

DIEGO GARCIA:

MONDALE POSITION:

While you never made a public statement on a major expansion of the US base on Diego Garcia, in the Indian Ocean, you did support a resolution sponsored by Senator Mansfield, S. Res. 160 which questioned the desirability of such construction at that time, in the absence of any steps by the Government to avoid a naval arms race and superpower confrontation in the Indian Ocean. Aside from the lack of any diplomatic initiative to achieve with the Soviet Union a mutual military restraint, are the additional issues of the means used to remove citizens from the Island, and the call by the Littoral nations of that area not to make the Indian Ocean a subject of great power rivalry.

During consideration of the State Department authorization bill in September 1975, Senator Culver's amendment to require a report from the President on the history of US involvement with former inhabitants of the Island of Diego Garcia was adopted.

You supported another Culver Amendment to the Military Construction Authorization calling for the withholding of spending funds until July 1, 1976 so that negotiations could be attempted with the Soviet Union on the question of mutual arms restraint and limitations in the Indian Ocean. That time period was eventually changed to April 15 instead of July 1.

CARTER'S POSITION:

No stated position.

BINARY CHEMICAL WEAPONS:

Mondale Position:

Supported a Gary Hart bill that would put a total freeze on research, development or production of lethal chemical weapons, but allows the Defense Department to keep its current chemical deterrent stockpile and to acquire the lethal chemicals needed to develop more effective protective equipment.

Although the Defense Department stated that Binary weapons were safer, the facility with which such weapons could be deployed, and their availability to terrorist organizations, made them more dangerous.

Finally attached to Military Authorization Bill last year. This year no funds were requested for lethal chemicals. All R&D funds were deleted this year.

CARTER POSITION:

No statement available.

CAMBODIA/VIETNAM:

MONDALE POSITION:

While you have not made an official statement, you have told constituents concerned about establishing relations that there will be very lengthy and serious discussions over a number of important issues: resolution of a final accounting of those still missing in action and lifting of the trade embargo currently enforced against Vietnam and Cambodia by the United States.

CARTER'S POSITION:

The Governor feels that there should be slow and open negotiations which will eventually lead to a final accounting by the North Vietnamese.

NAVY: TRIDENT/NUCLEAR AIRCRAFT CARRIERS

MONDALE POSITION:

TRIDENT: I believe a strong submarine / ^{-based} deterrent is essential to our security.

I opposed initial development and construction of the Trident submarine on the grounds that it would be more vulnerable to detection than our current Polaris/Poseidon nuclear submarines and that its more than \$1 billion cost was excessive. I supported a proposal by then-Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger to proceed with the development of a lower-cost alternative to the Trident (the NARWAHL) which would be capable of firing the long-range Trident missiles. I have not opposed production of the Trident now that it is going forward, but have supported amendments which would stretch out the rate of production.

In 1972, I opposed proceeding with the construction of a fourth nuclear powered aircraft carrier, then known as the CVAN-70, (now the VINSON). I opposed it on the grounds of cost -- it would cost \$1 billion for procurement and more than \$2 billion dollars when all the other support investment is figured in, and out of concern for the vulnerability of aircraft carriers in the missile age. I believe in a strong Navy, but I believe that investing in very large, complex and highly vulnerable systems such as the nuclear aircraft carrier is not the right way to invest in the Navy.

CARTER POSITION:

He believes that we must strengthen the Navy in comparison to the Soviet Union. He has not, however, been specific on individual systems such as aircraft carriers or Trident. Carter has also called for a reassessment of our

Naval strategy upon which presumably new force posture for the Navy would be developed. Carter has also expressed concern for highly expensive, complex weapons systems -- taking the position that we should emphasize larger numbers of less-complex systems.

COMMENT:

Carter's concern over highly complex, expensive and vulnerable systems being pursued out of bureaucratic momentum and over the absence of a coherent Naval strategy, are the same concerns that prompted Senator Mondale's opposition to CVAN-70 and Trident. CVAN-70 is, of course, a dead issue today. Both Carter and Mondale thus share the same fundamental concerns over the general issue of too great an investment in large, overly-complex and vulnerable weapons systems which may be depriving our forces of adequate quantities of more reliable and simpler arms. There is, therefore, no inherent contradiction in their positions on the general need for a lean and effective defense posture as it applies to the Navy. Mondale has supported, recently, an increase in resources to be devoted to defense, but he did not specifically identify the Navy as the area in which the additional investment should go.

THE CONGRESS: TREATY MAKING POWERS & WAR POWERS

MONDALE POSITION:

You have strongly supported the role of Congress in foreign policy decisions not only on the basis of constitutional legitimacy but also as a form of restraint on the Executive Branch. You contend that because of our country's involvement in Cyprus, Chile and continuing support of military dictatorships, Congress has had to take a comprehensive look at the assumptions and objectives of the international policies initiated by the Executive Branch.

In your book, you recognize that Congress was often neglectful in pursuing its powers, but you also reaffirm the deceit of the Executive that even the most effective oversight could not have remedied. The invasion of Cambodia, secret bombings, the tilt toward Pakistan, and the use of "Executive Agreements" in the place of treaties that could be evaluated by Congress, led toward the establishment of the War Powers Act and Congress' new efforts at reaffirming its shared role in advising and assessing US commitments to other nations.

The Executive has tried to deny this Congressional role by saying that the latter should not become involved in the flow of day-to-day diplomacy. You have agreed to this principle but state that the Congress should involve itself in broad policy and the setting of limits which insure our objectives are met in a manner consistent with our basic values.

You recently joined with Senator Dick Clark in sponsoring a "Treaties Power Resolution" to resolve a situation which has found the Administration submitting "shrimp treaties" and an "agreement regarding an uninhabited coral reef in the Caribbean" to the Senate for consideration while covering the 1970

Spanish Bases Accord, the Azores Agreement, and the Salt 1 agreement with the cloak of "Executive Agreement.

Senator Clark's resolution would:

1. establish a formal procedure for consultation to determine what agreements should be submitted as treaties and
2. establish a framework which would insure that significant international agreements are submitted for Senate consideration. This should clearly constitutional and must not "in keeping with the treaty clause" rely upon concurrence of the House.

The Treaties Power Resolution would accomplish the goals by setting forth guidelines as to what agreements the Senate regards constitutionally as treaties, and advises that the President consult with the Foreign Relations Committee in determining whether an agreement falls within the guidelines. Further, by simple resolution, the Senate can designate as a treaty any agreement falling within those guidelines which the President fails to submit for Senate advice and consent. Lastly, if such a resolution is agreed to, a point of order can be made anytime thereafter against the consideration in the Senate of any bill, joint resolution or conference report that authorizes or appropriates funds to implement the agreement -- unless and until the Senate advice and consent is given.

While you recognize that that such "handles" on Executive Actions are important steps in reasserting Congress' rightful role in determining what path our nation will follow, you also stress that the long-term success of such efforts as the War Powers and Treaty Powers Resolutions will be dependent on Congress' enforcement.

Carter's Position:

The Governor shares both your concern and lists the same examples in regard to a foreign policy being conducted without the knowledge and involvement of the American people..

CHILE:

MONDALE POSITION:

You have been a constant critic of the physical repression and abuse that has taken place under the Pinochet regime since 1973. Since 1974, you have strongly supported every effort to insure that no military assistance goes from the United States to Chile where it may be used against the very people its supposed to protect.

In early 1975 you, and five other Senate colleagues, sent a letter to Secretary Kissinger urging that he not visit Chile on a tour of Latin America. While supporting the need for improving hemispheric relations your expressed deep reservations over whether such a visit would inevitably give the appearance of the Administration's endorsement to a regime which had been the object of universal contempt for its violations of human rights. Secretary Kissinger did not visit Chile at that time. You were also supportive of the Paris Club's 1975 decision to refuse to renegotiate Chile's foreign debt as an impressive example of indignation being shown to Chilean abuses. You have also emphasized great concern over "quite diplomacy" exercised by the Department of State fearing that such "rebuttals" were not sufficient in making known to the Pinochet regime the deep revulsion of American citizens to the terror tactics employed against the Chilean people.

Recently, you supported Senator Kennedy's amendment to the Foreign Military Sales bill, S. 2662; which would have prohibited through license, sales or grants military equipment or assistance of any type to the Chilean junta. In June, you

joined on a letter to Secretary Kissinger urging that he not attend a General Assembly meeting of the Organization of American States in Santiago, for fear of giving an air of legitimization to the Junta -- in view of the fact that there remain 4,000 political detainees. You then cosponsored a Congressional Conference on "Human Rights and National Security" which discussed the abuses of human freedoms by Chile, Korea and the Soviet Union.

On a more personal level, you have tried to determine the whereabouts of Chileans who have "disappeared" and are feared to have been killed by the Junta.

During your work on the Select Committee on Intelligence, you took the initiative to see that shameful US intervention in Chile was brought to light.

CARTER'S POSITION:

Governor Carter feels that this country should not try to continue propping up military dictatorships and those that are completely at odds with our concept of government.

COMMENT:

His very strong feelings in this area reflect yours completely.

AMNESTY:

MONDALE POSITION:

I have stated that President Ford's proposal for clemency was a genuinely needed first step but has not been adequate. My long-held position was that amnesty should be handled on an individual basis.

CARTER'S POSITION:

Governor Carter proposes a Pardon -- which does not place specific determination as to the propriety of an act -- for draft resisters. He does not want to praise them nor does he want to condemn them.

For those who were already in service and deserted, he believes there should be a case-by-case determination.

COMMENT:

Pardon represents a different approach than Amnesty. There is no reason not to accept the Carter position.

DEFENSE BUDGET

Mondale Position:

In view of the international situation, in particular, continued Soviet defense increases and the restraint with which the United States has pursued its defense budgets in recent years, I believe that some growth in the defense budget this year was justified. However, I do not believe that the major increases proposed by the Administration are either prudent nor will they prove efficient.

I would support an effort to try to achieve \$5-to-\$7 billion worth of economies in the defense budget focusing primarily on overstaffing, grade creep and weapons systems of doubtful utility and over-complexity. We must have a strong and efficient defense tailored to our needs and not based on bureaucratic inertia.

Actions Taken:

In the Budget Committee, Senator Mondale favored real growth in the defense budget although not at the level requested by the Department of Defense. He proposed reductions in the requested total of \$200 million in budget authority and \$200 million in outlays (this was defeated).

Carter's Position:

He has taken the position that without endangering the defense of our nation, we can reduce present defense expenditures by about \$5-to-\$7 billion annually.

ARMS SALES

MONDALE POSITION:

Aside from my own resolution -- S. Res. 296, which was included in the Foreign Military Sales Act of 1976, and calls for an international conference of Arms Supplying Nations -- I have, since 1973, supported efforts aimed at curbing the proliferation of conventional weapons. (Weapons sales have jumped from \$4.3 billion in '73, to \$10.8 billion in 1974)

ACTIONS:

In early 1975, I sponsored a Nelson bill to establish Congressional approval for any sale, credit sale or guaranty involving a major weapon system or defense system. I joined Senator Kennedy on his bill to suspend all sales, credit sales and guarantees under the Foreign Military Sales Act to Persian Gulf nations for a period of six months.

In addition to my concern over the general growth pattern of weapons sales, I have addressed particular sales: the offer of a Hawk Missile System and Vulcan Antiaircraft weaponry to Jordan. I did this on the ground that such a transfer was not only excessive, but its size and nature would increase the potential for offensive actions in an already volatile Middle East.

Last December, I joined with 100 other Members of Congress in a letter to Secretary Kissinger urging that he actively work for a conference of arms supplying nations that would have as its goal some rational control and coordination of the fierce competition in foreign military sales.

I strongly supported Senator Humphrey's attempt to obtain tighter congressional controls and overview on arms sales.

CARTER'S POSITION:

The Governor has stated that in "every instance" he would minimize arms sales for stabilizing our economy and balancing trade relationships. There are cases when such a flat statement can not be made; i.e. support for Israel.

KOREA

MONDALE POSITION:

I have not taken a position with regard to the troop level situation on the Korean Peninsula.

Generally, I have expressed deep concern over supplying dictators with military assistance and supported an amendment to the 1974 Foreign Assistance Act to terminate military assistance to military dictatorships or authoritarian governments. This amendment was defeated.

In light of the continuing abuses of human freedoms in South Korea, I joined with 120 colleagues in signing a letter to President Ford over the continuing suppression of Koreans who urge progress toward restoration of democracy in South Korea. The letter underscores the increasing difficulty in justifying military support for South Korea to constituents.

CARTER'S POSITION:

In March of this year, he suggested a withdrawal of both nuclear weapons and US troops. At that time, he stated he would not act rashly and would make sure that Japan knew what the US was doing -- showing to them our firm commitment. However, in a recent speech Governor Carter said he believed that a withdrawal of our ground forces "will be possible" over a time span to be determined in consultation with Korea and Japan. At the same time, it should be made clear that Korea's repressive tactics are repugnant and undermines support for our commitment there.

CYPRUS:GREECE:TURKEY

MONDALE POSITION:

Since the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, I have been a strong supporter of a settlement on Cyprus that will provide for a peaceful resolution of the problems existing on that island that will take into account both the majority and minority interests.

ACTIONS:

Since 1974, I supported cutting-off all arms assistance to Turkey because of its illegal use of US supplied weapons. I questioned the wisdom of granting arms assistance to Turkey in light of that country's continuing inability to show needed flexibility in helping to reach a just settlement that will allow the return of the refugees to their homes, and insure Cyprus' independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. I take strong exception to supplying arms assistance to Turkey as an incentive to negotiate more fairly.

On the Turkish-US Base Agreement, I have made it clear that I previously have not supported the Administration efforts to provide arms to Turkey and in considering any request for assistance, would weigh very heavily any steps taken by Turkey to alleviate the unfortunate situation that persists on Cyprus to this day.

In relation to the dislocation of Cyprus' economy and the continuing human suffering, I supported maintaining humanitarian funding at the \$25 million level rather than reducing it to the Administration figure of \$10 million.

CARTER POSITION:

No stated position.

HUMAN RIGHTS & EMIGRATION

MONDALE POSITION:

I have been active in seeing that human rights plays an important role in foreign policy considerations. I have supported every effort to withhold military assistance to nations abusing human freedoms. I have publicly spoken out in cases such as Chile, have supported cuts in military assistance to that country and a reduction in military assistance to South Korea. I based my votes against Turkish military aid on the issue of curtailment of Greek Cypriot rights on Cyprus. I am concerned and active in the problems facing Soviet Jews as well as dissidents, and have spoken out against the Syrian mistreatment of Jews in that country.

ACTIONS:

I have written to Soviet authorities on at least 20 separate occasions over the last year-and-a-half, urging fairer treatment for dissidents and expressing interest in the cases of individuals wishing to emigrate either to the US or to Israel. I sponsored S. Res. 67 expressing concern over the Ukrainian Historian Valentyn Moroz and personally wrote to the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging that hearings be held on that Resolution prior to President Ford's signing of the Helsinki Accords. This past June, I signed a letter to General Secretary Brezhnev expressing deep concern over reports that Moroz had been transferred from Vladimir Prison to the Serbsky Institute for Forensic Psychiatry.

In my communications with the Soviets, I draw attention to the provisions of the Helsinki Accords dealing with freer flow of information and human rights and urge that Soviet flexibility in this area would be a sign to the American people that we are obtaining reciprocity in our relations with the Soviet Union.

During my trip to the Soviet Union in 1974, I personally stressed to Premier Kosygin the necessity for flexibility on the emigration issue. I made known my support for refuseniks and legitimate dissenters by visiting some of their homes and have been engaged in a three-year effort to secure the right of Dr. Veniamin Levich to emigrate from the Soviet Union -- after the Soviets refused to follow through on an original promise to let him leave Russia to join his family.

CARTERS POSITION:

Governor Carter feels that the United States must reassert our vital interest in human rights and humanitarian concerns, and must provide enlightened leadership in the world community.

On the Jackson Amendment to the Trade Bill of 1974, Governor Carter has reservations. He felt the intent was right but that he supported a more quite and effective dealing with the Soviet Union to achieve the goal of allowing Soviet citizens to emigrate to Israel. He does believe, however, that US trade relations should be linked to humanitarian considerations.

ABORTIONA. Carter

1. Opposes a Constitutional amendment "to overturn the Supreme Court ruling on abortion."
2. Personally "disapproves of abortion" and believes that government should not encourage it.
3. Favors legislation--if it is consistent with the Supreme Court ruling--which would "minimize abortion" with better family planning, adoption procedures and contraception.
4. Emphasizes his own record in expanding family planning services in Georgia; and in making it possible for "all females, regardless of age or marital status, to receive medical treatment for the prevention of pregnancy."

B. Mondale

1. Voted--on a procedural motion--to prevent the Senate from considering the Human Life Amendment.
2. Voted for the Church amendment "conscience clause" which prohibits requiring any hospital or staff from participating in abortion or sterilization procedures if it is against their moral or religious convictions.
3. Advocates the improvement and expansion of alternatives to abortion; in work on the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, has explored ways of increasing adoption opportunities.
4. Has generally voted for family planning provisions in federal legislation. (These have tended to be buried in other major bills in the health, AID, etc. areas in recent years, and not singled out.)

C. Analysis

Although Mondale has not articulated this position in the debate, he and Carter both oppose overturning the Supreme Court decision.

Mondale has also advocated development of alternatives to abortion, although he has kept a low profile on his support for family planning. Carter emphasizes his record in Georgia in expanding family planning services.

Both express a personal opposition to abortion and express the belief that it is a highly personal issue on which individuals may differ because of religious or moral beliefs.

THE ARTSA. Carter

1. Offers only a very brief statement acknowledging "the important role cultural institutions play in improving the quality of community life."
2. Notes that "the very success of the government's role in cultural life focuses renewed attention on a number of identifiable problems."
3. Indicates his intention to "review existing programs and institutions in order to further improve. . . a highly constructive federal role in our domestic cultural life."

B. Mondale

1. Has served as a member of the Senate Subcommittee on the Arts and Humanities for a number of years.
2. Strongly supported improvements in and extensions of the major arts and humanities programs (i.e., authorizations for the activities of the endowments).
3. Is on the record in support of increased funding for the arts in recent years.
4. Is the author of the "Bicentennial Photography and Film Project" a provision of the renewal of the arts and humanities legislation which will be acted on in conference committee now scheduled for July 29.

C. Analysis

Carter's statement is very thin and we should get a clarification of what he considers to be the "identifiable problems" in this area. It could be just an indication of his basic intention to reorganize and streamline the bureaucracy. The statement, however, has a tone of restraint in comparison with Mondale's enthusiastic advocacy of the federal role in the arts.

The Democratic platform is stronger on this than Carter, advocating "a strong role for the federal government" in this area; and supports "the growth and development of the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities." It also supports "development of special anti-recession employment programs for artists." This last item is very similar to WFM's Bicentennial photography proposal, which was originally an amendment to public service jobs legislation.

CHILD CAREA. Carter

1. Advocates that "adequate child care be made available to all parents who need such care for their children."
2. Favors "public subsidies for day care services for children with employed mothers in low income families. For those families with incomes between low and moderate level, and able to meet most of the cost, subsidized fees should be scaled to ability to pay."
3. Intends to "recommend legislation to implement my policy."

B. Mondale

1. Has been the major Senate sponsor of legislation which would provide comprehensive, quality child care--the Child and Family Services Act.
2. Has been one of the leaders in the fight to assure that child care programs now receiving funds meet standards of quality for staff, health, safety, etc.
3. Has supported tax measures which ease the burden of child care costs of families with working parents.

C. Analysis

Obviously, Carter's position in this area is much less specifically developed than Mondale's. The platform endorses "early childhood education" and "day care" in a general way. Here are a number of controversial points which may be raised:

1. Access--Carter seems to imply that child care should be available to families at all income levels, with the emphasis on subsidies for the working poor. He also places great emphasis in his position papers on the role of parents in child care, and clearly would not encourage women to leave their children at home for frivolous reasons.

Women's groups have tended to take the position that day care should be made universally available and Mondale has said that a program of that size and scope would have to be phased in, and that first emphasis should be on providing services to poor families.

2. Delivery System--Mondale's current position is that a variety of prime sponsors--including school districts, community action agencies, unions, etc.--should be eligible. He has not endorsed the position of the AFT and AFL-CIO that all child care should be

run through the public schools. He has also withheld final judgment on the issue of whether profit-makers should be eligible, suggesting that it might be appropriate if they meet the standards like any other sponsor.

3. Standards--In a more general statement, the platform takes the position that it is appropriate for federally funded programs to "meet minimum federal standards." Mondale has fought for the enactment and implementation of the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements, and for the provision of the funds the states need to meet them.

A. Carter

This issue is not dealt with in these terms in the Carter materials. He is clearly supportive of the type of efforts we've pursued in education, health, etc.

B. Mondale

1. Has a strong and detailed record of support and initiation of legislation designed to meet a wide variety of needs of children and youth and families.
2. Has established himself as the "family Senator" and the conscience of Congress in terms of looking out for what proposed policies will do to the American family.

C. Analysis

There is no contradiction between the Carter positions we have and Mondale's views, although of course Mondale's statements are much more extensive and clearly articulated. This should provide the basis of an important theme which can be expanded and used in the campaign.

EDUCATION-LIFELONG LEARNINGA. Carter

He does not address the question of education for adults (except vocational education) in his statements.

B. Mondale

1. Is the author of legislation--"The Lifelong Learning Act"--which would establish a national policy of trying to provide a broad range of educational opportunities for Americans at all ages. The bill is part of the omnibus education amendments pending before the full Senate and due for action the first week in August.
2. Is committed to exploring the ways of providing these opportunities through existing and new programs; through various financing mechanisms; and through cooperative efforts of the private and public sectors.

C. Analysis

The ~~Platform~~ supports Adult Education; and also--as Carter does--a complete review of the existing system of financing education with a view to reform.

WOMEN'S ISSUESA. Carter

1. Supports ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment
2. Supports enforcement of Title 9 (anti-sex discrimination provisions of education law), including in the area of physical education.
3. Advocates changes which would provide more equitable treatment for women under the Social Security laws (doesn't specify; will study).
4. Endorses the "Displaced Homemakers Act," pending in the Congress, which would provide legal counseling and services for persons who have been working in the home for many years and are having trouble finding employment.
5. Supports expansion of opportunities for part-time jobs.
6. Abortion and family planning--see separate sheet
7. Child care--see separate sheet
8. Supports programs for aid to rape victims; and supports reform of rape laws.

B. Mondale

1. Voted for the Equal Rights Amendment.
2. Voted for Title 9 and supports its enforcement (although has no clear record on the athletics issue).
3. Would support changes in Social Security to provide more equitable treatment for women.
4. Is a cosponsor of the "Displaced Homemakers Act" (see above)
5. Supports expansion of part-time job opportunities and Flexible work (Flexible work has been a theme in the family hearings, etc. and one which the Senator has been enthusiastic about).
6. Cosponsored and voted for Rape Prevention and Control Act.
7. Has worked particularly hard to provide full opportunity for women through our education system:
 - A. Introduced and was chief Senate sponsor of the Women's Education Equity Act, now law, which supports programs designed to provide equity for women in all aspects of education.

- B. Introduced the "Women's Vocational Education Amendments of 1975," most of which were integrated into the omnibus education bill now pending in the Senate (floor action due first week in August). Purpose of these provisions is to assure that women have fullest opportunities to participate in and benefit from vocational education in this country.
8. Introduced a concurrent resolution on "International Women's Year," calling for meaningful participation of women in U.S. delegations to international meetings, etc; and voted for appropriation to support IWY conferences.
 9. Cosponsored and voted for legislation authorizing the admission of women to military academies.
 10. Cosponsored legislation, now law, prohibiting discrimination against women by credit institutions.
 11. Authored an amendment to pension reform legislation providing an improved system of survivors' benefits for widows.
 12. Cosponsored legislation resulting in the appointment of female pages in the Senate.

C. Analysis

Carter and Mondale's records are similar on these issues--and they are very strong from the viewpoint of the women's rights organizations. There are really no contradictions.

There are some sticky issues associated with Title 9--coverage of sports; and now the father-son/mother-daughter issue--and we will probably need to clarify Mondale's position in these areas.



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