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VII FOREIGN POLICY

ALL OF US COMMEND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS ENDEAVORS TO REACH AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WITH THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA THAT WOULD ASSURE FUTURE GENERATIONS PEACE IN THIS WORLD.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS MADE CLEAR ITS SUPPORT OF SUCH NEGOTIATIONS AND AGREEMENTS. HOWEVER, THE PARTY SHOULD ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THOSE NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL, AND CAN ONLY BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THIS COUNTRY, WHEN THEY ARE NEGOTIATED AND ENTERED INTO FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH.

BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE LEARNED THAT WHEN A STRONG POSTURE IS TAKEN THE COMMUNISTS WILL BACK DOWN, BUT THAT WHEN THE LEAST SIGN OF HESITATION OR WEAKNESS IS DISPLAYED THE RESULT IS DETRIMENTAL TO THE UNITED STATES. SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS INSTANCES OF THIS PRINCIPLE.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MARSHALL PLAN, FOR EXAMPLE, COUNTERACTED THE SOVIET INSPIRED REVOLT THREAT TO TURKEY AND GREECE AND RETAINED THOSE COUNTRIES WITHIN THE WESTERN FAMILY OF NATIONS. IN 1948 PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S SWIFT AIRLIFT RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET BLOCKADE OF WEST BERLIN RESULTED IN THAT CITY BEING SAVED BY A TAKEOVER BY THE COMMUNISTS.

THE DISPATCH OF U.S. MARINES TO LEBANON IN 1958 BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER PROTECTED THAT COUNTRY AGAINST THE TAKEOVER INSPIRED BY MOSCOW AND CAIRO.

THE STAND BY THE LATE PRESIDENT KENNEDY OVER SOVIET ATTEMPTS TO PLACE MISSILES IN CUBA IN 1962 CAUSED MOSCOW TO BACK DOWN AND REMOVE THE MISSILES FROM THAT ISLAND. AND THEN IN 1970 SWIFT ACTION BY PRESIDENT NIXON (WHICH INCLUDED A VISIT TO THE 6TH FLEET) DISCOURAGED SOVIET BACKED SYRIA AND IRAQI TROOPS FROM INTERVENING IN THE JORDANIAN CIVIL WAR AND HELPING DETHRONE PRO-WESTERN KING HUSSEIN. IF THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, THE SWIFT FLOW OF EVENTS THIS PAST YEAR HAVE INDICATED ONCE AGAIN THE DESIRABILITY AND NECESSITY OF

THE UNITED STATES TAKING A FIRM AND DECISIVE POSITION ON FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS.

IN THE FAR EAST, THOSE DEMOCRATIC DOOMSAYERS WHO SEEK CAPITULATION AS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO ARMAGEDDON RAISED SCREAMS OF PROTEST OVER THE MINING OF HAIPHONG HARBOR AND THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM. THEY WARNED OF ALL SORTS OF DIRE CONSEQUENCES RANGING FROM CANCELLATION OF THE MOSCOW TRIP TO ACTIVE INTERVENTION IN THE WAR BY COMMUNIST CHINA. OF COURSE NONE OF THESE PREDICTIONS HAVE COME TO PASS. ANY STUDENT OF 20TH CENTURY HISTORY COULD HAVE TOLD THEM AS MUCH.

VIII ISRAEL

IN THE MIDDLE EAST OUR COMMUNIST ENEMIES AND THEIR ARAB SATELLITES TOOK AS A SIGN OF WEAKNESS THE SINCERE ATTEMPTS OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES. ONCE THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION MADE VERY CLEAR THAT THIS NATION WOULD SUPPORT ISRAEL, WOULD SUPPLY ISRAEL WITH NECESSARY MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND WOULD NOT FORCE HER INTO ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD REQUIRE A LESSENING OF HER NEEDED SECURITY, WHAT HAPPENED? THE ARAB COUNTRIES PROTESTED SOMEWHAT AND THEN KICKED THEIR RUSSIAN ADVISORS OUT OF CAIRO.

THE UPSHOT OF ALL THIS IS THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF FACE TO FACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN THE AREA TO ACHIEVE SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PROBLEMS ON THEIR OWN WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE AND INTERVENTION HAS IMPROVED.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD GO ON RECORD AS RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST TO THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY AND THE NECESSITY FOR BLOCKING SOVIET EXPANSION TO THAT AREA. IT SHOULD ALSO RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT THIS POSTURE CAN ONLY OCCUR WITH TWO PRECONDITIONS.

THE FIRST IS THAT WE MAINTAIN A VERY STRONG MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, INCLUDING A NAVAL ESTABLISHMENT IN THAT OCEAN WHICH IS SECOND TO NONE. THE SECOND IS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD BE MADE THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR MIDDLE EAST POLICY AND THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE SUPPORT THAT NATION IN ITS ATTEMPTS TO ATTAIN PERMANENT SECURITY AND PEACE FOR ITSELF AND ITS NEIGHBORS. IN IMPLEMENTING THIS, THE SECOND NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ANY FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF GRIEVANCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. WE SHOULD SUPPORT QUITE FIRMLY THE POSITION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW THAT INTERNATIONAL WATERWAYS SUCH AS THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE STRAITS OF TIRAN MUST REMAIN OPEN TO THE SHIPPING OF ALL NATIONS AND THAT NO DISCRIMINATION AMONGST NATIONS WILL BE TOLERATED BY THIS COUNTRY.

WE SHOULD OPPOSE ANY EFFORTS TO DIVIDE JERUSALEM, TO RETURN JERUSALEM TO ITS ARAB ADMINISTRATORS OR EVEN TO MAKE IT AN INTERNATIONAL CITY. UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL, THE CITY, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN RECENT HISTORY, HAS BEEN OPEN TO ALL FAITHS; NOW JEWS, AS WELL AS MOSLEMS, AND CHRISTIANS ARE ENTITLED TO VISIT SHRINES SACRED TO ALL. THE PEOPLE CALLING FOR A CHANGE, WHETHER IT BE RESTORATION TO THE ARABS OR INTERNATIONALIZATION, ARE THOSE SAME PEOPLE THAT REMAINED TOTALLY SILENT DURING THE LONG YEARS WHEN PEOPLE OF THE JEWISH FAITH WERE DEPRIVED OF ACCESS TO THEIR HOLY PLACES IN THAT CITY. THEY DO NOT BRING THEIR ARGUMENTS FORWARD WITH CLEAN HANDS AND THEY SHOULD NOT BE COUNTENANCED. THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES NEITHER SUPPORTS NOR WISHES ANY CHANGE IN THE CONTROL OF JERUSALEM.

FINALLY, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR TAKING THE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING WITH THE KREMLIN LEADERS THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET JEWS. THE GOP SHOULD GO ON RECORD IN SUPPORTING ALL ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO ASSIST THESE UNFORTUNATE INDIVIDUALS IN THEIR DESIRE TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST OPPRESSION AND EMMIGRATE TO ISRAEL. WE SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS OUR CLEAR DISAPPROVAL OF THE TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE KREMLIN LEADERS IN IMPRISONING AND OTHERWISE PUNISHING JEWISH CITIZENS OF THAT COUNTRY WHO DESIRE TO ESCAPE TO FREEDOM. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FULLY SUPPORTS THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN ALL EFFORTS TO ASSIST ISRAEL IN THE RESETTLEMENT OF THESE INDIVIDUALS INCLUDING DIRECT AID AND THE USE OF COUNTERPART FUNDS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CENTERS FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

IX. CUBA

TURNING TO OUR OWN HEMISPHERE, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SHOULD REAFFIRM ITS COMMITMENT OF ASSISTANCE TO AND COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD ALSO REAFFIRM-- IN THE STRONGEST TERMS--OUR POLICY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST THE DICTATORIAL COMMUNIST REGIME OF FIDEL CASTRO.

BACK IN OCTOBER 1962, JUST PRIOR TO THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, CONGRESS PASSED A RESOLUTION "THAT THE U.S. IS DETERMINED TO PREVENT BY WHATEVER MEANS MAY BE NECESSARY, INCLUDING THE USE OF ARMS, THE MARXIST-LENINIST REGIME IN CUBA FROM EXTENDING, BY FORCE OR THE THREAT OF FORCE, ITS AGGRESSIVE OR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES TO ANY PART OF THIS HEMISPHERE; TO PREVENT IN CUBA THE CREATION OR USE OF AN EXTERNALLY SUPPORTED MILITARY CAPABILITY ENDANGERING THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES; AND TO WORK WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES AND WITH FREEDOM LOVING CUBANS TO SUPPORT THE ASPERATIONS OF THE CUBAN PEOPLE FOR SELF DETERMINATION." SUCH A STATEMENT IS AS APPLICABLE NOW AS IT WAS THEN AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD DO WELL TO EXPRESS ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED THEREIN.

WE WOULD ALSO DO WELL, IN LIGHT OF RECENT EVENTS AND IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM SUGGESTS RE-EXAMINATION OF OUR POLICY TOWARDS CUBA, TO EXPRESS OUR OPPOSITION TO ANY WEAKENING IN THE U.S. POLICY OF NON RECOGNITION OF, AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST, CUBA.

IT HAS BEEN ELEVEN YEARS SINCE THE UNITED STATES BROKE OFF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH FIDEL CASTRO'S CUBAN GOVERNMENT IN RESPONSE TO CUBA'S LIMITATION OF OUR EMBASSY STAFF, THE CONTINUING STREAM OF ANTI-AMERICAN INVECTIVE, AND THE EXPROPRIATION, WITHOUT COMPENSATION, OF AMERICAN PROPERTY IN CUBA. IN THAT TIME, TWO THINGS HAVE BECOME EVIDENT. FIRST, THERE HAS BEEN A CONCERTED EFFORT ON HIS PART TO EXPORT VIOLENT REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT THE HEMISPHERE ESPECIALLY TO OTHER LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS WHO WANT NO PART OF HIS BRAND OF COMMUNISM. SECOND, CASTRO HAS SHOWN NO INDICATION THAT HE 1) WANTS THE U.S. TO BE ANYTHING OTHER THAN A PUNCHING BAG TO USE AS AN EXCUSE FOR HIS DOMESTIC FAILURES, OR THAT HE 2) WILL COMPENSATE AMERICANS FOR LOSSES SUFFERED AT HIS HANDS.

THE RECORD IS QUITE CLEAR AS TO CASTRO'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BREAKOFF IN RELATIONS, AND HIS PERSISTENCE IN WIDENING THE RIFT OVER THE YEARS. THERE ALSO CAN BE NO DOUBT, AS THE GOVERNMENTS OF SUCH NATIONS AS COSTA RICA, VENEZUELA, GUATEMALA, COLOMBIA, BOLIVIA, URUGUAY AND BRAZIL WOULD ATTEST, ABOUT CASTRO'S LONG-STANDING EFFORTS, DATING BACK TO 1960, TO EXPORT HIS TYPE OF REVOLUTION TO THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA.

IN SPITE OF THIS RECORD, AND IN SPITE OF EVIDENCE THAT CUBAN TRAINED REVOLUTIONARIES WERE INVOLVED IN THE KIDNAPPING OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL AND THE ASSASSINATION OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO GUATEMALA, THERE ARE SOME PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THAT CASTRO HAS REDUCED HIS EFFORTS TO EXPORT REVOLUTION TO LATIN AMERICA. WHAT, IN FACT, HAS HAPPENED IS THAT, INSTEAD OF A REDUCTION, THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT IN TACTICS FROM RURAL TO URBAN TERRORISM. ON A PHILOSOPHICAL LEVEL, THIS SHIFT HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF IN THE REPLACEMENT OF THE GUEVARA'S GUERRILLA WARFARE BY CARLOS MARIGHELLA'S MINI MANUAL OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA AS THE BIBLE FOR REVOLUTIONARY SUBVERSION; ON A PRACTICAL LEVEL IT HAS MEANT CHANGES IN THE GUERRILLA TRAINING PROGRAMS BEING CONDUCTED BY CASTRO. INSTEAD OF TRAINING A LARGE NUMBER OF REVOLUTIONARIES AS IN THE PAST, CASTRO GIVES A LIMITED NUMBER OF THEM SPECIALIZED TRAINING IN URBAN TERRORISM AT ONE OF THE DOZEN OR MORE CUBAN RUN TRAINING CAMPS. THE REDUCTION THAT SOME HAVE PERCEIVED IS, THEREFORE, DELIBERATE; CASTRO HAS CONCLUDED THAT THERE IS MORE TO BE GAINED BY SENDING A SMALLER NUMBER OF BETTER TRAINED GUERRILLAS TO CERTAIN SELECTED LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. ACCORDING TO RECENT ESTIMATES, THERE ARE ABOUT 2,000 OF THESE REVOLUTIONARIES NOW OPERATING IN LATIN AMERICA.

TIME AND TIME AGAIN CASTRO HAS RESTATED HIS INTENTION TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE HEMISPHERE. ON APRIL 19, 1971 HE SAID THAT, BEFORE A TRULY INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM CAN FUNCTION "THERE FIRST MUST BE REVOLUTION IN EACH OF THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES." AND THAT "AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CAN DEPEND" ON CUBA FOR SUPPORT. ONLY JULY 26, 1971, HE SAID THAT REVOLUTIONARIES "SHALL NOT MAKE A SINGLE CONCESSION TO IMPERIALISM" AND THAT THEY "SHALL STAND HERE FIRMLY ERECT, RAISING OUR BANNERS UNTIL THE LAST LATIN AMERICAN NATION IS LIBERATED." IN AUGUST, 1971 HE SAID "WE HAVE NOT REPENTED ONE WHIT AND THE PATH WE HAVE FOLLOWED UP TO TODAY IS THE PATH WE WILL FOLLOW IN THE FUTURE. AND, FOLLOWING THE

VISIT OF SOVIET PREMIER KOSYGIN IN OCTOBER 1971 CASTRO HAILED "AN UPSURGE OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA." BY NOW, THE REST OF THE HEMISPHERE SHOULD HAVE GOTTEN THE MESSAGE THAT THE ONLY TYPE OF RECOGNITION CASTRO WANTS IS THE TYPE ACCORDED A DICTATOR BY THOSE UNFORTUNATE ENOUGH TO HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE.

ON SEPTEMBER 16, 1971 DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTER AMERICAN AFFAIRS, ROBERT HURWITHCH, PUT THE MATTER IN ITS PROPER PERSPECTIVE WHEN HE STATED, TO THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, THAT "UNLESS THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT WERE TO ABANDON ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS WHICH CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE HEMISPHERE, THE BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH CUBA ARE NOT READILY APPARENT, WHEREAS THE COSTS ARE CLEAR." ANY REVERSAL OF THIS POSITION WOULD NOT, IN MY OPINION, BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES OR OF THE REST OF LATIN AMERICA. FURTHERMORE, CONTINUATION OF OUR PRESENT POLICY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS OFFERS A GREATER PROSPECT FOR SUCCESS NOW THAN AT ANY TIME IN RECENT YEARS.

I SAY THIS FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, CUBA CONTINUES TO BE AN ECONOMIC DRAIN ON THE SOVIET UNION AND SECOND, THE SOVIETS MAY NO LONGER, IN VIEW OF RECENT EVENTS, BE WILLING TO ASSUME SUCH A BURDEN INDEFINITELY.

IN THE LAST TEN YEARS OR SO, COMMUNIST BLOC NATIONS HAVE GIVEN CUBA A TOTAL OF \$3.6 BILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. OVER \$3 BILLION OF THAT-- \$1.5 MILLION A DAY--HAS COME FROM THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FORM OF LOANS WHICH ARE STILL OUTSTANDING. AND, AS FAR AS THE SOVIETS CAN SEE, THERE IS LITTLE HOPE FOR IMPROVEMENT. CASTRO FAILED IN HIS ATTEMPT TO PROMOTE A 10 MILLION TON SUGAR HARVEST IN 1969-70 AND THE EFFORT RESULTED IN A MUCH LOWER SUGAR CROP LAST YEAR AND THIS YEAR. SINCE SUGAR IS CUBA'S PRINCIPAL EARNER OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE, CUBA IS LIKELY TO BE DEPENDENT ON SOVIET AID FOR A WHILE TO COME. ABOUT THE ONLY THING THAT COULD CHANGE THAT WOULD BE IF THE U.S. REESTABLISHED NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS WITH CUBA AND TOOK THE SOVIETS OFF THE HOOK. IN MY VIEW, THAT WOULD BE A MISTAKE SINCE THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS MAY BE COMING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT CASTRO ISN'T WORTH IT.

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING THINGS THAT HAS EMERGED FROM THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO MOSCOW, HAS BEEN THE HINT THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS -- AT LEAST TEMPORARILY -- BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R. IF THE SOVIETS ARE UNWILLING TO RUN THE BLOCKADE OF

OF NORTH VIETNAM, THEN IT FOLLOWS THEY MAY NOT BE SO INTERESTED IN CONTINUING TO PROP UP A CUBAN GOVERNMENT THAT THE SOVIETS KNOW HAS BEEN AN AGGRAVATION TO THE U.S. THE SOVIETS ARE NOT ONES TO POUR MONEY INTO EXPENSIVE PROJECTS THAT DO NOT PROMOTE THEIR OWN INTERESTS.

THEREFORE, IF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS CONTINUE THEIR ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, CASTRO MAY, AS A RESULT OF SOVIET AID CUTBACKS, BE FORCED TO MAKE A CHOICE--EITHER EXPLAIN TO THE CUBAN PEOPLE HIS FAILURES OR ADOPT A RESPONSIBLE OR RESPONSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE REST OF THE HEMISPHERE. THE POSSIBILITY OF FORCING CASTRO INTO SUCH A POSITION REQUIRES THAT WE CONTINUE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SANCTIONS; TO IGNORE THE OPPORTUNITY WOULD BE TO BREAK FAITH WITH THE OAS AND WITH FREEDOM LOVING PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING SOME 650,000 REFUGEES WHO HAVE FLED CASTRO'S TYRANNY. THE TIME HAS LONG SINCE COME FOR CASTRO TO GIVE UP HIS DREAMS OF REVOLUTION AND TO MAKE GOOD ON THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM THAT BROUGHT HIM TO POWER. THE BURDEN OF PROOF IS UPON CASTRO; WHEN HE IS READY TO RETURN CUBA TO THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, THE HEMISPHERE WILL BE READY TO REEVALUATE HIM.