massive military buildup in history(outspending U.S. by over $200 billion over the past decade), while the American defense effort has relatively declined.

  1) Armed Services readiness has badly deteriorated
     --Six of the Army divisions in the U.S. not combat ready.
     --Six of thirteen carriers not combat ready.
     --All services suffer severe shortages of key personnel, both NCOs and officers.

     --$40 billion backlog of needed operations and maintenance funding.

  2) Ammunition and spare parts shortages critical

  3) Navy cut in half; Chief of Naval Operation says 1½ ocean navy for 3 ocean world. Navy can't meet basic requirements Ford 157 ship 5-year construction program has been slashed to 97.

  4) Army Chief of Staff (Gen. Meyer) says "we have a hollow army": "inadequate fudns to provide the type of Army we need."
     --Commander of Army in Europe says we have an "obsolete" Army in Europe.

  5) Warsaw Pact outnumbers NATO on Central Front in Germany by 3-1 in tanks (Soviet tank armor a generation more advanced than any Western tank), 3-1 in artillery (generally better than ours), 2-1 in aircraft; and has more rapidly modernized than NATO. (Soviets and strategis advantages, large advantage in theater nuclear forces.)

  6) U.S. airborne divisions too heavy to move, too light to fight; to date, rapid deployment force has not really proceeded beyond 250-man staff in Florida.

  Note: Carter has attempted to paper over our problems; Services ordered recently to "emphasize the positive in evaluation reports.

- Carter Administration bears prime responsibility-Ford was seeking to reverse U.S. decline, but Carter--fulfilling campaign pledges --sought to gut Ford program.
  -- Since taking office, has cut $38 billion from projected Ford budget, and is underfunding his own inadequate program.

--Has cancelled or delayed many key systems; B-1, TRIDENT, naval buildup, Minuteman III, etc., and has failed to provide needed improvements.
--Carter now talking tougher, but after 4 years of him, can't afford another 4 of indecision, uncertainty and continued delay.
--Not until 1980, did Carter call for real increases; his first two years had real decreases in budget authority; he rejected Senate call for 5% real increase in September.
--Consistently opposed funding increases supported by Congress. In May, his Secretary of Defense said increased funding not needed. Joint Chiefs, testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, unanimously disagreed and testified they were not even consulted. Each specifically said, "I do not agree" with the President and Secretary of Defense.

- My concern, as any President's should be, is not based on partisan consideration.
--Distinguished Democratic Senators (Sam Nunn, Fritz Hollings, Scoop Jackson) have deplored record, in particular his budgets:
--"height of hypocrisy"--Hollings (Chairman, Senate Budget Committee)
--Carter programs are "business as usual" when need is urgent-1990 "solutions" to 1980 problems.
--Carter Administration coming up with invisible aircraft (Stealth) to go along with its invisible army and invisible navy.

- A Reagan Administration will seek to restore the margin of safety --to put U.S. in a new peace posture that will ensure world stability.
--Would make volunteer force more attractive; more respected.
--Would restore fleet to 600 ships.
--Would build a new, modernized bomber.
--Would ensure that weapons systems are made to work, modernized; improved acquisition.
--Would take immediate steps to erase critical vulnerabilities in deterent forces and deficiencies in all forces in a timely fashion.
--Would close window of vulnerability as quickly as possible.
--In short, would put into place a plan that would convince our adversaries they dare not seek conflict with us.

With that plan underway, can then turn to larger task: negotiating for arms control. Can achieve peace only when strong. As John F. Kennedy said in his inaugural address, "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate."

- Staff Notes:

Make sure audience asks itself: Why did Carter try to cut defense budgets, oppose Congressional pressures to increase defense until the Presidential campaign

- Carter claims RR position on military superiority will lead to all out arms race, skimping on conventional forces.

Response:

Not so. The Russians need to be contained not accommodated until they give up their idea of being top dog. Second to none must not become second to one. U.S. determination to increase its military strength is more likely than anything else to bring the Soviets to the bargaining table, and thus reduce the risk of an all out nuclear confrontation.

- Carter will also claim RR inaccurate re Ford defense record and Carter accomplishments. In 1977 he claims no program for a mobile ICBM, no final decision on MX or how to deploy it, no cruise missile program, no plans to deploy additional Minuteman III, TRIDENT bogged down in contracts disputes, lame duck naval ship-building program.
  --Carter says he resolved TRIDENT disputes, cancelled B-1 because doubtful it could penetrate Soviet defenses, favored a workable basing system for MX, signed into law 11.7% military pay increase effective 10/1.

Response:
Carter is wrong in each instance: While no final decision (prudently so) on MX basing in 1977, MX program was scheduled for initial deployment in 1983 and basing choices were reduced to two.
--Carter indecisively delayed the decision, flirting with some half a dozen different schemes, before choosing one agreed by all to be sub-optimum.
--Cruise missile program was begun in mid-1970s, before Carter, and has, in fact, been delayed under Carter.
--Sea launched cruise missile program, in particular, is encountering serious delay.
--Ford decided to keep Minuteman III production line open in 1976 to produce more MMIII in order ot have SALT-hedge option of additional deployment. Carter closed the line, so that now U.S. has no active ICBM production line while Soviets have four very active ones. (Note: SALT II would permit production and stockpile of as amny additional ICBMs as wished and Soviets are doing it.)
--TRIDENT submarine has been further delayed under Carter, and most recently announced slippage must now be slipped again by several months. Carter has also made plans either to delay the TRIDENT II missile or to cut it altogether.
--Carter mistakenly cancelled B-1, as Chairman of Joint Chiefs recently acknowledged and as Congress also knows in calling for Administration to decide on a bomber program by early next year. His "workable basing mode" for MX is subject to much uncertainty and opposition; and is a 1990s solution for 1980s problems--MX program will not be fully operational until 1990 optimistically. Need more rapid, effective, streamlined solution to problem of immediate ICBM vulnerability.
--Yes, Carter signed 11.7% military pay increase, but only after he had strongly opposed it and Congress voted it over his opposition.

ARMS CONTROL/SALT

- Objective for strategic arms negotiations on reductions in Soviet weapons. Will sit down with Soviets for as long as it takes.

- President Carter would like the public to forget about what happened during the 1979 Senate SALT debate.

  --Dem-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee only reported treaty out of Committee(9-6 vote) with more than 20 recommended changes. Other Senators would have offered amendments from the floor. Senate Armed Services Committee voted 10-0 (with 7 abstentions) declaring SALT II not in our national interest.

  --Dem-Chairman Senate Budget Committee Fritz Hollings thinks the Administration is "wrong as can be about SALT II." Senator Henry Jackson, the ranking Democrat on the Armed Services Committee, said that "to enter into a treaty that favors the Soviets, as this one does, on the ground that we will be in a worse position without it is...appeasement in its purest form."

  --Senator Glenn (D-Ohio; former astronaut) also opposes SALT II, rightly "not at all pleased that those of us expressing reservations and concern regarding the Treaty are characterized by some as warmongers?" As to the warmonger charge, Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat form Carter's own state of Georgia, advised Jimmy Carter to let the Russians invent their own propaganda; they shouldn't play back ours.

- RR regrets the Carter record on arms control has been mostly rhetoric

  --Why should the Russians agree to arms reductions when the American President continues to fight a strong consensus in Congress that we need to strengthen American defenses?

- RR approach: immediate preparations for negotiations on a SALT III Treaty. SALT II is fatally flawed and would not gain Senate consent. Goal of beginning meaningful arms reductions that are equitable, verifiable, and set a good precedent for future negotiations at significantly lower levels.

  -- When Carter became President, he sought a new approach with his Spring 77 "Comprehensive" proposal. I would - also - as perhaps any new President would - invent a new approach - only I would not be so clumsy in proposing it to the Soviets publicly and so willing to fall back and concede to Soviets as Carter has.

- If asked: SALT III should include a variety of provisions aimed at actually reducing weaponry equally, e.g.,

-- Reductions should be not only in numbers but in capabilities (It does no good to limit and reduce numbers and then allow Soviets to continue to expand capabilities).

-- Missiles and warheads should be limited, not just "launchers"

-- Urgently reduce or eliminate heavy ICBM's.

-- Count the Backfire bomber as part of SALT.

But RR does not want to negotiate in public. It was a mistake of Carter Administration to rush in with public proposal.

NOTE

- Carter will claim SALT II is in our interest:

-- No reductions in U.S. strategic systems while Soviets will have to reduce 250.

-- U.S. will be able to carry out modernization programs.

-- Soviets limited to one new land-based missile instead of four.

-- U.S. would be required to spend $30 billion more over 10 year period.

Response

The claims made on behalf of the treaty were thoroughly debunked during SALT debate. If it is such a good treaty, why didn't the Senate pass it? If SALT is the centerpiece of our foreign policy, and the votes were there, why didn't Mr. Carter bring it up for a vote last year? Why is he playing politics with SALT II now in his faltering campaign? In politics, there is an old adage, "if the issue is important and the votes are there, vote it."

- Carter may also claim he tried SALT III approach in 1977 and failed, therefore went for modest SALT II approach.

Response

Carter presented Soviet Union with two proposals. Just like saying, here, we can't decide, you decide for us. Why present the fallback position at the same time we present a proposal for reductions? And then he caved in on his "SALT III" approach at the first Soviet Nyet. In addition to being a better negotiator than Jimmy Carter, I will take steps to assure the survivability of our strategic deterrent and I will move to reverse the adverse trends in the strategic balance, trends which are due to Mr. Carter's failure to keep our forces strong and modernized. He's been too late, with too little.

- Carter may say RR stance on SALT contrary to RR stance on developing closer relations with allies; Germans in particular counting on SALT II.

Response

RR would keep commitment to allies on jointly agreed arms control approaches. Allies will see his approach to SALT far more in their interest than Carter's approach.

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION

- Carter record again uneven, weak:

  -- Promised vigorous nonproliferation policy but then clumsily interfered with nuclear energy programs of allies

  -- Carter also pressured Congress not to veto shipments of nuclear fuel to India (which had detonated nuclear explosives in '74 and has steadfastly refused comprehensive safeguards). Need longer term approach to Indian situation. Stop gap measures insufficient.

- Reagan position on nonproliferation:

  -- Nuclear energy important to many countries.
  -- But U.S. must also recognize risk of diversion to make nuclear explosives.
  -- U.S. must in future pursue nonproliferation objectives in coordination with allies.

- Note:

  Carter may try to attack RR for January statement that proliferation (in Pakistan) is none of our business. Recommend RR state:

  --Proliferation requires international and consistent approach. America cannot do this alone.

  --Carter undermined nonproliferation by giving in to India's demands for nuclear fuel; pressuring a reluctant Congress to agree.

FOREIGN POLICY

RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION

"With our allies, we can conduct a realistic and balanced policy toward the Soviet Union. I am convinced that the careful management of our relationship with the Soviet Union depends on a principled, consistent American foreign policy. We seek neither confrontation nor conflict but to avoid both we must remain strong and determined to protect our interests."

RR TV Adress, 10/19/80

- Carter Presidency marked by naive view of Soviets:

  -- Early in term, in 1977 address at Notre Dame, Carter warned Americans against "inordinate fear of communism;" 18 months into presidency expressed "deep belief" that Brezhnev "wants peace and wants to have a better friendship..." Only the Afghan invasion 3 years into term, by his own confession, made him realize "what the Soviets' ultimate goals are." And even now, that is open to doubt.

  -- Approach to arms negotiations has reflected this same naive view. Began with ambitious proposal, immediately backed down, and wound up with badly flawed SALT II treaty.

  -- Similarly, backed away from his early, tough stance on human rights in USSR, and, more recently, backed down on Soviet troops in Cuba.

  -- Also slashed away at Ford defense budget despite Soviet buildup.

- In face of U.S. weakness, Soviets have become more aggressive over past 4 years.

  -- Invasion of Afghanistan first direct Soviet military intervention outside Warsaw Pact since WW II.

  -- Soviet military involvement has also increased in Africa (the Horn, Mozambique & Angola); Persian Gulf (South Yemen); Asia (Vietnam); and Latin America (influence growing in Carribbean).

  -- Soviets have also encouraged a doubling of Cuban troops (from 20-40,000) for use outside Cuba.

  -- Soviets continue most massive military buildup in peacetime history.

REAGAN SOLUTIONS:

-- Rebuild U.S. defense capabilities.

-- Restore reliability of commitments to allies and friends.

-- Negotiate genuine arms limitations (SALT III)

-- Work with allies on common approaches to East-West trade; minimize technology transfer of help to Soviet military capability. (No more grain embargoes unless made effective; call off current one.)

-- Support Helsinki Accords on human rights (U.S. should take vigorous human rights stance at Madrid conference starting in mid-November where 35 nation signatories review the Helsinki Accords).

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

"There is an historic bond of friendship between the American and Chinese peoples, and I will work to amplify it wherever possible. Expanded trade, cultural contact and other arrangements will all serve the cause of preserving and extending the ties between our two countries." RR TV Address 10/19/80.

- RR Approach

  -- Strengthen and extend relationship with PRC; welcome close cooperation on areas of mutual interest, while safeguarding Taiwan's interest.

  -- Continue to supply military equipment to meet Taiwan's defense needs.

  --Agrees China and U.S. have mutual interests in deterring expansion of Soviet powers.

  --Favor economic relations, with prudent precautions on high-level technology. Does not preclude limited and prudent arms sales to PRC.

- RR's Disagreement with Carter over China

  In eagerness to normalize relations with PRC, Carter abandoned old, valued friend.

  -- First time in history that U.S. unilaterally terminated such a treaty.

  -- Friendship with Taiwan stretched back 30 years--upheld from Truman on.

  -- In negotiations, Carter conceded on all PRC demands but backed down on U.S. demand--Peking guarantee not to use force against Taiwan.

- RR belief: can carry out Taiwan Relations Act (i.e., he would of course not turn back clock) and still enjoy expanding friendship with People's Republic of China.

  Deng Xiaoping (1st deputy) is key Chinese leader today. (DÜNG SHÄU PÄNG) for pronunciation.

IRAN-HOSTAGES

1. BACKGROUND

- 52 American hostages now held 359 days.

- Carter did not take elementary precautions. After US Embassy violated by mob, maintained full staff (British reduced to skeleton staff/Israeli Embassy closed). Sadat closed Embassy before admitting Shah to Egypt . Carter also explicitly warned by Embassy several times that our diplomats would be taken hostage if he admitted Shah to US.

- Took Carter over 2 weeks to order Carrier Kitty Hawk and 5 support ships to the Indian Ocean.

- Desert I fiasco occurred 4/24/80. (8 Marines killed.)

2. IF THE HOSTAGES ARE HOME*

- Express relief that hostages are at last free. Sympathy for families and hope and expectation that hostages will receive very best medical and other assistance our nation can provide.

- Now that nightmare behind, need to examine how it came about in first place.
  -- There is clear and compelling evidence that our diplomats would never have been taken hostage, had Carter Admin. acted upon the specific warnings it received.
  -- After seizure of embassy, inept and vacillating approach prolonged hostage crisis (using Billy Carter and Ramsey Clark as envoys, promising not to use force, delaying rescue mission, etc.)

- Haunting fear that we may not know full extent of Carter commitment to secure release.

- Must not be dragged into "quagmire" of Middle East war.

- A commitment to support Khomeini and his radical friends -- Libya (Qaddafi), Syria, and North Korea -- against the moderates of the region (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt) could be short term relief and long term disaster.

* NOTE: One can ask the question: Why did it take nearly a year to bring the hostages home? Why now, one week before the elections?

3. IF THE HOSTAGES NOT FREED

- Express sympathy for hostages and their families

- National humiliation, before eyes of world, has been unbearable.

- By election day, our countrymen will have been held hostage in Iran for 1 year.

- When they are released can legitimately ask how the hostages came to be taken in the first place.
  -- There is clear and compelling evidence that our diplomats would never have been taken hostage, had Carter Admin. acted upon the specific warnings it received.
  -- After seizure of embassy, inept and vacillating approach prolonged hostage crisis (using Billy Carter and Ramsey Clark as envoys, promising not to use force, delaying rescue mission, etc.)

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PERSIAN GULF

- Gulf area vital to Western security:

  -- Provides 40% of oil to non-communist world; 19% of U.S. oil.

  -- Currently only a 100-day supply of oil in non-communist world.

- In past 4 years, dramatic increase in instability & Soviet threat to Gulf area. Most serious threat to world peace today.
  -- Iran, once a bulwark of peace in region, now totters under tyrannical regime.
  -Shah fell in January, 1979; a year earlier, Carter had called him an island of "stability." U.S. probably could not have saved Shah, but Carter vacillation hastened his downfall, led to radical regime, planted further doubts about strength of U.S. friendships (Saudis shaken).

  -- Area now aflame with Iran-Iraq war (five weeks old).
  -Iraq has nearly taken over oil-rich province of Khuzestan.

  -- In past 4 years, Soviets tightened pincer movement on the Gulf, moving troops into Afghanistan, setting up puppet regimes and arsenals in South Yemen, Ethiopia.
  -Before Afghanistan, Soviet fighter planes were 700 miles from Straits of Hormuz; today, there are only 300 miles away -- within easy striking distance.

- Carter response has been dangerous.

  -- First pursued arms agreement with the Soviets for Indian Ocean which had Soviets accepted would have prohibited our present naval deployment there.

  -- This January in State of Union Address, asserted "Carter Doctrine" -- assault on Gulf will be repelled, if necessary by force. Six days later, administration admitted it didn't have military strength to enforce.

  -- Carter's Rapid Development Force still an empty shell.

  -- Hostage humiliation a stark symbol of declining U.S. capability in region.

- RR APPROACH

  -- Strengthen U.S. defense forces.

  -- Work more effectively with Allies on coordinated approaches to Gulf.

  -- Develop secure and defensible U.S. presence. (Carter trying for military facilities in unstable Somalia; should explore more secure bases, perhaps in Sinai.)

THE MIDDLE EAST

1. The Carter Record: A Violation of Commitments

- In October 77, Carter agreed to joint approach with Soviets for Geneva talks, calling for "comprehensive" settlement and recommending joint Soviet-American "guarantees". This approach was incompatible with UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

- Then Carter prejudged the final outcome and threw 'monkey wrench' into autonomy negotiations by aligning himself with Arab positions. Proclaimed in news conference "settlements in occupied territories are illegal and an obstacle to peace".

- 1978 sale of 60 F-15's to Saudi Arabia destabilized the balance of power, causing increased arms purchases by both sides.

- Carter failed to veto UN resolution condemning Israel's presence in Jerusalem; 2 days later, reacting to public outcry, Carter reversed position, blamed Secretary Vance, yet the Vote on Record in UN was never amended as it should have been.

- Carter Administration has even courted the PLO: Andrew Young, U.S. Ambassador in Vienna.

- This August, Muskie gave a long speech publicly denouncing pernicious U.N. resolution on Jerusalem, then abstained when time came to vote.

2. Reagan Approach

- Peace Making and Camp David

  -- Peace between Israel and her neighbors should be governed by Resolutions 242 and 338; RR will not tolerate any effort to supersede or be divorced from these resolutions.

  -- Camp David started as a repudiation by Sadat and Begin of Carter's comprehensive peace plan (including Soviets).

  -- But, since Camp David accords derive from Resolutions 242 and 338, we will continue the Camp David process as long as there is utility in it.

  -- RR will not try to force the hand of either Israel or Egypt at the negotiating table. RR will support the agreements made between Israel and Egypt as long as no outside pressures.

- Jerusalem

  -- Jerusalem is central to religious faiths throughout the world. Thus, Jerusalem must remain one city (Optional: under Israeli sovereignty) undivided and with continued free access for all faiths to its holy places. Thankfully, Jerusalem today -- unlike the time prior to 1967 -- enjoys freedoms.

- Arms Sales

  -- RR would avoid shipment of massive quantities of sophisticated armaments to so-called "moderate" Arab states who might directly threaten Israel's existence once in possession of such arms. These sales could promote dangerous arms races.

- UN

  -- Defeat any U.N. resolution to expel Israel; if necessary, use threat to stop U.S. funding.

Africa, Third World

- Carter Record

  --During Carter years, Cuban and Soviet presence in Africa increased, adding to the refugee misery.
  --Carter Administration claims success in relations with Africa and other "Third World" nations. Yet, its policies have led to needless confrontation, encouraged radicalization, and enabled Castro to posture as leader of Third World. Carter claims to have improved relations with Nigeria, opposing racial discrimination.

- RR Approach

  --Not lump so-called "Third World" nations together. Deal with these nations on bilateral basis.
  --Opposed to racial discrimination in any form. Continue progress towards peaceful solution of problems in Southern Africa. Put political pressure on Castro to reduce his mercenary forces in Africa.
  --Reduce large U.S. trade deficit with Africa by encouraging U.S. exports--enhance private investment.

REFUGEES & HUMAN RIGHTS

REFUGEES

- Carter's poor handling of Cuban refugees.
  - -- Inconsistent, uncoordinated policy based on crisis planning. Over 10 thousand Cubans now locked up on U.S. bases.
  - -- No effective effort to develop real consensus. No one country can carry full burden, provide resources; international solution needed.
  - -- Trying to dump 1200 refugees on Puerto Rico (no electoral votes).

- RR Approach
  - -- Need to distinguish between refugees from oppression and refugees from want.
    - economic problems of other nations should be addressed through development and investment.
    - political problems through coordinated international effort to encourage both political improvements and provide humanitarian relief and resettlement. Note that largest number of refugees flee from communist countries.
  - -- Sustain long-standing American value of openness to immigrants and refugees.
    - must recognize impact on U.S. labor markets.
    - protect basic civil liberties and human rights of citizens and immigrants.
  - -- Most important: Develop worldwide consensus on a strategy to deal with refugee problem. RR would make this a priority because worldwide there are estimated to be more than 15 million refugees (U.S. Commission for Refugees).

HUMAN RIGHTS

- Carter policy very inconsistent.
  - -- In Inaugural Address: "Our commitment to human rights must be absolute."
  - -- But applied it selectively -- most strongly against those least able to resist (usually pro-Western governments) as opposed to regimes, such as Cambodia, engaged in genocide.
    - in Argentina, Brazil, South Korea.
    - and not in Poland: in Poland Carter praised human rights situation in 1977, and now Muskie tells Polish people to be sensitive to Soviet pressure.

- Carter Administration in U.N. gave support to Pol Pot whose regime killed 3 million of his people (Cambodia).

- RR Approach
  -- Support human rights; has long been U.S. objective.
  -- Develop refugee policy.
  -- Vigorously use Helsinki Accord to improve human rights in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union.
  -- Convey to the world the value and strength of American principles of freedom, justice, equal protection. Carter Administration failed to use our moral resources; instead retreated in front of totalitarian propaganda.

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION

- Carter record again uneven, weak:

✓ -- Promised vigorous nonproliferation policy but then clumsily interfered with nuclear energy programs of allies

-- Carter also pressured Congress not to veto shipments of nuclear fuel to India (which had detonated nuclear explosives in '74 and has steadfastly refused comprehensive safeguards). Need longer term approach to Indian situation. Stop gap measures insufficient.

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- Note:

✓ Carter may try to attack RR for January statement that proliferation (in Pakistan) is none of our business. Recommend RR state:

--Proliferation requires international and consistent approach. America cannot do this alone.

--Carter undermined nonproliferation by giving in to India's demands for nuclear fuel; pressuring a reluctant Congress to agree.

1) have an effective policy rather than just endless rhetorical posturing ..... find out what it requires. To get better cooperation with our allies who have been reluctant and inconsistent

2) ~~will work~~ Back up my words & policy with consistent action ——— unlike MR CARTER who ~~[redacted]~~ reversed field on first nuclear test & sold nuclear material to India ——— A nation which has already diverted peaceful atoms to bombs & will NOT sign non-proliferation treaty