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Last Updated: 09/13/2024

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE RONALD REAGAN

GOVERNOR REAGAN. — Thank you very much. Mr. President, Mrs. Ford, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice President to be — (Applause and laughter.)

— the distinguished guests here, and you ladies and gentlemen: I am going to say fellow Republicans here, but also those who are watching from a distance, all of those millions of Democrats and Independents who I know are looking for a cause around which to rally and which I believe we can give them. (Applause.)

Mr. President, before you arrived tonight, these wonderful people here when we came in gave Nancy and myself a welcome. That, plus this, and plus your kindness and generosity in honoring us by bringing us down here will give us a memory that will live in our hearts forever. (Applause.)

Watching on television these last few nights, and I have seen you also with the warmth that you greeted Nancy, and you also filled my heart with joy when you did that. (Applause.)

May I just say some words. There are cynics who say that a party platform is something that no one bothers to read and it doesn't very often amount to much.

Whether it is different this time than it has ever been before, I believe the Republican Party has a platform that is a banner of bold, unmistakable colors, with no pale pastel shades. (Applause.)

We have just heard a call to arms based on that platform, and a call to us to really be successful in communicating and reveal to the American people the difference between this platform and the platform of the opposing party, which is nothing but a revamp and a reissue and a running of a late, late show of the thing that we have been hearing from them for the last forty years. (Applause.)

If I could just take a moment; I had an assignment the other day. Someone asked me to write a letter for a time capsule that is going to be opened in Los Angeles a hundred years from now, on our Tricentennial.

It sounded like an easy assignment. They suggested I write something about the problems and issues of the day. I set out to do so, riding down the Coast in an automobile, looking at the blue Pacific out on one side and the Santa Ynez Mountains on the other, and I couldn't help but wonder if it was going to be that beautiful a hundred years from now as it was on that summer day.

Then as I tried to write — let your own minds turn to that task. You are going to write for people a hundred years from now, who know all about us. We know nothing about them. We don't know what kind of a world they will be living in.

And suddenly I thought to myself if I write of the problems, they will be the domestic problems of which the President spoke here tonight; the challenges confronting us, the erosion of freedom that has taken place under Democrat rule in this country, the invasion of private rights, the controls and restrictions on the vitality of the great free economy that we enjoy. These are our challenges that we must meet.

And then again there is that challenge of which he spoke that we live in a world in which the great powers have poised and aimed at each other horrible missiles of destruction, nuclear weapons, that can in a matter of minutes arrive at each other's country and destroy, virtually, the civilized world we live in.

And suddenly it dawned on me, those who would read this letter a hundred years from now will know whether those missiles were fired. They will know whether we met our challenge. Whether they have the freedoms that we have known up until now will depend on what we do here.

Will they look back with appreciation and say, "Thank God for those people in 1976 who headed off that loss of freedom, who kept us now 100 years later free, who kept our world from nuclear destruction"?

And if we failed, they probably won't get to read the letter at all because it spoke of individual freedom, and they won't be allowed to talk of that or read of it.

This is our challenge; and this is why here in this hall tonight, better than we have ever done before, we have got to quit talking to each other and about each other and go out and communicate to the world that we may be fewer in numbers than we have ever been, but we carry the message they are waiting for.

We must go forth from here united, determined that what a great general said a few years ago is true: There is no substitute for victory, Mr. President. (Applause.)

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RCM HAS SEEN

I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

Sunday, January 18, 1981

GUEST: VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE

INTERVIEWED BY:

BARBARA WALTERS - ABC News Correspondent

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This is a rush transcript for the press. Any questions regarding accuracy should be referred to ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

1 MS. WALTERS: Our guest this morning on ISSUES AND
2 ANSWERS is the Vice President, Walter Mondale. And the
3 Vice President has just talked, moments before we went on
4 the air, with Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher,
5 from Algiers, where it is now about 5:00 p.m., and can bring
6 us the latest. What is it?

7 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: He told me that we do not
8 yet have an agreement. He thinks it could be very, very
9 close. And they are working on it feverishly. And he hopes
10 very much that it will be completed on our terms. But we
11 do not yet, in his opinion, have an agreement.

12 MS. WALTERS: What's holding it up? It seems this
13 close, we keep hearing.

14 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: It's very close. This
15 morning we had two issues still outstanding, one, a minor
16 difference in dollar amount, that is, the total amount that
17 would be deposited. And a legal problem over court juris-
18 diction over certain disputed claims, matters that we thought
19 were within the realm of being settled.

20 At this point, just a few moments ago, at least in
21 Mr. Christopher's view, we do not have official confirmation
22 and we do not have an agreement as yet. But we may be very
23 close to one. I think we ought to wait for developments.

24 MS. WALTERS: Well, now, you have heard from Iran,
25 and Mr. Christopher has heard from Iran.

1 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I also talked to Secretary
2 Muskie just a few moments ago, talked to the President
3 earlier this morning.

4 MS. WALTERS: We have an open line, by the way, do
5 we not, with Secretary Muskie?

6 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Yes, we do.

7 MS. WALTERS: So, if anything happens, you'll hear
8 first?

9 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: That's right.

10 MS. WALTERS: They have heard from Iran and Iran
11 says, okay, we have an agreement. Are we waiting for the
12 Algerians to walk in and say, here it is, and then we
13 actually read it and sign it? Is that what happens?

14 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Christopher had heard the
15 same report out of the official Iranian news agency, Pars,
16 that we had. But he told me that we do not have yet an
17 agreement. He thinks we may be very close. And what we
18 would want to do is hear from official channels and not
19 through a news report.

20 MS. WALTERS: I realize we have to be cautious but
21 could it fall apart or to all intents and purposes, do we
22 say, at last.

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I think it is too soon to
24 say, at last. And we've been -- I've been at it 14 months,
25 and the poor President has been through this night and day,
all the others involved in it, and we've had our hearts broken

before. I think there is a substantial difference in tone and effort here that does make it different, that is substantially different. But, I think we ought to wait until we have an agreement, if one is reached, until we say, at last. We know we're close. We know the differences are not substantial. We know that the Algerians have been exceedingly helpful. The Iranians are working on this. So I think there is some good reason for hope but I think we ought to try to restrain ourselves until if, in fact, we gain an agreement.

MS. WALTERS: So it may not come by Tuesday morning?

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: It may not. I am hopeful that it will but, based on my discussion with Mr. Christopher, since we don't have an agreement yet, I think we ought to restrain our enthusiasm.

MS. WALTERS: I know you shouldn't say this, Mr. Vice President, but what is your gut feeling? Do you think -- what's your instinct? Do you think it's going to happen by Tuesday?

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Barbara, I've been through this, as I said, for 14 months, and on a couple of other occasions, my stomach told me we had an agreement, and then my heart was broken. This time, it feels a lot better. There is -- as I said -- there is a difference in intensity here. We've been in detailed -- we've been in detailed negotiations here now for several days. We're very, very

46
1 close. And I am encouraged. But I think we have to be
2 careful.

3 MS. WALTERS: Are we still negotiating/ Are we
4 still working over those little picky points? We're still
5 in negotiation?

6 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: This is what Mr. Christopher
7 told me.

8 MS. WALTERS: We still are. It isn't that they said
9 yes, and we're just waiting for papers. We're still nego-
10 tiating?

11 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: We do not --- the two issues
12 I referred to, just a few minutes ago, Mr. Christopher told
13 us, had not yet been resolved. N.w, that may be any minute.
14 The Iranians could say, this is satisfactory. But we do not.

15 MS. WALTERS: We've come back with a counterproposal
16 about the dollar amount?

17 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Well, early this morning,
18 there were discussions.

19 MS. WALTERS: Suppose it's not done by Tuesday.
20 What happens? Does Warren Christopher stay on? Does the
21 same team stay on? Or suddenly do we start another whole
22 team and a new negotiation?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: This, of course, is entirely
24 up to the new President, Mr. Reagan, as of Noon on Tuesday.
25 He is the President and he picks his own foreign policy assis-
tant. I do believe, however, if we miss by a hair, that it's

1 inevitable that the new team will take advantage of this
2 progress that we have made to try to bring about the earliest
3 possible release. Because, whatever political differences
4 we had in the campaign, all Americans want those hostages
5 home.

6 MS. WALTERS: Is it your feeling that Ronald Reagan
7 will stick totally by this agreement and that it will just
8 be a question of a natural transition from one team to the
9 other?

10 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I can't say. We have kept
11 the President-elect, of course, informed almost hourly.
12 He has known at all times but he is not yet the President
13 and he has reserved the right, which we did in 1976, to
14 defer a judgment of what he would do as President until he
15 is President. But I think the reality of the situation is
16 such that, having made all this substantial progress, and
17 this close to the return of our hostages, who have suffered
18 so much, as we all know, and their families have suffered
19 so terribly, I would expect that this basic groundwork would
20 be used by the incoming Administration. But that is only
21 speculation.

22 MS. WALTERS: Nobody has said anything?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: No.

24 MS. WALTERS: What about the logistics? Suppose
25 something is signed? Now, how long does it take? Do you

1 know where the hostages will be going? We hear Algeria and
2 then West Germany. What happens?

3 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: That -- we've been pre-
4 occupied, of course, with the agreement and the release.
5 As soon as we know there is an agreement, if one is reached,
6 then we have to get into the logistics of when they would be
7 released, where would they go?

8 MS. WALTERS: Don't know yet?

9 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: There's been a lot of talk.
10 No decisions.

11 MS. WALTERS: We heard that the President might fly
12 to West Germany.

13 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: There's been no decision
14 on that.

15 MS. WALTERS: Is he packed and ready to go?

16 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: We have not gotten into
17 that part at all.

18 MS. WALTERS: So how they are released, what the
19 terms are, everything, no one knows?

20 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: There has been generalized
21 discussion for some time about that. Once we know they are
22 coming out, then we have to make a final decision. It is
23 a matter that is not entirely ours to decide. In other words,
24 the timing may be very much up to the Iranians. The planes
25 that are used and so on may involve third countries and so

1 on. And so we'll have to work that out at that time.
2 Now, we've done an intensive amount of work with the families
3 and so on over the months about what will be needed and so
4 on. That's in place. But the exact details on the logistics
5 of where they will come, when they will come, who might greet
6 them and so on, has not yet been reached.

7 MS. WALTERS: It seems to have a little way to go,
8 even if something is signed?

9 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Yes. We're prepared --
10 the President is watching this matter minute by minute.
11 We're prepared to move very expeditiously. I think that
12 will be the easiest part of it.

13 MS. WALTERS: Does he himself have to put his name
14 on a particular piece of paper?

15 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Yes.

16 MS. WALTERS: Anybody else?

17 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: He, as the President. There
18 may be some minor documents. I'll pass on that question.
19 But the fundamental agreement would be signed by the
20 President.

21 MS. WALTERS: Nobody else has to? Nobody in Congress?
22 Nobody anywhere else? No other persons?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: They will be informed.
24 It's the President's judgment.

25 MS. WALTERS: What precedent has been set by these

1 negotiations, if they work? What precedent has been set?
2 If we ever have to deal with other terrorist regimes?

3
4 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Well, first of all -- and
5 I think we have got to respect the delicacy of this moment
6 and it may restrain some candor -- the, we took certain
7 steps early on to freeze assets, to terminate military
8 assistance, to slow down trade, to enhance our presence in
9 the Persian Gulf and the rest, all of which I think have
10 helped to bring about progress, albeit slowly, in this matter.

11 The biggest problem, in my opinion, over the long-
12 run, is, how do you protect American diplomatic personnel
13 in hostile foreign countries under circumstances like those
14 we went through in Iran. As you know, we had some antici-
15 pated problems. We reduced the foreign service personnel
16 there by some 2,500 down to 52. In fact, we reduced the
17 number of Americans in Iran from 75,000 down to less than
18 2,000. But there is no way that I know of for this country
19 or any country to protect its diplomatic personnel isolated
20 in another country. It's one of the toughest problems of all.

21 MS. WALTERS: You know, understanding the delicacy,
22 and really all of us being so grateful that these men and
23 women, we hope, will be coming home, what do you say to
24 people who say this is ransom?

25 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I think there is a good
answer to that. We are not paying a dime of American money

for the return of these hostages. What we did, when we froze these assets, was to say, we are going to hold Iranian assets, their gold, their dollars, in American banks and in American-owned banks overseas, until our hostages are returned. In other words, the Iranians are not receiving anything that is ours. We are returning to the status quo. That is a very important distinction.

MR. WALTERS: Some Arab leaders have been saying, one hears, that we will be giving the Iranians something like \$9 billion, which means that they can now fix up their army, that they can get spare parts, if not from this country, from other countries, and that they can then wage war in full force where they have not been able to. This money gives them an opportunity to continue not only the war they are involved in but perhaps even others.

VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: First of all, we are not giving them anything. In other words, this is their money, that we have frozen, that we will be returning to them. In a country of the size of Iran, this population, \$8 billion or whatever it is sounds like a lot of money. But it isn't a big item in a country of that size. I think it is important but it is not a big item. And, finally, we've got some right here to put those hostages and their families at a very high priority. You know when you think what they've been through. When you think what their families have been through.

1 And how marvelous they have been. We want them home. And
2 we've taken these steps and we promised if they'd let these
3 hostages come home we would unfreeze those funds. That's
4 what we are doing. I don't think that is improper at all
5 under the circumstances.

6 MS. WALTERS: What is the final figure? You said
7 \$8 billion.

8 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: That's one of the quibbles
9 right now. It's about \$8 billion.

10 MS. WALTERS: Is there a quibble whether it is
11 \$8 billion or \$9 billion?

12 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: No. It's a very close
13 range.

14 MS. WALTERS: A little bit. You know, Mr. Vice
15 President, the feeling is, of course, that all of this
16 is happening because if it didn't happen now, the Iranians
17 think that Ronald Reagan would be tougher. Now, the
18 implication there, of course, is that President Carter
19 wasn't tough enough.

20 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Historians will have to
21 answer that question. I don't believe that. I think the
22 Iranians have slowly seen the cost of holding these hostages,
23 to Iran. I think they are acting in their own self-interest.
24 They are in very serious financial situations. They have been
25 desperately isolated in international relations. Their trade

1 has been seriously interrupted.

2 MS. WALTERS: But they don't have to do it by
3 Tuesday.

4 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: But this has been going on
5 for some time and it may be the unknown. I think they want
6 it resolved now. This process has been entrain. I think
7 they have decided now is the time to act. And I hope they
8 will act. That's my hope.

9 MS. WALTERS: Do you stay up at night saying, if
10 only we could have done something differently? Or do you
11 feel that everything was done that could have been done?

12 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I often ask myself that.
13 I was involved in the rescue plan, which I strongly supported.
14 That was a tragedy. We have tried everything we can, through
15 every diplomatic channel. We've tried everything we can
16 through the United Nations and so on. We have sought to
17 communicate through every responsible source that we can
18 outside of Government. We've tried to deal with strength
19 and with responsibility, to bring these hostages home safely
20 and to deal with the Nation's security interest. There
21 were all kinds of good ideas that would risk their lives.
22 We didn't want to do that. There are steps that had to be
23 taken also with a view toward long range strategic needs
24 because, as you know, Iran and the Persian Gulf, that is
25 perhaps the most strategic area. And it's for others to

1 decide whether we performed -- I'll tell you this. The
2 President has been personally concerned, committed, and
3 working on this problem from the very moment that we got
4 the call. I think history will serve us well when they
5 review the record.

6 MS. WALTERS: We will be back shortly to talk with
7 the Vice President. We would like to say that because we
8 are sitting here with the Vice President, he has an open
9 line to the Secretary of State should there be any develop-
10 ments on the hostages. You will hear it here first. And
11 we'll be back shortly, after this message.

12 (Announcements)

13 MS. WALTERS: We're back with the Vice President
14 of the United States, Walter Mondale, and we should say
15 coming back that we are very close to an agreement but
16 agreement has not yet been made. The Vice President talked
17 moments before we went on the air with Algiers and with
18 Warren Christopher there and we have an open line to Secre-
19 tary of State Muskie.

20 Mr. Vice President, what do you think our future
21 relations should be with Iran, if and when this is finally
22 resolved?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: That of course if for the
24 Iranians to decide. I think it's in their longterm interest
25 to have good relations with the United States. We have no

1 designs on them at all. We want them to be an independent
2 nation. We want them to be a total nation. We want them
3 to be secure. And we want to have the best possible relations
4 with them. But that's for them to decide.

5 MS. WALTERS: But do we kiss and make up? Do we
6 send an ambassador? Do we have another embassy?

7 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: The way I understood your
8 question -- maybe I ought to back up just a minute. Long-
9 term diplomatic relationship with Iran, there will obviously
10 be a time here of deep distress, and maybe even estrangement
11 because of this almost unprecedented, profound predicament
12 we are going through. But there is no -- we do not have any
13 longterm designs on Iran except that which we have toward
14 all nation states, that they should be independent and
15 secure and live in peace. And it's in the security interest
16 of -- well, it's in the interest of a peaceful world that that
17 be the case. Because anyone who looks at the Persian Gulf
18 and Iran realizes that that is perhaps the most strategic and
19 touchy area in the world.

20 MS. WALTERS: I do understand that. But I mean, I
21 wonder how -- is there a time period before we are friends
22 and allies?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I think that remains to be
24 seen. And I think right now what counts is to reach this
25 agreement and get our hostages home and let that matter rest.

1 MS. WALTERS: Mr. Vice President, here we are talking
2 on Sunday, and in, what, a little over two days, your whole
3 life changes, a new Government comes in. This conversation
4 we are having, this agreement about the hostages, had it taken
5 place before the last election, do you think Jimmy Carter and
6 Walter Mondale would have been reelected?

7 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: It might have made a
8 difference. Clearly, the public, like the President and
9 myself, were distressed and disheartened by what these
10 hostages and their families and really the whole nation with
11 them are going through and have gone through. But really,
12 let's just accept the fact that Mr. Reagan was elected and,
13 more than that, accept it in good faith. The election is
14 over. Some things broke for us. Some things broke against
15 us. And most of them, unfortunately, were in the latter
16 category. We accept that in good graces. We wish President
17 Reagan and Vice President Bush well. And when they succeed,
18 the country succeeds.

19 MS. WALTERS: How do you feel now? You told me when
20 we came in, you are packing and Mrs. Mondale is taking down
21 the paintings. You see the scaffolds, parades, fireworks.
22 What's it feel like?

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Well, there is some sense
24 of letdown. On the other hand, there is also a sense of
25 personal relief. We had four good years. They have been

1 the best years of my life, the best years of Joan's life.
2 The family has done well. We are very happy, wouldn't trade
3 it, those four years, for anything. I think I come out of
4 it a better man. I certainly know more about our Government
5 and the Presidency in the world than I possibly could in any
6 other way. The American people have been kind to us. Above
7 all, President Carter has been kind to me.

8 You know, one thing I am really proud of, if I can
9 go beyond your question, is that I think maybe in the first
10 time in American history, at least recent American history,
11 the President and the Vice President have worked well
12 together, for four years.

13 MS. WALTERS: Do you think that's the first time?

14 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Well, I know -- I've talked
15 to Rockefeller and I've talked to Hubert and I've talked to
16 many others and I've studied the history. It has been a
17 cursed relationship, historically. President Carter and I have
18 gotten along beautifully. The relationship is even better
19 than when we started. And I have been permitted to have
20 access to him and to secrets and to the management of the
21 Presidency, unlike any other Vice President, I believe.

22 MS. WALTERS: We hear --

23 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: And that is something.

24 MS. WALTERS: We hear a great deal about a Carter
25 legacy, whether there will be one, whether he was a transient

1 President. I'd like to ask if you think there is a Mondale
2 legacy and if it is what you just said?

3 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I think that is one of them.
4 I think it may be the most lasting. An institutional change
5 whereby for the first time a Vice President becomes an
6 important part of the Presidency. That's a very important
7 change and I think it is very helpful to a President, to
8 the country.

9 MS. WALTERS: Let's be human for a moment and --
10 I don't mean that you haven't been. I want to ask you,
11 very quickly, what comes into your mind, what memories,
12 what things in the last four years when you think of what
13 you talked about as this unprecedented life you've had?

14 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: The trust that we had and
15 I can't put a particular date on it.

16 MS. WALTERS: What images -- do you know?

17 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Oh, I remember certain
18 things and I'll be thrilled with them the rest of my life
19 -- Begin and Sadat signing the Camp David accords. I'll
20 remember my trip to the People's Republic of China, where
21 I think we made substantial progress. I'll remember the
22 moment when we ratified the Panama Canal Treaty, as contro-
23 versial as it was. Those are some of the things that
24 immediately spring to mind. Other things that I'll remember
25 perhaps aren't very dramatic but I am proud of them. The other

1 day I came home and spoke to the Minnesota Legislature.
2 People, when you've lost an election, they're almost nicer
3 to you, because they know it hurts and they want you to feel
4 better, particularly in your home state, and I went home to
5 Minnesota. It was glorious. And in the middle of that
6 speech, I said, you know, it may not be much, but in four
7 years we told the truth, we obeyed the law, and we kept the
8 peace. I'm proud of it. And those values mean everything
9 to me.

10 MS. WALTERS: Anything that you say, oh, and it
11 gives you a pain, and you think, if only I hadn't done that?

12 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I think I got too rough one
13 day in the United States Senate on some rulings but since I
14 have been forgiven I don't want to go into it.

15 MS. WALTERS: Do you want to be President?

16 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I'm giving it serious
17 consideration but let's take some time on it.

18 MS. WALTERS: I ask that because -- I realize it
19 is in one sense premature -- but Jimmy Carter started four
20 years before his election, Ronald Reagan started certainly
21 four years or eight years before. If it really is something
22 that you are going to be thinking about, you'd better do
23 something fairly soon, get the Party together, get yourself
24 in some position.

25 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: There's one thing I'm

1 going to do for sure and that's stay in public life. I've
2 got some years left in me. I think I'm in a position to
3 contribute. I intend to spend the new few years trying to
4 refresh myself, travel, learn, talk. I'm going to go back
5 to the University of Minnesota in McAlister and St. Thomas
6 and get together with students again, which I haven't done
7 for a long time, and I intend to remain active in public
8 life. I might seek the Presidency. I think it is too soon
9 to know. And finally, let me return to a point that I made
10 earlier, President Reagan is entitled to a decent chance to
11 run this country and I don't think any of us ought to be
12 interfering with that.

13 MS. WALTERS: Will you live in Washington? Will you
14 take a job?

15 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: I'm going to keep my legal
16 residence in Minnesota. I will be doing teaching and other
17 things that I referred to in my own State I will be prac-
18 ticing law, which incidentally I look forward to. I'm a
19 lawyer. I'm proud of it. I love to practice law. I'm going
20 to do some of that. I'm going to do a good deal of traveling
21 overseas. And studying issues that I think are important.
22 Security matters. And the rest.

23 MS. WALTERS: If you are not working tomorrow night
24 on the hostage situation, how will you spend your last night
25 in office?

1
2 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: The President and Rosalynn
3 invited Joan and me to stay overnight in the Lincoln Bedroom,
4 so that's what we are going to do.

5 MS. WALTERS: Have you ever done that before?

6 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: No.

7 MS. WALTERS: So, will you all have dinner together
8 and then --

9 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Yes. And that's a marvelous
10 gesture on their part, and it's typical of how both the
11 President and Rosalynn have behaved toward Joan and myself.
12 We love them.

13 MS. WALTERS: Any advice for George Bush?

14 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Yes, and we've had several
15 conversations. I hope I'm not bragging but I think the
16 relationship and the way we did it, between the President
17 and myself, is exactly how Reagan and Bush ought to handle
18 it. He's going to be housed in the White House. That is
19 very important. He's to be privy to the secret information,
20 access to the President, unlimited in nature. The weekly,
21 private luncheon with the President. Those things he set up.

22 MS. WALTERS: Those things did not take place before
23 your term of office?

24 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: No. No. And, as a matter
25 of fact, most of what happened didn't take place before. And
I also advised him to spend a good deal of time in the Senate,

1 at first. It's good that he's had Congressional experience.
2 He has not been in the Senate and he should spend some time
3 mastering the rules and getting to know the members of the
4 Senate because that is also a very important part of a
5 Vice President's job.

6 MS. WALTERS: And as we leave now, what is your --
7 do you feel, in just these last few seconds, sad, relieved?

8 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Satisfied, a little bit
9 sad, and very optimistic about my country. This is a mag-
10 nificent nation and it's going to do just fine and I am
11 delighted to be a citizen.

12 MS. WALTERS: We thank you for being with us,
13 Mr. Vice President. I've been fortunate enough to do many
14 interviews with you in the past and I look forward to many
15 more in the future.

16 VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE: Thank you so much, Barbara.
17 I've always enjoyed it.

18 MS. WALTERS: Thank you.

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Burt - Ideas

THEME I

KEEPING THE PEACE

Keeping the peace -- deterring aggression requires quiet steady strength and will.

4 Years ago we had no strength and no will.

- o Strategic systems were old and defense spending at the lowest point in 40 years.
- o Ships couldn't leave port and airplanes couldn't fly.
- o Service morale was low and readiness was poor.
- o Result was Soviet/Cuban expansionism into Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan and Nicaragua.
- o "Unacceptable" Soviet brigades became "acceptable."
- o We had no bargaining leverage for arms control.

But now:

- o We are deterring -- not one square inch of territory has been lost to Soviet aggression -- some (Grenada) has even been recovered.
- o Modernization is working.
- o Armed Forces now more ready than ever.
 - Better trained, equipped and educated than ever before
 - Reenlistments up
 - Morale sky-high
- o We have something to bargain with in arms control.

Mondale prefers weakness.

- o Cut the B-1 and the MX -- This would remove any incentive for Soviets to bargain. Any hope for arms reductions would be shattered. Why should they negotiate if we cut unilaterally?
- o Go back to underfunded conventional forces -- This would encourage renewed expansionism from the Persian Gulf to Central America.

Keeping the peace requires quiet steady strength and will, not weakness and vacillation.

4 yrs ago, the opposition kept referring to a fear that I ^{portrayed} couldn't/wouldn't keep us out of war - I was painted as a trigger-happy warmonger. But 4 yrs have passed + we are not at war - we have dealt with our responsibilities to the free world in a ^{firm} responsible way. Both the representatives of foreign countries + their press ~~has~~ are unanimous in their ~~assertions~~ that America is ~~once~~ again respected abroad as a ^{strong} dependable ally that can lead in the quest for peace.

THEME II

LEADING THE FREE WORLD TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE

The United States needs friends. But followers expect certain things of leaders.

- o Reliability -- will you be there if the crunch comes?
- o Solutions to problems.

4 years ago we saw:

- o Unreliability
 - Threats to pull troops out of Korea
 - On again--off again neutron bombs in Europe
 - Friends going under from Iran to Ethiopia
- o No solutions to big problems
 - Our own economy in a mess
 - Dragging others down with us
 - Soviets and Cubans running all over Africa and Central America
 - Oil disruptions lead to gas lines and inflation

But now:

- o Reliability is back -- when 6 East Caribbean countries called, we hauled
- o Our economy is lifting the world out of depression
- o Oil disruptions, gas lines and inflation prevented by preparedness
- o Suez mining resolved quickly and vital waterway kept open
- o Massive debt problems met with timely aid -- international banking system saved
- o Nuclear suppliers organized to check proliferation

- o Relations with Asian allies and PRC better than ever
- o Europe withstands severest Soviet intimidation in post-war history and comes out stronger.
- o Grenada is free and Americans rescued

The result is an entirely new climate of confidence and optimism:

- o South Korea feels confident enough to talk to North Korea
- o West Germany expanding ties to East Germany
- o Rumania comes to the Olympics *When Russia used the Olympics to try to get back at us for Carter's preventing US at '80 Olympics,*
- o Western resolve leads to easing of pressure in Poland
- o Jordan recognizes Egypt
- o South Africa makes accommodation with Mozambique and moves toward compromise with Angola
- o El Salvador turns the tide against opposition and offers to negotiate

Do you want to go back to more Irans, Afghanistans and allied bickering or stick with steady, reliable, peaceful leadership?

get "strawman" here

Or, let's consider another kind of crisis which could have occurred. While non-violent, it would have been no less threatening to our national security. It concerns the international debt situation which could have led to the collapse of the international banking system. It didn't. Why? Let's review the history.

o Two years ago Mexico notified us of the difficulty they would have in meeting payments on their foreign debt.

o Together with Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela, the debt totaled over \$200 billion. If any one or more of these countries had defaulted, it could have had a very harmful effect on the international financial system, including a number of private US banks.

o Of course, private deposits of Americans would have been guaranteed by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, but still there would have been substantial turmoil and loss within the banking community.

o But today I can report that none of these countries has defaulted.

o The reason is that when the problem arose, my Secretary of the Treasury went to work quietly with the leaders of the international financial institutions to solve the problem. And working quietly but heroically they solved the problem.

o A separate but important outcome of this effort has been to strengthen our relations with each of these countries and to preserve democracy in them.

o Quiet steady solutions to problems -- that's what Americans expect of their government. And that's what they are getting.

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THEME III

PREVENTING CRISES

An even greater test of leadership than coping with crises is preventing them from happening at all.

Have you ever stopped to wonder why you haven't had to wake up at 5:00am to go get in a line for gasoline? ^{Why} The war is even more intense between Iran and Iraq? Why has that not happened?

Why did it happen before?

- o Because the industrial nations didn't have any reserves to fall back on in an emergency.
- o That led them to rush to the spot market driving up prices
- o Lack of reserves led to shortages and long lines

How did we prevent this from happening again?

- o By building up our reserves--we have quadrupled them since 1980.
- o By making clear to Gulf states that we would not let matters get out of control and giving them the means to defend themselves against attack
- o That firmness gave Gulf states the courage to act and to prevent escalation.
- o Well in advance, we briefed our allies so as to calm fears and establish confidence that we could handle the problem.
- o The result is that you get an extra hour's sleep and don't worry about gas shortages.

And what about the [?] sewing of mines in the Red Sea which could have closed one of the world's strategic trade arteries. Did it close? No. Why not.

- o Because the US Navy was on the scene immediately with our friends to clear the mines and establish calm in the international market.

To deal with crises you must think in advance about what might happen and be ready to deal with it. Because we have done that confidence in the United States has risen and our leadership is respected--and followed around the world.

THEME IV

DEFENDING AND PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

20 years from now will there be fewer or more democracies? Will the United States be the last bastion, acting alone in a sea of totalitarian turmoil? 4 years ago, that's where we were heading with states going under from Ethiopia to Nicaragua. Nurturing of this big picture issue is an important part of being President.

What has happened in the last 4 years?

- o Democracy has had a renaissance.
- o Consider this hemisphere--elections have been held in Argentina, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Panama and soon they will be held in Grenada. *10 yrs ago 50% in this hemisphere lived in democracies; today 90%*
- o Dictators are being replaced by popular leaders.
- o The United States has assisted this process and supported the fledgling democracies with aid and security assistance.

But freedom has enemies and liberty's friends will fail if we fail them.

- o In El Salvador we are helping to restore the economic foundation which must be the engine which overcomes unemployment and hunger--the breeding ground of foreign subversion. It is working. President Duarte has turned the tide and is trying to bring the rebels into the democratic process.
- o In Nicaragua we are resisting the betrayal of a revolution which is trying to crush its opposition.
- o In Grenada *we were asked to help/ we* stepped in to save American students *and* to save democracy (The opponent took over a year to decide whether or not that was the right thing to do. That would have been too late.)
- o Whether it is the Sandinistas, the PLO, Cuba or the Soviet Union our friends and allies need our help if they are to withstand pressure and subversion. It has been my policy to give them that help.
- o We all support Democracy. But at the moment of truth, Mr Mondale hasn't been so sure. That's not leadership; that's weakness and vacillation.

THEME V

MIDDLE EAST POLICY/BEIRUT/TERRORISM

The opponents have charged that my Middle East policy has been wrong and, in particular, that we ought to have been able to prevent last month's bombing.* What is the truth?

First, why did we send Marines to Lebanon? Two reasons -- to prevent another war between Israel and Lebanon, and to try to relieve the root cause of attacks against Israel from Lebanon -- the presence of the PLO. Both objectives were accomplished.

o 15,000 PLOs were removed from Lebanon as a result of Phil Habib's skillful diplomacy. That has fundamentally improved Israel's security.

o But when the decision became whether or not we were willing to go to war with Syria to force them from Lebanon, my decision was no. What about the larger issue of terrorism? Several facts are important.

- Terrorism is not unique to Lebanon -- it is a global problem.

- In the last 30 days, there have been 37 terrorist attacks by 13 groups against 20 different countries.

- Thus, to stop terrorism we must gain the agreement of all countries that all are threatened and that all must agree not to harbor them and work together to identify, track and apprehend them.

o This is how we dealt with the skyjacking problem in the 60's. Only when all of us agreed not to harbor skyjackers did we curtail it.

o That's why I have sought, and gained the agreement of all our major allies last June, to start working together better and to share our intelligence so as to begin to deal effectively with this problem.

o That's why I submitted a package of legislation to the Congress earlier this year, including the ability to offer rewards for information leading to the arrest of terrorist and sever other measures.

o I have also sought additional funds to better protect our diplomats overseas.

o We can lick this menace if we work together with our friends and don't back away or adopt a bunker mentality as some would have us do. Our diplomats don't feel that way and neither do I.

* True that security was not complete. Perhaps we should have waited to move, but we were told that the new quarters were so much safer than the old. that we felt it was the lesser evil.

Excellent!

THEME VI
US-SOVIET RELATIONS-----ARMS CONTROL

We seek a stable relations with the Soviet Union based on Reciprocity and Restraint. We can succeed if we proceed with steady, bipartisan support. But we must learn from history and understand what works and what does not. First let's deal with some popular myths:

- o Some say that just having meetings makes things better.
 - President Carter's meeting with Brezhnev in Vienna was followed by the invasion of Afghanistan, an unacceptable brigade in Cuba and aggression in El Salvador--that meeting did not make things better.
- o Any arms control agreement makes things better.
 - SALT II authorized more building on both sides--since it was signed, the Soviets have added over 3800 warheads --is that making things better?
 - The record of Soviet violations makes clear that trust is not enough.
- o The absence of agreements makes things worse--is that true?
 - Without any agreement, the US has reduced its nuclear arsenal by one third since 1967.
 - Our total megatonnage is less than half what it was under President Kennedy.
 - Since 1979 we have removed 1000 warheads from Europe--we are in the process of removing 1400 more. This came without any arms control agreement.
- o Unilateral disarmament will lead the Russians to do the same thing. Is that true?
 - Did President Carter's cancellation of the B-1 lead the Soviets to reduce anything--No, they kept right on building.
 - Mondale wants to cut the MX and B-1--here we go again. What are the lessons from all this?
- o Getting an agreement is not the issue--we could simply agree to the Soviet position as in SALT II. But both sides were allowed to keep building. The issue is getting a good agreement.
- o Getting a good agreement requires that you have something to bargain with. Cutting our own programs as Mondale wants, will remove any incentive for the Russians to come back to talks.
- o We must bargain seriously. I have spent the last year reviewing all our positions. We are ready now with flexible positions.

33



Specific Issues

The Middle East

Military Crisis in Central America

Arms Control and The Freeze

Lebanon

"Star Wars," Extending Arms Race "Into the Heavens"

"Evil Empire" and the Failure in U.S.-Soviet Relations

Human Rights Neglect

Cheap Foreign Imports

The Middle East

Charges:

- We have no Middle East policy.
- Disorder in the Middle East is growing, and the picture there is bleaker than ever.
- This Administration has secured no agreement like Camp David, and the Reagan plan has undercut Camp David.

Responses:

- We have a strategy for the Middle East: It is a strategy of strengthening moderate forces and helping them resist radical elements. That's what our opposition to Qadhafi is all about. It's a strategy of expanding our relations with Israel. That's why we are the first Administration to have the political courage to treat Israel as a strategic partner. U.S. relations with Israel are better than they have ever been. And it's a strategy of reducing the prospects for another Middle East war as we work with others to help create conditions for peace.
- Let me say a word, too, about Camp David. First, it is a noble agreement. But it is vital to understand that the Middle East is subject to ebbs and flows. Peace cannot be imposed. Those who believe it can are those who would hand Israel over to its adversaries on a plate. There are times then for crystalizing agreements, and times when one simply must do the hard and thankless work of laying the foundation for future progress. The most important provision of Camp David is the unwritten provision -- that it all works only if the U.S. is strong and active and engaged. Stability really depends on us.
- I'm perfectly prepared to give Mr. Mondale credit for Camp David. But why is he so unwilling to not give us credit for preserving it against the forces that tried to tear it down. Or does he forget that it was my decision to commit peace forces to the Sinai -- a decision greatly debated in the closing days of his Administration -- that made the agreement stick.

-- Transition Back to Central Theme --

I'm amazed, too, at Mr. Mondale's effort to deliberately obscure our central achievements in the region and particularly our work crisis management. We have prevented the Iran-Iraq war from spilling over and affecting our access to oil, thus creating gas lines and economic hardship throughout the Western world.

The real answer as to the effectiveness of our policy can be found not in my words, or Mr. Mondale's attacks: it can be found in the fact that the moderate forces in the region continue to act on the belief that the U.S. is a partner they can trust: that's why our diplomacy is still at work in Lebanon; why our security cooperation with Egypt and moderates continues; why our help was sought in clearing mines from Suez; and why we are working to help Israel in its hour of greatest economic need.

Military Crisis in Central America

Charges:

- Militarizing the region.
- Not taking diplomacy seriously.
- Violating international law (contras, mining the harbors).

Responses

- A. Our policy in Central America is democracy. That's why we are supporting President Duarte, newly elected in El Salvador, and his reforms; that's why we want democracy in Nicaragua. That's all we want. We aren't to blame for the troubles of that region and Mr. Mondale should stop blaming America.
- B. We haven't militarized anything. Three-fourths of our aid is economic. The fact is that Nicaragua -- starting back when the Carter-Mondale Administration was announcing \$175 million in aid for them -- has used Soviet and Cuban help to build the largest military machine in the history of Central America. Their armed forces are larger than those of all other Central American countries put together. That's militarizing! So when their neighbors become scared and ask us for help, do we turn away -- or do we help? Nicaragua has 9,000 Cubans and we have 55 advisers in El Salvador and Mr. Mondale blames America for militarizing!
- C. The Sandinistas have betrayed international law and reneged on every promise they made to us and to their Latin neighbors. International law recognizes the fundamental right of self-defense. They attack their neighbors and now they hide behind law books to obscure this. I have no apologies for helping people fight Sandinista subversion and oppression to secure their freedom. Let's stop blaming America again for resisting a bunch of thugs. Mr. Mondale has changed his mind on Grenada and I think he'll change it here too -- but by then will it be too late to salvage freedom in Nicaragua?
- D. In El Salvador we are staying the course. Mr. Mondale has criticized our effort but I am proud of it. We are helping a young democracy get started under President Duarte, who was chosen El Salvador's president this year in a free election. Human rights violations are in a steady and welcome decline. The communist guerrillas are on the run. We have given President Duarte the tools and he is doing the job. We have not exceeded our self-imposed limit of 55 advisers and no American combat troops -- but the Salvadoran people want to know if we will give them the tools they need to defend their country from communist guerrillas armed by

Cuba and Nicaragua. We will -- for their sakes and for ours.

- E. In Grenada, a band of Marxist murderers executed the highest government officials and started to impose a brutal communist dictatorship. At risk were the lives of Americans studying on the island, freedom of all Grenadans. and the security of all neighboring countries if another island fell to communist aggression. Fearful for their futures, leaders of the nearby islands came to us and I acted -- and I believe most Americans share my pride that our nation stood up to defend liberty and security in our hemisphere. Mr. Mondale would not have acted and at the time he blamed America -- not the murderers -- for creating trouble in Grenada. Now he said recently he was wrong and I was right. (Although as late as last week it still wasn't clear where his running mate stood on this issue.) That's 20-20 hindsight; if he'd been President that little island would have been hijacked by communist thugs -- and our students with it. A President needs to act -- not to come around to seeing clearly one year too late.
- F. In Nicaragua, a revolution was betrayed by communist guerrillas who have stolen the government. More and more Nicaraguans now oppose the repressive Sandinista regime, and they support efforts to build democracy in Nicaragua, guarantee religious freedom and stop repression of the Catholic Church, and break the Cuban and Soviet hammerlock. They are struggling for their nation's freedom and we should be proud to be on their side.
- G. There were two revolutions in 1979 -- one in El Salvador and one in Nicaragua. The Salvadoran revolution is being fulfilled, by guilding democracy; the Nicaraguan revolution has been betrayed by communists. We are helping the Salvadorans with their democratic reforms and resisting the Sandinistas' efforts to spread subversion from Nicaragua. And I'm proud of that record.
- H. Mr. Mondale has called for a "quarantine" of Nicaragua. What does that mean? How many U.S. ships? Does he want to confront Soviet warships? Has he thought it through? Isn't that a dangerous form of militarization?

We have avoided any use of U.S. combat forces and Mr. Mondale's first suggestion to abandon that policy and put U.S. naval forces into a combat situation. Now that's what I call militarization of the problem, and it's a dangerous, half-baked idea.

-- Transition Back to Central Themes --

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Our Central American policy needs to be understood against three of the broader themes I have been emphasizing tonight: the need for reliability, the need to manage crises before they overwhelm us, and the need to help democracies succeed.

Arms Control and The Freeze

Charges:

- This Administration has achieved nothing on arms control and opposes arms control.
- The President opposes a freeze and wants a new arms race.

Responses:

A. Nuclear Freeze

Are you talking about a unilateral freeze, or one the Soviets observe also. When people say that a freeze would be an easy thing to achieve, they must be talking about a unilateral freeze. Well, that's a dangerous thing which the American people don't want. To get the Russians to agree to a freeze with the specific details needed to make it meaningful would take lengthy negotiations. It would require enormous verification efforts to be sure the Soviets weren't improving and enlarging their forces in some way. If we're going to go to all that effort, let's go after something better than a freeze -- let's negotiate real reductions.

B. Arms Control

For 15 years we have had a series of arms control agreements. I'm glad Mr. Mondale reminds us of this. And let me also remind you that in those 15 years the Soviets have had the largest military buildup in world history -- including a more than 500 percent increase in missile warheads. Now something's wrong -- indeed very wrong -- with those so-called "arms control" agreements, and that's what I want to turn around. The Democratic Senate knew there was something wrong, too, because they refused to ratify the agreement the Carter-Mondale team brought back from the table.

I want arms control agreements that actually reduce armaments and make us all safer. That's the question I ask about any arms control agreements and any defense program -- will it make us safer. That's why I want to try new technology to protect us from Soviet missiles, and new negotiations to reduce arms on both sides: to make us safer. Mr. Mondale wants more of the same kind of agreements we've had, and I say that we can do better, and be safer.

It does us no good to sign agreements allowing more and bigger missiles, or that can be violated with impunity, or that we can't check up on. That's the kind the Carter-Mondale Administration signed in 1979, and Senate Democrats like John Glenn and the late Scoop Jackson opposed it. I don't want more of the same -- I want to turn things around and get agreements that really make us safer. We may have to negotiate harder and longer, but it's worth it.

LebanonCharges:

- Terrorist attacks are repeated and repeated and we are never ready.
- Sending troops to Lebanon was a major error, cost hundreds of lives, and gained us nothing. Typical of Reagan to resort to a military solution that won't work.
- This isn't standing tall -- it's sacrificing American lives for no purpose.

Responses:

Of course Lebanon was a setback. The forces we were trying to help were unable to hold together in the midst of great internal political turmoil.

But let's not miss the central point. Our country's strategy for promoting peace is based on helping others -- giving them the best possible chance. This is only common sense. We can't impose peace. And we can't do for others what they are unable to do for themselves.

I understood the difficulties when we went in; and I understood when the time had come to change our approach. If we are unwilling to try to help, how can Israel or the other countries have confidence in our support for a broader peace agreement. Because we tried, our diplomacy is still valued; and let's not forget the PLO was removed.

If Mr. Mondale can't see the connection between the importance of trying, and our continuing credibility in the region, then his understanding is flawed indeed.

-- Transition Back to Central Theme --

Standing tall means being engaged in the world, trying to help others achieve noble ends. Not as a policeman, but as a concerned partner. My Administration faces up to problems, realizing that setbacks are inevitable in the course of promoting stability and peace.

"Star Wars," Extending Arms Race "Into the Heavens"

Charges:

- RR wants to extend arms race into the heavens.
- This "Star Wars" will destroy the only remaining major arms agreement (the 1972 ABM Treaty).
- This "Star Wars" won't work, but will be terribly expensive.

Responses

Mr. Mondale argues I want to extend the arms race "into the heavens." Well, he hasn't noticed that the Soviets have had an arms race in the heavens for some 25 years. They have tested intercontinental missiles in space ever since the late 1950s (and so have we, of course). More recently, despite the SALT agreement negotiated in Mr. Mondale's administration -- and in many cases in violation of that agreement -- the Soviets have tested through outer space one new missile after another.

In opposing my program on strategic defenses against missiles, Mr. Mondale and his party reveal their inbred opposition to new ideas. Mr. Mondale charges that I do not understand that missile defense can't work. As always, he is defending every old idea and knocking down every new one.

I want our best scientists to work on new technology that can turn around this missile threat. I want my successors to have alternatives. Right now, we have no defenses against any nuclear attack, only the threat of revenge. Mr. Mondale wants us to remain forever totally undefended against any nuclear missiles -- even an accidental attack. I have a different vision of the future: I want us through new defensive technology and through agreed reductions in offensive forces to make nuclear missiles obsolete.

"Evil Empire" and the Failure in U.S.-Soviet Relations

Charges:

- President has failed to handle Soviets.
- Excessive rhetoric has damaged relations.
- No constructive relationship, no agreements, no summits.

Responses:

- A. It's easy to have an agreement with the Soviets -- just give them what they want. But when you do you don't enhance peace and stability, you threaten it. Jimmy Carter held a summit in Vienna with Brezhnev -- remember that picture of the two of them embracing? Well, that kiss was followed X months later by their invasion of Afghanistan. I've avoided the kiss and I've avoided any more Afghanistans. The signals they get from me are clear -- we're always ready to deal, but always on fair terms only.
- B. I met with Gromyko, but why not sooner? Turbulence in Moscow -- Brezhnev was dying when I was elected, then Andropov pushed to the top but he proved to be in and out of hospitals and died, now Chernenko is reported ill too. They've had no leader and therefore no one to negotiate with -- who could really make a deal and make it stick.
- C. Some people attacked the phrase "evil empire" but no one disputes the facts -- they just say I shouldn't state the facts. Soviet control of Afghanistan, Poland, etc., is clearly an empire; and when I see their treatment of men like Scharansky and Sakharov: Yes, that's evil. I have made abundantly clear to them my desire for a constructive relationship, but I also know that the only way to have one is to get the Soviets know you know fact from fiction. We get no respect from them if we hid from the truth.
- D. The Soviets walked out of our Geneva arms talks and some people agree that we ought to make a better offer to bring them back. That's not negotiating with the Soviets; that's negotiating with ourselves. Every time they walk out we're not going to make another concession. We are going to hold firm and protect our interests and negotiate with them -- not ourselves.

Human Rights Neglect

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Charges:

- Abandonment of Human Rights.
- Cozying up dictators.
- Double standards for judging friends and foes.
- South Africa

Responses:

- A. You don't judge a human rights policy by its decibel level; we are not as noisy, and twice as effective.
- B. The U.S. does more now in human rights than we have ever done before. The Human Rights Bureau is larger, the level of activity is much greater, and we see real success. In Latin America, country after country is turning to democracy -- from Argentina to El Salvador to Honduras. More Latin Americans have voted in more free elections in the last four years than ever before in their history. The only country in the last four years almost stolen away by communist dictators was Grenada -- and we stopped them.
- C. South Africa: The U.S. is more active now in helping people bring justice than we have ever been. We have many new programs. We have made our moral opposition to apartheid clear -- but you don't solve problems by walking away from them or by giving people lectures; you solve them by getting in there and working.

-- Transition to Central Themes --

Our policy is to give effective support to democracies throughout the world. And in these four years we and our democratic allies have indeed become stronger and more united than ever.

Cheap Foreign Imports

Charges:

- Americans are losing jobs and their government is not protecting them.
- Cheap imports are causing unemployment.

Responses:

We have gone after imports that are dumped on our market or unfairly subsidized, and we'll keep doing that.

But imports aren't bad for us. The surge of imports is one of the things that has helped to keep prices down during a period of strong recovery.

The answer is not to fight imports but to make our own industry competitive. That's what our economic recovery has done. And it's done a lot more for America besides. . . .

-- Transition Back to Central Theme --

To a general statement on economic recovery and rebuilding strength.

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Closing Statement

We've seen tonight and throughout this campaign that Mr. Mondale and I have significant differences over foreign policy. His approach is wedded to the failed ideas of the last few years. His approach is being rejected by the American people not because of him -- he is a conscientious and dedicated spokesman -- but because his ideas have been tried and they have failed. They will produce, if we try them again, what they produced in the Carter-Mondale years -- drift and, yes, danger.

There is a great tradition in American foreign policy, the bipartisan tradition of Truman and Eisenhower and John Kennedy, which taught us to build our strength and meet our responsibilities; to support our friends and be strong enough to deter our foes. In recent years some leaders have abandoned these great lessons, as Mr. Mondale has. In the Carter-Mondale years some old discredited ideas -- like telling our friends to sink or swim; like thinking that our strength could threaten the peace; like thinking problems will go away if we just turn away -- were tried again. And what that produced was four years of failure, crises and risk.

In 1980 I pledged to rebuild our strength and our alliances and help build a safer, more stable world. And we have done it. In those four years, there has been no new Soviet aggression as in Afghanistan, no new loss of a friend and ally as in Iran, no new economic crises that have all Americans up at dawn to sit in gas lines.

Two weeks ago I asked, Is America better off than it was four years ago? Yes, we are -- we are stronger, we are more confident, we are more respected, we are closer to our friends, we are more successful in protecting our interests and -- above all -- we are safer. These are not slogans. These are cold truths that can be confirmed by looking around the world today.

Now we must stay the course. Through challenges that test our courage, and negotiations that test our patience, we must be strong enough to stay with our principles, to keep the peace, and to build a safer world. We will seek arms negotiations that truly reduce weapons on all sides. We will help democratic allies survive and prosper and continue to strengthen our alliances with Europe, Japan, Israel, and all those who join us in searching for stability and peace.

We have ended that brief, sad period of American decline and "malaise" among our leaders. We have built the foundation of renewed military, economic and moral strength, and with this strength we know, as Americans have known for two centuries, that the future is ours.

OPENING STATEMENT

(While the format does not call for opening statements, the following is proposed as the first comment you make regardless of what the question is.)

I will respond to your question in a moment. Indeed I and my opponent will respond to about a dozen questions tonight. But in order for the American people to be able to put these answers into a coherent framework, I think it is worthwhile to establish a foundation -- a context. What are these fundamentals?

First, let us recall that the people look to their President to do certain basic things in foreign affairs:

- o Maintain peace and a stable military balance at the lowest level possible.
- o Negotiate solutions to disagreements peacefully.
- o Maintain an open trading system and try to foster economic development in the third world.
- o Do what we can to spread democracy where countries want and need our help.

These goals are probably shared by my opponent. The issue is that we espouse two very different ways of achieving them.

My approach is based upon the principles of strength, realism and a willingness to negotiate differences. My opponent's record -- AT LEAST UP UNTIL TONIGHT -- reflects just the opposite.

In addition to tonight's remarks from both of us, there is quite an extensive record of performance by both of us to help as you make your decisions.

Four years ago, I told you exactly what I would do. I would seek peace through strength, with realism and a willingness to negotiate. That's exactly what I have done. At the time, many said I would be impulsive in the use of force -- a cowboy. It's ironic to me that in recent days it has been my opponent who has criticized me for not using force after the terrorist attack in Lebanon. It is he who is calling for a military quarantine of Nicaragua.

Now, four years later, you got what you asked for:

- o We are at peace.
- o Our economy is healthy and we are leading the world out of depression.
- o The endless chain of collapsing countries from Afghanistan to Nicaragua has stopped -- not one square inch of territory has been lost. Indeed, we even got one back -- Grenada.
- o Our relations with friends in Europe and Asia has never been better.
- o Democracy is on the move in election after election with American help.
- o Respect for the United States is at an all time high.

In short, you got what you asked for -- peace through strength, realism and a willingness to negotiate. Predictable, steady, firm leadership.

To be fair, it was also clear 4 years ago what you could expect from my opponent. He has been consistent throughout his years in public life. He has been steadfastly against strength, voting against every major system designed to keep the peace -- the MX, the B-1, the Trident. He supported a treaty which would have allowed the Soviets to build another 10,000 warheads -- and he calls it arms control.

Lately he has begun to change his mind on some of these things. That's the difference between us. With me, what you saw 4 years ago is what you see today and what you will see tomorrow. And that means more peace through strength, more prosperity, more respect -- more steady determined leadership.

Now let me get to your question.



6. Mr President, Mr Mondale points out that you are the first President in recent years who has not met with a Soviet leader and who does not have an arms control agreement. How do you answer that charge? Don't meetings make things better and aren't arms control agreement in everyone's interest?

7. Mr President, your opponent points out that you have a failed Middle East policy which has included the tragedy of the Beirut bombing? Do you have a Middle East policy. Didn't you fail in Lebanon? Do you have a counter terrorist policy? Is it going to happen again?

8. Mr President, what makes you think the Soviets will suddenly change their tune and be reasonable with you next year? What is the core of your policy toward the Soviet Union?

Debate Questions

1. Mr President, you have often said that peace is best achieved through maintaining strength and firmness. You have also said that your opponent takes a fundamentally different approach based upon weakness and vacillation. Could you tell us more about why your approach is more likely to enhance peace than Mr Mondale's?

2. Mr President, you have said that an important part of keeping the peace is having good relations with allies. Mr Mondale would probably agree with that. What makes you think US relations with allies are so good now or that they would be any different under Mr Mondale. Didn't the Carter administration have pretty good relations with allies?

3. Mr President, you have made the promotion of democracy a major theme of your administration. Isn't that pretty much "motherhood?" Is there really any difference between you and what can you really do anyway toward such an intangible goal?

4. Mr President, there haven't been any Cuban missile crises in the last four years or any alerts of US and Soviet forces. To what do you ascribe this? Have you had a conscious policy and approach toward preventing crises?

5. Mr President, most of what you say deals with the past. Is it not fair to ask where you intend to lead us in the years ahead? What is your agenda? What are your priorities. Is the world going to be better off four years from now than it is today? What are you going to do about arms reduction, terrorism, non-proliferation, the Middle East and Central America?

6. Mr President, Mr Mondale points out that you are the first President in recent years who has not met with a Soviet leader and who does not have an arms control agreement. How do you answer that charge? Don't meetings make things better and aren't arms control agreement in everyone's interest?

7. Mr President, your opponent points out that you have a failed Middle East policy which has included the tragedy of the Beirut bombing? Do you have a Middle East policy. Didn't you fail in Lebanon? Do you have a counter terrorist policy? Is it going to happen again?

8. Mr President, what makes you think the Soviets will suddenly change their tune and be reasonable with you next year? What is the core of your policy toward the Soviet Union?

— *BDR* 5⁴

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN M. POINDEXTER *P*

FROM: PHILIP A. DUR

We (DoD and the White House) have recently said a lot about improved readiness of the Navy. We have specifically cited improved steaming and flying hours, etc.

Are you aware that CINCLANTFLT, at least, has recently promulgated a series of SKED CHGS which reflect a drastic reduction in steaming days per quarter owing to fuel costs?

I am told that steaming days are now limited to 20 days/quarter for non-deployed units, which is significantly less than the allocation in FY-81.

This is not a proposal for intervention from here, but just a heads up lest we "oversell" the point on improved training, etc.

*V/R
Phil*

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BERN 05871
FOR PRESIDENT REAGAN FROM AMBASSADOR JOHN DAVIS LODGE
E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS: SZ, US

SUBJ: PRESS REACTION TO REAGAN MONDALE DEBATE

I AM SENDING YOU THIS CABLE IN ORDER TO INFORM YOU OF
SOME COMMENTS ON YOUR RECENT TELEVISION DEBATE WHICH
HAVE APPEARED IN THE SWISS PRESS. I HAVE NUMBERED AND
LISTED THEM BELOW.

1. GAZETTE DE LAUSANNE, OCTOBER 9, 1984
"INDUBITABLY, MR. MONDALE HAS IMPROVED, BUT ONLY
SLIGHTLY, HIS POSITION IN THE "IMAGE" STAKES. A DEBATE,
OF COURSE, CANNOT HELP HIM BEAT MR. REAGAN. MOST
AMERICANS DECIDED LONG AGO WHO THEY WILL VOTE FOR ON
NOVEMBER 6."

2. DER BUND, OCTOBER 11, 1984.
"ALTHOUGH MONDALE'S STYLE WAS AT TIMES IMPRESSIVE, MR.
REAGAN WAS VERY STRONG IN HIS COMMAND OF FACTS AND
FIGURES."

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WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

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3. BASLER ZEITUNG, OCTOBER 11, 1984

"PERHAPS WALTER MONDALE PREVAILED IN THE TELEVISION DEBATE WITH RONALD REAGAN. BUT THE POPULARITY OF THE PRESIDENT (AS WELL AS THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES) REMAINS UNTOUCHED: IN THE BATTLE FOR VICTORY ON NOVEMBER 6. REAGAN, ACCORDING TO THE POLLS, IS STILL BETWEEN 15 AND 18 POINTS AHEAD OF HIS DEMOCRATIC CHALLENGER."

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4. NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, (SWITZERLAND'S LEADING NEWSPAPER, MODERATELY CONSERVATIVE, 137,000 CIRCULATION) OCTOBER 9, 1984

REAGAN-MONDALE TELEVISION DEBATE WAS STANDOFF
"THE CHALLENGER APPEARED INCOHERENT WHEN EXPLAINING HIS POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF ABORTION, WHILE REAGAN PRESENTED HIS POSITION MOST CLEARLY AT THAT POINT, EMPHASIZING THAT THE JUDAIC-CHRISTIAN TRADITION RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT TO KILL ONLY IN SELF DEFENSE."
YOU WILL NOTE THAT THE CONSENSUS IS THAT YOU CAME OUT WELL AND THAT YOUR VICTORY ON NOVEMBER 6 IS CERTAIN.
I THOUGHT THAT YOU WERE STRONG, BRILLIANT AND CHARMING.

WARM AND RESPECTFUL REGARDS.

JOHN LODGE

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~