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Last Updated: 09/13/2024

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RGM HAS SEEN

10/13

Bud,

Phil had picked up rumor that LAWTFCT was reducing optempo below what it was in 1981. I asked Navy for the facts. Rumor isn't true. There is some interesting material that might be useful for debate press. *Noted*

But I wouldn't have President cite statistics - just say readiness has dramatically improved. *J*



Memorandum

PROVIDED BY THE "SWEAT-HOGS" OF OP-642
OPTEMPO DAYS

	FY81		FY82		FY83		FY84		FY85
	BUDGET	ACTUAL	BUDGET	ACTUAL	BUDGET	ACTUAL	BUDGET	ACTUAL*	BUDGET
NON DEPLOYED	29	29.1	29	29	26.9	27	29	28.8	29
DEPLOYED	52.5	58.5	54.3	57.6	50.5	55.5	50.5	59.6	50.5

* PROJECTED - 4TH QTR FIGURES FM PAC FLT NOT INCLUDED
DATA PROVIDED BY OP-921

- ABOVE FIGURES DO NOT INCLUDE
 - SUBMARINES
 - RESERVE FORCE
 - SHIPS IN OVERHAUL
- OPTEMPO IN 4TH QTR 84 WAS LESS THAN IT WAS FOR THE FIRST 3 QUARTERS - WHY
 - LEBANON HAD DIED DOWN
 - EFFORT WAS MADE TO MINIMIZE THE OPTEMPO OVERAGE FOR FY 84 THAT RESULTED FROM INCREASED TEMPO EXPERIENCED IN FIRST 3 QTRS.

WARNER, J.W.

3



CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

9 October 1984

Dear Senator Warner,

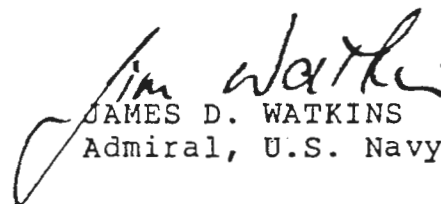
I am responding to your recent letter in which you expressed your concern over recent media articles about readiness, many of which are distorted and factually incorrect criticisms of Navy warfighting capability.

The true story, in fact, is one of dramatic recovery. Measured relative to the situation that existed in 1981, the year which marked the turning point in readiness and sustainability funding, the Navy today has more weapons and more spare parts at sea, and better manning of ships and aircraft squadrons. The readiness indices for ships and aircraft squadrons are up over 30 percent since 1981.

Press reports of Navy weapons shortages are at least partly accurate in that supplies of newer, more sophisticated weapons are most critical. These shortages stem from inadequate funding in the late 70's, but recovery is underway. Three years of improved funding is beginning to take effect. Trends in spare parts are up also as a result of improved funding for both ship and aircraft spares.

I appreciate this opportunity to provide my thoughts on this issue, and am enclosing a brief readiness assessment for your use. If I may be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,


JAMES D. WATKINS
Admiral, U.S. Navy

The Honorable John W. Warner
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

Enclosure

OP-00 CONTROL NO. 456178
ORIGINAL MAILED 9 OCT 1984; HJC by A to WARNER
BY KMS
COPY PROVIDED TO 90665

Readiness Assessment

-Numbers reporting personnel combat readiness (C1, C2) since 1981 are up overall, with surface ships up 39 percent, submarines up 35 percent and aircraft squadrons up 115 percent.

-Retention across the board is at all time highs.

-93 percent of recruits hold high school diplomas.

-Petty officer shortfalls of the early 80's have been virtually eliminated.

-The Naval Reserve is making solid gains with transition to newest equipments and will reach 132,000 Selected Reservists by 1988.

-The 600-ship goal is now in hand and will be reached as planned in 1989.

-New ships under contract, both nuclear and conventional, will provide substantial increases in capability:

--2 CVNs, 9 AEGIS cruisers, 7 Los Angeles class SSN's, 3 TRIDENT class SSBN's, 6 Oliver Hazard Perry class FFG's, 34 support ships, and reactivation of the third battleship.

-Combat readiness up 29 percent for surface ships, 31 percent for SSN's, 34 percent for SSBN's and 43 percent for aircraft squadrons since 1981.

-Aircraft procurement is on schedule to match the needs of the 600-ship Navy, including 375 new F-14, F/A-18 and LAMPS III.

-Aircraft mission capable rates up 17 percent and full mission capable rates up 50 percent overall and even higher for deployed units since 1981.

-Ordnance stocks 10-60 percent higher than in 1981 with long term outlook even brighter.

-Spare parts already on order will result in over 50 percent improvement when delivered in FY-86.

Enclosure

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 12, 1984

Admiral James D. Watkins
Chief of Naval Operations
Department of the Navy
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20350

Dear Admiral Watkins:

In view of the recent adverse comments which have appeared recently in the media regarding the preparedness of our Armed Forces, I would appreciate it if you would provide me with your assessment of the current state of readiness of the Navy.

While the media reports have tended to focus on the readiness and sustainability of our forces, it seems to me that our efforts to increase the quality of personnel and to modernize both nuclear and conventional forces impacts in a highly favorable manner on our total warfighting capability.

I am certain that you could provide literally pounds and pounds of documentation on this subject, but I would prefer that you summarize your comments on one page. Opinions from senior commanders in the field would also be helpful.

I am sending similar letters to the Chiefs of your sister services. I would appreciate your response as soon as possible.

Thank you very much for your assistance.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

John W. Warner

JWW:bg

cc: The Honorable John F. Lehman

456178

8 August 1984

NEWSGRAM FOR ALL FLAG OFFICERS, COMMANDERS,
COMMANDING OFFICERS, AND OFFICERS-IN-CHARGE

I am using the medium of my periodic newsgram to Flag Officers to provide first hand to all of you factual information and my perspective on articles critical of our military readiness which have appeared in the news media in recent weeks. I consider it essential that you, your personnel and those members of the general public with whom you are in frequent contact be properly informed on this matter of vital national interest.

NAVY WARFIGHTING CAPABILITY

Distorted and factually incorrect criticism of Navy warfighting capability has recently appeared in newspapers and magazine articles...largely based on outdated information and misinformed interpretation of Navy readiness indicators...Widely reported statement that Navy could not fight for more than one week is absolutely wrong...wrong when the statement was written by the House Appropriations Committee Staff in 1983...clearly wrong today...Other statements that highlight problems resulting from a decade of austere funding amount to pointing to a half-empty glass...when in reality the glass is half full and filling up fast.

The true story is one of a dramatic recovery...readiness improvements of which we can all be justifiably proud...of balanced spending priorities...not an uncontrolled Naval expansion as some have claimed...and of problems inherited from the 70's which are being resolved.

I want to set the record straight...want you to have the facts...We simply cannot stand idly by and allow either our own dedicated men and women or our fellow citizens to be deluded into thinking that our national resources have been squandered.

READINESS AND SUSTAINABILITY FUNDING

Defense spending is frequently described in terms of "four pillars"...Readiness, Sustainability, Modernization, Force Structure...Readiness and Sustainability funding buys warfighting capability for today's forces...readiness to fight on day one and sustainability to continue the fight...pays for people, training, maintenance, fuel, spare parts, ordnance...Modernization and Force Structure funds buy future capability...research and development, new ships and aircraft, new equipments and improvements to existing forces.

Figure 1 shows the funding balance...60 percent of Navy resources dedicated to Readiness and Sustainability...Figures 2 through 6 chart our progress in improving Navy readiness and sustainability...measured relative to situation existing in 1981...year which marked turning point in readiness and sustainability funding and low point in readiness ratings...Funding up sharply since 1981 (Figure 2)...nearly 20% real growth between 1981 and 1984...Further gains planned for 1985/86 receiving solid support...getting top priority...Results of better funding already evident...outlook is even brighter.

ORDNANCE

Press reports of Navy weapons shortages are at least partly accurate...Supplies of newer, more sophisticated weapons most critical (Figure 3)...other stocks in better shape...Shortages stem from inadequate funding in late 70's...Recovery is underway...three years of improved funding beginning to take effect...Weapons bought with FY 82 funds just beginning to arrive in magazines because of 2-3 year lag between funding and delivery...time required for contracting, production...often not understood by media...Improvement already apparent...stocks 10% to 60% larger today than in 1981...Some will double by 1986 when weapons bought with FY 84 dollars deliver.

Long-term outlook is even brighter...Planned FY 85 weapons buy receiving solid Congressional support...FY 86 funding protected in Navy POM and holding up under OSD review...Still a long way to go...will take until end of this decade to reach most goals...must have continued Congressional support.

SPARE PARTS

Trends are also up (Figure 4)...Reflects improved funding for both ship and aircraft spares...Parts already on order will result in over 50% improvement when delivered in FY86...Shipboard spare parts allowances increasing at same time...all ships are receiving expanded COSAL allowance during overhaul...will reduce reliance on shore stocks for mission-critical systems, cut CASREP downtime...Stocks will be back in balance by FY88...storerooms full.

FLEET MANNING

Most improved and most important element of readiness...Fleet manning up to 96% of billets authorized...Number of ships and squadrons reporting combat ready in personnel (C1/C2/C3) up over 20% since 1981 (Figure 5)...Most dramatic improvement is in top two readiness ratings (C1/C2)...Surface ships up 39%...Submarines up 35%...Aviation squadrons up 115%...Reflects better compensation...pay raises, sea pay, reenlistment bonuses...also positive impact of your recruiting and retention efforts.

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Recruiting goals attained for past 4 years...quality up as well...93% of recruits have high school diploma...Recruit training attrition down sharply, as is attrition from apprentice training and "A" schools.

Retention has reached all-time high...60% First Term...67% Second Term...95% Career...has virtually eliminated Petty Officer shortfalls of early 80's...Problems remain in some mission-critical ratings...FT's, GS's, GM's...being resolved by increased school input and better distribution management...Result is more-capable, better-trained crews...also increased self-sufficiency and reduced reliance on shore support.

Naval Reserve making solid gains as well...Selected Reserve has grown from 87 thousand in 1982 to 98 thousand today...will reach 132 thousand by 1988...New Sea and Air Mariners (SAM) program will recruit 10 thousand non-prior service personnel each year...meeting goal in FY 84.

COMBAT READINESS

Payoff from improved ordnance stocks, better spare parts support, improved manning and other readiness initiatives is clearly evident in Combat Readiness Ratings reported by ships and aviation squadrons...up over 30% since 1981 (Figure 6)...Surface ships reporting combat ready up 29%...SSNs up 31%...SSBNs up 34%...squadrons up 43%.

Other indicators up as well...Serious surface ship CASREPs down 30% and operating time free of serious CASREPs up 40%...reflects both better manning and improved spare parts support.

Aircraft material readiness...Mission Capable (MC) and Full Mission Capable (FMC) rates...also up sharply since 1981...MC Rate up 17%, FMC up 50%...Gains for deployed front-line carrier-based aircraft still more impressive...MC up 24%...FMC up 65%.

MORE CAPABILITY FOR THE FUTURE

While achieving these impressive gains in Readiness and Sustainability we have taken care not to mortgage the Navy's future...Starting from 491 ships in FY 81 we have made solid progress in rebuilding our badly eroded maritime strength (Figure 7)...the 600 ship goal is in sight...will be reached in 1989...Numbers alone do not tell the whole story...New ships under contract will provide substantial increase in capability...two CVNs...9 AEGIS cruisers...7 Los Angeles class SSNs...3 Trident SSBNs...6 Oliver Hazard Perry class FFGs...34 support ships...Reactivation of third battleship underway...Procurement of new aircraft on schedule to match needs of 600-ship Navy...includes 375 new F-14, F/A-18 and long-awaited LAMPS III.

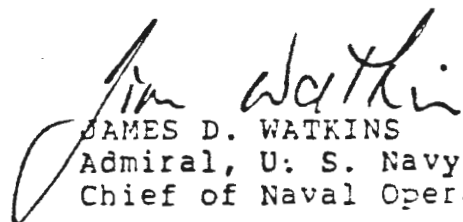
Capability of Naval Reserve is making equal strides...nine modern frigates transferred from the active force to replace aging destroyers...another 15 will be added by FY90...Reserves will assume critical role in Mine Warfare mission with addition of 25 new ships...MCMs, MSHs...Reserve airwings modernizing as well...transitioning to latest combat aircraft...F/A-18, F-14, E-2C, A-7E...Fast becoming a front-line outfit...with major responsibilities in executing the Maritime Strategy.

New weapons and sensors will improve capability of existing forces...improved PHOENIX, HARM, TOMAHAWK, TRIDENT (D-5), IIR MAVERICK, STANDARD MR-2 missiles, MK-48 advanced capability (ADCAP) torpedo...New Threat Upgrade for cruisers...Towed acoustic array...Air Cushion Landing Craft.

SUMMARY

That's the real story on Navy capability...a remarkable reversal of declining readiness trends in just three short years...improving weapons inventories, with additional stocks on the way...more spare parts at sea...ships and aircraft manned with more-experienced, better-trained people...new ships and aircraft with greatly-enhanced capabilities under construction...hardly the picture of a Navy unable to fight for more than one week!

I want you to tell our side of the story in response to the unwarranted criticism...to your staffs and crews...to the general public.


JAMES D. WATKINS
Admiral, U. S. Navy
Chief of Naval Operations

NAVY WARFIGHTING CAPABILITY

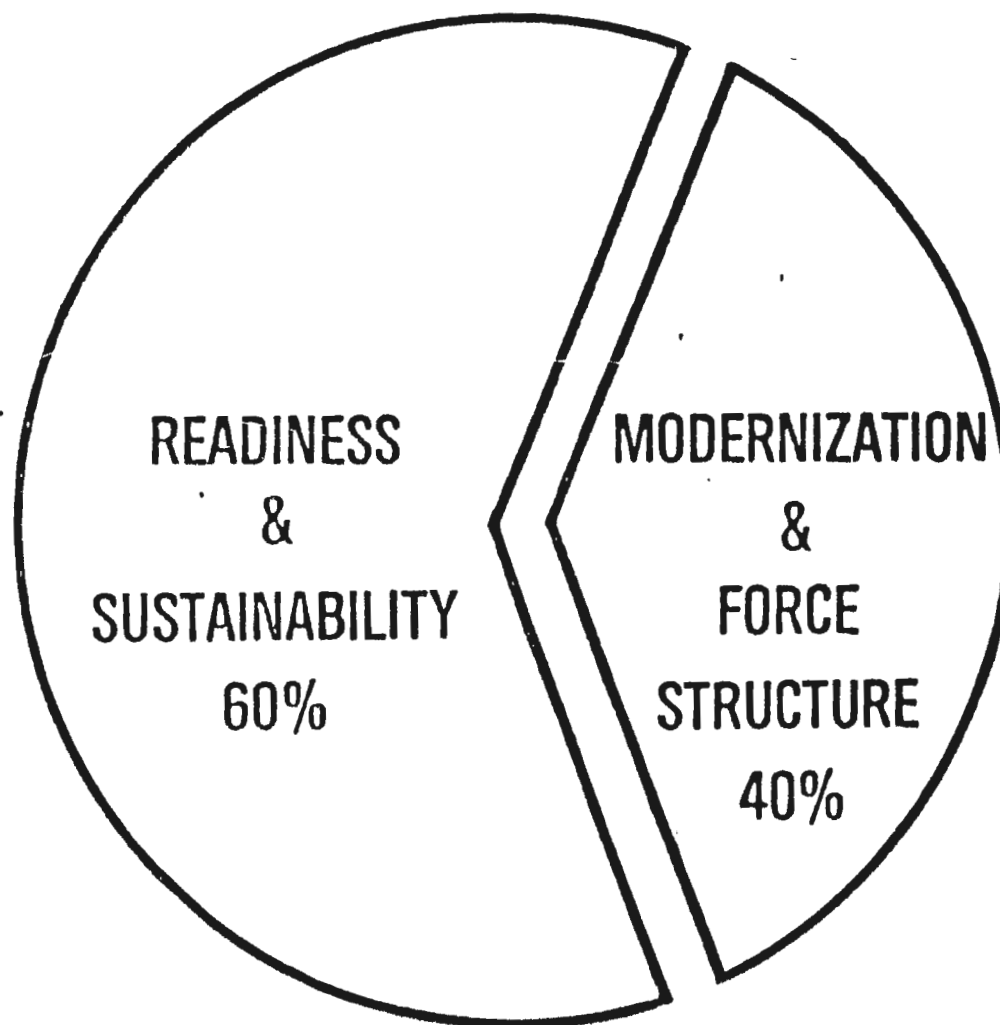
NAVY BUDGET A BALANCE OF PRIORITIES

READINESS

- PEOPLE
- FUEL
- SPARE PARTS
- TRAINING
- MAINTENANCE

SUSTAINABILITY

- NAVAL RESERVE
- WAR RESERVES
- MUNITIONS
- SPARE PARTS



MODERNIZATION

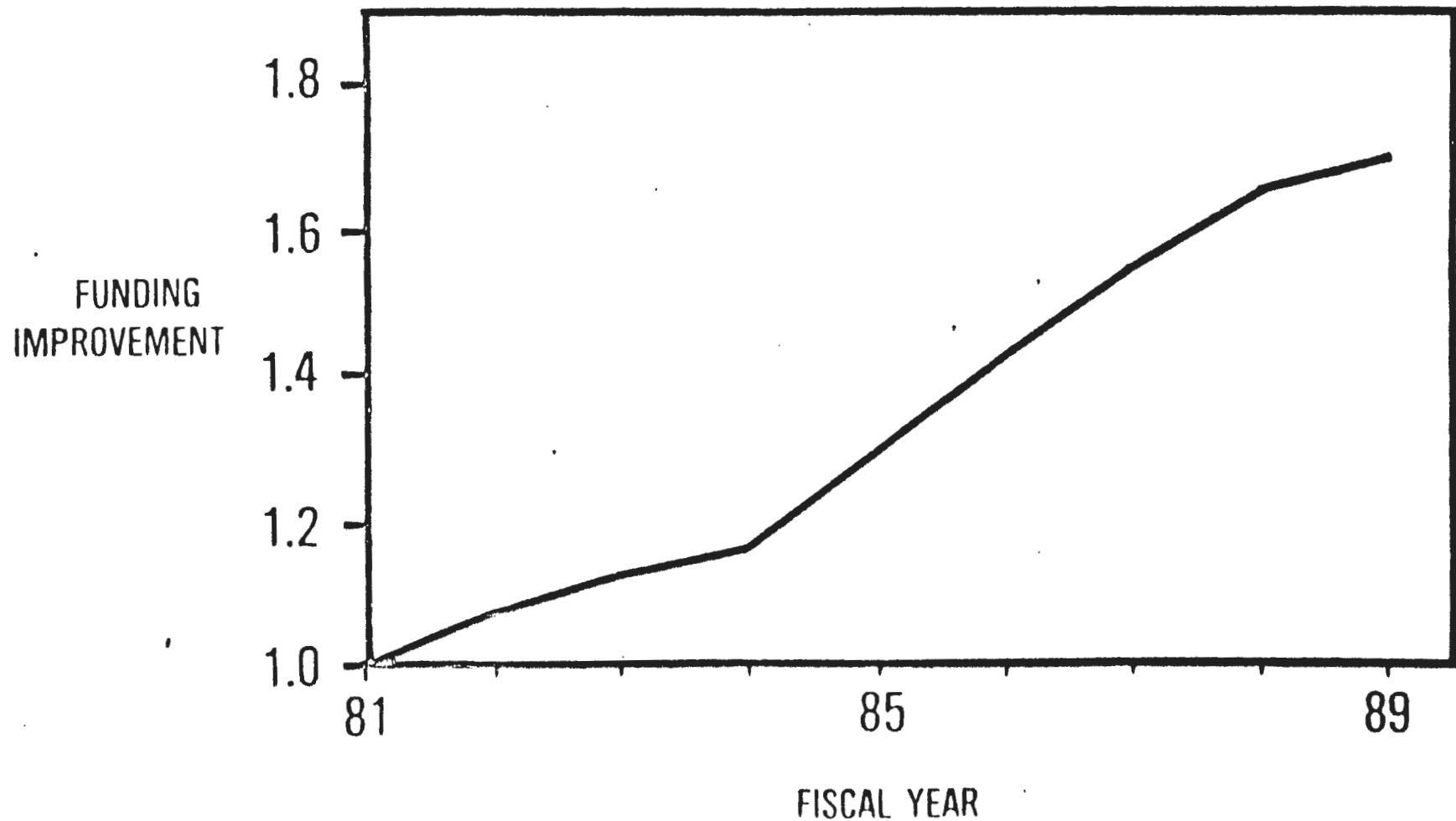
- RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT
- IMPROVEMENTS TO EXISTING FORCES

FORCE STRUCTURE

- NEW SHIPS
- NEW AIRCRAFT

FIGURE 1

BETTER FUNDING READINESS & SUSTAINABILITY



• FIGURE 2

MORE WEAPONS AT SEA

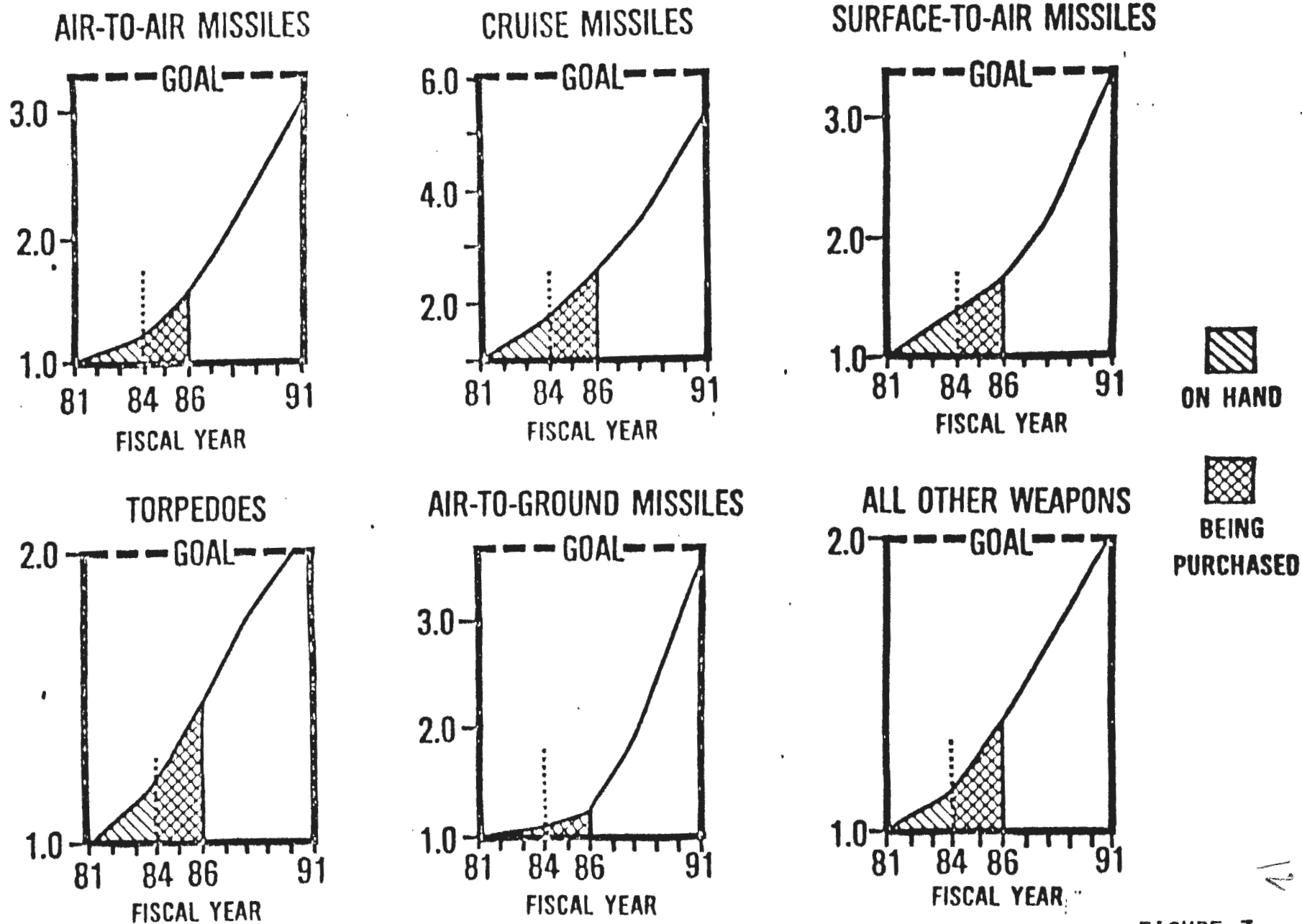


FIGURE 3

MORE SPARE PARTS AT SEA

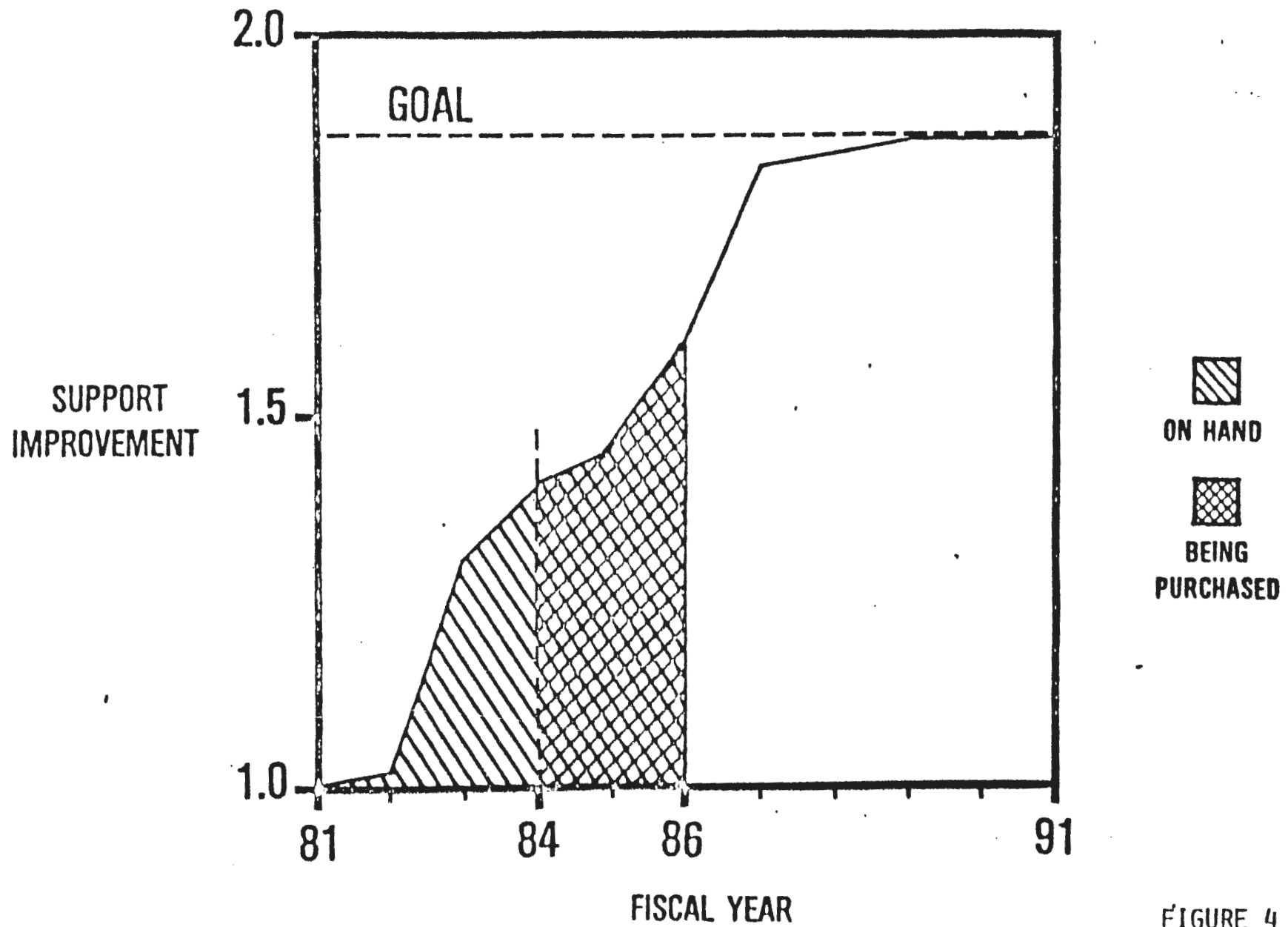


FIGURE 4

IMPROVED READINESS BETTER MANNING OF SHIPS & AIRCRAFT SQUADRONS

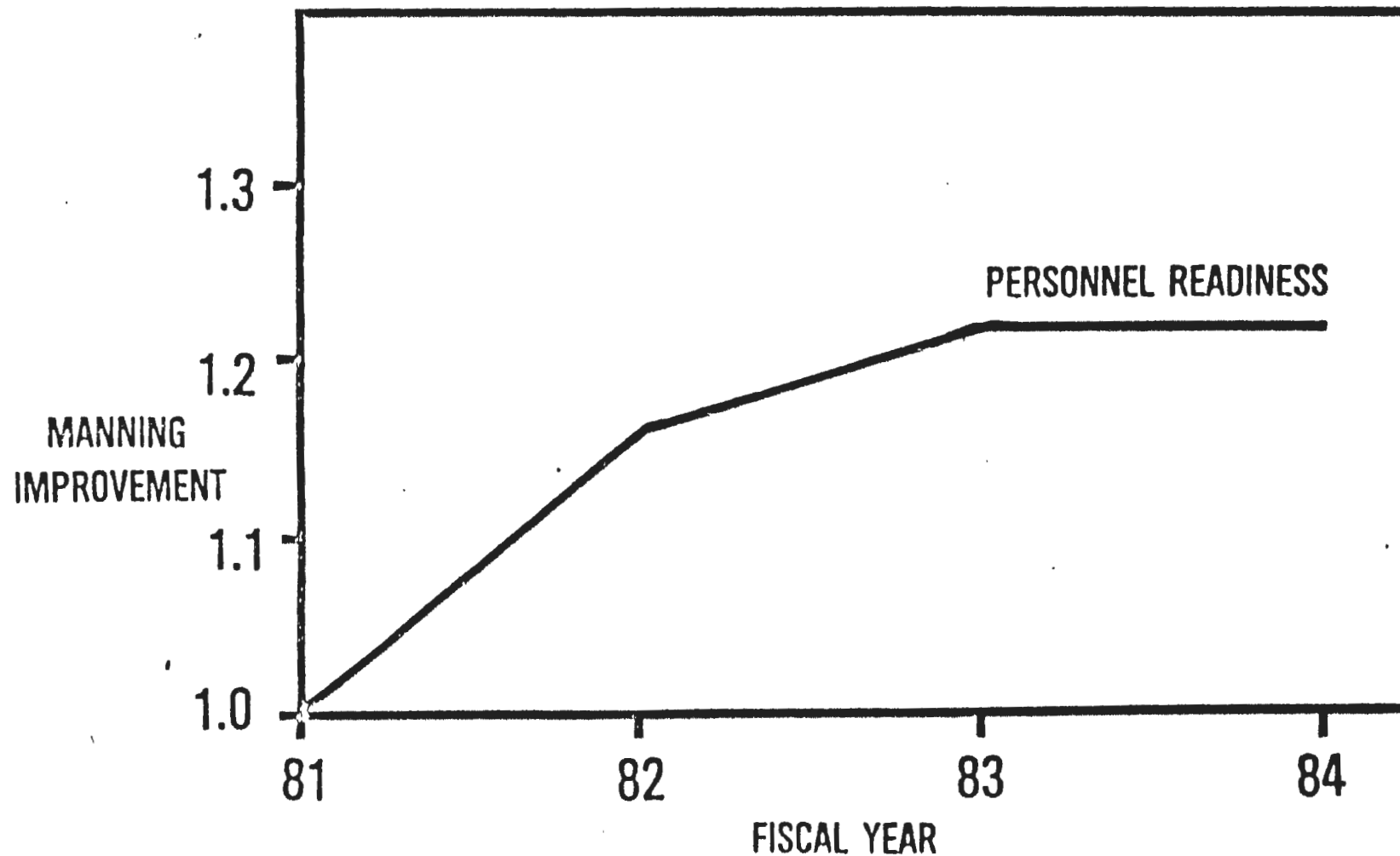


FIGURE 5

IMPROVED READINESS SHIPS & AIRCRAFT SQUADRONS

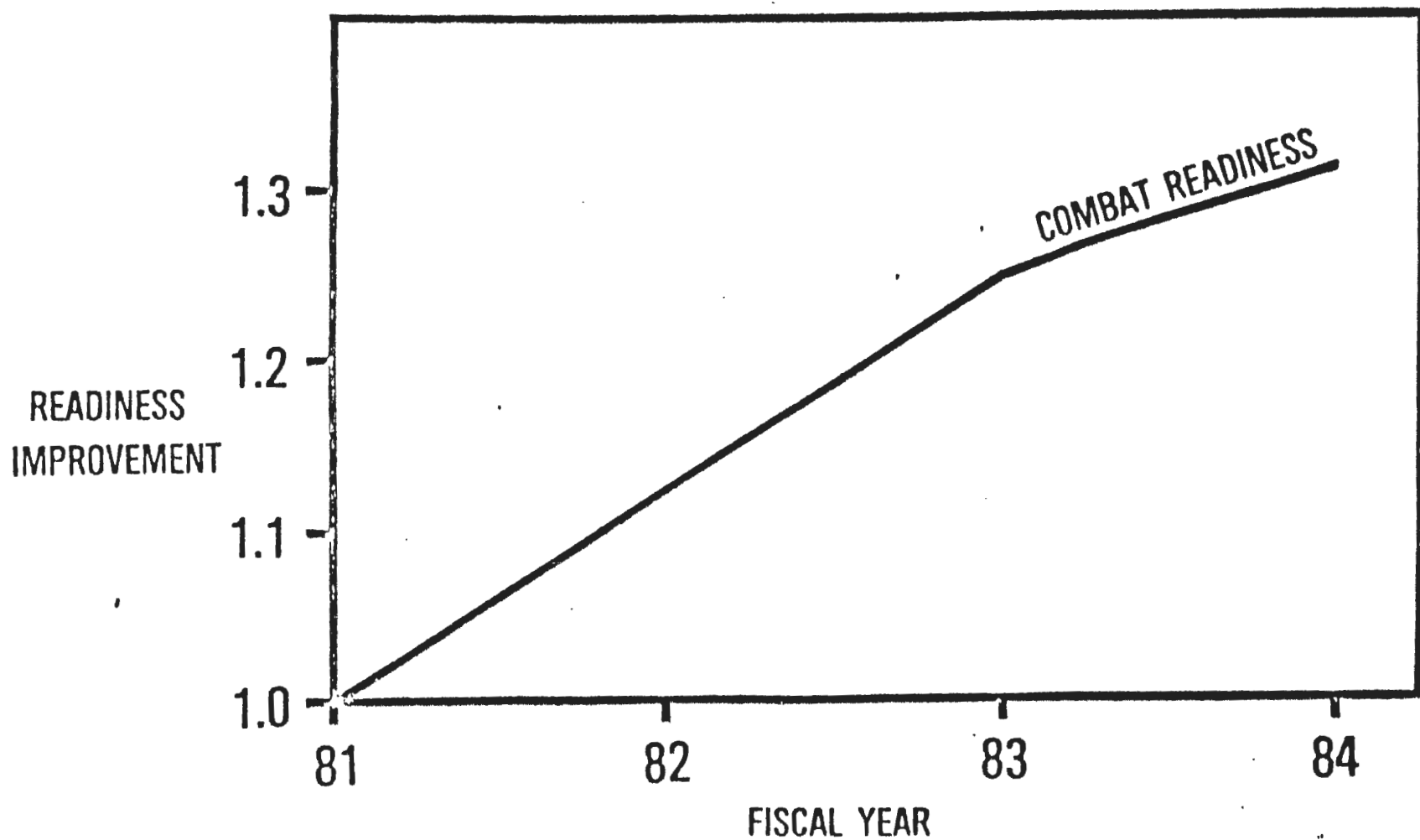


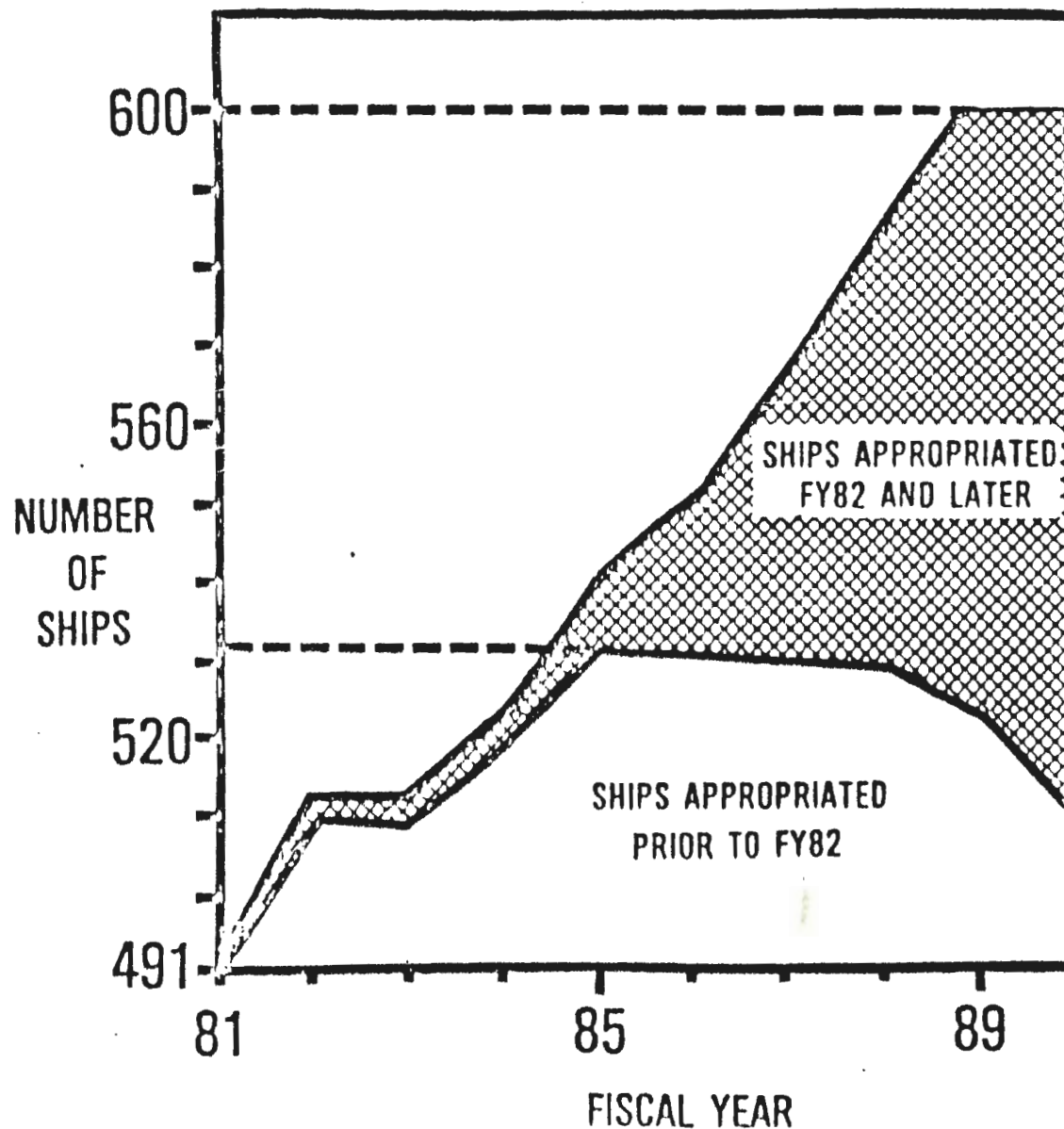
FIGURE 6

MORE CAPABILITY FOR THE FUTURE

BATTLE FORCES

FORCE STRUCTURE SHIPS & AIRCRAFT

- 2 AIRCRAFT CARRIERS
- 2 BATTLESHIPS
- 9 AEGIS CRUISERS
- 3 TRIDENT SUBS
- 7 ATTACK SUBS
- 6 FRIGATES
- 34 SUPPORT SHIPS
- 375 F-14, F/A-18, LAMPS III



MODERNIZATION WEAPONS & SENSORS

- AEGIS COMBAT SYSTEM
- IMPROVED PHOENIX MISSILE
- HARM MISSILE
- TOMAHAWK CRUISE MISSILE
- AIR CUSHION LANDING CRAFT
- TOWED ACOUSTIC ARRAY
- TRIDENT (D-5) MISSILE
- MISSILE DECOYS

FIGURE 7

✓

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ARMS CONTROL

1. How great is the chance of nuclear war today and what will you do to reduce the danger?
2. Are you unwilling to get involved, in complex arms control matters, learn the facts, make decisions, and tell your own people to get in line?
3. Are you certain that your Administration has a united policy on arms control?
4. Critics say your decision to deploy nuclear cruise missiles aboard submarines constitutes an escalation in the arms race, and the Soviets now say they will respond with similar deployments. Do you believe these deployments add to U.S. security?
5. In view of Soviet violations and of your position that SALT II is a fatally flawed agreement, why are you continuing to observe the treaty?
6. Do you believe any of the major, proposed arms control agreements with the Soviets can be verified? If so, which ones?
7. Why do you say that a nuclear freeze could not be verified?
8. How many nuclear warheads and launchers do we have and how many do the Soviets have, and how many warheads are being added on an average day by each side?
9. 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 happen better and aren't arms control agreements in everyone's interest?

US/SOVIET RELATIONS

10. What is the core of your policy toward the Soviet Union?
11. When would you hope to meet at the Summit with Mr. Chernenko, and would you initiate such a meeting if re-elected? What would you hope to achieve?
12. What prospects are there for some "practical steps" in a second Reagan term on the areas Mr. Chernenko cited: a no first use of nuclear agreement; an agreement to prevent militarization of outer space; a nuclear freeze; a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, and the ratification of the existing threshold test ban treaty; and peaceful nuclear explosion treaty?
13. Your proposal for a defensive shield to protect the U.S. against nuclear attack takes the arms race into the heavens, is -- according to Mr. Mondale -- going to cost a trillion dollars and will require abrogation of the ABM treaty. Why do you believe this Star Wars initiative adds to U.S. security?
14. Have you downplayed reports from your own Administration of Soviet treaty violations because of the election and because you now want to show some progress with the Soviets?
15. Do you think the Soviets have a favorite in our election, and if so, who and why?
16. What are the prospects for Eastern European countries to free themselves from Soviet domination. Are things changing there and how can we encourage this change?

DEFENSE

17. Do you believe our NATO allies and Japan shoulder a fair share of our common defense burden? If your answer is that our allies are not paying their fair share, what will you do to rectify the imbalance?
18. Would you expect to increase defense spending in a second term, since you didn't get all you asked for the first four years?
19. Are our armed forces ready for combat now, or do we need to do more to achieve readiness? If so, what should we do?
20. Why do we need a vulnerable heavy missile (M-X) and an expensive bomber (B-1) that will be obsolete almost as soon as it's operational -- why not put our resources on MIDGETMAN and STEALTH?
21. You talk about a 600-ship Navy, but isn't it true that only 3 of the ships currently in our Navy were part of Reagan defense budgets?
22. What are you doing about Pentagon mismanagement -- \$7000 coffee pots, etc.

CENTRAL AMERICA

23. What do you think the situation in Central America would be four years from now under your Administration?

24. Why does the U.S. seem to be pulling back from the Contadora peace process in Central America?

25. By supporting the Contras in Nicaragua, are we not encouraging more "irregular" warfare, morally tying ourselves into knots and becoming more and more like the countries we are struggling against?

26. The U.S. complained when Libya dropped mines in the Gulf. But we did that in Nicaragua. Isn't that the most infamous act of your Administration?

27. Congress and the media have found out about a CIA manual that tells the Contras in Nicaragua how to -- among others things -- assassinate people. Do you condone this kind of activity by the U.S. government, and isn't it just an indication of more and more illegal war-like activity in Central America?

28. You accepted responsibility for the tragedies in Beirut. Do you also accept responsibility for the CIA manual that encourages assassination in Nicaragua? If you aren't responsible, is Director Casey, and will you -- as Tip O'Neill suggested -- ask for his resignation?

MIDDLE EAST

29. Your opponent points out that you have a failed Middle East policy which has included the tragedy of the Beirut bombings. Do you have a Middle East policy?
30. Why haven't you taken a more decisive stand with Israel on West Bank settlements?
31. What went wrong in Lebanon and could we have gone about achieving our goal of a free and independent Lebanon more effectively? Could we, in particular, have avoided the tremendous loss of life there?
32. Did the Defense Department recommend withdrawing the Marines from Lebanon before the barracks bombing, and if so, why didn't you act on that recommendation?
33. Intelligence has pinpointed the attackers of our embassy in Beirut. Why haven't taken "swift and effective retribution" as you said you would have four years ago?
34. Do you still accuse your opponent of saying our Marines in Beirut died in shame?
35. Are there likely to be more major terrorist attacks against us overseas?
36. What makes your problems with terrorism in Lebanon any different than the problems in Iran that Mr. Carter had that you complained about in the 1980 campaign?
37. Why is the U.S. reluctant to take a mediator role between Israel, Syria and Lebanon to affect a pullout of the Israeli Army from South Lebanon. Aren't we abandoning our responsibilities?
38. Colonel Kaddafi of Libya and other Middle East radicals have mocked your efforts to combat terrorism. Isn't it time for your Administration to stop talking about terrorism and do something about it?

HUMAN RIGHTS

39. We say we are for democracy, but what should we do in countries like the Philippines where traditional allies are not following the path most people see as either democratic or in the best traditions of human rights?

40. Do you agree with George Bush that Marcos is a real democrat?

41. Defend your South African policy, please, particularly in view of the criticisms of it by Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS

42. Are you concerned about our enormous foreign trade deficit and if so what are you doing about it?

43. You claim to be for free trade and economic protectionism but your steel decision provides a great deal of protection to that industry, and there are other examples such as textiles, sugar, automobiles, motorcycles, even clothespins that show the Reagan Administration has interfered with foreign trade. How can you sing the praises of free enterprise and take these protectionist actions?

20

GENERAL

44. Did you ever say that missiles on submarines can be recalled if there has been a miscalculation, or that you were surprised to find that the Soviets have most of their nuclear forces in land-based missiles, or any of those other things Mr. Mondale has been bringing up to show that you are out of touch.? If not, why are there such reports?

45. Do you believe that your CIA has done everything possible to help determine whether or not there was a Bulgarian or Soviet connection to the assassination attempt on the Pope?

46. Wouldn't a more constructive diplomatic approach with Grenada's Maurice Bishop have averted the situation that required you to take military action there?

47. Do you contend that previous administrations participated in the dismantling of human or covert intelligence activities, and blame them in part for our inability to wipe out terrorism?

48. What question would you most like to ask your opponent?

49. What are your foreign policy priorities for the future?

50. Is America better off now than four years ago? Why?

51. Who can lead this country better and why?

52. What are your views on the Irish situation and why have you not used a special envoy to help solve the problem in Ireland?

53. Can you tell us what a Reagan Doctrine for foreign policy would be -- a definition of what your Administration hopes to accomplish in the world and how?

Ask this next

75
(Elliott)
October 16, 1984
5:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: OPENING STATEMENT FOR DEBATE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1984

I'll be pleased to answer that question in a moment. But, first let me put it in context. A President should do some basic things in foreign affairs. He should:

- Protect our freedom and preserve peace and a military balance at the lowest possible level.
- Negotiate peaceful solutions to disagreements.
- Maintain an open trading system and provide leadership for world economic growth.
- And, stand up for the ideals of democracy as the greatest force for human progress.

My opponent may share these goals. But our approaches are dramatically different -- and so are the results.

After 4 years of the Carter-Mondale Administration, our economy and our defenses were in shambles. My opponent could only wring his hands. We said that with your support and strong leadership, all of us could bring America back -- and we are.

Today, America is at peace. Our economy is in a powerful expansion leading the world into recovery. Our relations with our friends and allies are stronger. The endless chain of collapsing countries from Afghanistan to Nicaragua that my opponent watched helplessly has been stopped. A freedom tide is rising; respect for America is rising; and we're going to keep moving forward with peace and opportunity for your future.

My opponent will say he favors strength and a safer world, and I don't doubt his intentions. But I agree with his fellow Democrats. His vision is simply a rerun of the old, tired, and failed ideas he's supported all his political life -- inflationary spending, job-killing taxes, weakening our defenses, and unilateral concessions.

He left America weak; today he would make us weaker still. And weakness does not lead to peace; weakness leads to danger.

Now, let me move on to your question.

27
(Elliott/RGD)
October 18, 1984
9:00 a.m.

BEN
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CLOSING STATEMENT FOR DEBATE
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1984

I want to thank the members of the League this evening. My fellow Americans, ^{our} ~~let me try to put tonight's debate in~~ *No issue is more vital than preserving peace and freedom* perspective. ~~We do not claim to have remade the world.~~ But

compared to the world Mr. Mondale left us -- collapsing defenses and economy, loss of respect for America, and, everywhere, the Soviets pushing forward -- compared to that world we have a made great comeback. America is back on the map. ~~And let me say to you that~~ *And let me say to you that*

Now, my opponent would have you forget his legacy of record taxes, inflation, interest rates, and America second-best. But I think we should ask ourselves two questions.

First, what would he do differently in the economy today? Well, he's promised more, he'll spend more, and he'll raise your taxes much higher -- the equivalent of \$1,890 per household. He'd end the expansion, bring back malaise, and send our young people from the graduation line to the unemployment line.

Second, what would he do to make America stronger and more secure -- ~~he who blamed America for freeing Grenada, but didn't~~ *couldn't make up his mind about* *and is ready* ~~to reward~~ *blame* the Soviets for walking out of arms control talks? Who said the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan baffled him? And who had ~~the weakest defense voting record~~ *consistently voted for weakness* in the Senate? It's clear to me that he still has not learned that you cannot treat our adversaries like a special interest group -- give them everything they want and call it peace. Mr. Mondale's intentions may be good, but his policies made America weak before and would make us weaker today.

Four years ago, we said we could make ~~America~~ America great again if we'd just trust our dreams, courage, and love of freedom; and if we'd remember that progress begins not in Washington, D.C., but in our families, neighborhoods, workplaces, and voluntary groups across this land.

Well, our economy is stronger because we've cut your tax rates and the growth of Government. And our Nation is more secure because we're rebuilding our defenses and alliances to ensure peace through strength.

Today, thanks to all of you, our economy is in one piece and America is at peace. Today, the United States' expansion is leading the world into recovery -- and that contributes to peace. Respect for America, and confidence in America, are rising again -- and that contributes to peace. Unlike 4 years ago, the U.S. is deterring, the Soviets aren't advancing -- and that contributes to peace.

We've made a good start. But America can do better. We want to lower your tax rates further to create more jobs and opportunities for every American. We want to lower trade barriers to strengthen the world economy; and, yes, we want to reach a verifiable agreement with the Soviets to reduce the weapons of war, and, one day, eliminate nuclear weapons entirely.

Americans can reach for the stars, if we have the strength and vision to seize our opportunity. The tide of the future is a freedom tide.

Almost a quarter century ago, John Kennedy said that America had to get moving, for America was not meant to be second best. His vision of America was clear. And that is what this election

is really about. Call it "a beacon of hope," "a shining city on a hill," or as Kennedy did "a flame that can truly light the world" -- our vision of America must never be dimmed by clouds of despair. America is moving again. And if you believe, as I do, that this is no time to stop, I hope you'll give me your support -- so that together we can continue our work. We've only just begun. America's best days are yet to come.

Thank you and God bless you.

18 Oct

30

Bud

I suggest you read this.

The main point is that the (P) should take the offensive rather than wait for the "War in the Heavens" accusation. He should avoid defensive comments like

- it's only a research program, or
- it won't violate the ABM treaty.

He should seize the "defending America" theme:

- We have no defense against an ICBM/SLBM attack
- At a minimum, we must defend against an accidental launch or launch by a "crazy".

g'il

P.S. Please destroy this note.

HIGH FRONTIER BY B COAKLEY
1010 VERMONT AVE NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON DC 20005 15AM

Western Union Mailgram

OCT 1 6 1984

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HONORABLE ROBERT MCFARLANE
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT SDI WILL BE AN ISSUE IN 21ST DEBATE, HIGH FRONTIER AND OTHER POLES SHOW OVERWHELMING PUBLIC SUPPORT 3 OR 4 TO 1 FOR SPACE-BORNE NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSES AGAINST SOVIET MISSILES, WHEN THE QUESTION IS "REAGAN'S STAR WARS SCHEME" THE RESULTS ARE 2 TO 1 NEGATIVE.

THE PRESIDENT MUST FRAME THE QUESTION IN THE DEBATE, NOT WAITING FOR MONDALE OR A QUESTIONER TO POSE IT AS ARMS RACE IN SPACE OR STAR WARS, HE MUST CHALLENGE MONDALE FOR NOT SUPPORTING THE BEST HOPE FOR GETTING OFF THE NUCLEAR TREADMILL AND DETERRING NUCLEAR WAR WITH NON-NUCLEAR MEANS, MONDALE SHOULD BE EXPOSED AS FAVORING A PERPETUAL ADHERENCE TO MAD, WHAT IS "HIS" OPTION? MORE NUKES, ARMS CONTROL ONLY?

THESE POINTS SHOULD HELP:

1. FEASIBILITY OF ONE TECHNOLOGY DEMONSTRATED ON 10 JUNE, OTHERS ALSO POSSIBLE.
2. SDI, EVEN IMPERFECT, STRONGLY DETERS AND PREVENTS CATASTROPHE THROUGH ACCIDENTAL FIRING, (IF A FEW MISSILES ARE FIRED DOES MONDALE PREFER TO HAVE NO OPTIONS BEYOND BLOWING UP USSR OR LETTING MILLIONS OF AMERICANS DIE?)
3. LAST STRATEGIC SYSTEM MONDALE SUPPORTED WAS MX-RACETRACK.
4. IN ARMS CONTROL, WHY NOT NEGOTIATE FROM MUTUAL ASSURED SURVIVAL INSTEAD OF TRYING TO MAKE SURE WE HAVE EQUAL DESTRUCTIVE POWER IN SUPPORT OF MAD?
5. MONDALE'S PARTY OPPOSES EVEN INCREASED RESEARCH ON SDI IN CONGRESS.
6. COST AND TECHNICAL ARGUMENTS ALWAYS BASED ON 100 PERCENT PERFECT SYSTEM.
7. THE PRESIDENT MUST NOT GET DEFENSIVE AND PLEAD RESEARCH ONLY, OR NO DANGER TO ABM TREATY.

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR WESTERN UNION'S TOLL - FREE PHONE NUMBERS
I HAVE DEBATED THIS ISSUE FOR THE PAST 3 YEARS. I CAN HELP AND STAND.

PAGE 2

Western Union Mailgram



READY TO DO SO.
GENERAL DANIEL O GRAHAM
HIGH FRONTIER

09:47 EST

PM-HARRIS 10-18

BY DAVID LAWSKY

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- POLLSTER LOUIS HARRIS, CALLING SUNDAY'S PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE "HIGH NOON," PREDICTED TODAY THAT IF PRESIDENT REAGAN FALTERS AGAINST WALTER MONDALE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION MAY BE "UP FOR GRABS."

HARRIS, AT A BREAKFAST WITH REPORTERS, SAID HIS POLLING SHOWS THAT THREE IN EVERY FIVE PEOPLE HE SURVEYED BELIEVE MONDALE WON THE FIRST DEBATE, WHILE ONLY ONE IN FIVE BELIEVE REAGAN WON.

BUT 46 PERCENT EXPECT REAGAN TO WIN THE SECOND DEBATE IN KANSAS CITY, MO., SUNDAY WHILE ONLY 33 PERCENT BELIEVE MONDALE WILL WIN.

"PEOPLE BELIEVE REAGAN HAD AN OFF NIGHT," HARRIS SAID. "IF RONALD REAGAN LOSES THIS DEBATE HE IS IN DEEP TROUBLE."

HARRIS SAID THE FIRST DEBATE WAS A COLD BATH FOR PEOPLE WHO EXPECTED REAGAN TO WIN HANDS DOWN.

"REAGAN HAS TO WIN THAT DEBATE TO REGAIN MOMENTUM," SAID HARRIS. "IF HE COMES TO A DRAW THEY'LL SAY THEY DON'T KNOW WHY HE DIDN'T DO AS WELL AS THEY EXPECTED."

THAT, SAID HARRIS, COULD DISCOURAGE REAGAN SUPPORTERS AND KEEP THEM AWAY FROM THE POLLS. THAT WOULD THAT MEAN A LOW TURN-OUT, WHICH USUALLY HELPS OUT REPUBLICANS, WOULD BENEFIT DEMOCRATS THIS YEAR, HE SAID.

"I CAN'T THINK OF AN EVENT LIKE THIS IN MODERN POLITICAL HISTORY," HARRIS SAID OF THE DEBATE. "IT'S REALLY HIGH NOON. SURE, REAGAN'S AHEAD AND IF HE WINS (THE DEBATE) HE HAS PROBABLY WON THE ELECTION, BUT IF HE DOESN'T, THIS ELECTION COULD BE UP FOR GRABS AND IT COMES DOWN TO ONE 90-MINUTE PERIOD. IT'S FASCINATING."

HARRIS' NUMBERS SHOW MONDALE IS SLOWLY CLOSING THE GAP AGAINST REAGAN AND IS NOW NINE POINTS BEHIND HIM.

AT THIS POINT IN 1968 HUBERT HUMPHREY WAS NINE POINTS BEHIND RICHARD NIXON AND LOST THE ELECTION BY ONE POINT AND IN 1976 GERALD FORD WAS 11 POINTS BEHIND JIMMY CARTER AND LOST THE ELECTION BY TWO POINTS, HARRIS SAID.

MONDALE DOES BETTER IN HARRIS' POLL THAN IN MOST OTHERS, HARRIS SAID THAT IS BECAUSE MOST OTHER POLLSTERS ASSUME MORE YOUNG PEOPLE WILL VOTE THAN HE BELIEVES WILL TURN OUT AND BECAUSE THEY UNDERESTIMATE THE BLACK VOTE.

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ADVANCE FOR FRI PMs OCT 19

REAL DIFFERENCES ON ARMS RACE: WORLD AFFAIRS AT ISSUE SUNDAY

AN AP NEWS ANALYSIS

BY BARRY SCHNEID

AP DIPLOMATIC WRITER

WASHINGTON (AP) - PREDICTIONS: RONALD REAGAN WILL ACCUSE WALTER MONDALE ON SUNDAY NIGHT OF WEAKENING AMERICA.

PREDICTION: MONDALE WILL ACCUSE REAGAN OF BEING INCAPABLE OF DEALING WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

THEY FILLED THE AIR WITH JEANFALLS AS THEY WARMED UP FOR THE DEBATE ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL THIS WEEK.

IT WON'T BE A PRETTY SIGHT SUNDAY. THERE, IN LIVING COLOR, WILL BE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE FORMER VICE PRESIDENT IN MOST UNMANNERLY PERFORMANCES.

THE TELEVISION AUDIENCE IS GUARANTEED A GOOD TIME. IT'S ONLY 19 DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION AND THE RACE IS GETTING MESSY.

BUT LISTEN HARD. BEHIND THE ACCUSATIONS AND THE SHOW-BIZ TOUCHES ARE REAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES ON HOW THEY APPROACH WORLD AFFAIRS.

THE DEBATE COULD BE CRITICAL. IF MONDALE IS TO OVERCOME REAGAN'S BIG LEAD IN THE POLLS, HE WILL HAVE TO CATCH UP SOON.

CONVERSELY, IF REAGAN IS TO ERASE THE SETBACK HE SUFFERED IN THEIR FIRST DEBATE OVER ECONOMIC POLICY SUNDAY NIGHT IS HIS CHANCE TO DO IT.

RHETORIC ASIDE: THE CANDIDATES HAVE IMPORTANT POINTS TO MAKE.

REAGAN CLAIMS TO HAVE REBUILT AMERICAN DEFENSES AFTER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION "UNILATERALLY DISARMED." HE ASSIGNS A MAJOR SHARE OF THE BLAME TO MONDALE, WHO WAS VICE PRESIDENT.

ON WEDNESDAY, IN PALO ALTO, CALIF., MONDALE PREVIEWED THE REPLY HE IS apt TO GIVE WHEN THE PRESIDENT REPEATS THE CHARGE DURING THEIR DEBATE. IT'S THAT REAGAN HAS "A NAIVE AND PRIMITIVE NOTION OF NATIONAL STRENGTH."

FOR EXAMPLE, MONDALE OFFERED THE STATIONING OF MARINES IN LEBANON WITHOUT A CLEAR MISSION AND SPENDING \$25 BILLION ON A B-1 BOMBER THAT "THE SOVIETS HAVE SPENT 15 YEARS PREPARING TO SHOOT DOWN."

STRIPPING AWAY OVERSTATEMENT ON BOTH SIDES, THEY ARE TOUCHING ON MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS.

PRESIDENT CARTER'S GOAL WAS A 5 PERCENT BOOST IN DEFENSE SPENDING ANNUALLY. REAGAN AIMED FOR 7 PERCENT. MAJOR WEAPONS PROGRAMS WERE APPROVED IN THE CARTER YEARS, INCLUDING THE CONTROVERSIAL MX MISSILE. OTHERS, INCLUDING THE B-1 BOMBER, WERE NOT. IN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION NEW WEAPONS PROGRAMS GENERALLY GET A GREEN LIGHT.

THIS MEANS U.S. DEFENSES ARE GROWING, BUT SO IS THE BUDGET. SINCE THE SOVIETS ALSO KEEP BUILDING, IT'S HARD TO DETERMINE THE OVERALL EFFECT ON U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY.

ON WEDNESDAY, IN GLEN ELLYN, ILL., REAGAN SAID THE SALT II TREATY

*Red Tag
to Bud
McFarlane* 33
Sims

PREPARED BY

33K
"WAS LEGITIMIZING A CONTINUATION OF THE ARMS RACE."
SINCE CARTER SIGNED IT IN 1979, HE SAID, THE SOVIETS HAVE ADDED 31800 WARHEADS TO THEIR ARSENAL. HE REITERATED HIS CONTENTION THAT MOSCOW WILL NEGOTIATE ARMS REDUCTIONS "IF THEY SEE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO GO AS FAR AS IT HAS TO GO TO SEE THAT THEY DON'T STAY AHEAD OF US IN WEAPONS - THAT WE'RE AS STRONG AS THEY ARE."

MONDALÉ HAS ACCUSED REAGAN OF OPPOSING EVERY MAJOR ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED OVER THE LAST 25 YEARS UNDER DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS. CRITICIZING REAGAN'S PROGRAM FOR RESEARCH ON SPACE WEAPONS, HE SAYS THE PRESIDENT NOW WANTS TO "TURN THE HEAVENS INTO A BATTLEGROUND."

LAST SUNDAY, IN A PAID RADIO SPEECH, MONDALÉ SUMMARIZED REAGAN'S ARMS CONTROL POLICY THIS WAY: "IF THERE'S AN ARMS AGREEMENT, OPPOSE IT. IF THERE'S A DANGEROUS WEAPON, BUY IT. IF THE PENTAGON WANTS A BLANK CHECK, SIGN IT. IF THERE'S A CRUCIAL FACT, DON'T LEARN IT."

AGAIN, THE TWO CANDIDATES ARE ENGAGING IN THE HONORABLE CAMPAIGN PRACTICE OF CARICATURING EACH OTHER'S RECORD. BUT THEY ARE ALSO MAKING SOME VALID POINTS.

THE 1979 SALT TREATY WAS NEVER ADVERTISED AS THE LAST WORD IN ARMS CONTROL. IT WAS INTENDED TO SET THE STAGE FOR FURTHER ACCORDS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVIET UNION - AND THE UNITED STATES - HAVE ADDED TO THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS WITH LITTLE DIFFICULTY.

INDEED, REAGAN CAMPAIGNED AGAINST THE SALT II TREATY IN 1980 AS "FATALLY FLAWED," MUCH AS HE HAD OPPOSED EARLIER AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIETS. AFTER TAKING OFFICE, HOWEVER, HE PLEDGED NOT TO UNDERCUT ITS PROVISIONS PROVIDED THE SOVIETS BEHAVED. ALSO, THE START TREATY HE PROPOSED IN MAY 1982 WOULD CUT DEEPER INTO U.S. AND SOVIET STOCKPILES THAN ANY PREVIOUS ACCORD.

HOWEVER, REAGAN'S DEFENSE BUILDUP HAS NOT PROBDED THE SOVIETS INTO SEEKING AGREEMENTS. IN FACT, THE PRESIDENT'S PREDICTION THAT THEY WOULD NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY AFTER NEW U.S. MISSILES WERE DEPLOYED IN WESTERN EUROPE SIMPLY DID NOT PAN OUT. THE TALKS HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED FOR NEARLY A YEAR.

PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING ASPECT OF SUNDAY NIGHT'S DEBATE WILL BE MONDALÉ'S EFFORT TO PORTRAY REAGAN AS NOT BEING UP TO THE JOB OF MANAGING U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, AND THE PRESIDENT'S DEFENSE OF HIS PERFORMANCE OVER THE PAST 45 MONTHS.

"MR. REAGAN MAY THINK HE CAN RECALL A MISSILE THE WAY HE CAN ROLL A MOVIE REEL IN REVERSE, BUT IT JUST AIN'T SO," MONDALÉ TOLD CHEERING STUDENTS AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY THIS WEEK.

THAT'S GETTING PRETTY CLOSE TO LANFROONING THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE, AND THE VIEWERS, WHO TURN INTO VOTERS ON NOV. 5, COULD BE TURNED ON - OR OFF.

EDITOR'S NOTE: BARRY SCHNEID HAS COVERED FOREIGN AFFAIRS FOR THE ASSOCIATED PRESS SINCE 1973.

AP-NY-10-19-84 1025EDT

PRESERVATION COPY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1984

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MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT KIMMITT

FROM: ALLAN MYER *Aduly*
SUBJECT: DEBATE NOTES

The following formulations might prove useful during Sunday's debate. If you agree, you could pass it on to Bud for his use during the prep sessions.

° On not talking to Soviets: While you sat talking with the Soviets, they invaded Afghanistan, sent Cuban troops into Ethiopia, installed SS-20 missiles and pointed them at NATO, jailed Shcharansky and Bukovsky, exiled Sakharov, and constructed and violated existing arms agreements. Frankly, the security of the United States can't afford any more of your talking.

° On keeping America secure: You say that you're for a safe, secure America but your record shows very clearly where you stand. As a Senator you voted to kill or delay virtually every new strategic system. When it came to our conventional forces, you voted to pull more than half our forces out of Europe, you were against pay raises, you voted against new aircraft for the Navy, the Marines and the Air National Guard, and you wanted to cut funds for our transport aircraft.

If your votes had passed, America would barely have any defense, any real means to protect the peace. America can't afford your kind of security.

As part of the Carter-Mondale Administration, it was more of the same: cut navy ship-building in half, cancel the B-1, slow down the Trident submarine program, and keep military pay raises so low that service people had to get in food stamp lines. And now you're promising more of the same. As I said, the security of our nation can't afford that kind of protection.

(Khachigian/Elliott)

October 19, 1984

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: Closing Statement for Debate
Sunday, October 21, 1984

We Americans have much to be grateful for tonight -- for our right to vote, for the robust recovery we enjoy, and for finally bringing under control the punishing inflation of a few years back.

But more than anything else -- we are especially grateful because America is at peace. Keeping that peace and protecting it are the most sacred obligations I have.

So, tonight I appreciate this opportunity to reaffirm my commitment to reduce the weapons of war and, one day, eliminate nuclear weapons entirely.

Mr. Mondale and I have had sharp differences tonight. That's the very spirit of America. But after all the debate, the question facing you comes down to this: Do you really want to take America back to where it was four years ago? Do we want a return to weakness, vacillation, malaise and lack of respect? Only you can answer whether we go backwards with Mr. Mondale's weakness or forward together as the strong country we are and must continue to be.

Because of you, we have an economic expansion leading the world into recovery. We know that we can only be strong in the world if we have a vigorous economy at home. Respect for America and confidence in America are rising again -- and that contributes to peace. Unlike four years ago, the U.S. is deterring, the Soviets aren't advancing --and that clearly contributes to peace.

page 2

We've made a good start. But let's not talk simply of the past or the present. What this election is all about is the future -- one where we can create new jobs and opportunities for every American, strengthen the world economy and take our nation confidently into the next century.

A few years back, I was asked to write a letter for a time capsule to be opened 100 years later. I thought about it riding down the coast of California, looking at the blue Pacific out on one side and our coastal mountains on the other. I couldn't help but wonder if it was going to be as beautiful 100 years from now as it was on that bright summer day.

Let your own mind turn to that task for a moment -- writing for people 100 years from now who know all about us. We know nothing about them or the kind of world they will have.

Before long, I realized one challenge overrode all others because we live in a world where great powers have poised at each other horrible weapons of destruction.

Suddenly, it dawned on me -- those who live 100 years from now will know whether we met our challenge. Whether they have the freedoms we have known up until now will depend on what we do today. Will they look back with appreciation and say: "Thank God for those people who protected us from our loss of freedom, who kept us now 100 years later free, who kept our world from destroying itself."

That's still our challenge -- to keep ourselves strong, to keep ourselves free, and to preserve a world where 100 years from now they will thank us for what we did.

page 3

And now if you will permit me a personal word. , I am profoundly thankful for the opportunity you gave me to serve you. Your strength and courage have been an inspiration to me.

This country has been wonderful to me, and I want you to know that I seek re-election for one purpose only -- and that is to give back to America -- back to each of you -- what has been so generously given to me.

George Bush -- the finest and strongest Vice-President in our history -- and I have criss-crossed America this year. We've seen our children, bright-faced with all the hope that is in their eyes. Well, that's what this is all about. So much was given to us -- now, we have so much to pass on to them.

So tonight -- you young people watching and listening -- I want you to know how deeply I believe that America's best days lie ahead. You can do anything out there. You will fly as high as your own ability will take you, and we, here, are going to do everything in our power to keep you forever free and secure -- to keep America strong and, most important of all, to pass on to you a world at peace.

Thank you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Kansas City, Missouri)

For Immediate Release

October 21, 1984

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT REAGAN-BUSH RALLY

The Ballroom
Westin Crown Center Hotel
Kansas City, Missouri

6:22 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. It was good this afternoon to be able to say, "I'm going to Kansas City; Kansas City here I come." (Applause.)

The evening's festivities will soon begin. And I look forward to this debate. (Applause.) I relish the chance to talk about what divides our view of the world from my opponent's. We do see the world differently.

He represents a school of thought that sees things in terms of limits and endless accommodation. He loves big government, and trusts it more than he trusts the people. (Applause.) His America -- in his America, America is the victim -- flinching under the blows of history. Well, that's his vision, and we'll leave him to it. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years, four more years, four more years, four more years, four more years.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. Thank you. He has in his background some statements that he's made, showing his attitude with regard to the people; but, we stand for the America of the people. (Applause.) We have an honest faith in individuals. Our bias is toward the people and away from government. And we believe in encouraging growth and allowing the American people to unleash their daring.

We see in America a pride and power: powerful at home, powerful in the councils of the world, powerful in our ability to maintain the peace. Almost four years after we took office, our country is strong again. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: U.S.A., U.S.A., U.S.A., U.S.A.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes -- our aircraft fly again, and our ships can leave port.

MORE

We stand for something. And this is good for the world, it's good for the people, and it's good for the prospects of peace. (Applause.)

Now, my opponent says that he cares about arms control. And I share his concern. I share his concern, but what he may not know is that you can't treat an adversary like a special interest group. (Applause.) And you can't just give them everything they want, get a kiss and call it peace. (Applause.) You have to be strong --and -- if you are to successfully negotiate mutually beneficial agreements.

Now, my opponent says he cares about freedom. And I believe him. But then, he should be rejoicing that under our administration, not one square inch of soil has fallen to the communist control in these four years. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA, USA, USA, USA.

THE PRESIDENT: All right. In fact, one nation, Grenada, was actually liberated from a band of communist thugs. (Applause.) You know that exactly one year ago tonight, I directed our armed forces to proceed with planning to send our troops into Grenada. And they had 48 hours to put the plan together, and you know the result. I think that we are really ready. (Applause.)

And so, we can celebrate tonight as -- well, an evening for a celebration of freedom. My opponent, in his hunger to succeed this evening may try to deny some of the positions that he's long held on various questions. Well, he can change the tune, but he can't change the lyrics. (Applause.)

As a matter of fact, we remember the whole record and may hum a few bars later on. (Applause.) The American people believe in freedom and in the strength it takes to protect it. And so, we go to our work this evening knowing that all is not perfect in the world, but after almost four years of new leadership, much has improved.

MORE

AUDIENCE: Four more years, four more years, four more years, four more years.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we don't claim to have remade the world, but we've made it better and safer -- and safer than the world the Carter-Mondale administration left us. (Applause.) We have put America back on the map. (Applause.)

I'm going to do something I hadn't planned. I haven't told this story for a long time, but I want to. First of all, I want you to realize that our men and women in uniform -- and God bless them, I think they're the best we've ever had. (Applause.) These young people, they are the peacekeepers. That's their mission, to keep peace, not to make war.

But I have to tell you about this one young fellow. He's over with our forces on the East German frontier in Europe. And one of our ambassadors was up there on a trip visiting the troops, and all. And as he went back to his helicopter, this young trooper, 19 years old, followed him. And when he got there, the young trooper asked the ambassador if he thought he could get a message to me. Well, the ambassador allowed as how he could. That's what he's there for. (Laughter.)

But the young fellow then said -- drew himself up and said, "Mr. Ambassador, will you tell the President, we're proud to be here and we ain't scared of nothin'." (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: USA, USA, USA, USA, USA.

THE PRESIDENT: USA forever. Yes. (Applause.)

Thank you all. Thank you all for being here. God bless you all. And I guess now I've got to go to work. (Applause.)

AUDIENCE: Four more years, four more years, four more years.

END

6:31 P.M. CDT

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Kansas City, Missouri)

For Immediate Release

October 21, 1984

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
1984 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND
FORMER VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE

Kansas City Convention Center
Kansas City, Missouri

7:01 P.M. CDT

MS. RIDINGS: Good evening from the Municipal Auditorium in Kansas City. I am Dorothy Ridings, the President of the League of Women Voters, the sponsor of this final presidential debate of the 1984 campaign between Republican, Ronald Reagan and Democrat Walter Mondale.

Our panelists for tonight's debate on defense and foreign policy issues are Georgie Ann Geyer, syndicated columnist for Universal Press Syndicate, Marvin Kalb, chief diplomatic correspondent for NBC news, Morton Kondrake, executive editor of New Republic magazine, and Henry Trewitt, diplomatic correspondent for The Baltimore Sun. Edwin Newman, formerly of NBC news and now a syndicated columnist for King Features, is our moderator.

Ed?

MR. NEWMAN: Dorothy Ridings, thank you. A brief word about our procedure tonight. The first question will go to Mr. Mondale. He'll have two and a half minutes to reply. Then the panel member who put the question will ask a follow up. The answer to that will be limited to one minute.

After that, the same question will be put to President Reagan. Again, there will be a follow up. And then each man will have one minute for rebuttal.

The second question will go to President Reagan first. After that, the alternating will continue. At the end there will be four minute summations, with President Reagan going last.

We have asked the questioners to be brief. Let's begin. Ms. Geyer, your question to Mr. Mondale.

Q Mr. Mondale, two related questions on the crucial issue of Central America. You and the Democratic party have said that the only policy toward the horrendous civil wars in Central America should be on the economic development and negotiations, with perhaps a quarantine of Marxist Nicaragua. Do you believe that these answers would, in any way, solve the bitter conflicts there? Do you really believe that there is no need to resort to force at all? Are not the solutions to Central America's gnawing problems simply again too weak and too late?

MR. MONDALE: I believe that the question oversimplifies the difficulties of what we must do in Central America. Our objectives ought to be to strengthen the democracies, to stop communist and other extremist influences, and stabilize the community

MORE

in that area. To do that, we need a three-pronged attack. One is military assistance to our friends who are being pressured. Secondly, a strong and sophisticated economic aid program and human rights program that offers a better life and a sharper alternative to the alternative offered by the totalitarians who oppose us. And finally, a strong diplomatic effort that pursues the possibilities of peace in the area.

That's one of the big disagreements that we have with the President -- that they have not pursued the diplomatic opportunities either within El Salvador or as between the countries, and have lost time during which we might have been able to achieve a peace.

This brings up the whole question of what Presidential leadership is all about. I think the lesson in Central America, this recent embarrassment in Nicaragua where we are giving instructions for hired assassins, hiring criminals, and the rest -- all of this has strengthened our opponents.

A President must not only assure that we're tough, but we must also be wise and smart in the exercise of that power. We saw the same thing in Lebanon, where we spent a good deal of America's assets, but because the leadership of this government did not pursue wise policies, we have been humiliated and our opponents are stronger.

The bottom line of national strength is that the President must be in command, he must lead. And when a President doesn't know that submarine missiles are recallable, says that 70 percent of our strategic forces are conventional, discovers three years into his administration that our arms control efforts have failed because he didn't know that most Soviet missiles were on land -- these are things a President must know to command.

A President is called the Commander-in-Chief. And he's called that because he's supposed to be in charge of the facts and run our government and strengthen our nation.

Q Mr. Mondale, if I could broaden the question just a little bit -- since World War II, every conflict that we as Americans have been involved with has been in non-conventional or irregular terms. And yet, we keep fighting in conventional or traditional terms -- military terms.

The Central American wars are very much in the same pattern as China, as Lebanon, as Iran, as Cuba in the early days. Do you see any possibility that we are going to realize the change in warfare in our time, or react to it in those terms?

MR. MONDALE: We absolutely must, which is why I responded to your first question the way I did. It's more -- much more complex. You must understand the region. You must understand the politics in the area. You must provide a strong alternative, and you must show strength -- and all at the same time.

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That's why I object to the covert action in Nicaragua. That's a classic example of a strategy that's embarrassed us, strengthened our opposition and undermined the moral authority of our people -- and our country in the region. Strength required knowledge, command. We've seen in the Nicaraguan example a policy that has actually hurt us, strengthened our opposition and undermined the moral authority of our country in that region.

Q Mr. President, in the last few months it has seemed more and more that your policies in Central America were beginning to work, yet just at this moment we are confronted with the extraordinary story of the CIA guerrilla manual or the anti-Sandinistas Contras whom we are backing, which advocates not only assassinations of Sandinistas, but the hiring of criminals to assassinate the guerrillas we are supporting in order to create martyrs. Is this not in effect our own state-supported terrorism?

THE PRESIDENT: No, but I'm glad you asked that question because I know it's on many peoples minds. I have ordered an investigation. I know that the CIA is already going forward with one. We have a gentleman down in Nicaragua who is on contract with the CIA advising supposedly on military tactics, the Contras. And he drew up this manual. It was turned over to the agency head in the CIA in Nicaragua to be printed and a number of pages were excised by that agency head there, the man in charge, and he sent it on up here to CIA where more pages were excised before it was printed. But some way or another there were 12 of the original copies that got out down there and were not submitted for this printing process by the CIA. Now those are the details as we have them. And as soon as we have an investigation and find out where any blame lies for the few that did not get excised or changed, we certainly are going to do something about that. We'll take the proper action at the proper time.

I was very interested to hear about Central America and our process down there and I thought for a moment that instead of a debate, I was going to find Mr. Mondale in complete agreement with what we're doing, because the plan that he has outlined is the one we've been following for quite some time, including diplomatic processes throughout Central America and working closely with the Contadora group. So, I can only tell you about the manual -- that we're not in the habit of assigning guilt before there has been proper evidence produced and proof of that guilt, but if guilt is established -- whoever is guilty, we will treat with that situation then and they will be removed.

Q Mr. President, you are implying then that the CIA in Nicaragua is directing the Contras there. I'd also like to

ask whether having the CIA investigate its own manual, in such a sensitive area, is not sort of like sending the fox into the chicken coop a second time.

THE PRESIDENT: I'm afraid I misspoke when I said a CIA head in Nicaragua. There's not someone there directing all of this activity. There are, as you know, CIA men stationed in other countries in the world, and certainly in Central America. And so it was a man down there in that area that this was delivered to, and he recognized that what was in that manual was in direct contravention of my own Executive Order in December of 1981, that we would have nothing to do with regard to political assassinations.

Q Mr. Mondale, your rebuttal.

MR. MONDALE: What is a President charged with doing when he takes his Oath of Office? He raises his right hand and takes an Oath of Office to take care, to faithfully execute the laws of the land. A President can't know everything; but a President has to know those things that are essential to his leadership and the enforcement of our laws.

This manual, several thousands of which was produced, was distributed ordering political assassinations, hiring of criminals and other forms of terrorism. Some of it was excised; but the part dealing with political terrorism was continued. How can this happen? How can something this serious occur in an administration and have a President of the United States in a situation like this say he didn't. A President must know these things. I don't know which is worse, not knowing or knowing and not stopping it.

And what about the mining of the harbors in Nicaragua, which violated international law? This has hurt this country; and a President's supposed to command.

Q Mr. President, your rebuttal.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I have so many things there to respond to, I'm going to pick out something you said earlier. You've been all over the country repeating something, that I will admit the press has also been repeating, that I believed that nuclear missiles could be fired and then called back. I never, ever conceived of such a thing. I never said any such thing.

In a discussion of our strategic arms negotiations, I said that submarines carrying missiles and airplanes carrying missiles were more conventional-type weapons, not as destabilizing as the land-based missiles, and that they were also weapons that -- or carriers -- that if they were sent out and there was a change, you could call them back before they had launched their missiles. But I hope that from here on you will no longer be saying that particular thing, which is absolutely false. How anyone could think that any sane person would believe you could call back a nuclear missile, I think is as ridiculous as the whole concept has been. So, thank you for giving me a chance to straighten the record. I'm sure that you appreciate that. (Laughter.)

Q Mr. Kalb, your question to President Reagan.

Q Mr. President, you have often described the Soviet Union as a powerful, evil empire intent on world domination. But this year, you have said, and I quote, "If they want to keep their Mickey Mouse system, that's okay with me." Which is it, Mr. President? Do you want to contain them within their present borders and perhaps try to reestablish detente -- or what goes for detente -- or do you really want to roll back their empire?

THE PRESIDENT: I have said on a number of occasions

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exactly what I believe about the Soviet Union. I retract nothing that I have said. I believe that many of the things they have done are evil in any concept of morality that we have. But I also recognize that as the two great super powers in the world, we have to live with each other. And I told Mr. Gromyko, we don't like their system. They don't like ours. And we're not going to change their system. And they sure better not try to change ours.

But between us, we can either destroy the world or we can save it. And I suggested that certainly it was to their common interest, along with ours, to avoid a conflict and to attempt to save the world and remove the nuclear weapons. And I think that perhaps we established a little better understanding.

I think that in dealing with the Soviet Union one has to be realistic. I know that Mr. Mondale, in the past, has made statements as if they were just people like ourselves; and if we were kind and good and did something nice, they would respond accordingly. And the result was unilateral disarmament. We cancelled the B-1 under the previous administration. What did we get for it? Nothing.

The Soviet Union has been engaged in the biggest military buildup in the history of man at the same time that we tried the policy of unilateral disarmament, of weakness, if you will. And now, we are putting up a defense of our own. And I've made it very plain to them, we seek no superiority. We simply are going to provide a deterrent so that it will be too costly for them, if they are nursing any ideas of aggression against us. Now, they claim they're not. And I made it plain to them, we're not. But this -- there's been no change in my attitude at all. I just thought when I came into office it was time that there was some realistic talk to and about the Soviet Union. And we did get their attention.

Q Mr. President, perhaps the other side of the coin, a related question, sir. Since World War II, the vital interests of the United States have always been defined by treaty commitments and by Presidential Proclamations. Aside from what is obvious, such as NATO, for example, which countries, which

regions in the world do you regard as vital national interests of this country, meaning that you would send American troops to fight there if they were in danger?

THE PRESIDENT: Ah, well, now, you've added a hypothetical there at the end, Mr. Kalb, about that -- where we would send troops in to fight. I'm not going to make the decision as to what the tactics could be. But, obviously, there are a number of areas in the world that are of importance to us. One of them is the Middle East, and that is of interest to the whole Western world and the industrialized nations, because of the great supply of energy on which so many depend there.

The -- our neighbors, here in America are vital to us. We're working right now in trying to be of help in Southern Africa with regard to the independence of Namibia and the removal of the Cuban surrogates, the thousands of them, from Angola.

So, I can say there are a great many interests. I believe that we have a great interest in the Pacific Basin. That is where I think the future of the world lies. But I am not going to pick out one, and hypothetically say we're going to send troops there. I don't want to send troops anywhere.

Q I'm sorry, Mr. President. Sir, your time was up.

Q Mr. Mondale, you have described the Soviet leaders as, and I'm quoting, "... cynical, ruthless, and dangerous," suggesting an almost total lack of trust in them. In that case, what makes you think that the annual summit meetings with them, that you've proposed, will result in agreements that would satisfy the interests of this country?

MR. MONDALE: Because the only type of agreements to reach with the Soviet Union are the types that are specifically defined so we know exactly what they must do; subject to full verification, which means we know every day whether they're living up to it, and follow-ups wherever we find suggestions that they're violating it; and the strongest possible terms.

I have no illusions about the Soviet Union leadership or the nature of that state. They are a tough and ruthless adversary. And we must be prepared to meet that challenge; and I would. Where I part with the President, is that, despite all of those difference, we must, as past Presidents before this one have done, meet on the common ground of survival. And that's where the President has opposed practically every arms control agreement by every President of both political parties, since the bomb went off.

He now completes this term with no progress toward arms control at all, but with a very dangerous arms race underway instead. There are now over 2,000 more warheads pointed at us today than there were when he was sworn in; and that does not strengthen us.

We must be very, very realistic in the nature of that leadership, but we must grind away and talk to find ways of reducing these differences, particularly where arms races are concerned and other dangerous exercises of Soviet power.

There will be no unilateral disarmament under my administration. I will keep this nation strong. I understand exactly what the Soviets are up to; but that, too, is a part of national strength. To do that, a President must know what is essential to command and to leadership and to strength.

And that's where the President's failure to master, in my opinion, the essential elements of arms control, has cost us dearly. He's four years -- three years into this administration -- he said he just discovered that most Soviet missiles are on land, and that's why his proposal didn't work.

I invite the American people tomorrow, because I will issue the statement quoting President Reagan. He said exactly what I said he said. He said that these missiles were less dangerous than ballistic missiles because you can fire them, and you can recall them if you decided there's been a miscalculation. The President must know those things.

Q A related question, Mr. Mondale, on Eastern Europe. Do you accept the conventional diplomatic wisdom that Eastern Europe is a Soviet sphere of influence? And if you do, what could a Mondale administration realistically do to help the people of Eastern Europe achieve the human rights that were guaranteed to them as a result of the Helsinki Accords?

MR. MONDALE: I think the essential strategy of the United States ought not accept any Soviet control over Eastern Europe. We ought to deal with each of these countries separately. We ought to pursue strategies with each of them, economic and the rest, that help them pull away from their dependence upon the Soviet Union. Where the Soviet Union has acted irresponsibly, as they have in many of those countries -- especially recently in Poland -- I believe we ought to insist that Western credits extended to the Soviet Union bear the market rate. Make the Soviets pay for their irresponsibility. That is a very important objective -- to make certain that we continue to look forward to progress toward greater independence by these nations, and work with each of them separately.

Q Mr. President, your rebuttal?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I'm not going to continue trying to respond to these repetitions of the falsehoods that have already been stated here. But, with regard to whether Mr. Mondale would be strong, as he said he would be -- I know that he has a commercial out where he's appearing on the deck of the Nimitz and watching the F-14s take off, and that's an image of strength. Except that, if he had had his way when the Nimitz was being planned, he would have been deep in the water out there, because there wouldn't have been any Nimitz to stand on -- he was against it. (Laughter.)

He was against the F-14 fighter, he was against the M-1 tank, he was against the B-1 bomber, he wanted to cut the salary of the -- of all of the military, he wanted to bring home half of the American forces in Europe; and he has a record of weakness with regard to our national defense that is second to none --

AUDIENCE: Here, here --

THE PRESIDENT: He was on that side virtually throughout all his years in the Senate, and he opposed even President Carter when toward the end of his term, President Carter wanted to increase the defense budget.

Q Mr. Mondale, your rebuttal.

MR. MONDALE: Mr. President, I accept your commitment to peace. But I want you to accept my commitment to a strong national defense. (Applause.) I propose a budget -- I have proposed a budget which would increase our nation's strength by -- in real terms, by double that of the Soviet Union. I'll tell you where we disagree.

It is true, over ten years ago, I voted to delay production of the F-14, and I'll tell you why. The plane wasn't flying the way it was supposed to be, it was a waste of money.

Your definition of national strength is to throw money at the Defense Department. My definition of national strength is to make certain that a dollar spent buys us a dollar's worth of defense. There's a big difference between the two of us.

A President must manage that budget. I will keep us strong. But you'll not do that unless you command that budget and make certain we get the strength we need. You pay \$500 for a \$5 hammer, you're not buying strength.

Q I would ask the audience not to applaud. All it does is take up time that we would like to devote to the debate.

Mr. Kondracke, your question to Mr. Mondale.

Q Mr. Mondale, in an address earlier this year, you said that before this country resorts to military force -- and I'm quoting -- "American interests should be sharply defined, publicly supported, Congressionally sanctioned, militarily feasible, internationally defensible, open to independent scrutiny, and alert to regional history." Now, aren't you setting up such a gauntlet of tests here that adversaries could easily suspect that as President you would never use force to protect America interests?

MR. MONDALE: No. As a matter of fact, I believe every one of those standards is essential to the exercise of power by this country. And we can see that in both Lebanon and in Central America.

In Lebanon, this President exercised American power, all right. But the management of it was such that our Marines were killed, we had to leave in humiliation, the Soviet Union became stronger, terrorists became emboldened. And it because they did not think through how power should be exercised, did not have the American public with them on a plan that worked, that we ended up the way we did.

Similarly, in Central America, what we're doing in Nicaragua, with this covert war, which the Congress, including many Republicans, have tried to stop, is finally end up with a public definition of American power that hurts us; where we get associated with political assassins and the rest. We have to decline for the first time in modern history, jurisdiction in the World Court because they'll find us guilty of illegal action. And our enemies are strengthened from all of this.

We need to be strong, we need to be prepared to use that strength. But we must understand that we are a democracy. We are a government by the people, and when we move it should be for very severe and extreme reasons that serve our national interests and end up with a stronger country behind us. It is only in that way that we can persevere.

Q You've been quoted as saying that you might

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quarantine Nicaragua. I'd like to know what that means. Would you stop Soviet ships, as President Kennedy did in 1962, and wouldn't that be more dangerous than President Reagan's covert war?

MR. MONDALE: What I'm referring to there is the mutual self-defense provisions that exist in the Inter-American Treaty, so-called Real Pact, that permits the nations, our friends in that region, to combine to take steps -- diplomatic and otherwise -- to prevent Nicaragua, when she acts irresponsibly in asserting power in other parts outside of her border, to take those steps, whatever they might be, to stop it.

The Nicaraguans must know that it is the policy of our government that those -- that that leadership must stay behind the boundaries of their nation, not interfere in other nations. And by working with all of the nations in the region -- unlike the policies of this administration and unlike the President said, -- they have not supported negotiations in that region. We will be much stronger because we'll have the moral authority that goes with those efforts.

Q President Reagan, you introduced U.S. forces into Lebanon as neutral peacekeepers, but then you made them combatants on the side of the Lebanese government. Eventually, you were forced to withdraw them under fire, and now Syria, a Soviet ally, is dominant in the country. Doesn't Lebanon represent a major failure on the part of your administration and raise serious questions about your capacity as a foreign policy strategist and as Commander-in-Chief?

THE PRESIDENT: No, Morton, I don't agree to those things. First of all, when we and our allies -- the Italians, the French, and the United Kingdom -- went into Lebanon, we went in there at the request of what was left of the Lebanese government to be a stabilizing force while they tried to establish a government.

But the first -- pardon me -- the first time we went in, we went in at their request because the war was going on right in Beirut between Israel and the PLO terrorists. Israel could not be blamed for that. Those terrorists had been violating their northern border consistently. And Israel chased them all the way to there.

Then we went in -- the multinational force -- to help remove, and did remove, more than 13,000 of those terrorists from Lebanon. We departed. And then the government of Lebanon asked us back in as a stabilizing force as while they established a government and sought to get the foreign forces all the way out of Lebanon and that they could then take care of their own borders.

And we were succeeding. We were there for the better part of a year. Our position happened to be at the airport. Oh, there were occasional snipings and sometimes some artillery fire. But we did not

engage in conflict that was out of line with our mission. I will never send troops anywhere on a mission of that kind without telling them that if somebody shoots at them, they can darn well shoot back. And this is what we did. We never initiated any kind of action, we defended ourselves there. But we were succeeding to the point that the Lebanese government had been organized -- if you will remember there were the meetings in Geneva in which they began to meet with the hostile factional forces and try to put together some kind of a peace plan. We were succeeding and that was why the terrorist acts began. There are forces there, and that includes Syria in my mind, who don't want us to succeed, who don't want that kind of a peace with a dominant Lebanon, dominant over its own territory. And so the terrorist acts began that lead to the one great tragedy when they were killed in that suicide bombing of the building. Then the multilateral force withdrew for only one reason -- we withdrew because we were no longer able to carry out the mission for which we had been sent in. But we went in in the interest of peace and to keep Israel and Syria from getting into the sixth war between them. And I have no apologies for our going on a peace mission.

Q Mr. President, four years ago you criticized President Carter for ignoring ample warnings that our diplomats in Iran might be taken hostage. Haven't you done exactly the same thing in Lebanon, not once, but three times, with 300 Americans, not hostages, but dead? And you vowed swift retaliation against terrorists, but doesn't our lack of response suggest that you're just bluffing?

THE PRESIDENT: Morton, no. I think there's a great difference between the government of Iran threatening our diplomatic personnel and there is a government that you can see and can put your hand on. In the terrorist situation, there are terrorist factions all over -- in the recent 30 day period, 37 terrorist acts in 20 countries have been committed. The most recent has been the one in Brighton. In dealing with terrorists, yes, we want to retaliate, but only if we can put our finger on the people responsible and not endanger the lives of innocent civilians there in the various communities and in the city of Beirut where these terrorists are operating. I have just signed legislation to add to our ability, to deal along with our allies with this terrorist problem and it's going to take all the nations together, just as when we banded together, we pretty much resolved the whole problem of skyjackings sometime ago.

Well, the red light went on. I could have gone on forever.

Q Mr. Mondale, your rebuttal?

MR. MONDALE: Groucho Marx said, "Who do you believe? Me, or your own eyes?" And what we have in Lebanon is something that the American people have seen. The joint chiefs urged the President not to put our troops in that barracks because they were undefensable. They went to him five days before they were killed and said, "Please, take them out of there". The Secretary of State admitted that this morning. He did not do so. The report following the explosion of the barracks disclosed that we had not taken any of the steps that we should have taken. That was the second time.

Then the Embassy was blown up a few weeks ago, and once again none of the steps that should have been taken were taken. And we were warned five days before that explosives were on their way and they weren't taken. The terrorists have won each time. The President told the terrorists he was going to retaliate. He didn't. They called their bluff. And the bottom line is, the United States in humiliation and our enemies are stronger.

Q Mr. President, your rebuttal?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. First of all, Mr. Mondale should know that the President of the United States did not order the Marines into that barracks. That was command decision made by the commanders on the spot and based with what they thought was best for the men there. That is one.

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On the other things that you've just said about the terrorists, I'm tempted to ask you what you would do. These are unidentified people and after the bomb goes off, they're blown to bits because they are suicidal individuals who think they're going to go to paradise if they perpetrate such an act and lose their life in doing it. We are going to, as I say -- we are busy trying to find the centers where these operations stem from and retaliation will be taken. But we're not going to simply kill some people to say, "Oh, look, we got even." We want to know when we retaliate that we're retaliating with those who are responsible for the terrorist acts. And terrorist acts are such that our own United States Capitol in Washington has been bombed twice.

Q Mr. Trewhitt, your question to President Reagan?

Q Mr. President, I want to raise an issue that I think has been lurking out there for two or three weeks and casted specifically in national security terms. You already are the oldest President in history. And some of your staff say you were tired after your most recent encounter with Mr. Mondale. I recall yet that President Kennedy had to go for days on end with very little sleep during the Cuban missile crisis. Is there any doubt in your mind that you would be able to function in such circumstances?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at all, Mr. Trewhitt, and I want you to know that also I will not make age an issue of this campaign. I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponents youth and inexperience. (Laughter and applause.) If I still have time I might add, Mr. Trewhitt, -- I might add that it was Seneca or it was Cicero, I don't know which, that said, "If it was not for the elders correcting the mistakes of the young, there would be no state".

Q Mr. President, I'd like to

head for the fence and try to catch that one before it goes over. But I'll go on to another question.

You and Mr. Mondale have already disagreed about what you had to say about recalling submarine-launched missiles. There's another -- a similar issue out there that relates to your -- it is said, at least, that you were unaware that the Soviet retaliatory power was based on land-based missiles. First is that correct? Secondly, if it is correct, have you informed yourself in the meantime? And, third, is it even necessary for the President to be so intimately involved in strategic details?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. This had to do with our disarmament talks. And the whole controversy about land missiles came up because we thought that the strategic nuclear weapons -- the most destabilizing are the land based. You put your thumb on a button and somebody blows up 20 minutes later. So, we thought that it would be simpler to negotiate first with those. And then, we made it plain, a second phase, take up the submarine launched -- the airborne missiles.

The Soviet Union, to our surprise, and not just mine, made it plain when we brought this up that they placed, they thought, a great reliance on the land-based missiles. And, therefore, they wanted to take up all three. And we agreed. We said, "All right. If that's what you want to do." But it was a surprise to us because they outnumbered us 64 to 36 in submarines and 20 percent more bombers capable of carrying nuclear missiles than we had. So, why should we believe that they had placed that much more reliance on land-based?

But even after we gave in and said, "All right, let's discuss it all," they walked away from the table. We didn't.

Q Mr. Mondale, I'm going to hang in there. Should the President's age and stamina be an issue in the political campaign?

MR. MONDALE: No. And I have not made it an issue; nor should it be. What's at issue here is the President's application of his authority to understand what a President must know to lead this nation, secure our defense and make the decisions and the judgments that are necessary.

A minute ago, the President quoted Cicero, I believe. I want to quote somebody a little closer home, Harry Truman. He said, "The buck stops here." We just heard the President's answer for the problems at the barracks in Lebanon, where 241 Marines were killed. What happened? First, the Joint Chiefs of Staff went to the President, said, "Don't put those troops there." They did it. And then five days before the troops were killed, they went back to the President, through the Secretary of Defense, and said, "Please, Mr. President, take those troops out of there because we can't defend them." They didn't do it. And we know what happened.

After that, once again, our Embassy was exploded. This is the fourth time this has happened, an identical attack in the same region, despite warnings, even public warnings from the terrorists. Who's in charge? Who's handling this matter? That's my main point.

Now, on arms control, we're completing four years. This is the first administration since the bomb went off that made no progress. We have an arms race underway instead.

A President has to lead his government or it won't be done. Different people with different views fight with each other. For three-and-a-half years, this administration avoided arms control, resisted tabling arms control proposals that had any hope of agreeing, rebuked their negotiator in 1981, when he came close to an agreement, at least in principle on medium-range weapons. And we have this arms race under way. And a recent book that just came out by the -- perhaps the nation's most respected author in this field,

Strobe Talbott, called Deadly Gambit, concludes that this President has failed to master the essential details needed to command and lead us, both in terms of security, in terms of arms control. That's why they call the President the Commander in Chief.

Good intentions, I grant. But it takes more than that. You must be tough and smart.

Q This question of leadership keeps arising in different forms in this discussion already. And the President, Mr. Mondale, has called you whining and vasculating -- among the more charitable phrases -- weak, I believe. It is a question of leadership. And he has made the point that you have not repudiated some of the semi-diplomatic activity of the Reverend Jackson, particularly in Central America. Did you approve of his diplomatic activity? And, are you prepared to repudiate him now?

MR. MONDALE: I read his statement the other day. I don't admire Fidel Castro at all. And I've said that. Che Guevara was a contemptible figure in civilization's history. I know the Cuban state as a police state. And all my life, I've worked in a way that demonstrates that. But Jesse Jackson is an independent person. I don't control him.

And, let's talk about people we do control. In the last debate, the Vice President of the United States said that I said the Marines had died shamefully and died in shame in Lebanon. I demanded an apology from Vice President Bush because I had, instead, honored these young men, grieved for the families and think they were wonderful Americans that honored us all. What does the President have to say about taking responsibility for a Vice President who won't apologize for something like that?

Q Mr. President, your rebuttal?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I know it'll come as a surprise to Mr. Mondale, but I am in charge. And, as a matter of fact, we haven't avoided arms control talks with the Soviet Union. Very early in my administration, I proposed -- and I think something that had never been proposed by any previous administration -- I proposed a total elimination of intermediate-range missiles, where the Soviets had better than a -- and still have --

better than a ton, and still have better than a ten-to-one advantage over the allies in Europe. When they protested that, and suggested a smaller number, perhaps, I went along with that.

The so-called negotiation that you said I walked out on, was the so-called "walk in the woods" between one of our representatives and one of the Soviet Union, and it wasn't me that turned it down, the Soviet Union disavowed it.

Q Mr. Mondale, your rebuttal?

MR. MONDALE: There are two distinguished authors of arms control in this country -- there are many others -- but two that I want to cite tonight. One is Strobe Talbot in his classic book, "Deadly Gambit." The other is John Neuhouse, who is one of the most distinguished arms control specialists in our country. Both said that this administration turned down the "walk in the woods" agreement first, and that would have been a perfect agreement from the standpoint of the United States in Europe and our security.

When Mr. Nitze, a good negotiator returned, he was rebuked and his boss was fired. This is the kind of leadership that we've had in this administration, and the most deadly issue of our time. Now we have a runaway arms race. All they've got to show for four years in U.S.-Soviet relations, is one meeting in the last weeks of an administration, and nothing before.

They're tough negotiators, but all previous Presidents have made progress. This one has not.

Q Ms. Geyer, your question to Mr. Mondale.

Q Mr. Mondale, many analysts are now saying that, actually our number one foreign policy problem today is one that remains almost totally unrecognized: massive illegal immigration from economically collapsing countries. They are saying that it is the only real territorial threat to the American nation-state. You, yourself, said in the 1970's that we had a "hemorrhage on our borders." Yet today, you have backed off any immigration reform, such as the balanced and highly crafted Simpson Mazzoli bill. Why? What would you do instead today, if anything?

MR. MONDALE: This is a very serious problem in our country, and it has to be dealt with. I object to the part of the Simpson Mazzoli bill, which I think is very unfair and would prove to be so. That is the part that requires employers to determine the citizenship of an employee before they're hired. I'm convinced that the result of this would be that people who are Hispanic, people who have different languages or speak with an accent, would find it difficult to be employed. I think that's wrong. We've never had citizenship tests in our country before, and I don't think we should have a citizenship card today. That is counterproductive.

I do support the other aspects of the Simpson Mazzoli bill that strengthen enforcement at the border, strengthen other ways of dealing with undocumented workers in this -- in this difficult area; and dealing with the problem of settling people who have lived here for many, many years and who do not have an established status.

I further strongly recommend that this administration do something it has not done, and that is to strengthen enforcement at the border, strengthen the officials in this government that deal with undocumented workers and to do so in a way that's responsible and within the Constitution of the United States. We need an answer to this problem, but it must be an American answer that is consistent with justice and due process.

Everyone in this room, practically, here tonight, is an immigrant. We came here loving this nation, serving it, and it has served all of our most bountiful dreams. And one of those dreams is justice. And we need a measure -- and I will support a measure --

that brings about those objectives, but avoids that one aspect that I think is very serious.

The second part is to maintain and improve relations with our friends to the South. We cannot solve this problem all on our own. And that's why the failure of this administration to deal in an effective and a good-faith way with Mexico, with Costa Rica, with the other nations in trying to find a peaceful settlement to the dispute in Central America, has undermined our capacity to effectively deal diplomatic -- in this -- diplomatically in this area as well.

Q Sir, people as well-balanced and just as Father Theodore Hesburgh at Notre Dame that headed the select commission on immigration, have pointed out repeatedly that there will be no immigration reform without employer sanctions, because it would be an unbalanced bill, and there would be simply no way to reinforce it. However, putting that aside for a moment, your critics have said repeatedly that you have not gone along with the bill, or the the immigration reform because of the Hispanic groups -- or Hispanic leadership groups -- who actually do not represent what the Hispanic-Americans want, because polls show that they overwhelmingly want some kind of immigration reform. How can you say -- or how can you justify your position on this? And how do you respond to the criticism that this is another, or that this is an example of your flip-flopping and giving in to special interest groups at the expense of the nation?

MR. MONDALE: I think you're right that the polls show that the majority of Hispanics want that bill, so I'm not doing it for political reasons. I'm doing it because all my life I've fought for a system of justice in this country -- a system in which every American has a chance to achieve a fullness in life without discrimination. This bill imposes upon employers the responsibility of determining whether somebody who applies for a job is an American or not. And just inevitably, they're going to be reluctant to hire Hispanics or people with a different accent. If I were dealing with politics here,

The polls show the American people want this. I am for reform in this area, for tough enforcement at the border and for many other aspects of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, but all my life I've fought for a fair nation and despite the politics of it, I stand where I stand and I think I'm right and before this fight is over we're going to come up with a better bill, a more effective bill that does not undermine the liberties of our people.

Q Mr. President, you too have said that our borders are out of control. Yet, this fall you allowed the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill which would at least have minimally protected our borders and the rights of citizenship. Because of a relatively unimportant issue of reimbursement to the states for legalized aliens. Given that, may I ask what priority can we expect you to give this forgotten national security element? How sincere are you in your efforts to control, in effect, the nation's state, that is, the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: Georgie Anne, we, believe me, supported the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill strongly and the Bill that came out of the Senate. However, there were things added in in the House side that we felt made it less of a good Bill -- as a matter of fact, made it a bad bill. And in conference, we stayed with them in conference all the way to where even Senator Simpson did not want the Bill in the manner in which it had come out of the conference committee. There were a number of things in there that weakened that Bill. I can't go into detail about them here. But it is true, our borders are out of control. It is also true that this has been a situation on our borders, back through a number of administrations, and I supported this Bill, I believe in the idea of amnesty for those who have put down roots and who have lived here even though sometime back they may have entered illegally. With regard to the employer sanctions, this -- we must have that. Not only to ensure that we can identify the illegal aliens, but also, while some keep protesting about what it would do to employers, there is another employer that we shouldn't be so concerned about -- and these are employers who down through the years, who have encouraged the illegal entry into this country because they then hire these individuals and hire them at starvation wages and with none of the benefits that we think are normal and natural for workers in our country and then individuals can't complain because of their illegal status. We don't think that those people should be allowed to continue operating free. And this was why the provisions that we had in with regard to sanctions and so forth -- and I'm going to do everything I can and all of us in the administration are, to join in again, when Congress is back at it, to get an immigration bill that will give us, once again, control of our borders.

And with regard to friendship below the border, with the countries down there -- yes, no administration that I know has established the relationship that we have with our Latin friends. But, as long as they have an economy that leaves so many people in dire poverty and unemployment, they are going to seek that employment across our borders and we work with those other countries.

Q Mr. President, the experts also say that the situation today is terribly different -- quantitatively, qualitatively different from what it has been in the past because of the gigantic population growth. For instance, Mexico's population will go from about 60 million today to 120 million at the turn of the century. Many of these people will be coming into the United States, not as citizens, but as illegal workers. You have repeatedly said recently that you believe that Armageddon, the destruction of the world, may be imminent in our times. Do you ever feel that we are in for an Armageddon or a situation in a time of anarchy regarding the population explosion in the world?

THE PRESIDENT: No, as a matter of fact the population explosion, if you look at the actual figures, has been vastly exaggerated -- over exaggerated. As a matter of fact, there are some pretty scientific and solid figures about how much space there still is in the world and how many more people that we can have -- it's almost like going back to the Malthusian Theory when even then they

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were saying that everyone would starve with the limited population they had then. But the problem of population growth is one here with regard to our immigration and we have been the safety valve, whether we wanted to or not, with the illegal entry here in Mexico where their population is increasing and they don't have an economy that can absorb them and provide the jobs. And this is what we're trying to work out, not only to protect our own borders, but to have some kind of fairness and recognition of that problem.

Q Mr. Mondale, your rebuttal?

MR. MONDALE: One of the biggest problems today is that the countries to our south are so desperately poor that these people who will almost lose their lives if they don't come north, come north despite all the risks. And if we're going to find a permanent fundamental answer to this, it goes to American economic and trade policies that permit these nations to have a chance to get on their own two feet and to get prosperity so that they can have jobs for themselves and their people. And that's why this enormous national debt, engineered by this administration, is harming these countries in fueling this immigration. These high interest rates, real rates that have doubled under this administration have had the same effect in Mexico and so on and the cost repaying those debts is so enormous that it results in massive unemployment, hardship and heartache. And that drives our friends to the south up into our region and we need to end those deficits as well.

Q Mr. President, your rebuttal.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, my rebuttal is, I've heard I've heard the national debt blamed for a lot of things, but not for illegal immigration across our border -- (laughter) -- and it has nothing to do with it.

But with regard to these high interest rates, too, at least give us the recognition of the fact that when you left office, Mr. Mondale, there were 21 and a half -- the prime rate. It's now 12.25, and I predict it will be coming down a little more shortly. So we're trying to undo some of the things that your administration did. (Applause.)

Q No applause, please.

Mr. Kalb, your question to President Reagan.

Q Mr. President, I'd like to pick up this armageddon theme. You've been quoted as saying that you do believe deep down that we are heading for some kind of biblical armageddon. Your Pentagon and your Secretary of Defense have plans for the United States to fight and prevail in a nuclear war. Do you feel that we are now heading perhaps for some kind of nuclear armageddon, and do you feel that this country and the world could survive that kind of calamity?

THE PRESIDENT: I think what has been hailed as something I'm supposedly as President discussing as principle is the recall of just some philosophical discussions with people who are interested in the same things. And that is, the prophecies down through the year, the biblical prophecies of what would portend the coming of Armageddon, and so forth, and the fact that a number of theologians for the last decade or more have believed that this was true -- that the prophecies are coming together that portend that. But no one knows whether Armageddon -- those prophecies mean that Armageddon is a thousand years away or day after tomorrow. So I have never seriously warned and said we must plan according to Armageddon.

Now, with regard to having to say whether we would try to survive in the event of a nuclear war, of course we would. But let me also point out that to several parliaments around the world, in Europe and in Asia, I have made a statement to each one of them, and I'll repeat it here: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. And that is why we are maintaining a deterrent and trying to achieve a deterrent capacity to where no one would believe that they could start such a war and escape with limited damage.

But the deterrent, and that's what it is for, is also what led me to propose what is now being called "the Star Wars concept," but propose that we research to see if there isn't a defensive weapon that could defend against incoming missiles. And if such a defense could be found, wouldn't it be far more humanitarian to say that now we can defend against a nuclear war by destroying missiles instead of slaughtering millions of people.

Q Mr. President, when you made that proposal, the so-called "Star Wars Proposal," you said, if I am not mistaken, that you would share this very super-sophisticated technology with the Soviet Union. After all of the distrust over the years, sir, that you have expressed towards the Soviet Union, do you really expect anyone to take seriously that offer that you would share the best of America's technology in this weapons area with our principle adversary?

THE PRESIDENT: Why not? What if we did -- and I hope we can. We're still researching. What if we come up with a weapon that renders those missiles obsolete -- there has never been a weapon invented in the history of man that has not led to a defensive, a counter-weapon. But suppose we came up with that?

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Now, some people have said, "That would make it -- war imminent because they would think that we could launch a first strike because we could defend against the enemy. But why not do what I have offered to and asked the Soviet Union to do? Say, "Look, here's what we can do. We'll even give it to you. Now, will you sit down with us and, once and for all, get rid, all of us, of these nuclear weapons, and free mankind from that threat?" I think that would be the greatest use of a defensive weapon.

Q Mr. Mondale, you've been very sharply critical of the President's strategic defense initiative. And, yet, what is wrong with a major effort by this country to try to use its best technology to knock out as many incoming nuclear warheads as possible?

MR. MONDALE: First of all, let me sharply disagree with the President on sharing the most advanced, the most dangerous, the most important technology in America with the Soviet Union. We have had for many years, understandably, a system of restraints on high technology because the Soviets are behind us. And any research or development along the Star Wars schemes would inevitably involve our most advanced computers, most advanced engineering. And the thought that we would share this with the Soviet Union is, in my opinion, a total non-STARTer. I would not let the Soviet Union get their hands on it at all.

Now, what's wrong with Star Wars? There's nothing wrong with the theory of it. If we could develop a principle that would say both sides could fire all their missiles and no one would get hurt, I suppose it's a good idea. But the fact of it is, we're so far away from research that even comes close to that, that the Director of Engineering Research at the Defense Department said to get there, we would have to solve eight problems, each of which are more difficult than the atomic bomb and the Manhattan Project. It would cost something like a trillion dollars to test and deploy weapons.

The second thing is this all assumes that the Soviets wouldn't respond in kind. And they always do. We don't get behind. They won't get behind. And that's been the tragic story of the arms race.

We have more at stake in space satellites than they do. If we could stop right now the testing and the deployment of these space weapons, and the President's proposals go clearly beyond research -- if it was just research we wouldn't have any argument, because maybe some day, somebody will think of something -- but, to commit this nation to a build-up of antisatellite and space weapons at this time, in their crude state, would bring about an arms race that's very dangerous indeed.

One final point. The most dangerous aspect of this proposal is for the first time we would delegate to computers the decision as to whether to start a war. That's dead wrong. There wouldn't be time for a President to decide; it would be decided by these remote computers. It might be an oil fire, it might be a jet exhaust, the computer might decide it's a missile -- and off we go.

Why don't we stop this madness now and draw a line and keep the heavens free from war. (Applause.)

Q Mr. Mondale. In this general area, sir, of arms control, President Carter's national security advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski, said, "A nuclear freeze is a hoax." Yet the basis of your arms proposal, as I understand them, is a mutual and verifiable freeze on existing weapons systems. In your view, which specific weapons systems could be subject to a mutual and verifiable freeze, and which could not?

MR. MONDALE: Every system that is verifiable should be placed on the table for negotiations, or an agreement. I would not agree to any negotiations, or any agreement that involved conduct on the part of the Soviet Union that we could not verify every day. I would not agree to any agreement in which the United States security interest was not fully recognized and supported. That's why we say mutual and verifiable freezes.

Now, why do I support the freeze? Because this ever-rising arms race madness makes both nations less secure. It's more difficult to defend this nation. It's putting a hair-trigger on nuclear war. This administration, by going into the star wars system, is going to add a dangerous new escalation. We have to be tough on the Soviet Union, but I think the American people --

Q Mr. Mondale --

MR. MONDALE: -- and the people of the Soviet Union want it to stop.

Q President Reagan, your rebuttal?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, my rebuttal once again, is that this invention that has just been created here of how I would go about rolling over for the Soviet Union -- no, Mr. Mondale, my idea would be with that defensive weapon, that we would sit down with them, and then say, "Now, are you willing to join us?" Here's what we -- give them a demonstration, and then say, "Here's what we can do. Now, if you're willing to join us in getting rid of all the nuclear weapons in the world, then we'll give you this one, so that we both know that no one can cheat" -- that we've both got something that if anyone tries to cheat -- but, when you keep star-warring it -- I never suggested where the weapons should be or what kind. I'm not a scientist.

I said, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed with me, that it was time for us to turn our research ability to seeing if we could not find this kind of a defensive weapon. And suddenly somebody says, "Oh, it's got to be up there in the star wars," and so-forth -- I don't know what I would be, but if we could come up with one, I think the world will be better off.

MR. MONDALE: Well, that's what a President's supposed to know -- where those weapons are going to be. If they are space

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weapons, I assume they'll be in space -- (Laughter.) If they're antisatellite weapons, I assume they're going to be aimed against antisatellites.

Now, this is the most dangerous technology that we possess. The Soviets try to spy on us, steal this stuff. And to give them technology of this kind, I disagree with. You haven't just accepted research, Mr. President. You've set up a strategic defense initiative, an agency, you're beginning to test, you're talking about deploying, you're asking for a budget of some \$30 billion for this purpose. This is an arms escalation. And we will be better off, far better off, if we stop right now, because we have more to lose in space than they do. If some day, somebody comes along with an answer, that's something else. But that there would be an answer in our lifetime is unimaginable.

Why do we start things that we know the Soviets will match, and make us all less secure? That's what a President's for.

Q Mr. Kondracke, your question to Mr. Mondale.

Q Mr. Mondale, you say that with respect to the Soviet Union you want to negotiate a mutual nuclear freeze, yet you would unilaterally give up the MX missile and the B-1 bomber before the talks had even begun, and you have announced in advance, that reaching an agreement with the Soviets is the most important thing in the world to you. Now, aren't you giving away half the store before you've even sat down to talk?

MR. MONDALE: No. As a matter of fact, we have a vast range of technology and weaponry right now that provides all the bargaining chips that we need. And I support the air launch Cruise missile, ground launch Cruise missile, the Pershing missile, the Trident submarine, the D-5 submarine, stealth technology, the Midgetman -- we have a whole range of technology. Why I disagree with the MX is that it's a sitting duck. It'll draw an attack. It puts a hair-trigger, and it's a dangerous destabilizing weapon. And the B-1 is similarly to be opposed, because for 15 years the Soviet Union has been preparing to meet the B-1. The Secretary of Defense himself said it would be a suicide mission if it were built.

Instead, I want to build the Midgetman,