

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: McFarlane, Robert C. “Bud”: Files, 1982-1985

SERIES: I: SUBJECT FILE

Folder Title: 1984 Presidential Debates
(2 of 3)

Box: RAC Box 1

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: **reagan.library@nara.gov**

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Last Updated: 10/02/2024

ARMS CONTROL

Mondale Attack Lines/Rebuttal Points

- o WM's disagreement with RR on arms control and the nuclear freeze could make the difference between a safer and a more dangerous world.
 - In Mondale's own words: "This election is not about slogans, like 'standing tall'. It is about specifics, like the nuclear freeze -- because if those weapons go off, no one will be left standing at all."
- o RR has a capacity only to dream of arms control initiatives. They are doomed because of his ignorance of the issues.
 - In Mondale's words: "When the fate of the earth is at stake, good intentions are all that we have today."
- o RR didn't bother to learn such crucial points as the fact that nuclear missiles cannot be recalled once they are launched, that submarines can be sunk. He was surprised to learn that the Soviet nuclear force is concentrated in land based missiles. That's why his original START proposal was a non-starter.
 - In Mondale's own words: "I don't doubt the President is for peace. But he has not mastered what he must know to command his own Government and lead."
- o RR even had to hide his plans for meeting Gromyko from hard liners in his Administration. How could he possibly decide on a realistic arms control initiative and carry it through to success?
- o If a President doesn't know, if he doesn't decide, a President can't lead. When a President is not vigorously involved, things just don't happen.
 - In Mondale's own words: "There is no reason to doubt Mr. Reagan's desire for peace. He dreams the same dreams that we do. But a President also must master, command, learn and lead."

ARMS CONTROL

RR Rebuttal Points

- o RR never said submarines can't sink, or that missiles once launched can be recalled.
 - What RR understands -- and WM should know -- is that submarines and aircraft are platforms that can be moved from place to place. Therefore, they have a special role in our strategy, different from land based missiles.
 - Sea and air-launched based missiles are stabilizing elements in our deterrent Triad: they can be moved around and are less vulnerable.
 - Land based missiles are fixed, high-value vulnerable targets, and that's why we place greatest emphasis on reducing them to equal levels.
- o And let's take the accusation that there was something unfair or intellectually deficient about our original START proposal. It focused on the centrality of the Soviets' land based missiles, the most frightening weapons ever invented. (3:1 Soviet advantage in ICBM warheads.)
 - Carter-Mondale turned tail when Russians refused their first proposal in March 1977 (for both sides to reduce to 1800 launchers).
 - But at START with RR the Soviets have accepted the 1800 figure.
 - WM says because the Soviets have so many, we'd be unreasonable to ask them to reduce. That kind of soft thinking rewards the Soviets for a buildup of the weapons that are the most destabilizing. (ICBMs)
 - It also presumes that we are unwilling to be flexible in negotiations. In fact, we changed our position several times as we negotiated, and the Soviets have changed theirs. That's what negotiations are all about.
 - We've told the Soviets that we believe equality is a fair basis for agreement, and that everything is on the table.
- o Arms control is serious business. RR's effort to reduce nuclear weapons is the most important issue of our time.
- o It is irresponsible to undermine our efforts to reach an agreement with the Soviet Union by reciting unfounded allegations. Unfairly attack RR, and also discredit the efforts of many dedicated people in our government -- all of whom want peace just as much as WM does.

ARMS CONTROL: STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

Mondale Attack Lines/Rebuttal Points

- o WM will actively pursue a ban on weapons in space.
- o Would immediately propose a six-month moratorium on all testing of anti-satellite and space weapons, as John F. Kennedy did with atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. Would challenge the Soviets to respond.
- o In Mondale's own words: "For four years, they failed to reach a single arms control agreement with the Soviets. They proposed to extend the arms race into the heavens!"

RR Talking Points

- o The issue is: How can the United States ultimately make ballistic missiles obsolete?
- o Mondale MAD strategy relies upon continuing nuclear terror.
- o Isn't it better to protect our people than to avenge them?
- o The so-called "Star Wars" initiative does not constitute a decision to deploy a defensive system. Rather, it is a research program. Future President will decide.
- o What we are doing is exploring advanced technologies that might enable the U.S. to develop an effective defense against missiles that threaten the world. What's wrong with that?
- o If there is hope that we can find a way to peace that does not rest on the threat of nuclear devastation, we should look for it.
- o Defenses may be able to reduce the value of ballistic missiles, and thus increase the likelihood of negotiated reductions that would benefit us all.
- o This is one race that we'd like the Soviets to join. Why is WM against technology that could potentially protect us -- and the Soviets -- from nuclear weapons, and maybe even allow us to eliminate them?

RR Rebuttal Points

- o ABM Treaty? We are not violating the ABM Treaty with our research. No need to make a deployment decision for years.
- o Besides, the Soviet Union has the world's only active ballistic missile defense system. For well over a decade, they have had a vigorous research program that includes upgrading this system, seeking a rapidly-deployable ABM system. They are actively investigating advanced defensive technologies.
- o If for no other reason, the U.S. program is a prudent hedge against possible Soviet gains that would adversely affect U.S. and Allied security.

MILITARY VS. DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS

Possible Mondale Attack Lines and/or Rebuttals

- o RR's first thought is to call in the Marines. Mine is to call in the diplomats.
- o Can America afford the recklessness of a President who exposed American Marines to mortal danger and sacrificed over 260 of them in a bungled mission in Lebanon against the advice of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and brought upon us the worst military disaster since the Vietnam War?
- o Was Grenada really necessary? Or was RR just looking for an excuse to use military power in a place where he could hide deaths from the American people by keeping the press out? Will he tempt fate with more military adventures?
- o RR waging a secret war in Central America. Unrestrained, in a second term, that war would be no secret because our sons and daughters would be fighting it. I'll stop the illegal war in Central America, and we'll give negotiations first priority.
- o In competition for third world, need to stop talking about the evils of communism and start talking about the evils of hunger and disease. We ought to be confident in the full range of America's strengths. Military power should be our weapon of last resort. For RR, its the weapon of first resort.

MILITARY VS. DIPLOMATIC SOLUTIONS

Key Points for RR to Make

- o Any President will choose diplomatic solutions if he can -- must have strength back of his diplomacy.
- o We seek to negotiate and bridge differences. Solutions through dialogue and constructive cooperation are first priority -- but can't negotiate from weakness; can't always turn the other cheek.
- o Ask medical students from Grenada, ask people of Grenada, and people of Eastern Caribbean, they'll tell you: we got there just in time. Students were home before Democratic candidate could decide whether we should rescue them or not.
- o Not a question of first/last resort. Under Carter-Mondale there was no resort at all. Ask people of Iran, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua. What about Mexico and Canada, Walter? Will you draw the line at Minnesota?
- o Democratic candidate, as a Senator, voted to delay or kill virtually every major new system designed to strengthen peace. Today he'd kill B-1 bomber, MX missile, and stop research that might some day give us the ability to eliminate threat of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Wants to cut \$25 to \$40 billion a year out of the defense budget. What kind of diplomacy will that support? Why should Soviets negotiate with a man who will cut unilaterally?
- o Question is whether Americans want diplomacy based on weakness. RR intends to use diplomacy as our first resort -- diplomacy with the strength to back it up.

RR Rebuttal Points

- o RR's record shows he is not impulsive or given to confrontation. Compare Carter-Mondale reaction to Afghanistan with RR's handling of the KAL tragedy. Carter imposed U.S. sanctions like the grain embargo that hurt farmers more than the Soviets. RR's firm actions after KAL led world condemnation, and translated outrage into a stronger and steadier NATO alliance.
- o Central America: Tide is turning. Our policies promote democracy, economic renewal, negotiated settlements, an end to aggression. No intention to use American combat power. Sandinistas isolated in the world, unpopular at home, moving rapidly toward totalitarianism, continuing aggression against neighbors with Soviet arms. We support bipartisan Kissinger Commission recommendations to deal with problem now, not when it is too late.
- o Middle East: We and British, French and Italian allies aided in the removal of the 15,000 PLO from Beirut and gave the Lebanese government breathing space. Objective was to avoid a war between Syria and Israel and get the PLO out. Fact that terrorism had such tragic results means we should work on terrorism, not give up our friends in the Middle East.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Mondale Attack Lines/Rebuttal Points

- o RR's massive transfusions of military aid to El Salvador are no substitute for the social and economic reforms that are necessary to undermine the appeal the guerrillas hold for many Salvadorans.
- o The solution lies with a new policy that fosters social, economic and political reforms that are compatible with our legitimate vital interests while accommodating the equally legitimate forces of change.
- o Instead of widening, militarizing and Americanizing the conflict, WM's immediate objective will be to stop the violence and pursue a negotiated political solution in concern with our democratic allies in the Contadora group.
- o There must be a commitment on the part of the US to reduce tensions in the region -- we must terminate our support for the contras in Nicaragua.
- o The American people have a choice -- a very significant choice -- between war and peace in Central America.
- o In Mondale's own words:
 - "The new Reagan calls for peace in Central America. The old Reagan launched an illegal war in Nicaragua."
 - "This election is not about my standing in the polls. It is about my stand against the illegal war in Nicaragua."
 - "The new Reagan praises international law. The old Reagan jumped bail from the World Court."
 - "In Central America, our country is sliding toward war."
 - "Do you really want to get us deeper into war in Central America?"
 - "As President, I will reassert American values. I'll press for human rights in Central America, and for the removal of all foreign forces from the region. And in my first hundred days, I will stop the illegal war in Nicaragua."

CENTRAL AMERICA

RR Points to Make

- o We are promoting democracy, economic renewal, negotiated settlements, an end to aggression. El Salvador has elected a constitutional, civilian government committed to reform. Human rights abuses down to the lowest level in five years.
 - Elections also held in Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala.
 - When WM left office 50% of Central American countries were democracies; now 80% are.
- o Sandinistas under increasing pressure to halt subversive activities, reduce armaments, liberalize. No wonder opposition gaining in Nicaragua. Sandinistas are:
 - Isolated in world,
 - Unpopular at home,
 - Moving rapidly toward totalitarianism,
 - Running drugs,
 - Expelling priests,
 - Continuing aggression against neighbors.
- o As bipartisan Kissinger Commission said, consequences of Central America dominated by a Soviet/Cuban surrogate should be considered and dealt with now, not when it is too late.
- o We have no intention to use American combat troops in Central America. No need to if Congress supports our programs.
- o The tide is turning in Central America because of consistent American policy in support of friends in the region. Let's continue to stand for something in this hemisphere. Not revert to bad policies, then blame U.S. for failure.

RR Rebuttal Points

- o WM's policies would bring to all of Central America what Carter-Mondale brought to Nicaragua. WM's approach has been tried, and failed.
- o Aspirations of resistance forces -- the freedom fighters -- deserve our support. They are causing Nicaragua to move toward compromise, and toward leaving their neighbors alone.
 - Adolfo Colero, head of one of the resistance groups, said three weeks ago when asked about a "phase-out" of U.S. assistance:

"Perhaps you don't understand -- we are not going to quit.... Could someone have paid George Washington or Thomas Jefferson or Benjamin Franklin not to fight tyranny in your country 208 years ago?"

MIDDLE EAST

Possible Mondale Attack Lines and/or Rebuttals

- o WM would go back to the Camp David process, become personally involved, and not put pressure on Israel.
- o It has been two years since the President launched his September 1 initiative. The initiative is dead, it's been rejected by the Israelis and the Arabs, and a new approach will have to be found.
- o In WM's own words:
 - "The United States influence in the Middle East is waning, the President has not been personally involved in any of the negotiations and what we need now is a new policy, an energetic policy of personal intervention to move forward."
 - "There has been vacillation, inconsistency, differing policies that rise and disappear, an unwise and unsure-footed arms supply policy towards Israel's neighbors, a lack of direct personal involvement by the President in this most dangerous of areas."
 - "If the United States can provide its good offices to encourage Syria to take those steps that will permit Israel to withdraw under conditions that secure the northern borders of Israel, everyone's interest is served."

MIDDLE EAST

RR Talking Points

- o RR thought, when former Prime Minister Shamir said our relations with Israel had "never been better," it couldn't be topped. But Prime Minister Peres, who visited here some 10 days ago, went further: he said we had reached a "new level of harmony" in our relationship. We must always stand by the State of Israel, and RR will.
- o The September 1 initiative remains as valid today as when it was presented.
- o It is fair and balanced on key issues which the negotiating parties will have to resolve.
- o Acceptance of our positions by the parties is not necessary in advance of negotiations and is not a prerequisite for a U.S. mediating role. We expect the parties to bring their own ideas to the table.
- o We intend to continue to pursue our goals throughout the region, foremost among which is a just and lasting peace between Israel and all its neighbors. We therefore remain committed to a speedy resumption of negotiations based on Security Council Resolution 242, and we remain committed as well to the Camp David framework.
- o We are convinced that our initiative, which is based squarely on both Resolution 242 and the Camp David framework, can point the way to a lasting agreement acceptable to all the parties.

RR Rebuttal Points Re Lebanon

- o We and our British, French and Italian allies aided in the removal of the 15,000 PLO from Beirut, prevented another war between Israel and Syria, and gave the Lebanese government breathing space.
 - Objective was to avoid a war between Syria and Israel and get the PLO out.
 - Policy was working. Promised to bring peace to Lebanon while securing the northern border of Israel.
 - Because policy was working, terrorists attacked U.S. and our allies.
 - Fact that terrorism had such tragic results means we should work on terrorism, not give up our friends in the Middle East.

BEIRUT

Mondale Attack Lines/Rebuttal Points

- o RR is responsible for the central policies of his administration in Lebanon. It is a matter of Presidential responsibility.
 - In Mondale's own words: "Mr. Reagan acts as though terrorism is like an earthquake -- a force of nature that can only be endured and not controlled. I can understand why that argument might attract him -- if it were true, it would absolve him of responsibility."
- o There was clear warning, not once, but several times, that an attack might be made on a US facility. The Administration's response was lax to this perceived threat. Security precautions recommended by the Long Commission and others after the previous Beirut tragedies were not taken.
 - In Mondale's own words: "This tragedy indicates a serious failure of security and it suggests that few lessons have been learned and applied from the massacre of our Marines and our Embassy in West Beirut."
- o RR first blamed Jimmy Carter. Then explained that he was really blaming Carter, Ford, Nixon and Congress. Then let his Secretary of State take responsibility, then -- finally, thirteen days after the tragedy -- accepted responsibility himself, which he should have done in the first place.

RR Rebuttal Points

- o As Commander in Chief, RR accepts responsibility for the safety and security of our embassies overseas.
- o Attacks on our facilities in Beirut by suicidal terrorists confirm our view that the world must deal more effectively with international terrorism. We're working on that.
- o In the latest tragedy, investigation indicated that we were doing the right things: had moved the embassy from West to East Beirut, reduced the number of US personnel, completed most work on defensive structures around the building.
- o No reason to second-guess what appears to be the very best efforts of our people on the scene to protect themselves and our embassy.
- o Terrorists say they struck our Embassy because we support Israel. Would Mondale urge us to stop that?
- o Would those who criticize prefer that we close our embassies around the world and give up on our friends like those in Lebanon and Israel? Surely no one is suggesting such a shortsighted approach.

L7

DEFENSE SPENDING

Possible Mondale Attack Lines and/or Rebuttals

- o RR measures military might by dollars spent, rather than by sound planning and a realistic assessment of threats.
- o Four-year record of waste, fraud, conflicts of interest that have cost the taxpayer billions of dollars.
- o Horror stories such as \$1,100 paid for a plastic stool cap indicate mismanagement that comes from the feeling that anything Pentagon buys is OK. There's too much loose change over there.
- o Spending for weapons we don't need contributes to budget deficit.
- o Don't need M-X missiles, B-1 bombers or two new large, expensive aircraft carriers that are sitting ducks.
- o Do need an increased defense budget, but not one bloated with gold-plated weapons.

DEFENSE SPENDING

Key Points for RR to Make

- o First priority of federal government is to protect its people -- to deter attack. We are doing that. Not one square inch of territory in last 4 years. Morale high.
- o Defense has declined as a percentage of both federal expenditures and Gross National Product in the past two decades. Defense share of the nation's output of goods and services (GNP) 6.8% in FY 1985 is less than in John F. Kennedy's Presidency (9.5%), a quarter of a century ago.
- o Since 1980 virtually every major system, tank, ship and aircraft has been produced ahead of schedule and under cost.
- o For 12 years in Senate Mondale voted to reduce defense spending, not to increase it.

RR Rebuttal Points

- o On waste at Pentagon: We didn't invent problems. Did discover them. Had the courage and foresight to look for skeletons in the defense closet. When you look for waste, you will find it. We are looking, and getting results. In three years, we have:
 - Hired hundreds of new auditors, inspectors and investigators. Meaner than junkyard dogs. Completed 59,000 internal audits, the most far-reaching in Defense history. Our more than 100,000 corrective actions have already saved billions.
 - Created a special unit to prosecute fraud and waste. Opened nearly 39,000 cases. Of these, 17,000 referred for prosecution or administrative action. Over 1,300 convictions. Trend is up: convictions increased 70% in FY 83 over the previous year.
 - Debarred or suspended individuals or companies who abuse procurement process. Used this powerful tool 1,000 times since 1980, 323 times in 1983 alone -- an increase of 80% over previous year. Trend is up: 467 suspensions or debarments in first 9 months of FY 84.
 - Provided a Hotline for whistleblowers to challenge questionable practices. Encouraged people like Air Force Staff Sergeant Charles J. Kessler who noticed that a stool cap had a \$1100 price tag. Now buying the same cap for 31 cents each. Got full refund from the contractor. Sergeant Kessler got a \$1100 cash reward. We want more whistle blowers like him.

GRENADA

Possible Mondale Attack Lines and/or Rebuttals

- o I don't fault the President if he knew that American lives were at risk. But the way Grenada was handled suggests a pattern that we've also seen in the Middle East: Go for a military solution, not a diplomatic one; and don't tell the public the truth.
- We had no way of evaluating the situation because of the total blackout of information.

RR Talking Points

- o Democrats (including WM) compared our rescue mission in Grenada to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Let me remind them of a few important differences:
 - U.S. intervened in Grenada to rescue threatened American citizens, at request of the governor-general and Grenada's neighbors. Soviets invaded Afghanistan in a war of conquest, after having the country's leader murdered in a coup d'etat.
 - U.S. delivered the Grenadian people from a Marxist reign of terror, and our servicemen were greeted as liberators. Soviets have terrorized the Afghan people, and driven millions out of the country as refugees.
 - U.S. has withdrawn from Grenada, having restored a legitimate government which is preparing for democratic elections. Soviets have over 100,000 men waging war in Afghanistan -- five years after the invasion.
- o Rescue mission in Grenada spared us another hostage drama.
- o Did more to advance human rights in a week than Carter-Mondale did in four years.
- o After vacillating, WM finally said he'd have used American power in Grenada. But party platform disagrees.
 - Ms. Ferraro said she "would not have jumped into that situation militarily."
- o WM and Ferraro and the San Francisco Convention Democrats were still trying to decide what to do when the medical students were in the Rose Garden of the White House hugging the young military heroes who had rescued them.

RESTORED AMERICAN STRENGTH

Possible Mondale Attack Lines and/or Rebuttals

- o Believe in a strong America, and would continue increased defense spending -- but not at the same levels. Would eliminate unnecessary weapons.
- o Must have strong, conventional forces, second to none, must spend more on training, readiness and equipment to get our forces to the scene of potential conflicts.

Key Points for RR to Make

- o Administration inherited acute defense problems.
Carter-Mondale:
 - Cut \$38 billion in three years from President Ford's projected defense budget.
 - Delayed the MX missile by at least three years.
 - Cancelled the B-1 bomber, and got no Russian cut in return.
 - Slowed down Trident submarine and missile.
 - Cut shipbuilding in half. Vetoed new nuclear aircraft carrier.
 - Kept military pay so low many servicemen had to go on food stamps to make ends meet.
 - Encouraged Russian building and expansions from Afghanistan to Nicaragua by unilateral disarmament.
- o Our objectives: Keep the peace by improving deterrence. Improve training and readiness, modernize strategic forces, increase conventional capability. We've made steady progress.
- o Never thought all the problems we inherited could be solved within four years. Have shown that it is possible to set defense priorities and move ahead. America is safer, stronger, more secure and more confident than four years ago -- we want to stay that way.

WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE UNDER MONDALE

Key Points for RR to Make

- o We must look at the Carter-Mondale record and project it into the future. Ask yourself if you want:
 - Unilateral disarmament -- cancelling B-1 and other things without getting anything in return from the Soviets.
 - Another Soviet rampage a la Iran, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, S. Yemen.
 - More negotiations with the PLO by his UN Ambassador; more bug-outs on key friends like the Shah.
 - Elimination of our intelligence assets -- Mondale was a member of the Church Committee that decimated our intelligence community.
 - A return to the "hollow army" with low pay, low morale, low education and low readiness.
 - The U.S. saying "no" to helpless Americans and desperate friends such as those in Grenada.
 - Letting Central America go down the drain, with all the refugees and violence that implies.
 - Allowing our alliances to decline once more.
 - Inviting the Soviets to engage in more Afghanistans.
 - Permitting the Soviet arms buildup go unchecked.
- o That isn't what Americans want. But that's what the record says the future would be like under Walter Mondale.

40

IV. SOFTBALLS

THE OLD WALTER MONDALE VS. THE NEW WALTER MONDALE
BETTER OFF NOW THAN FOUR YEARS AGO?
FOREIGN POLICY GOALS FOR THE FUTURE?

THE OLD WALTER MONDALE vs THE NEW WALTER MONDALE

- o The old Walter Mondale supported the deployment of the MX.
The new Walter Mondale would halt production of the MX.
- o The old Walter Mondale supported the development of the B-1 bomber.
The new Walter Mondale would scrap the B-1.
- o The old Walter Mondale had one of the lowest defense ratings in the Senate.
The new Walter Mondale says he is for a strong defense.
- o The old Walter Mondale said Cuban troops in Nicaragua were no big deal.
The new Walter Mondale would quarantine Nicaragua if Cuba or the Soviet Union established military bases there.
- o The old Walter Mondale was flabbergasted and baffled by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
The new Walter Mondale says he is on to our enemies.
- o The old Walter Mondale said the "winds of democratic progress [were] stirring" when the Sandinistas seized power in Nicaragua.
The new Walter Mondale condemns the Sandinista regime.
- o The old Walter Mondale called peace through strength an illusion.
The new Walter Mondale says he will achieve peace from strength.
- o The old Walter Mondale voted to pull most U.S. troops out of NATO.
The new Walter Mondale says he would strengthen NATO conventional forces.
- o The old Walter Mondale said freeing Grenada eroded American moral authority.
The new Walter Mondale says he supports the Grenadan liberation.

L 7

BETTER OFF NOW THAN FOUR YEARS AGO?

RR Points to Make

- o Carter/Mondale years raised doubts, around the world and at home, about basic questions: military security, alliance cohesion, domestic and international economy, and our ability to get fair arms control agreements.
- o The American people asked us to rebuild, and make the world a safer place. This is precisely what we've done.
 - We've rebuilt America's military strength, and let our servicemen and women know their country is proud of them.
 - In Europe we and our allies stood up to the most intense campaign of Soviet intimidation in 25 years.
 - On arms control we've made comprehensive and fair proposals.
 - We've helped revive the international economy, without resorting to trade-war tactics.
 - No longer fear energy shortages or gas lines. Oil imports are way down. Our reserves are high. We've forged effective emergency energy agreements with our allies.
 - In the Middle East, presented the most far-reaching peace plan ever put forward by anyone. Improved relations with the moderate Arabs, while expanding cooperation with Israel.
 - In Central America, met the challenge of military subversion and expansionism. Helped the first democratic government of El Salvador in years protect itself. Returned the government of Grenada to its people.
 - In Africa, diplomatic mediators helped bring about the first non-aggression agreements ever between South Africa and her neighbors. We're using our influence to seek solutions to problems rather than confrontation.
 - United the free world against repression in Poland and the Soviet war of conquest in Afghanistan.
 - Built the best relations our country has ever had with Japan and China.
 - Reached out to all friendly nations of the Pacific Basin, to enhance economic and security ties with this dynamic region so vital to America's future.
- o In summary, America is safer, stronger, prouder, better off today than four years ago. As we look to the future, we want to continue the policies that have turned this country around.

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS FOR THE FUTURE?

RR Talking Points

- o Peace. Our people are entitled to peace and security. We plan to do more in the next four years to assure peace without endangering our security. Key goals:
 - Conduct relations with the Soviet Union based on strict reciprocity and true restraint. Seek and achieve agreements based on real reductions in nuclear forces.
 - Affirm our long-term commitment to reduce the world's terrible reliance on nuclear weapons -- by exploring the technology of strategic defense, and by improving the conventional capabilities of this country and our allies.
 - Maintain strong alliances in Europe and Asia.
 - Join with other suppliers to prevent nuclear proliferation.
 - Seek breakthroughs in key areas: turning back international terrorism, resolving regional wars.
- o Prosperity. The international economy reflects our own vibrant recovery. We plan to assure continued world recovery as we:
 - Keep pursuing the policies at home that have put us back on our feet. Discipline we showed in attacking problems has increased confidence in America worldwide.
 - Reach and implement a world consensus on free market policies to assure an enduring economic recovery. We'll focus on liberalized trade and financial stability.
 - Put the protectionist temptation behind us. An open world economy is the best -- only -- way to sustain a recovery in which the whole world participates.
 - Solve the international debt problem in a way that treats the disease, not just the symptoms.
- o Democracy. America believes in a future of democratic possibilities. Democracy is the best peace program we have to offer.
 - We will give top priority to make the Americas the hemisphere of democracy in this decade. Recommendations of the bipartisan Kissinger Commission on Central America are key to our steady policy for the 80's.
 - We'll also issue the challenge of democracy to nations around the world, encouraging trends toward democracy. We'll help others whose formula for government is democracy instead of repression.
 - Similarly, will show the viability of the democratic, free enterprise alternative to countries that have in the past looked to the Soviet Union as a model.

(

.)



V. SECONDARY ISSUES

The following are one-page briefs on each of these "secondary" issues (i.e., issues thought not to be "major vulnerabilities" or "softballs" for either side):

AFRICA

ARMS CONTROL: NUCLEAR FREEZE

ARMS CONTROL: SALT II

ARMS CONTROL: "WALK IN THE WOODS"

DEFENSE SPENDING: NUCLEAR VS. CONVENTIONAL

DEFENSE SPENDING: READINESS

DEFENSE SPENDING: M-X MISSILE

DEFENSE SPENDING: B-1 BOMBER

STRONG DOLLAR

TRADE DEFICIT

DEBTOR NATION?

PROTECTIONISM

THIRD WORLD DEBT

AID TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

NICARAGUA: WORLD COURT

NONPROLIFERATION

MR. PRESIDENT:

THIS MATERIAL IS AVAILABLE --
BUT HELD IN MY OFFICE.
IF YOU WOULD LIKE IT, PLEASE
LET ME KNOW.

Dick Darman