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NEIGHBORS

1. Carter Vulnerable

- Lacks effective strategy to deal with major issues with Canada and Mexico; relations have suffered from neglect (lack of priority).
- Insensitive to Mexican procedures, feelings and energy importance
 - 1978 quashing of US-Mexican natural gas deal (agreed between 6 US companies and Mexican Government) after Carter promises of cooperation and Mexican President Portillo had gone out on limb to provide US with 66% of its natural gas production (Mexico currently burns off 99% of its natural gas, having no one to sell it to).
 - Insensitive Carter remark during 79 visit about "Montezuma's revenge" (during toast at State banquet, Carter used this term to refer to stomach ailment). No apology to Mexico.
- Shelved any attempt at dealing with thorny Mexican immigration problem
 - US estimates 8-12 million illegal aliens; compete with American workers.
 - 1977 proposals allowed to drop out of sight in Congress
(NOTE: National Commission appointed by Congress under Notre Dame's Hesburgh to come up with recommendations in 81).

2. Reagan Approach

- Make relations with Canada and Mexico more of a 2-way street; encourage interdependence.
- Review US-Mexican and US-Canadian energy relationship with view to developing longer term relationships.
- Increase economic policy consultation so that adverse impact of decisions in one of the three countries can be minimized.
- Review findings of Hesburgh group; develop comprehensive strategy for dealing with refugee problem.
- Explore North American Accord concept, providing for high level consultation.

- US border a sieve; possibly as much as 8% Mexican population now lives in US.
 - Estimated 2 million a year entering the US in late 70s
 - Senator Hayakawa has introduced "Mexican Worker" bill allowing Mexicans to work in US for up to 6 months.
 - Mexicans agree US restrictions on Mexican agricultural exports contribute to Mexican unemployment and illegal immigration.
- Mexico has been under one-party rule since 1930; current President Lopez Portillo's term (no re-election) ends 12/31/82.
 - Important to make progress in 81
 - Population (64 million) could reach 115 million by 2000.
 - Great wealth, great poverty; top 5% receive 40% national income: poorest 50% receive 1/6 national income.

b. Canada

- Current U.S.-Canadian issues considerably less pressing than U.S.-Mexican issues. But
 - unequal relation remains dilemma for Canadians: often torn between being North American, European or broker to Third World.
 - acid rain is environmental issue on both sides of border.
- Following brief interlude with Conservative Joe Clark as Prime Minister (6/4/79 - 3/3/80), Liberal Pierre Trudeau back at helm.
- Major political issue of Quebec separation resolved (5/20/80); Quebec referendum for remaining part of federation.
- Nearly 50% of the Canadian manufacturing sector and 60% of Canadian energy development U.S. controlled.

3. Facts

a. Mexico

- Principal current US-Mexican issues involve unequal relation, energy, illegal immigrants
 - Longstanding distrust US as dominant partner and former antagonist; Mexico wants to be Third World/Latin American leader, show independence from US (Mexico by-and-large a moderate in Third World, has stayed out of OPEC).
 - US super power with economy 30X larger than Mexico's; Mexico depends on US for 60% of its exports and imports; while Mexico represents less than 5% of US trade.
 - Energy: Mexico wants to assure maximum return for its oil; follows OPEC pricing.
 - PEMEX (Mexican National Oil Co.) estimates reserves of 40 billion barrels and potential of 200 billion barrels; but production capability limited due to lack of adequate infrastructure.
 - Currently about .5 million bbd available for US market (30% of current production; 83% Mexican exports; 3% of US requirements.)
 - PEMEX would like to see a 60-20-20 (US, Europe, Asia) split of its oil exports.
 - Theoretically, Mexico could provide over time up to 40% US energy needs.
 - Mexico currently flares its natural gas; Schlesinger vetoed natural gas deal (bad politics) because Mexican price above Canadian price. Now, however, US paying Mexico more for natural gas than in original deal.
 - Illegal Immigrants: a problem on both sides of the border,

Lat'l Econ.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES

A. ENERGY AND STRATEGIC RESOURCE POLICY

1. Carter Vulnerable

- Increasing Western dependence on foreign oil and other strategic resources is straining alliance and limiting freedom of action.
 - Lacking confidence in U.S. ability and resolve, Western allies pursue independent courses to assure access to strategic resources -- often contrary to U.S. interests (e.g., attitudes towards Israel, French sales nuclear material to Iraq)
- Failure to recognize Soviet goals until Afghan invasion and erratic African policy
make mineral rich southern Africa a more and more questionable source of U.S. and Allied needs.
- Carter presidency has also sewn doubts that U.S. has military capability or strategy to defend friendly countries in Middle East, further undermining restraint in OPEC and encouraging the radicals.
 - Example: Lack the means, and perhaps the will, to implement so-called "Carter Doctrine."
 - Example: Vacillating reaction to collapse of Shah raises doubts re American friendship; many moderate oil producers know their own domestic practices no better than Iran's.
 - Example: Carter has done little to counterbalance Soviet naval buildup which threatens sea lanes that oil and raw materials must travel to reach Western nations.
- U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve has only 2 week supply.
- Development of U.S. sources of oil and other materials has been hampered by Carter policy of land withdrawal (Alaskan lands), environmental restraints, and general anti-mineral and oil policies.

2. RR Approach

- Foreign and defense policy (coordinated with allies) to increase security of energy sources and transportation network. Foreign policy must make it in interest of suppliers not to interfere with Western supply, buttress moderate vs radical governments; naval capability must be expanded and modernized to defend sea lanes.

--We must not abandon friends.

--Increase cooperation with allies who are even more dependent.

--Work towards common approaches as between suppliers and consumers.
- Increased investment to locate new sources. Tax incentives as well as freeing industry from paperwork and bureaucratic constraints -- Federal land must be opened up for development consistent with environmental protection.
- Increased R&D funds and international cooperation to develop alternative sources and resources.
- Immediate exploration of ways to accelerate filling of Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

3. Facts

a. Energy

- World oil production will probably level off in the mid-80s; but demand expected to continue to expand. There thus remains urgent need to change consumption patterns and/or develop additional sources of oil and alternative fuels.
- Following 1973 Embargo oil prices quadrupled; since then oil prices have increased to 2.5 x 1974 price (end 79). OPEC divided into moderates (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait) and radicals who want to extract maximum (Libya, Iraq). Saudis have been a principal factor in moderating OPEC price rises using their ability to increase production as leverage. But Saudis have indicated no predisposition to increase production above 12 million bd (current Saudi production 10.5 million bd); Saudis also reluctant to appear too much in Western camp; this could cause crunch in mid-80s.
- Non oil-producing developing countries have been hardest hit by oil price increases; aggregate cost of imports have increased from \$7 billion in 73 to \$67 billion this year (this could increase to \$230 billion by 1990).

- International Energy Agency formed by Western industrialized countries under Ford to deal with energy crisis; provides R&D cooperation, energy supply/demand monitoring, emergency allocation system. Emergency system may trigger if Iraq-Iran conflict continues.

b. Other Strategic Resources

- In 20 strategic minerals, US imports over 50% of needs (in 9 of those, over 90% imported). These include manganese (98% dependent) essential for steel; chromium (89% dependent) essential for precision tools; and platinum essential for chemicals/petroleum refining. USSR is self-sufficient in all but 6 of the same minerals and imports less than 50% of its needs in those 6
- US sources for these minerals are the USSR, nations in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. Most are not stable and many not pro-US. USSR sources for imports are either communist or pro-Soviet.
- Sources and transportation of strategic materials are endangered by Soviet expansion and its naval buildup.
- European and Japanese allies even more vulnerable, making them reluctant to support US political objectives in Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America.

B. INTERNATIONAL TRADE & MONETARY SYSTEM

1. General

- Americans benefit greatly from trade
 - 1 manufacturing job in 5
 - 1 dollar out of every 3 of profits
 - 1/3 of our agricultural production now goes to exports
- Free trade permits most efficient investment and higher return
 - more jobs, better jobs

2. Carter Vulnerable

- Highest deficits in history -- \$122 bil over 4 years (12x higher than 8 year GOP record -- Ford Admin showed no net deficit); Carter blames deficit on higher oil prices, but Germany and Japan, more dependent on foreign oil, show surpluses.
- US price controls on energy encouraged oil and gasoline consumption and discouraged domestic production.
 - US oil imports increased from \$34.6 billion in 1976 to expected \$75 billion in 80.
- Excessive deficits and irresponsible monetary policy fuel US inflation, put major strain on international monetary system, and cause dollar to fall against deutschmark (36%) yen (22%) and Swiss franc (55%) since 76.
- Auto, steel, textiles hurting from increasing imports.

3. Reagan Agenda

- Most important: Economic growth key element of RR program -- tax incentives to increase productivity at home, make us more competitive, create more and better jobs. (U.S. investment in R&D has declined 25% in last 15 years).
- **Make strong effort (not rhetoric) to reduce non-tariff barriers to US exports (MTN implementation). Must eliminate unfair practices overseas and provide equal access to markets.**
- **Reduce unnecessary regulation and taxation which make our companies non-competitive. Need to study other countries' tax laws to see if comparative disadvantages, review anti-trust and other laws.**

- Ensure that bribery laws are enforced, but negotiate with other major trading countries common standards, so US industry is not penalized. (Problem has existed since Ford; Carter efforts for UN agreement unsuccessful.)
- Adequately fund Exim Bank (support Venice summit decision to have agreement on foreign credits). (RR's campaign Mgr., Bill Casey, former head of Exim.)
- Make trade adjustment assistance more effective; orient to adjustment/retraining rather than compensation.
- Stable domestic and international monetary policies.
- Strengthen flexible exchange rate and International Monetary Fund systems.

4. Facts

- U.S. Share of world trade has decreased by 13% since 76 (13.7 to 12%) due to
 - US reduced capital investment, increased regulation, decreased productivity
 - other countries developing new technology, increasing capital investment and supporting exporters through government programs
 - from 1976-79, US exports grew 37% while overall world exports grew 40% (German exports grew 46%; Japan, 48%).
- U.S. still world's largest exporter (\$183.1 billion compared with Germany's \$173.2 billion (second)). Exports have grown from 3% to 8% of GNP during last twenty years.
- US balance of trade deficit highest in history
 - string of Carter deficits peaked in 78 at \$33.8 bil; 79 deficit \$29.5 bil; 80 deficit est at \$25-30 bil
- Increasing oil prices force countries, such as Japan and West Germany that depend on imported oil, to increase export earnings to pay for oil. Increases foreign competitiveness and increases trade deficit.

- Multilateral Trade Agreements Act (1979) resulting from Tokyo Round (MTN) reduces overall tariffs by approximately 1/3; also decreases non-tariff measures through establishment of international codes (this was principal focus of Tokyo Round, as tariffs had previously been largely reduced).
 - US (with one of lowest tariff levels in the world) vulnerable. US average tariffs after MTN 5.7%; European Community average tariffs 7.2%
 - Carter claims procurement code of the new trade agreement as centerpiece export program (\$21 billion in foreign government purchasing open to international competition); but enforcement may be difficult.
 - Foreign non-tariff barriers are still biggest problem for US businessmen. In addition to "buy national" laws for govt. procurement:
 - product standards -- e.g., safety standards to be met by U.S. cars in Japan.
 - government subsidies
 - "Japan, Inc." has mastered the indirect subsidy
 - several European countries give fast tax write-offs and incredible financing terms for equipment
- Carter stated in '78 he would place high priority on exports. But:
 - Much study and reorganization; no definitive action
 - Int'l Trade Comm study of foreign auto pricing has not produced definitive finding, despite Carter efforts to expedite review.
 - 1979 reorganization consolidating programs in Commerce largely shifting of "boxes" from other agencies.
 - Treasury continues to oppose increased export financing. Exim Bank has exhausted its lending authority.
 - Soviet Grain Embargo poorly planned and executed, hurting only US farmers.
- Trade Adjustment Assistance (TAA) under 74 Trade Act provides for assistance in the event of adverse trade impacts -- for workers, firms and communities.
 - Need to make TAA more effective; reduce processing time applications; increase involvement private sector.

C. EXPORT CONTROLS

1. Carter Vulnerable

- Carter promised no grain embargoes in 1976 campaign; but instituted one in 1980 after Afghan invasion.
- Carter ignored Soviet violations US technology licenses; failed to protect whistle blower.

--1979 Commerce testimony before House Armed Services Subcommittee attempted to cover up diversion trucks from Kama River truck plant (built with US technology) to military uses; contrary to US license provisions.

--Export Administration official blew whistle, was forced out of office by Carter Admin even though report by Commerce special counsel cleared him of wrongdoing.

- Trucks from Kama are now being used in Afghanistan in support of Soviet troops.

- Current nuclear export system a mess; biased in favor of delaying exports, even to allies; prejudices US ability to get sales even where no proliferation risk.

2. RR Agenda

- Ensure effective implementation Export Admin Act; closer monitoring of Soviet block use of US technology.
- Better cooperation and consultation with allies; unilateral US controls not effective.
- Make nuclear export function more responsive to overall foreign policy objectives.

3. Facts

- Nuclear export controls administered by independent Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC).

--NRC has been subject of intense criticism from allies for using U.S. licensing process as lever on their programs.

--Recent case of shipment of nuclear fuel to India involved initial NRC inability to make license determinations; President determined shipments in national interest; Congress decided not to override.

D. STEEL AND AUTOS

(See Corporate Bailouts)

E. SHIPBUILDING/MERCHANT MARINE

1. Carter Vulnerable

- 95% U.S. trade carried on foreign flag vessels; while many of these are U.S. owned, may not be dependable during an international crisis; U.S. flag merchant fleet comprises now only 500 odd vessels.
- In contrast, Soviet merchant fleet now totals over 2500 vessels (20 mil tons); vast majority are modern ships specifically designed to support military forces.
 - fleet carries 65% of Soviet foreign commerce and, through freight rate manipulation, an increasing share of free world commerce.
- US in danger of losing basic capabilities. Carter has no comprehensive maritime policy to ensure that US maintains at least minimum levels of skilled manpower, management, engineering and component manufacturing capability for national emergencies and protracted conflict.

2. RR Agenda

- Unified direction of federal programs affecting U.S. maritime interests; Navy and merchant marine cooperation.
- Ensure shipbuilding capability is preserved.
- Improve utilization of military resources by increasing commercial participation in support functions.
- Ensure American flag ships carry an equitable portion of our trade consistent with legitimate aspirations and policies of our trading partners.
- Restore cost competitiveness US flag operators in international marketplace.
 - US parity system no longer effective because of increased subsidies by foreign governments after mid-70 shipping collapse.
- Reduce unnecessary regulation which inhibits US competitiveness.

Global Issues

GENERAL GLOBAL ISSUES

A. REFUGEES

1. Carter Vulnerable

- Inconsistent, uncoordinated policy based on crisis planning as opposed to coherent strategy.
Now have over 10 thousand Cubans essentially locked up on U.S. military bases.
- No effective effort to develop real consensus on worldwide refugee problem, and provide resources and international solution.
-- no one country can carry full burden

2. RR Approach

- No more pressing problem than to provide solutions to meet the needs of those who flee oppression and want.
-- should be enforceable in practice in the real world
- Need to distinguish between refugees from oppression and refugees from want.
-- economic problems must be addressed through encouraging development and investment
-- political refugee problem requires a coordinated international effort to encourage both political improvements and provide humanitarian relief and resettlement
- Sustain long-standing American value of openness to immigrants and refugees.
-- ensure no single group (ethnic, religious, racial) dominates
-- must limit flows recognizing impact on US labor markets, population changes.
-- protect basic civil liberties and human rights of citizens, and immigrants and refugees legally admitted.
- Most important: Develop worldwide consensus on a realistic strategy to deal with refugee problems.
RR would make this a priority. More refugees in world today than anytime in history.

3. Facts

- 1979 U.S. legislation adopts UN protocol on refugees (defined as anyone outside his or her country with a justified fear of returning; someone uprooted by military operations, civil disturbances or natural calamity).
- U.S. accepts more than 2x the number of refugees received in any other country.
- Immigration into U.S. reached highest levels in late 70s; 8-12 million illegal immigrants estimated to live in U.S. (50-60% from Mexico); Spanish-speaking immigrants dominate.
- Immigration will continue in future as relative unemployment, poverty and political instability in developing world increases in 80s.
- Immigration & Naturalization Service (INS) enforcement of U.S. immigration laws poor.
- Recent Refugee Problems
 - Cubans: Policy vacillated from agreeing to take refugees and offering Coast Guard assistance to instructing Coast Guard to turn back illegal vessels and immigration officials to fine them. Since April over 115,000 Cubans have arrived; 97,000 have been relocated. Florida political pressures forced Carter to dump thousands of Cubans on Puerto Rico (no electoral votes), PR protesting. Haitian immigrants originally not subject to any policy, have finally been granted same rights as Cubans.
 - Afghanistan: approximately 1 million in Pakistan; Carter has made no real effort to help Paks with Afghan refugees.
 - Indochina: (from 1975 to mid-1979) over 1 million Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians in SE Asia. Carter doubled the quota of Indochinese refugees admitted monthly from 7,000 to 14,000; a total of 168,000 came to us in year ending July 1980. (See Asia)

B. HUMAN RIGHTS

1. Carter Vulnerable

- In Inaugural Address: "Our commitment to human rights must be absolute."
- But applied it selectively -- most strongly against those most isolated and least able to resist (often pro Western governments) as opposed to regimes such as Cambodia engaged in genocide.
 - in Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay;
 - but not in Poland (where in 1977 he called ex-communist party chief Gierak a "partner in the common effort against war and deprivation" -- the Polish unions thought differently in 1980)
 - and not in Romania ranked lowest in terms of political rights by Freedom House ("Our goals are... the same...to let the people of the world share in...personal freedom.")
 - not until April 78 that Carter got around to criticizing Cambodia: world's "worst" violator human rights; "cannot avoid the responsibility to speak out;" but Carter had avoided the responsibility: Cambodian practices common knowledge by the end of '75. Carter also gave support to Pol Pot in UN.

2. RR Approach

- Support encouragement human rights; this has long been US objective.
- Match rhetoric to reality; be consistent; no false hopes.
- Assure maximum exposure of human rights violations; don't endorse repressive regimes as having same goals we do re human rights.

3. Facts

- Foreign Assistance Act Amendments (1973)
 - directs the President to formulate and conduct international security assistance...in a manner which will promote and advance human rights;

-- crime control and detection equipment, security assistance to police, military education and training forbidden to country "which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violation of internationally recognized human rights," unless President finds "extraordinary circumstances exists."

- Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) does not insure US investments in countries violating human rights
- Exim Bank credits conditioned on advancement US aims re human rights, terrorism, nonproliferation, environmental protection.
 - South Africa may not receive credits except in extraordinary circumstances; restrictions on Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Brazil.
- Jackson-Vanik Amendment denies most favored nation treatment (subject to waiver) to countries that deny emigration (aimed at Jewish emigration from USSR).

C. TERRORISM

- Terrorism must be reduced. Has been inadequately dealt with under Carter.
 - Attacks becoming more daring and more open.
 - Attacks often directed against innocent citizens.
- US primary target
 - Publicly-released CIA report cites over 3,000 terrorist attacks worldwide in the decade 1968-78, only twelve of which occurred in Soviet Union. 41% of victims (persons and/or property) were Americans.
 - In last 12 years, American ambassadors have been murdered in Guatemala, Cyprus, Sudan, Lebanon, and Afghanistan.
- Some terrorist activity within the United States (e.g., Puerto Rican extremist groups; intimidation of Qadhafi opponents leading to expulsion of four Libyan diplomats; assassination of Chilean diplomat Letelier).
- RR would beef up counterintelligence capabilities overseas and at home; make clear to foreign governments that support of terrorist groups will not be tolerated; use leverage to this end (e.g., recent law authorizing aid to Nicaragua states that aid will be terminated if regime harbors or supports terrorists).

D. NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION

1. Carter Vulnerable

- Promised vigorous nonproliferation policy; but instead clumsily interfered with nuclear power programs of Western European and Japanese allies, causing major tensions; little consideration energy needs of others; little real impact on bomb builders (e.g., Pakistan)
 - U.S. no longer regarded as reliable nuclear partner.
 - Despite long standing US commitments envisaging re-processing, US law enacted under Carter required cut off nuclear cooperation with EURATOM countries unless they provide us with veto over reprocessing of US origin fuel (necessary for breeder programs, but producing plutonium usable in bombs).
 - Change of signals regarding Japanese program perceived by them as endangering their energy security.
 - While Brazilian energy needs did not strictly require sensitive German technology, heavy handed Carter attempt to block German-Brazil deal angered both countries.
- Carter pressured Congress not to veto shipments nuclear fuel to India which had detonated nuclear explosive in '74 and has steadfastly refused safeguards on all its nuclear activities. This according to Carter Administration, to keep safeguards on US material in India (300 bombs worth). Need longer term approach to Indian situation in regional security context. Stop gap measures insufficient.
- Carter rhetoric on nonproliferation overblown -- similar to that on human rights.
 - Afghan invasion forced Carter to reverse position on Pakistan assistance (NOTE: having compromised non-proliferation policy, he then offered Paks inadequate aid package which they rejected).
- Loopholes on sensitive nuclear supply not closed.
 - Recent case (9/21/80 Post) involving Swiss component supply to Pakistan symbolizes need for broad supplier agreement.

2. RR Approach

- Nuclear energy important alternative to fossil fuels for the generation of electricity in many countries.
- But also need to recognize risk of diversion for nuclear explosives.
- If elected President, will want to review nonproliferation policy on priority basis. Carter has failed to provide leadership and creative diplomacy essential to effective nuclear cooperation consistent with nonproliferation.

E. LAW OF THE SEA

- After 12 years of discussion, text of draft convention has been negotiated this year among 156 nations under UN auspices.
 - Elliot Richardson was Carter ambassador for this purpose.
 - US will have to make decision in early 81 on whether to open convention for signature.
 - Draft convention:
 - Provides generally agreed international norms for uses of oceans, contributing to US interest in international order.
 - Protects military and maritime rights in straits and 200 mile economic zone (important to naval and air mobility).
 - Confirms US fishing and continental shelf resource jurisdiction (including all likely economic oil and gas).
 - But imposes restrictions on private companies wanting to develop deep seabed (beyond national jurisdiction). Potential for control by hostile UN majorities.
 - Prospects for ratification of treaty uncertain due to controversy over deep seabed mining:
 - Carter negotiating policy did not fully protect US interest in potential of cheap mineral resources on seabed. Made too many concessions to Third World block.
 - Important because of potential resources and US **technological lead in capability to develop deep seabed nickel, copper, manganese and cobalt.**
 - Private US companies, which have capability, would like to explore, mine deep seabed. Draft convention assure 5-6 mine sites will be available at outset, but clouds longer term access through production limits, technology transfer negotiations, potential for bureaucratic interference by unwieldy UN-like body.
-
- RR Administration will have to review issue after thorough examination treaty text.

F. FOOD AND POPULATION

- Major problem is not famine or starvation, but chronic undernourishment.
- Three quarters of the world's inadequately nourished people live in Indian subcontinent.
- Low agricultural productivity is a major cause of hunger.
- Short-run problem is not severe -- food production is outrunning population growth; but State/CEQ 1980 Study estimates "barring revolutionary advances in technology, life for most people on earth will be more precarious in 2000 than it is now."
- Production of food is not currently as big a problem as distribution to those who are undernourished.
- While the more populous regions of world are holding off starvation, they are not making progress toward improving per capita food production
 - will continue to rely on food imports,
 - may not have funds to pay for all that is required.
- Energy requirements may limit expansion of world food production.
- RR may want to consider a food initiative at some point. U.S. policy now inadequate. Would fulfill U.S. role as compassionate leader.

Political Leaders

LIST POLITICAL LEADERS

Afghanistan	Babrak Karmal
Algeria	Pres. Chadli Bendjedid
Angola	Pres. Agostinho Neto
Argentina	Pres. Jorge Rafael Videla
Australia	PM John Malcolm Fraser
Austria	Chancellor Bruno Kreisky
Belgium	PM Wilfried Martens
Brazil	Pres. Joao Baptista Figueiredo
Bulgaria	Pres. Todor Zhivkov
Canada	PM Pierre Trudeau
Chile	Pres. Augusto Pinochet
China	1st Deputy PM Deng Xiaoping
Rep. of China (Taiwan)	Pres. Chiang Ching-ko
Cuba	Fidel Castro
Cyprus	Pres. Spyros Kyprianou
Czechoslovakia	Pres. Gustav Husak
Denmark	PM Anker Jorgensen
Egypt	Anwar Sadat
El Salvador	5 member ruling junta
Ethiopia	Mengisto Haile Mariam
France	Pres. Valery Giscard d'Estaing
Germany	
East	Chairman Erich Honecker
West	Chancellor Helmut Schmidt
Greece	PM Constantine Karamanlis
Guatemala	Pres. Romeo Lucas Garcia
Haiti	Pres. Juan-Claude Duvalier
Hungary	Chairman Gyorgy Lazar
India	PM Indira Ghandi
Indonesia	Pres. Suharto
Iran	Ayatollah Khomeini
Iraq	Pres. Abol Hassan Bani-Sadr
Ireland	Pres. Saddam Hussein
Israel	PM John Lynch
Italy	PM Mechachem Begin
Jamaica	PM Francesco Cossiga
Japan	PM Michael Manley
Jordan	PM Zenko Suzuki
Kampuchea (in civil war)	King Hussein I
Kenya	Pres. Heng Samrin -- Vietnamese backed
	Pres. Pol Pot -- Chinese backed
	Pres. Daniel Arap Moi

Korea	Pres. Kim I l Sung
North	Pres. Doo Huan Chun
South	PM Shaikh Sa'ad Abdullah Al-Salem
Kuwait	Al-Sabah
	Amir Jabir Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah
Lebanon	Pres. Elias Sarkis
Liberia	Samuel K. Doe, Master Sergeant
Libya	Sec.-Gen. Muammar al Qadhafi
Mexico	Pres. Jose Lopez Portillo
Morocco	King Hassan
Nicaragua	5 member ruling junta
Nigeria	Olusegun Obasanjo (military govt)
Norway	PM Odvar Nordli
Oman	PM/Sultan Qaboos bin Said
Pakistan	Pres. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq
Panama	Pres. Aristides Royo
Phillipines	Pres. Ferdinand E. Marcos
Poland	Stanislaw Kania (party chief)
Portugal	Pres. (Gen) Antonio dos Santos
	Ramalho Eanes
	PM Francisco Sa Carneiro (internal
	affairs)
Rumania	Pres. Nicolae Ceausescu
Saudi Arabia	Dep. PM Fahd ibn Abdul Aziz Al Saud
South Africa	Pieter Willem Botha ("Pik")
South-West Africa (Namibia)	In Civil War
Spain	state: King Juan Carlos I de Borbon
	y Borbon
	govt: PM Adolfo Suarez
Sudan	Pres./PM Gaafar Muhammed Nimeiri
Sweden	PM Thorbjorn Falldin
Switzerland	Pres. Georges-Andre Chevallaz
Syria	Pres. Hafez al-Assad
Tanzania	Pres. Julius Kambarage Nyerere
Thailand	PM Kriangsak Chomanan
Tunisia	Pres. Habib Bourguiba
Turkey	Pres. Kenan Euren
USSR	Pres. Leonid I. Brezhnev
United Arab Emirates	PM Rashid ibn Sa'id al-Maktum
United Kingdom	PM Margaret Thatcher
Venezuela	Pres. Luis Herrera Campins
Vietnam	Premier Pham Van Dong

Yemen
South Yemen
Yugoslavia

Pres. Ali Abdullah Saleh
PM Ali Nasser Mohammed Hasani
Stevan Doronjski (Chairman of
Presidium)

Zaire
Zimbabwe

Pres. Mobutu Sese Seko
PM Robert Mugabe