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*Last Updated: 09/13/2024*

MEMORANDUM

TO: The 9:15 Group

FROM: Michael J. Bayer

SUBJECT: Final Reagan-Mondale Debate

Enclosed is a transcript of Sunday's foreign policy and defense debate, together with a series of talking points and possible strategies concerning Mondale's performance. The debate analysis was prepared by RNC Opposition Research: Susan Carleson, Susan Hopkins, Lindey Fitzgerald, Patrick McGurn, Joseph Rodota, Candace Strother, and Don Todd. Please let me know if you need more detailed analysis.

OVERVIEW: MONDALE LOSES DEBATE

In Kansas City, as in Louisville, Walter Mondale attempted to change his image -- only this time it didn't work. Mondale said America needs a President with vision, who is in charge and knows what he is doing. President Reagan demonstrated that he, and he alone, is that kind of leader.

Mondale spent most of the debate trying to cover-up his own record.

- o He talked about strength, but did not mention that he had the lowest rating on defense issues of any Senator.
- o He said he supported Trident submarines and cruise missiles -- which he consistently opposed while in the Senate.
- o He said he wanted to build up our conventional forces in Europe when he had voted to cut them in half.
- o He talked of being tough on arms control -- when he has already proposed a half-dozen unilateral concessions just to get the Soviets to the table.

Mondale kept talking about how much a President must know, but all we saw was how much Walter Mondale doesn't know.

- o He repeatedly confused the President's anti-missile defense with an anti-satellite program.
- o He said submarine-launched missiles could be recalled.
- o He said the anti-missile system would require computers that could start a war, not realizing that the system would be used only if a war had already started.
- o He decried the recent increase in Soviet warheads, not knowing they were sanctioned by the SALT II agreement he supports.
- o Like his running mate, he couldn't explain the verification

process for his own nuclear freeze.

President Reagan pointed out that four years ago our defenses were dangerously weak and that we had lost the respect of many other nations. Today, under the leadership of Ronald Reagan, our Nation's security has been strengthened and we've established a firm, coherent foreign policy.

Last night was a very bad night for Walter Mondale. It was a very good night for Ronald Reagan -- and for America.

#### ROUND ONE: CENTRAL AMERICA

Walter Mondale's record does not support his latest statements on desirable U.S. policies in Central America. His current position is merely a smokescreen for twenty years of weak, vacillating, guilt-ridden foreign policy. Mondale claims to have three objectives in Central America: 1) "to strengthen the democracies;" 2) "to stop Communist and other extremist influences;" and 3) "to stabilize the community in that area."

- o But Mondale has demonstrated he neither recognizes democracy nor the threat to democracy. Hence, he cannot be trusted to defend democracy in Central America.
- o Mondale hailed the Sandinistas' coming to power as "a remarkable advance toward effective democratic institutions...reflecting national diversities alive to aspirations for human rights and responsive to the drive to participate in the political process (Department of State Bulletin, 11/79)."
- o Mondale said, "I think there's about 2000 [Cuban forces in Nicaragua]...I think they're advisers, military forces. I'm not making that much out of it, but they are there (Village Voice, 4/3/84)."
- o When asked if he would tolerate a leftist victory in El Salvador if he were President, Mondale answered, "Yeah, well...I would like to get our forces out, their forces out, and let the people of El Salvador find their own history, and whatever that is, we will accept it (Village Voice, 4/3/84)."
- o Mondale has been unwilling to support those fighting against totalitarian forces: the Contras, the government of El Salvador -- even the Hondurans.

Mondale says he will use a "three-pronged attack" to accomplish these goals: 1) "military assistance to our friends;" 2) "a strong and sophisticated economic aid program and human rights program that offers a...sharper alternative to the alternative offered by the totalitarians;" and 3) "a strong diplomatic effort."

- o Who is this "new" Mondale? The old Mondale fought against

- military assistance to our friends in El Salvador. As Senator and Vice President, he consistently opposed military aid for nations friendly to the United States.
- o The Reagan Administration's program provides high levels of economic aid to the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean. Mondale has not endorsed these policies. What, then, is his economic plan for the region?
  - o Mondale talks of a strong human rights program, yet seems more anxious to abandon the Contras than to address the deplorable human rights practices of the Sandinista regime.
  - o Once again, Mondale talks as though people choose to live under Communist dictators, and that democracies must compete with totalitarians in these countries for "influence." In effect, he is also saying the East Germans choose to live behind a wall and barbed wire.
  - o The truth is, Mondale's "three-pronged" plan is a fraud. He has never demonstrated commitment either to the objectives or the tactics he described tonight. Mondale's record points instead to a five-pronged approach to troubled areas of the world: 1) identify a pro-Western leader; 2) become "morally outraged" at that government's conduct; (3) refuse friendship and foreign aid to that government; 4) help drive the government from power or refuse military assistance against those trying to overthrow it; and 5) when leadership is replaced by an anti-American regime, blame the United States.

Mondale talks about the United States being "embarrassed" in Nicaragua, just as he says we were "humiliated" in Lebanon. Once again, he laments, piously, that the United States' "moral authority has been eroded." But this is just another example of Mondale's career-long tendency to apologize for America. Whatever the difficulty, whatever the misfortune, Walter Mondale assumes that it is America which is at fault:

Recent American actions in Chile, Greece, and Angola were plagued with the "expediency and deceit" that characterized Watergate and the Vietnam war (Washington Post, 9/11/76).

"Our apparent indifference to international law [in Grenada] will erode our moral authority to oppose outrages in Afghanistan, Poland, Cambodia, and elsewhere (Washington Post, 10/29/83)."

"We have made more mistakes over the last 60 years believing that somehow our notion of what, say the government of Nicaragua ought to be, should be to our liking. We have to...show some restraint. We can't solve everything with an American gun (Democrat Debate, New Hampshire, 2/23/84)

## ROUND TWO: SUMMITS

Walter Mondale says he now understands Soviet intentions, but his record tells a different story.

Walter Mondale was asked why, if he thinks the Soviet leaders are "cynical, ruthless and dangerous," he believes annual summits would result in agreements that protect the interests of the country. Mondale said:

"The only type of agreements to reach with the Soviet Union are the types that are specifically defined, so that we know exactly what they must do, subject to full verification, which means we know every day that they are living up to it...."

- o There is no reason to believe Mondale would be able to negotiate a tough, verifiable treaty. The only agreement Carter negotiated, the SALT II treaty on strategic weapons, drew so much opposition from the Democrat-controlled U.S. Senate -- largely because of suspicion that the agreement was unverifiable -- that Carter was forced to withdraw it from consideration rather than risk an almost certain defeat.

While Walter Mondale said:

"I have no illusions about the Soviet leadership or the nature of that state."

- o After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Mondale said:

"I cannot understand it -- it just baffles me -- why the Soviets these last few years have behaved as they have. Maybe we made some mistakes with them."

---Christian Science Monitor,  
3/10/81

Last night, Walter Mondale said:

"...we must meet on the common ground of survival...."

- o Walter Mondale has a very narrow view of arms control: He believes that "success" is measured not by deterrence of conflict, but by whether we have signed a treaty. Such thinking subverts the real purpose of arms control negotiations -- the preservation of peace -- and holds these discussions hostage to political ambitions.

Walter Mondale pointed to the continued Soviet arms buildup:

"There are now over 2,000 more warheads pointed at us today than there were when he was sworn in. . "

- o But it was during the Carter-Mondale years that the Soviet arms build up raged unabated. In 1979 alone (the year the Kremlin decided to invade Afghanistan), the Soviet Union produced 3,000 main battle tanks, 1,800 combat aircraft, 4,000 armored troop carriers and 250 ICBMs.
- o Treaties have rarely deterred Soviet behavior. In 1969, when the SALT I negotiations began, the Soviets had over 1,500 strategic nuclear warheads; in 1972 when SALT I was signed, they had 2,300. By 1980, the Soviets were threatening U.S. ICBM survivability with more than 5,000 warheads.

Despite Mondale's claim that:

"There will be no unilateral disarmament under my administration. . ."

- o If Mondale's record on defense spending is any clue, unilateral disarmament is precisely what he would deliver. As a Senator, Walter Mondale voted against nearly every weapon system he now says he supports.
- o Walter Mondale is running television ads which show him on the deck of the Nimitz watching an F-14 take-off. The President accurately pointed out that if:

"[Mondale] would have had his way when the Nimitz was being planned, he would have been knee deep in the water out there because there wouldn't have been any Nimitz to stand on. . ."

Walter Mondale said during the debate:

"I voted to delay production on the F-14 and I'll tell you why: the plane wasn't flying right and it was a waste of money."

- o This is an example of a Mondale lie. He voted to terminate the Navy's F-14 jet fighter program by deleting \$801.6 million (CQ #213 - 9/29/71).

Mondale said:

"I understand exactly what the Soviets are up to..."

- o Yet just three years ago he said:

"I cannot understand it -- it just baffles me -- why the Soviets these last few years

have behaved as they have. "

Christian Science  
Monitor, 3/10/81

Walter Mondale claims to have proposed a responsible defense budget:

"I have proposed a budget that would increase our nation's strength in real terms by double that of the Soviet Union."

- o However, Walter Mondale has said "We must scale the Reagan defense budget back. . .by eliminating excessively costly weapons systems such as the MX, B-1, and nuclear aircraft carriers (Mondale Fact Sheet on Women, 1983)."
- o The Soviet Union spends 15 percent of its GNP on defense compared to 6.8% for the United States. For Mondale to double the budget he would have to spend 30 percent of GNP on defense, something neither his budget, nor the American people would allow.

#### ROUND THREE: LEBANON

Mondale believes that Lebanon is a crucial test of leadership. This is a test that he clearly fails.

In the debate, Morton Kondracke asked Mondale if the "gauntlet of tests" that he has set as pre-conditions for the use of military force would lead our adversaries to "easily suspect that as President you would never use force to protect American interests?" Mondale answered:

"No!...as a matter of fact every one of those standards is essential to the exercise of power by this country, and we can see that in both Lebanon and Central America. In Lebanon, this President exercised American power alright, but the management of it was such that our Marines were killed, we had to leave in humiliation, the Soviets became stronger, terrorists became emboldened, and it was because they did not think through how power should be exercised, did not have the American people with them on a plan that worked, that we ended up the way we did."

- o Following Walter Mondale's views on Lebanon has been like a long ride on a carnival roller-coaster. One of Mondale's tests is that the action be publicly supported, that is to say, "caution until consensus forms".
- o Throughout 1982 and most of 1983, Walter Mondale publicly supported the President's use of a peacekeeping force in Lebanon:

"I think the President did the right thing.  
I think there's a need to get forces in  
Lebanon to stabilize the situation."

--- Indianapolis Star, 9/21/82

"I support the move, I think it was  
essential..."

--- United Press International,  
8/30/83

- o Little more was heard from Mondale until the situation began to heat up politically. Mondale called for a resolution that the President and Congress could agree on, but clearly did not favor an immediate troop pull-out:

Mondale asserted...that the United States...  
should support "to the hilt" the Marines'  
peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

--- New York Times, 9/21/83

- o Late in September 1983, Mondale indicated he was still willing to support a U.S. military presence in Lebanon, with some conditions:

Mondale said he is still willing to support  
a U.S. military presence in Lebanon,  
"provided it's not open-ended and  
permanent." He said six months should be  
sufficient time for President Reagan "to  
spell out and define terms the American  
people can accept" for U.S. involvement in  
Lebanon.

--- Houston Post, 9/23/83

- o An ABC/Washington Post poll in mid-October indicated that there might be growing support for a withdrawal. Still, a majority favored a troop presence -- so did Walter Mondale.
- o Following the October 1983 attack on the Marines' compound at the Beirut Airport, Mondale was characteristically cautious. Failing to join other Democrats in proposing an immediate pull-out, Mondale instead proposed a five-point plan for the eventual withdrawal that would have turned the peacekeeping chores over to the United Nations:

The former Vice President said U.S. Marines  
should be withdrawn from Lebanon "as soon as  
possible, but I would not do it overnight  
but in the near future."

--- Seattle Post-Intelligencer,  
10/31/83

- o An ABC/Washington Post poll in mid-December reported that 48 percent of the public wanted the troops out. Mondale,



hoping to ride the crest of a wave of public opinion favoring withdrawal, began to shift his position:

Asked when this [troop withdrawal] should happen, Mondale said, "I wouldn't define it now." When would he? "I wouldn't define it now," he repeated, "but it would be sooner than later." Sooner than 18 months [the time Congress gave Reagan to keep troops in Lebanon]? "It would be less than that."

--- Washington Post, 12/14/83

- o Mondale's six-month timetable began to shrink relative to the surge in public opinion for withdrawal. A Louis Harris Poll, conducted December 8-12, 1983, and released on January 2, 1984, stated that "specifically on handling the situation in Lebanon, he [Reagan] is rated 64-32 percent negative, compared with 54-38 percent negative in November 1982." So, after lengthy meetings with his campaign staff:

Mondale called Saturday for the withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Lebanon, saying they all should be home within 45 days.

--- Dallas Morning News, 1/2/84

- o Even after the Marines left Beirut, polls began to show that Americans were growing more critical of the President's policies. Mondale's rhetoric followed these polls. After terrorists bombed the U.S. Embassy annex, he stepped up his criticism, viciously attacking not only Administration policies, but President Reagan's personal capacity to lead.

Mondale quotes Groucho Marx in attacking the President's policies in Lebanon:

"Who do you believe? Me or my own eyes? And what we have in Lebanon is something that the American people have seen."

- o Groucho himself would have seen the irony of Mondale's statements concerning the Embassy bombing, given Mondale's acceptance of state-supported terror during the Iranian hostage crisis.

"But there is no way that I know of for this country or any country to protect its diplomatic personnel isolated in another country. It's one of the toughest questions of all."

--- Issues and Answers,  
1/18/81

ROUND FOUR: LEADERSHIP

Walter Mondale establishes the test for judging leadership: A President must accept responsibility and direct his government. Again, Mondale fails his own test.

"I'm going to quote...Harry Truman. He said,  
'The buck stops here.'"

- o Mondale's campaign literature boasts of his leadership experience by emphasizing his role in the Carter Presidency. Jimmy Carter said:

"There wasn't a single decision I made in four years in the White House that Fritz Mondale wasn't involved in."

--- Jimmy Carter  
New York Times, 6/21/82

- o But Walter Mondale refuses to accept responsibility for Carter Administration failures.

"Events just sort of ganged up on us."

--- Los Angeles Times, 12/21/80

"I think circumstances were heavily against us. Economic [sic], inflation, the prime rate, unemployment, the hostage issue, the frustration of U.S.-Soviet relations -- none of these made people feel good about what was going on. We happened to be in office and took the blame."

--- New York Times, 12/21/80

"We had some problems. We had some bad breaks. That's the way it is. Now I'm running for President."

--- New York Times Magazine,

6/19/83

Walter Mondale has never demonstrated leadership ability. Americans know that he simply does not measure up to President Reagan on the leadership issue.

"A President has to lead his government, or it won't be done."

- o During the Carter Presidency, Democrats were saying that the job of President was too big for one man. No one is saying that today.
- o Walter Mondale has demonstrated his inability to lead. From the start, he has been unable to even control his own campaign. He did not take charge of the situation during

the Bert Lance/Chuck Manatt fiasco. He never returned the illegal delegate committee funds -- as he promised when challenged by Gary Hart.

In the debate, Mondale again showed he was a poor leader when he failed to repudiate the activities and statements of Jesse Jackson.

"...Jesse Jackson is an independent person.  
I don't control him."

- o At a university in Cuba, Jesse Jackson said:

"Long live Cuba. Long live the U.S. Long live Castro. Long live Martin Luther King. Long live Che Guevara. Long live our cry for freedom. Our time has come."

--- Jesse Jackson  
Washington Post, 7/1/84

- o And Jesse Jackson's statements regarding Jewish people have been equally shocking.

"I am sick and tired of hearing about the holocaust and having America being put in the position of a guilt trip... The Jews do not have a monopoly on suffering."

--- Jesse Jackson  
Washington Post, 2/13/84

"There's a place down of Maxwell Street called 'Jewtown...' 'Jewtown' is where Hymie gets you if you can't negotiate them suits down...."

--- Jesse Jackson  
Newsweek, 4/9/84

- o Walter Mondale has refused to repudiate Jackson or these statements. Why? Democratic National Committee Chairman Charles Manatt explains:

"I don't consider Jesse Jackson to be anti-Jewish in any way," Manatt said in a televised interview, later stating that the party will not disavow Jackson "nor the millions of new voters he's bringing into the process."

---Washington Post, 6/4/84

#### ROUND FIVE: IMMIGRATION

On the critical question of stemming illegal immigration, Mondale once again showed an unwillingness to take effective action on a controversial issue.

Walter Mondale continues to play politics with our borders:

"I object to that part of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill...that requires employers to determine the citizenship of an employee before they are hired.... We've never had citizen tests in our country before, and I don't think we should have a citizenship card today."

- o Before Mondale locked up the Democratic nomination, he asked House Speaker Tip O'Neill to delay a vote on the bill until after the California primary (Christian Science Monitor, 6/1/84). O'Neill recounted his advice to Mondale: "Fritz...if I were you, I'd stay out of the issue. It's a hot issue...Let me handle this... (Witchita Eagle Beacon, 5/12/84)."
- o In the Northeast and industrial state primaries where labor union influence is strongest and the AFL-CIO specifically endorses employer sanctions, Mondale did not say that he opposed Simpson-Mazzoli. Mondale's comments left open the possibility that he supported employer sanctions. But toward the end of the primary season (particularly Texas and California), he said he opposed Simpson-Mazzoli in its entirety. His gamesmanship with the issue was picked up by the press:

In early primaries, Mondale said, "I'm not for the Simpson-Mazzoli bill in total." But by the time voters went to the polls in Texas (a state with an estimated 186,000 illegals and a large block of Hispanic voters), Mondale had toughened his stand. He said flatly: "I'm against this bill because I think it's wrong."

--- Christian Science Monitor,  
6/1/84

Mondale misleads voters by suggesting that he has always been opposed to employer sanctions:

"I'm [opposing] it because all my life I've fought for a system of justice in this country, a system in which every American has the chance to achieve the 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."

- o In a January 1978 address in Mexico City, Vice President Mondale said that the Carter immigration reform proposal would effectively address illegal immigration by establishing employer sanctions:

"The proposal also recognizes that employers in our country who encourage undocumented workers are a

source of the [illegal immigration] problem. The President's program imposes civil sanctions against such employers...."

--- Department of State Bulliten,  
3/78

Mondale wrongly accuses the Reagan Administration of not taking sufficient action to strengthen enforcement of our borders:

"I have further strongly recommended that this Administration do something it has not done, and that is to strengthen enforcement at the border..."

- o In fact, the Reagan Administration is providing substantially more funding for the Immigration and Naturalization Service than under the Carter-Mondale Administration.

Carter/Mondale Fiscal Year	Funding (Millions)
1978	\$279
1979	298
1980	298
1981	366

(It should be noted that the Mexican peso was devalued in 1977, further increasing incentives for illegal immigration into the United States.)

Reagan/Bush Fiscal Year	Funding (millions)
1982	\$428
1983	524
1984	539
1985 (proposed)	582

(The FY 1985 budget request is 59 percent higher than the last budget request made by the Carter-Mondale Administration)

#### ROUND SIX: SPACE-BASED DEFENSE

Because of his life-long distrust of high technology, Mondale proves he simply doesn't understand space-based defense.

President Reagan again demonstrated that he has a excellent knowledge of the past and a clear vision of the future:

"There has never been a weapon invented in the history of man that has not led to defensive--a counter weapon."

Mondale admitted the concept was a good one, but said it was too expensive and wouldn't work.

"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 the matter is, we're so far away from research that even comes close to that, that the director of engineering research in 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."

"If, someday, somebody comes along with an answer, that's something else, but that there would be such an answer in our life time is unimaginable."

Mondale has proven to be a poor judge of high technology. As a Senator, he was a leading opponent of the space program.

"We spent \$25 billion to get to the moon to find there was nothing there."

--- Minneapolis Tribune, 3/16/70

"I live in horror that we will send men to Mars right away. We've learned something from the moonshot. We now know that we're probably the only planet that has creatures who can reason. We should start doing so, by ordering our priorities."

--- Minneapolis Tribune, 8/10/69

Senator Walter Mondale objected to spending billions for "manned show business."

--- Facts on File, 1/1/70

Clearly, Mondale has a contempt for science and technology of the future. He used the same arguments against the space shuttle that he is now using against the space-based defense:

"To begin with, the feasibility of a space shuttle/station has not been demonstrated. NASA acknowledges that design and development of the space shuttle represents a new and formidable challenge, which will require maximum innovation on the part of aerospace industry."

--- Congressional Record, 4/30/70

Mondale confused space-based defense with a totally different

program, anti-satellite weapons:

"If we could stop right now the testing and deployment of these space weapons-- and the President's proposals go clear 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 buildup of anti-satellite and space weapons at this time in their crude state would bring about an arms race that's very dangerous indeed."

Mondale views defensive weapons as provocative. President Reagan put this idea to rest:

Star "But the deterrent, and that's what it is for, is also what led me to propose what is now being called the 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?"

The idea that computers would then be starting wars is another one of Mr. Mondale misconceptions. The computer would only act to shoot down an incoming missile -- not an airplane or a back-firing automobile, as Mr. Mondale inaccurately suggests.

#### ROUND SEVEN: DEFENSE PROGRAMS

Walter Mondale's defense record of the past 20 years is "a record of weakness that is second to none."

Walter Mondale is a fraud. He is on record as opposing nearly every military program he now says he supports:

"Our conventional strength in Europe is under strength [sic]. We need to strengthen that in order to assure our Western Allies of our presence there, a strong defense."

- o In 1971, Senator Mondale voted twice to reduce U.S. military personnel in Europe (CQ 53 - 5/19/71; CQ 361 - 11/23/71).  
"I support the air-launch cruise missile, the ground-launch cruise missile...."
- o Senator Mondale voted to delete \$94.8 million for research

and development on the submarine-launched cruise missile  
(CQ 200 - 6/4/75).

"I support...the Pershing missile...."

- o Walter Mondale has said that he would "repropose the 1981 'walk in the woods' agreement" and "deploy the cruise missiles but not the Pershing missiles...(Democrat Debate: Los Angeles, 6/3/84)." Mondale has also called for a temporary halt to the deployment of Pershing II missiles in Europe (Washington Post, 9/23/84).

"I support...the Trident submarine...."

- o Senator Mondale voted to cut \$885 million from the Trident submarine program (CQ 413 - 9/27/73).

Walter Mondale only supports weapons that are either decades old or still on the drawing board. And he has shown a clear pattern of opposing needed weapons systems as soon as they become available.

- o In 1975, Walter Mondale supported the B-1 bomber. But as they began to roll off the assembly line, he came out against the B-1 program.
- o As Senator and Vice President, Walter Mondale supported the MX missile while it was still on the drawing board. Now that the MX is being deployed, he opposes it.
- o As an alternative to the B-1, Mondale supports the Stealth bomber, a plane that is years away from production. As an alternative to the MX, Mondale supports the "Midgetman" -- which is also still on the drawing board.
- o Mondale's nuclear freeze proposal would prohibit production of both the Stealth bomber and the Midgetman missile. Clearly, Mondale naively believes that we can deter Soviet aggression with weapons that don't exist and bombers that are older than the pilots who fly them.

Walter Mondale views all current U.S. weapons as mere "bargaining" chips. He implies a willingness to give up current U.S. defenses in a negotiation with the Soviets:

"Well, as a matter of fact, we have a vast range of technology and weaponry right now that provides all of the bargaining chips we need. And, I support the air-launch cruise missile, the ground-launch cruise missile, the Pershing missile, the Trident submarine,



the D-5 submarine, the Stealth technology, the Midgetman. We have a whole range of technology. Why I disagree with the MX is that it is a sitting duck... And the B-1 is similarly to be opposed...."

- o By definition, negotiation requires compromise. Each side must give up something to reach an agreement. But Mondale has already agreed to scrap the B-1 bomber and MX missile before he would meet the Soviets at the bargaining table. If he has already given up so much, what more would he give away to get the Soviets to sign an agreement?
- o On the one hand, Walter Mondale says he supports some systems as "bargaining chips." On the other hand, he proposes an immediate freeze on these same weapons systems. If Mondale were to freeze all systems, where would he turn for a "bargaining chip?"

#### ROUND EIGHT: NUCLEAR FREEZE

Mondale had the opportunity to explain his "mutual, verifiable freeze." Instead, he talked in garbled, unsubstantiated generalities.

When asked what specific weapons systems would be subject to a mutual and verifiable freeze, Mondale answered:

"Every system that is verifiable should be placed on the table for negotiations to an agreement. I would not agree to any negotiations or any agreement that involved conduct on the part of the Soviet Union that we couldn't verify every day."

This is not the same freeze proposal that Mondale boasted of throughout the Democratic primary campaign -- the one he used to attack his Democrat opponents by boasting that he was "the first" to endorse -- and the one former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski called "a hoax (New York Times, 8/5/84)."

- o In April 1984, Mondale said if he were President, "Every [nuclear] weapons system I know of would be subject to a freeze (Los Angeles Times, 4/1/84)."
- o The freeze proposal includes a freeze on testing and developing new weapons. Yet Mondale says he wants to build the Midgetman missile, which presumably would be covered by the freeze.
- o What Mondale has tried to do is redefine the nuclear freeze to something resembling the SALT I agreement.

Mondale is confused on the issue of verifiability.

- o He says numbers of warheads can be verified, while his

- o running mate, Geraldine Ferraro, has said just the opposite. While he claims we can easily count the number of warheads on a weapon being tested, Mondale is assuming we can always verify testing. But Soviet violations of SALT II's telemetry encryption provisions have already impeded monitoring that very area.
- o Even the founder of Ground Zero, Roger Mollander, has stated that a nuclear freeze could not be verified by the national technical means currently available and that it would be difficult to get the Soviets to accept "intrusive inspection and cooperative measures necessary to verify a comprehensive freeze (Minneapolis Tribune, 2/6/83)."

It is ironic that Mondale places so much emphasis upon verifiability while caring so little for the results of such verification. For example, a January 1984 Administration report to Congress confirmed that the Soviet Union is violating a number of existing arms control agreements. Walter Mondale has never mentioned such violations but pushes for additional agreements.

Mondale almost appears to disavow the nuclear freeze:

"I will not agree to any arms control agreement, including a freeze, that is not verifiable."

- o Perhaps Mondale really does approach the nuclear freeze as a "symbol, not a policy:" exactly as he once accused Gary Hart. He wouldn't be alone in that view. President Carter's Defense Secretary, Harold Brown, has called the freeze "more of a slogan than a program (Wall Street Journal, 10/16/84)."

#### ROUND NINE: CLOSING REMARKS

Walter Mondale's closing remarks were nearly identical to those he gave in the New York and California primary debates. The speech didn't do him much good in California, where he lost to Gary Hart by a huge margin.

Presidential Debate:

"I remember the night before I became Vice President. I was given the briefing and told that any time night or day I might be called upon to make the most fateful decision on earth, whether to fire these atomic weapons that could destroy the human species. That lesson tells us two things: Pick a President that you know will know, if that tragic moment ever comes, what he must know because there will be no time for staffing committees or advisers -- a President must know right then. But above all, pick a President who will fight to avoid the day when that God-awful decision ever needs to be made."

New York, 3/28/84:

"The night before I was sworn in as Vice President of the United States, I had what they called the briefing. It was in a secret, top secret environment. A lot of it must remain classified. But I can say this. In that secret meeting, they told me that I would be in the chain of command and had to be ready in case of a nuclear attack. They told me about the need to be close to someone within minutes, who could help me if I needed to make a decision in the case of incapacitation of the President... And the reason was, they told me, that I might be called at any time, in the middle of the night, and told that Soviet missiles were coming in and I might have 10 minutes, eight minutes, maybe less to decide whether I would fire our missiles or not. My whole life I fought to avoid the moment when a President or someone in his behalf would have to make that deadly choice. It could mean the end of the human species. On Tuesday, ask yourself which of us you think is best prepared and most committed to freeze these God-awful weapons...."

Los Angeles, 6/3/84:

"I remember the night before I was sworn in as Vice President when I was briefed, in a highly classified briefing, by military leaders and told that I was in the chain of command and that it might be my responsibility, if the President were incapacitated, having been called at any time, night or day, and being told that maybe we have eight minutes or 10 minutes before Soviet missiles will land, and it would then be my choice, a deadly choice, as to whether to fire our weapons. I lived with that every minute for four years, and I pledged that if there was anything I could ever do in my life to prevent that awful moment when that decision would have to be made, I would do it... My whole approach as President will be to get arms control, to get a negotiated freeze, to reduce the risk that these God-awful weapons will ever be used...."

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