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PM-POLITICS RDP; BJT;720

CARTER; REAGAN TRADE HARSH CHARGES IN EACH OTHER'S TERRITORY
BY LEE BYRD

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

PRESIDENT CARTER AND RONALD REAGAN TROOPED ONE ANOTHER'S POLITICAL STRONGHOLDS TODAY IN FORAYS LAUNCHED BY AN EXCHANGE OF CHARGES OVER SUFFERING; BETRAYAL AND EVEN LIFE AND DEATH.

THE PRESIDENT; CAMPAIGNING IN REAGAN'S HOME STATE OF CALIFORNIA; DECLARED FLATLY MONDAY NIGHT THAT THE NOV. 4 POSES A CHOICE BETWEEN "PEACE OR WAR." IT WAS HIS SEVEREST CHARACTERIZATION TO DATE OF THE REPUBLICAN'S PROSPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

AS FOR HIMSELF; CARTER SAID HE ALREADY HAS DEALT WITH CRISIS AFTER CRISIS THAT "YOU NEVER KNEW ABOUT." HE DIDN'T ELABORATE; EXCEPT TO SAY THAT HAD HE ACTED IMPROPERLY; IT "PERHAPS WOULD HAVE ENDANGERED THE SAFETY AND PEACE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD."

REAGAN; FOR HIS PART; SAID CARTER HAD BETRAYED THE SOUTH; SPREAD "DISTORTIONS AND HALF-TRUTHS" ABOUT THE GOP CAMPAIGN AND WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE THAN TRIPLING WHAT REAGAN TERMED THE "FAMILY SUFFERING INDEX."

AFTER STOPS IN KNOXVILLE; TENN.; AND MIAMI ON MONDAY; REAGAN STUMPED IN PENSACOLA; FLA.; TODAY BEFORE SETTING OUT FOR BATON ROUGE; LA.; AND SPRINGFIELD; MO.

INDEPENDENT JOHN B. ANDERSON; MEANWHILE; INSISTED HE HAD GAINED EQUAL FOOTING WITH CARTER AND REAGAN VIA HIS NATIONALLY TELEVISED DEBATE WITH THE REPUBLICAN SUNDAY NIGHT. BUT HIS BALLOON WAS DEFLATED BY A POOR TURNOUT AT A RALLY IN PHILADELPHIA AND INDICATIONS THAT THE FIRST DEBATE MAY WELL HAVE BEEN THE LAST OF THE 1980 CAMPAIGN.

CARTER HEADED FOR NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND STOPS IN PORTLAND; ORE.; AND TACOMA; WASH.; TODAY AFTER OPENING HIS TOUR OF THE GOLDEN STATE WITH AN EMBRACE FROM THE MAN WHO WON ITS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY; SEN. EDWARD M. KENNEDY. THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATOR JOINED CARTER AT A BEVERLY HILLS FUND-RAISER; EXHORTING THE PARTY FAITHFUL TO RALLY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT.

EARLIER; AT A QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION AT A TORRANCE; CALIF.; HIGH SCHOOL; CARTER SAID THE CURRENT FIGHTING BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN COULD SPEED THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICAN HOSTAGES.

"IT COULD CONVINCE IRAN THAT THEY NEED PEACE WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS; THAT THEY NEED TO BE PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY; THEY NEED TO BE ABLE TO HAVE A STRONG AND VIABLE ECONOMY; THEY NEED TO GET SPARE PARTS FOR THEIR MILITARY WEAPONS AND SO FORTH; AND THEREFORE INDUCE THEM TO RELEASE THE HOSTAGES;" CARTER SAID.

"I'M NOT PREDICTING THAT; BUT IT'S A POSSIBILITY;" HE SAID.

CARTER TOLD THE CALIFORNIA AFL-CIO CONVENTION THE STATE WILL BE VITAL IN DETERMINING WHO WINS THE WHITE HOUSE. CARTER HAS LOST IT THREE TIMES SO FAR; TWICE IN THE 1976 PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTIONS; AND TO KENNEDY THIS YEAR.

THE PRESIDENT ACCUSED REAGAN OF OFFERING A "COUNTERFEIT FUTURE;" AND SAID THE GOP NOMINEE OPPOSES ALMOST EVERY PROGRAM SUPPORTED BY LABOR; BUT CAMPAIGNS UNDER THE GUISE OF FRIENDSHIP TO WORKERS.

ON NOV. 4; SAID CARTER; "WHAT YOU DECIDE ON THAT DAY; YOU AND THOSE WHO LISTEN TO YOUR VOICE; WILL DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF LIFE YOU AND YOUR FAMILIES WILL HAVE; WHETHER THIS NATION WILL MAKE PROGRESS OR GO BACKWARD AND WHETHER WE HAVE PEACE OR WAR."

REAGAN; IN KNOXVILLE; SAID THAT "JIMMY CARTER HAS TURNED HIS BACK ON THE PROBLEMS YOU FACE IN THE SOUTH" BY MISMANAGING THE ECONOMY.

COMBINING FIGURES RELATING TO MORTGAGE RATES; PRICE INCREASES IN FOOD AND GASOLINE; AND UNEMPLOYMENT; REAGAN UNVEILED HIS "FAMILY SUFFERING INDEX" BY WHICH TO MEASURE THE PRESIDENT'S PERFORMANCE.

REAGAN SAID THAT INDEX; PROPELLED BY A 50.9 PERCENT INCREASE IN GASOLINE PRICES ALONE; HAD MORE THAN TRIPLED SINCE CARTER TOOK OFFICE.

CARTER HAD USED A SIMILAR STATISTICAL GIMMICK IN HIS 1976 CAMPAIGN; A "MISERY INDEX" THAT COMBINED THE INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES. REAGAN SAID THE MISERY INDEX WAS 20.3 PERCENT UNDER CARTER; COMPARED WITH THE 12.5 PERCENT THE DEMOCRAT HAD SAID WAS SO POOR UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF GERALD R. FORD.

LATER; IN MIAMI; REAGAN ACCUSED THE PRESIDENT OF "USING DISTORTIONS AND HALF-TRUTHS IN AN EFFORT TO FRIGHTEN AMERICANS INTO BELIEVING THAT I WOULD HURT SOCIAL SECURITY."

THE REPUBLICAN SAID HE HAD LONG SINCE LAID TO REST THE SUGGESTION THAT HE STILL FAVORS MAKING SOCIAL SECURITY A VOLUNTARY PROGRAM.

ANDERSON DREW SEVERAL THOUSAND PERSONS AT A MIDDAY RALLY IN CHICAGO'S DALEY SQUARE MONDAY; BUT BARELY 800 - MOSTLY COLLEGE STUDENTS - TURNED OUT FOR HIM AT PHILADELPHIA'S CIVIC CENTER DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE EVENT WAS WIDELY ADVERTISED.

AP-NY-09-23 0401EDT

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*rec'd 8/29,
B. Garnik*

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger
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August 29, 1980, pm

STATEMENT IN DETROIT BY WILLIAM M. AGEE
CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER, BENDIX CORPORATION
CHAIRMAN, BUSINESS VOTER GROUP FOR REAGAN-BUSH

Mr. Carter unveiled yet another set of policies designed to solve this nation's economic crisis. His latest statements are noteworthy only in respect to their striking inconsistencies with his previous policy position. It is not surprising, therefore, that he could not afford to directly attack the underlying causes of our economic problems with the consistent, broad-based clearly defined programs needed.

In 1977, Mr. Carter supported the largest increase in history when he favored an increase in Social Security taxes. He appears now to be willing to reverse this position but only with a modest tax cut.

For three and one-half years, Mr. Carter has blocked each attempt to pass legislation aimed at accelerating depreciation schedules. He appears to have reversed this position also by his failing to recognize many other important means of stimulating capital formation.

There can be no doubt that sustaining economic growth requires a stable environment in which all segments of business can make informed decisions. Business needs an environment in which it can anticipate new government policies and can systematically plan ahead. Such an environment has not existed for the past three and one-half years.

What's more, it will not exist in the future unless we elect a President who can offer consistent, broad-based comprehensive programs to restore this nation's economic health. The program put forward today by Mr. Carter does not do this.

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NEWS RELEASE

August 30, 1980

Contact: Bob Barrett
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Mark Tapscott
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Statement by former President

GERALD R. FORD

on

The Latest New Carter Economic Program

FOR RELEASE AFTER 5:00 p.m.

5:00 p.m., EDT
Saturday, August 30, 1980

FORMER PRESIDENT GERALD FORD TODAY ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATE-
MENT ENROUTE FROM JAPAN TO VAIL, COLORADO:

I have just returned from Japan. While I was there,
I had a chance to observe first-hand that country's economic
success.

I could not help but realize the contrast between Japan's
four years of progress -- their high productivity levels, their
modern plant and plans for technological improvement -- and
America's four years of sad economic decline.

The economic tragedy which has occurred in the United
States during these past four years is no accident. It is the
result of mismanagement and ineptitude. It is the result of
largely political decisions which have had no relationship to
sound economic decisions.

I understand that President Carter has again offered us
another "new" economic program which he claims will cure our ills
if we just give him another chance.

Like all the other "new" solutions he has promised -- to
cure the very ills his policies have created in the first place --
this newest Carter program is a political gimmick, an election-
year quick-fix which really can't be taken seriously because it
is nothing more than a campaign document.

For four years, he has squandered opportunity after
opportunity to make the economy work. Now, he assures us that
he finally has come up with a revitalization program to help the
country.

Let's face it. It's nothing more than a political grab bag to revitalize his campaign. It's not designed to get the country moving again. It's sole purpose is to try to get his campaign moving again, and to appease his diverse election-year constituencies.

It has nothing to do with genuine economic recovery.

It is just another Carter promise waiting to be broken.

His plan has something in it for everybody, except for the unemployed auto worker in Detroit, the steel worker in Pittsburgh who has lost his job and the young family struggling to put food on the dinner table.

The man who gave us the \$50 dollar rebate now offers us a scheduled rebate on the new social security tax increase, which he approved himself, and which will go into effect January 1.

What his program does, in effect, is to merely offset the \$78 dollars in additional taxes a typical family will have to pay for social security next year by a tax credit. That simply doesn't make sense. It is not a tax cut. Nor is it a cut in tax rates -- something this country needs now to spur confidence and new investment.

Mr. Carter cites his opposition to an immediate tax cut as though it were some sort of pious virtue.

He asks for job-training funds to train people for jobs. What jobs? This year alone, his economic policies have thrown more than two million Americans out of work.

He is so "serious" about his program that, with only one exception, he has no plans to introduce legislation to put it into effect until next year.

He proposes accelerated depreciation to revitalize the business economy. But, for nearly four years now Mr. Carter hasn't lifted a finger to let this happen. Unfortunately, a depreciation schedule -- even at this late date -- cannot, by itself, revitalize the economy. It must be combined with a cut in income tax rates which he shuns.

Even his proposed refundable investment tax credit scheme -- politically motivated as it clearly is -- is intended only to massage some of the very industries which have been so badly undercut by the economic fallout of Mr. Carter's former "new" economic programs -- all five of which have failed so miserably before.

Despite his campaign rhetoric, the Presidency is clearly too tough for Mr. Carter, too complex for effective answers.

He is very adept at making promises. He is a master when it comes to breaking them. He promised he would give us a balanced budget this year, but he's given us the largest deficit, including off-budget spending, in history. He promised us he would not fight inflation by putting people out of work. Yet, there are now more than eight million people unemployed. Inflation has nearly tripled since my administration.

And, the misery index -- a measure of the unemployment rate and the inflation rate which Mr. Carter, himself, invented in 1976 -- is almost twice as high this year as it was four years ago.

Mr. Carter's latest election-year promise, this newest of his failed economic programs over these nearly four years, has as much chance of succeeding as all the rest. None.

Contact: Jack Robertson Office (202) 224 3753 Home (202)
 9 You may call Sen. Hatfield's Portland Office (503)
 5 or his Salem office (503) 363 1639 and Robertson will
 call you.

Date: September 23, 1980
 For Immediate Release

Hatfield Challenges Carter's Remarks On War and Peace

Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore) had the following response to President Carter's statement last night that the November election will pose the choice between "war and peace":

"On Sunday evening, Mr. Carter lost the first Presidential debate. He lost because he made the mistake of failing to show up at the League of Women Voters' Presidential Debate -- as he once promised -- to defend his record."

Last night in California, President Carter made another serious mistake when he said the election will pose a choice between "war and peace."

It is simply inconceivable that Governor Reagan, or any individual with an understanding of the staggering implications that modern war holds for life on this planet, would purposefully lead us down the road toward wholesale destruction.

President Carter's remarks extend far beyond the bounds of common decency. No thoughtful American -- much less a sitting President -- should for a moment give our allies or enemies reason to believe that any U.S. president would purposefully design war.

Just last week, the Washington Post ran an editorial in which they pointed out that 'Mr. Carter, as a candidate, tends to convey a mean and frantic nature...Mr. Carter has abandoned all dignity in his round-the-clock attack on Mr. Reagan's character and standing.'

Similarly, the Washington Star ran an editorial last week which said, '(Mr. Carter's) line of attack upon Governor Reagan... is unworthy of his office and unworthy of Mr. Carter himself.'

Last night was the most deplorable example of such groundless attacks. The President's statement not only does unfair damage to Governor Reagan's personal integrity, but to the post-election standing of the U.S. throughout the world.

As a strong opponent of a return to the draft, I would also point out that it was President Carter, not Governor Reagan, who demanded a return to draft registration. And it was the draft which gave consecutive U.S. presidents the manpower necessary to fight the longest undeclared war in U.S. history."

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE:

CONTACT: Ken Towery
703-685-3630

Tuesday, September 23, 1980
10:30 pm EDT

WASHINGTON, D.C.: For 35 years, "the United States has served as the principal guarantor of world peace," Ronald Reagan's senior Foreign Policy advisor, Richard V. Allen, said today. That peace "rested on the collective power of the United States and its allies."

Allen charged that we have lost "four crucial years" in responding to the growth of Soviet military power. "The stark reality is that Soviet military power, and its awesome growth, represents one of the most formidable threats to world peace in the 1980s."

Allen said that the Ford administration's defense program was a "sound, achievable five-year defense program," which would have provided the margin of safety we need for the 1980s. The Carter administration, he said "dismantled and delayed" the Ford program, with the result that we now have "neither the security that defense program would have given us, nor do we have a SALT II Treaty acceptable to either the Senate or to the American people."

Noting recent administration expressions of support for the SALT II Treaty, which has been temporarily withdrawn from Senate consideration because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Allen called for immediate submission of the treaty to the Senate and full debate on it. "The fact is," he said, "that there are not enough votes in the United States Senate to approve the treaty. The fact is that the administration knows it, and that with or without the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the treaty would have failed."

Arms limitation talks, he said, must have a "priority status in a new administration, whatever the outcome of our election." But we must be aware that there may be harmful as well as useful arms control agreements, and we must be attentive to the context and the terms of agreements. With that vigilance, he said: "I believe we should be prepared to sit at the negotiating table, after full and frank consultation with our allies, for as long as it takes to hammer out a balanced, equitable arms limitation agreement that will protect American security. It is not important whether it is called SALT II, SALT III or SALT X; the important thing is that our approach is correct, and that successful discussions lead to meaningful and productive agreements."

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EMBARGOED UNTIL:

Delivery on:
Tuesday, September 23, 1980
7:30 p.m. PDT

CONTACT:

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GLOBAL CHALLENGES TO THE AMERICAN ENTREPRENEUR
AN ADDRESS BY
RICHARD V. ALLEN
SENIOR FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR

PEPPERDINE UNIVERSITY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AWARD DINNER
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

If one takes seriously the assignment of analyzing the global challenges that confront entrepreneurs, whom I judge to be the front-line soldiers of our free enterprise system, then what is required is a careful assessment of the state of the world in the 1980s.

Businessmen, not unlike statesmen, face the responsibilities of conducting their enterprises in times, places and circumstances not always of their own choosing. It goes without saying that both businessmen and statesmen will feel more secure, and will most likely prosper, when the environment in which they must operate is tranquil, stable and safe. In such conditions, peace (or what is thought to be peace) will prevail, progress and profits will be created, and optimism about the future will persuade both the businessman and the statesman to commit resources and programs for future growth, based on the expectation that such investments will yield dividends in years to come. Such expectations are not unreasonable in light of the post-war history of the world.

Yet we have, in this important year of 1980, reason to feel uneasy about the future. And, although there is no immediate reason for either the businessman or the statesman to cease activity or to withdraw from the world, only the most sober and realistic appraisal of the global environment during the decade of the 1980s will suffice.

In the 35 years since the end of World War II, the United States has served as the principal guarantor of world peace. The reconstruction of Europe and Japan was made possible by policy choices of our Presidents and by the generosity of the American people. The United States had definable interests in the world, and the rapid economic development of the rest of the non-communist world was a major interest worth pursuing. The success of that interest had served the broader goal of defending the peace, which in turn rested on the collective power of the United States and its Allies.

As we dismantled the powerful machine we had created to defeat the Axis powers, the Soviet Union maintained its own military strength for the purpose of expanding its domination. The result was, of course, the subjugation of the nations of Eastern Europe. Our response, the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, were born of a perception that if we did not move swiftly and decisively, both our interests and those of our Allies would be in dire jeopardy.

With new responsibilities as a world leader, the United States assumed global burdens. The consequence of the new position was clear: the demands upon us, in striving both to maintain world peace and to pursue other national interests as we then perceived them, required that our visible strength be assembled in a convincing fashion, and that would-be disturbers of the peace remain convinced that our deterrent power would be used effectively when necessary.

It is not my purpose to try to convince you that the circumstances of unchallenged American power were always such that we cleverly and judiciously reached our objectives. The historical record demonstrates that such was not always the case.

But if we assess the balance sheet of the first three decades of the post-war world, we can conclude that, by and large, American policy and purpose have managed to lead the non-communist world in a positive, if sometimes erratic, direction.

Thus, despite occasional errors in judgment, which are to be expected because leaders are mortal, the United States has pursued a policy of seeking to deter our principal adversary, the Soviet Union. By maintaining our deterrent power we emphasized the perils of military adventure, while by persuasion we hoped to change the Soviet leadership's odd and combative view of world history by offering cooperation through detente.

Elements of deterrence and persuasion are, of course, permanent features of our policy; it is the mix and the emphasis that changes as internal circumstances themselves are altered, as our perception of our own objectives changes.

The businessman knows that he must have a plan and that his policies should serve the goals of that plan. If he does not have a plan, he will shortly encounter confusion, and in all likelihood will lose both his investment and his business. Should this happen, and should he care to try again, he will be the wiser for his experience, and will seek to avoid the mistakes made the first time, because he

knows that refusal to learn the lessons that experience taught will condemn him to relive the sad experience. Guided by this view of history, the entrepreneur will again risk his fortune, this time guided by his practical insight and armed with a plan.

Of course, if our businessman should encounter difficulties in the pursuit of his objectives, he will pause to consider changes in both his tactics and his strategy. If they are not working, he will reason, he must then change the plan to reflect the environment in which he will operate.

What are some of the main reasons for the businessman to change his plan? We can readily think of a few: strong competitors some of whom may be ruthless and unprincipled; technological advance, which can make a product obsolete; new methods of marketing and advertising, which offer more effective ways to deliver a message; short cuts and other techniques which alter the processes of production; a breach of secrecy, which allows proprietary information to fall into the hands of one's competitors; or the passage of burdensome laws and regulations which, while well-intentioned, have the effect of stifling creativity and innovation, and therefore wreck the plan. There are, to be certain, other factors to consider.

But we know the businessman must be smart and adaptive in order to remain secure. He must be ever on guard for events beyond his control, and he must be equipped to change his approach when it is obvious that he must do so in his own interest. What the businessman seeks is a position of leadership, whereby he can influence events to the maximum extent possible, and he knows that attainment of that position will bring him rewards and security. Once in the enviable position of attaining leadership, he knows that to stay there he must retain confidence in himself, be alert to sudden changes and merit the respect of those with whom he deals.

It seems to me that, without attempting to stretch the analogy too far, nations must follow a similar course if they wish to be strong, respected, secure and influential in the world. I think it is fair to say that the United States had something like this in mind for the post-war years, that we more or less succeeded in staying at the head of the pack, despite an occasional mistake or even an ill-advised detour. We managed to achieve that position of pre-eminence even though at times we may have been overly generous in adjusting our interests with those of our friends, and sometimes with those who were not our friends. We do not fault our leaders for erring on the side of generosity; but we do hold them accountable when they sacrifice basic interests of the United States.

Although we may not, or may choose not to remember it, 18 years ago next month we stood in direct confrontation with the Soviet Union. By introducing into Cuba, a newly created Soviet puppet state just 90 miles from our shores, intermediate range ballistic missiles which directly threatened the security of the United States, the Soviets had taken a reckless gamble. Having taken the measure of an American President, John F. Kennedy, and found him wanting, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev committed a grave miscalculation. In the ensuing standoff, and confronted by American determination backed by overwhelming nuclear superiority, the missiles were withdrawn and the immediate crisis was resolved.

The outcome of that crisis reflects the wisdom of Lord Salisbury's observation of 1882, when he said:

"If any nation suffers itself to get into war with a weaker nation which is sufficiently civilized to know the great difference that exists between them, you may depend upon it that there is something in the conduct of that stronger nation which induces the weaker nation to believe that the larger country will never exert its strength.

"We have heard a great deal about prestige. I detest the word. It does not really express what we mean. I should rather say 'military credit.' Military credit stands in precisely the same position as financial credit. The use of it is to represent a military power, and to effect the objects of a military power without the necessity of a recourse to arms."

As a consequence of the Cuban Missile Crisis, we drew certain policy conclusions and the Soviet Union drew its own. For our part, we came to believe that the Soviets, having stared down the nuclear gunbarrel, as it were, decided that they were not -- and never could be -- a suitable strategic match for the United States. The consequences of such a decision implied that the Soviet Union would henceforth accept a status of permanent strategic inferiority to the United States, and that the main task of American policy would be to draw the Soviet Union into a regime of cooperation in preserving world peace.

We were justifiably relieved that the confrontation of October 1962 had not led to conflict, the full consequences of which we did not care to have elaborated. But the policy conclusions which were drawn at the time were neither justified nor helpful in terms of our long-range security interests.

In fact, the Soviet leaders did not accept permanent strategic inferiority vis-a-vis the United States, nor did they turn inward in an effort to allocate more scarce economic resources to improving the lot of the Soviet consumer. Theirs was a contrary conclusion: based on the unhappy experience of being forced to withdraw in humiliating circumstances their missiles from Cuba, they decided to intensify their efforts to catch up with, and overtake, the United States in the major categories of military power.

For more than fifteen years thereafter, through successive administrations, efforts to moderate Soviet behavior were at the center of American foreign policy. The laudable efforts of our Presidents to negotiate arms control agreements were based on the constant hope that an unproductive and potentially destabilizing arms race, clearly not in the best interests of the United States, the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, could be averted.

It is inconceivable that this message could somehow have been misunderstood by the men in the Kremlin. Rather, the evidence leads us to the conclusion that they chose to capitalize on our desires for peace and our willingness to extend the benefit of our doubts for the purpose of maintaining the momentum of their military drive.

That military buildup clearly exceeds, by any reasonable factor, the defensive needs of the Soviet Union. It is, in fact, the greatest military buildup in the history of mankind. It is a characteristic of a nation that seeks not stability and order, or peaceful change, but dominance over others. While we repeat our desire to avoid an arms race, we may unwittingly be drawn into one, because one side is already racing ahead.

The example of Afghanistan is too important to ignore. Here we have the case of an essentially defenseless country, once neutral in its orientation, having the misfortune of being located next to the Soviet Union. It also shares borders with an unstable Iran and a still-developing Pakistan. Some have argued that the Soviet Union actually undertook the invasion of Afghanistan out of fear of Moslem fundamentalism penetrating to its central Asian republics, and hence threatening the very legitimacy of Soviet rule. I do not share that theory.

What is more likely is that the Soviet Union calculated it could act because the West in general, and the United States in particular, would be incapable of or unwilling to take meaningful steps to respond. That calculation was based, in my view, first on the changed military balance and the confidence of Soviet leaders in what they term the "correlation of global forces," and second, on a particular series of important events.

In April 1978 the Soviet Union engineered the coup d'etat in Afghanistan that installed its own puppet regime. The reaction in the West and from Washington was, to put it charitably, understated. In February 1979 our Ambassador to Afghanistan, Adolph Dubs, was murdered as Soviet troops looked on, directing their Afghan clients. No penalty was exacted. In August 1979 a Soviet combat brigade was discovered to be in Cuba. In a frantic flurry of activity, the Administration in Washington declared its presence "unacceptable" and within weeks reversed itself and declared that its purposes were essentially benign. The fact that the brigade was there to train Cubans to use identical Soviet military equipment prepositioned in far-flung strategic locations such as Yemen, in the Middle East, seemed not to matter.

In November 1979 Iranian mobs -- led by terrorists of uncertain origin -- invaded the United States Embassy in Teheran and took hostage 53 Americans, all but one of whom remain there to this day. The ineffective, confused reaction of the United States was further evidence for unwillingness to act. And then, later in November, the United States Embassy in Pakistan was attacked, burned to the ground, and two Americans were killed.

These were the main ingredients of the Soviet calculation to invade Afghanistan, an important link in strategic control of the Persian Gulf, at this particular time. It was far from being some short-term, opportunistic objective based upon momentary greed or even upon fear of internal instability in the Soviet Union itself.

The world stood in shock, appalled at the Soviet decision. But still our response was uncoordinated and hesitant; we failed to mobilize our Allies and our strengths, resorting only to declaring a new "doctrine" for the defense of a remote but vital area of the world, without any means to give credence to the doctrine.

What has happened to us, to our international position, to the respect with which we were so long regarded? Have instability and insecurity become permanent features of our lives? Must those who operate in such a world, including businessmen, draw the conclusion that conflict is imminent? Given the continuation of global unrest, coupled with the growth of Soviet military power, the spread of revolutionary and terrorist activities and a static United States position, five main challenges on the horizon will tax our resources and cause deep concern in the years ahead.

First, the security of our energy supplies will be threatened.

Second, we may become involved with stiff competition for raw materials, and vital natural resources and be subjected to the threat of interruption of supply by hostile forces.

Third, we could be threatened with the collapse of our security arrangements, with strains and serious differences appearing even within the NATO Alliance.

Fourth, given the lack of American leadership, the increasing policy divergence among Allies may lead to the pursuit of independent and narrower, more nationalistic objectives, including the implementation of trade policies which could disrupt international economic stability.

Fifth, the failure to rebuild military security by means of realistic programs that will serve to restore that vital margin of safety which has now been lost, will lead to the further weakening of our position in the world, and may tempt our adversaries to take new, more aggressive risks to extend their dominance.

These challenges, alone or in any combination, are more than enough to merit our undivided attention for the entire decade of the 1980s. Extraordinary things can happen, and fast, at a time when we are preoccupied with such concerns as double-digit inflation, unemployment, recurring recessions, falling productivity, decreasing competitiveness, rising energy costs and rapidly declining military power.

One condition must underlie any effort to remedy our multiple problems, and that is the restoration of American leadership. Unless and until that vital quality is clearly present, domestic and international problems will intensify and our fortunes will continue to ebb. This process is complex, filled with pitfalls, and heavily dependent on the ways in which we perceive our future as well as the way in which we are perceived in the world. For Americans, the most important lesson of the 1980s may well be our recognition that, as the brilliant analyst and writer, Irving Kristol puts it, "a whole new set of priorities will have to be established, as we come to grips with the fact that the American economy does not exist in isolation from world politics."

Indeed, Kristol tells us, "the truly important problems of the American economy in the years to come will result from... things

that happen elsewhere in the world, things that will profoundly affect us and to which we shall have to respond." To cope with such a fundamental reorientation of our thinking about, and appreciation for the necessity to shape world affairs as a primary contributor to our individual destinies, will require a great change in the way we deal with our problems. It means that what we do here at home, what choices we make in our individual lives and in our communities will have meaning and impact in the world at large. And it means that we must use our great power in a responsible, principled manner to insure our safety and our well being.

The capacity of the United States, working closely with its friends and allies, to accomplish this fundamental reorientation is not questioned. Without the United States, however, it cannot be accomplished. So the issue is whether we have the will and the stamina to attack our domestic problems while we simultaneously attempt to restore confidence in our determination to lead. Before we can lead, we must convince others that we will take seriously our obligations, that we will be a constant, reliable ally, that we will not abandon our friends for short-term gains, that we really can be depended upon to use our power and our position wisely.

An uncertain, vacillating, hesitant foreign policy will convey to our friends and, still more important, to our enemies highly ambiguous and even misleading signals, which will in turn give rise to dangerous situations.

I spoke earlier of the need to learn from past mistakes in order to avoid those mistakes in the future. I sometimes fear that we have not learned and are on the verge of making in the 1980s the mistakes that were made in the 1930s. I recall Walter Lippman's description of that time, and I wonder if it is not applicable to today:

"At this time the American people were as unprepared in their minds as in their military establishment. Could the democracies be rallied, could they be collected and nerved for the ordeal so that they would be equal to this mortal challenge? They had the superior assets. They had the numbers, the resources, the influence. But did they have the insight, the discipline to persevere, and the resolution to go through with it? Though they had the means, did they also have the will, and did they still know how? A second world war was making out of the ruins and the failures of the first, and there was nothing to show that the Western democratic governments were in control of their affairs and capable of

making the necessary decisions. They were reacting to events and they were not governing them. Could they avoid defeat and conquest without an exhaustion which would rend the fabric of Western society, without enormities of suffering which would alienate the masses of the people, and without resorting to measures of violence which might become inexpiable? They were so very late, and they were becoming engaged in they knew not what. They had refused to take in what they saw, they had refused to believe what they heard, they had wished and they had waited, hoping against hope." (Lippman, Walter, The Public Philosophy, 1955)

Miscalculation can lead to confrontation, which is precisely the circumstance our foreign policy ought to be able to discourage. We may miscalculate, too, if we persist in clinging to an illusion that we are not confronted with an opponent whose global ambitions and drive for preponderance are virtually without meaningful limits. The stark reality is that Soviet military power, and its awesome growth, represents one of the most formidable threats to world peace in the 1980s. To say this does not betray an obsession with that power or its origins, nor does it mean that all the world's problems originate in, or because of, the Soviet Union. It is all too easy to fall into useless polemics, or even a primitive conception of the world and how it is organized, when discussing this important topic.

On the contrary, it is something that the American people have come to understand quite well, just as they grew to comprehend the significance of German and Japanese military power just prior to World War II. While the American people profess growing concern over the imbalance of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union, other nations may conclude that our failure to redress the balance is evidence of our unwillingness to lead.

If it is true that the growth of Soviet military power is a central fact of the 1980s, then it is of equal importance whether we recognize its significance and decide promptly how we shall deal with it. We have lost nearly four crucial years, years in which our response could have been articulated responsibly and with steady determination. I refer specifically to the legacy left by President Ford on his departure from office, a sound, achievable five-year defense program designed to carry America and the West through this dangerous decade.

That defense program, if realized, would have been the foundation of our security today. It would have provided that vital

margin of safety which we require to protect our interests and discharge our international obligations. But it was dismantled and delayed as an example of our forbearance, of our good intentions, and in the hope that our Soviet adversaries would behave in mirror-image fashion. Moreover, it was agreed that such restraint on our part would be an inducement to the Soviet Union to conclude a meaningful SALT II Treaty. Unfortunately, the Soviets saw it as a remarkable opportunity to intensify their efforts in the drive for superiority.

Today, we have neither the security that defense program would have given us, nor do we have a SALT II Treaty acceptable to either the Senate or to the American people. The agreement finally negotiated is an instrument that would lock the United States into long-range strategic inferiority vis-a-vis the Soviets. This is a condition that is unacceptable.

Last week a high government official, himself a long-time and dedicated opponent of a strong national defense, declared that the growing concerns about the decline in our military strength are "funereal forecasts" which "can be dangerous in their effect." If this approach to a crucial national problem is to be taken seriously, we must infer that in 1980, a year of choice, the debate on our national security posture should somehow be "off limits" to spokesmen of opposing points of view.

Americans know better. Public opinion polls, along with every other barometer of public concern, demonstrate clearly that our people are troubled by the decline in our strength and by the concomitant loss of respect for the United States in the world. Those who call for the restoration of American power are hardly "evangelists of American weakness," as that government official called them in a term reminiscent of the detractors of Winston Churchill nearly fifty years ago. It is simply that they do not share the official "affirmation" that America is "growing stronger."

If we are in fact growing stronger, why do our nation's military leaders disagree?

The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Thomas B. Hayward, told Congress that the U.S. Navy is stretched thinner than at any time since the late 1940s, and is "trying to meet a three ocean requirement with a one-and-a-half ocean Navy."

The Chief of Staff of the Army, General Edward C. Meyer, testified that we have a "hollow army," afflicted with shortages in personnel, training and weapons.

And the Commander of our Strategic Air Command, General Richard H. Ellis, has testified that the United States is now strategically inferior to the Soviet Union and will remain so at least into the latter part of the 1980s.

Within the past days there was a splendid opportunity to discuss and debate these crucial issues in a nationwide television forum which one hundred million Americans could have witnessed. But the principal architect of the record under discussion chose not to debate. That speaks for itself.

The Carter Administration would have some difficulty explaining its position on the SALT II Treaty to the American people. Even before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, it was clear that the U.S. Senate would not ratify this seriously flawed treaty. After the invasion, President Carter acknowledged that it should not be ratified for the time being. Yet, he argued that we should live by the provisions of the treaty. Early this month* he said that the Senate will be ready to consider again the ratification of SALT II "When we see positive movement by the Soviets to withdraw their occupying troops from Afghanistan." But last Sunday, the Secretary of Defense argued that SALT ratification is in our interest "whether the Soviets get out of Afghanistan or not."**

Will it next be argued that SALT II must be ratified regardless of what the Soviets do? Will we be told that the value of a piece of paper signed by Brezhnev outweighs the invasion of a country by Brezhnev's armies, that it outweighs the growing evidence of Soviet violations of other signed agreements, such as the convention prohibiting biological weapons or the treaty limiting the size of nuclear tests? What should the American people make of these confused signals? What will the Soviets make of it?

Well and good; there are 42 days remaining until November 4th. Let the SALT II Treaty be submitted to the Senate today. Let the Senate debate the issue fully, and in the process illuminate the main issues in the national security debate going on in the country today. Let the Senate work its will, and then we shall see whether our elected representatives will give this Treaty their approval.

The fact is that there are not enough votes in the United States Senate to approve the Treaty. The fact is that the Administration knows it, and that with or without the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the Treaty would not have been approved as it stands.

The Senate, indeed, the entire Congress, reflecting the views of the American people, supports the principles of arms control. This is a worthy objective, one which could contribute to peace and

stability if the parties involved shared common arms control objectives. But there may be harmful arms control as well as useful arms control. We must be attentive to the context and the terms of arms control agreements. And on these two counts, SALT II fails.

I believe that the matter of arms limitation must have a priority status in a new Administration, whatever the outcome of our election. I believe we should be prepared to sit at the negotiating table, after full and frank consultation with our Allies, for as long as it takes to hammer out a balanced, equitable arms limitation agreement which will protect American security for decades. It is not important whether it is called SALT II, SALT III or SALT X; the important thing is that our approach is correct, and that successful discussions lead to meaningful and productive agreements.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union should understand that the momentum and scale of its military buildup is a subject of increasing concern to Americans, who have a profound distaste for engaging in an arms race. Our entry into such a race would, of course, be only with great reluctance and as a remedy of last resort. Our technological skills, our productive power and our determination to achieve an objective are resources best applied to the multitude of problems we face at home. Yet, at this critical time, we are left with no prudent choice but to do what is necessary to repair our deterrent forces, which the Soviets now challenge. We must also maintain preparedness in our armed forces, and restore the vital margin of safety that has been so eroded by Soviet action and U.S. inaction.

Our policies for the 1980s must be consistent and principled. There must be a steady hand at the tiller, and our international posture must reflect confidence in ourselves and in our future. This requires thoughtful, pragmatic, prudent, balanced and cautious leadership. It requires a prompt return to the truly bipartisan foreign policy that characterized the United States until the years of the Vietnam experience shattered the consensus and divided our people. Executive leadership can lift us up from partisan bickering, and can set the course for the restoration of our momentum at home and abroad.

Recently it was my good fortune to have put in my hands a remarkable speech given by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Malcolm Fraser. He was honored by B'nai B'rith International, and had traveled 10,000 miles to receive a medal and deliver an address. I commend it to your attention, and offer in closing the words of this staunch friend of the United States:

A people without an objective are a people lost.
A people without faith are a people destroyed. A
people without conviction will not survive. It is
liberty which provides the objective, liberty
which allows faith, liberty which sustains
conviction.

But liberty is not an inevitable state and there
is no law which guarantees that once achieved it
will survive. Its preservation requires skill,
determination and strength.

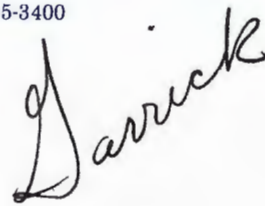
As Americans, we have a clear understanding of what is at
stake for us, and we know that the task before us is formidable. So
we had better get on with it; and if we cannot do it, who can?

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

NEWS RELEASE



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Tuesday, September 23, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

WASHINGTON, D.C.----Governor Ronald Reagan will extend his weekend visit to California an extra day to permit additional meetings with policy advisers and for television tapings.

Reagan-Bush campaign officials said the Governor will remain in Los Angeles until late Monday, September 29th, for the sessions. Governor Reagan arrives there on Friday night after a five-day, nine-state campaign swing which will take him to Tennessee, Florida, Louisiana, Missouri, Texas, Colorado, Washington, Oregon, and California.

Governor Reagan previously had been scheduled to leave California on Monday for appearances in Boise, Idaho, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, which may be rescheduled at a later time. He will depart late Monday for Des Moines to resume his published schedule.

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Tuesday, September 23, 1980

CONTACT:

Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

FORMER PRESIDENT FORD LABELS CARTER ATTACK NON-PRESIDENTIAL

PITTSBURGH, Pa. -- Former President Gerald R. Ford Tuesday said President Carter is eroding respect for the presidency by "personal and misleading attacks" on Governor Ronald Reagan.

"It is ironic that President Carter would attempt to raise the peace issue in this campaign," Ford told a news conference here. "Jimmy Carter has practically dismantled our military, leaving the United States more vulnerable today than at any other time in our history."

Ford charged that Carter's decisions have rendered 60 percent of our divisions unready for combat and 30 percent of our helicopters unoperational.

"We have ships that won't sail, planes that won't fly."

Ford said a strong military is essential to world peace. "That is the only way to pursue peace in today's troubled and complex world."

* * * * *

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Wednesday, September 24, 1980

CONTACT:

Nancy Reynolds
703-685-3400 or
Jon Jessar
703-685-3561

The Reagan-Bush Committee today announced that Governor Ronald Reagan will make a presidential whistle-stop train tour of Illinois on Saturday, October 18. Details will be announced on a continuing basis.

* * * * *

Reagan & Bush

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Thursday, September 25, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

WASHINGTON, D.C.----William Casey, Director of the Reagan-Bush Campaign, today announced the appointment of Virginia H. Knauer as consumer affairs advisor. In announcing her appointment, Casey said: "Virginia Knauer, more than anyone, has been the fulcrum of the government and business responses to the problems and needs of the consumer."

Casey noted further that "in her home state, she was the first director of Pennsylvania's Bureau of Consumer Protection. For the eight years of the previous Republican administration, she listened to consumers and business in her White House position as Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs. Consumer programs in the Executive Branch, including the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs, can be traced to Virginia's compassion and determination to help America's consumers."

As president of Virginia Knauer and Associates, Inc., a consulting firm, Mrs. Knauer has advised corporations and associations since 1977. She is also chairman of the Council for the Advancement of Consumer Policy, a nonprofit educational organization.

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Reagan & Bush

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Friday, September 26, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger
or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

REAGAN CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL DOUBTS CARTER ON DEBATE ISSUE

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- A senior Reagan campaign advisor said today President Carter cannot be trusted on the question of debates.

James A. Baker III, who heads Reagan's debate team, said Governor Reagan is turning down the League of Women Voters' invitation for a one-on-one debate October 12 because he does not trust Carter to show up for the final three-way debate October 26.

"If it were to his political advantage not to show up on October 26, President Carter would not show up," Baker said.

"Carter has done a lot of talking about debates but has refused to debate anyone," he added.

"He said he was going to debate Senator Kennedy and then backed away. He said he was going to participate in the League's debates and now says 'but only on my terms' -- which are inflexible and non-negotiable."

Baker said Reagan has "no assurance whatsoever" that President Carter will show up for the final debate.

Baker charged Carter's record on debates is one of "arrogance and broken promises."

The statements were contained in a letter to Ruth Hinerfeld of the League of Women Voters, sponsors of the debates.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 26, 1980

Ms. Ruth Hinerfeld
Chair,
League of Women Voters
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Ms. Hinerfeld:

Your invitation to a debate between Governor Reagan and President Carter the week of October 12, to be followed by a Carter-Reagan-Anderson debate the week of October 26, is basically a restatement of the Carter position as announced in our first negotiations one month ago. We have said in the past, and thought you had agreed, that basic fairness requires that any viable candidate be permitted to participate in your debates and present his views to the American people. This principle was the basis for your inclusion of John Anderson in the debate last Sunday night in which President Carter declined to participate. Your sacrifice of this principle of fairness in succumbing to White House pressure is unseemly and will not reflect favorably upon the League. If Congressman Anderson should be included when he is at 15 percent in the polls, it seems more than passing strange that you would exclude him when he is at 19 percent.

Governor Reagan has stated many times that he feels as a matter of principle that Congressman Anderson should not be excluded. It is for this reason that we suggested several weeks ago that you sponsor a series of one-on-one debates as a means of resolving this impasse. We remain of the view that that is the fair way to proceed and Governor Reagan will debate President Carter if President Carter will debate Congressman Anderson as Governor Reagan has done.

To accept the conditions in your invitation would not only have the effect of excluding John Anderson from the next Presidential debate, but would also mean that Governor Reagan, who has already debated six times this year in debates which you have sponsored, would find himself participating in three general election

Ms. Hinerfeld letter
September 26, 1980
Page two

debates while President Carter (who has talked a lot about debating, but as yet has refused to debate anyone) would participate in only two.

Finally, neither you nor we would have any assurance whatsoever that President Carter would show up for the three way debate. His track record on debates is one of arrogance and broken promises. He said he was going to debate Senator Kennedy and then backed away. He said he was going to participate in the League's debates and now he says "but only on my terms" - which are inflexible and non-negotiable. And finally, he said on "60 Minutes" that he would debate John Anderson but he now says "not one-on-one, and only on my terms and conditions." With the election only nine days away, if it were to his political advantage not to show up on October 26, President Carter would not show up. For the foregoing reasons, Governor Reagan believes that two one-on-one debates, conducted as outlined above so that each candidate will debate each of his opponents an equal number of times, is the only fair way to proceed.

Very truly yours,

James A. Baker III
Senior Advisor

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Friday, September 26, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofizger
or
Mrs. Dole
703-685-3681

REAGAN-BUSH UNIT ORGANIZING OVERSEAS VOTE

Elizabeth Hanford Dole, Chairman of the Voters for Reagan-Bush, has named Tania Talenti and Lois Shepard Co-Directors of Citizens Abroad for Reagan-Bush.

Dole believes that sizable numbers of overseas Americans will support the Republican ticket. "About 80 percent of Americans abroad are Republicans," she said today at the Reagan-Bush headquarters. "Tania Talenti and Lois Shepard know how to reach voters abroad and we are counting on their help to bring in the votes for the Reagan-Bush ticket this fall."

Both women are experienced in political affairs. Talenti has worked in 1968 in the New York headquarters dealing with the foreign press under Herbert Klein and in the 1972 presidential campaign with "Republicans Abroad." Shepard, as Republican National Co-Chairman in Greece, organized a "get out the vote" campaign in that country, coordinated the Bush campaign in Southern Europe, North Africa and the Middle East and was an alternate delegate for Republicans Abroad to the GOP convention in Detroit. Shepard is also in charge of coordinating these efforts with the RNC.

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Talenti noted that recent reforms simplify overseas balloting procedures and increase the number of potential voters. She said that "there are about 800,000 potential Republican votes that now could be added to the Reagan-Bush total in November."

To organize this vote, Citizens Abroad has been divided into four organizational regions for the campaign: the Western Hemisphere, Europe, Asia and Africa. Announcement of national chairmen in more than 25 countries is expected soon.

* * *

FACT SHEET

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

September 26, 1980

THREAT OF WAR WITH CUBA

INITIAL THREAT BY CARTER

"The presence of a Soviet combat brigade in Cuba is a very serious matter. This status quo is not acceptable" (Washington Star, September 7, 1979).

SECOND THREAT BY CARTER

"We are not trying through diplomacy to get the Soviets to eliminate the combat nature of this troop. And I don't know yet whether we will succeed. If we do not succeed, we will take appropriate action to change the status quo" (St. Louis Post-Dispatch, September 26, 1979).

RECALLING THE CARTER OF 1976

" . . . The time for blustering and bluffing other nations by claiming we're going to send in troops has passed" (UPI, October 26, 1976)

ANOTHER "FLASHBACK" TO THE CARTER OF 1976

"I am not afraid of hard bargaining with the Soviet Union" (Washington Post, March 16, 1976).

THE OCTOBER "SURPRISE"

"This is not a large force, nor an assault force. It presents no direct threat to us. I have concluded that the brigade issue is certainly no reason for a return to the cold war" (Televised Address to the Nation, October 1, 1979).

TRUTH

The Soviets are building a submarine base in Cuba and the combat brigade still maneuvers there

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Friday, September 26, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

AMARILLO, Texas -- Marvin Meek of Plainview, Texas, National Chairman of the American Agriculture Movement and a Delegate to the Democratic National Convention in New York this year, today endorsed Ronald Reagan for President of the United States, saying that the Carter Administration's agricultural policies are leading the nation into an economic depression.

Speaking at a press conference here, Meek said he was convinced that the rural voters of Texas would play a decisive role in determining who would be the next president of the United States and that most of them would support Governor Reagan as a result of the "disastrous policies of Jimmy Carter, which have led to the worst three years in the history of American agriculture in terms of net return per dollar invested."

"Mr. Carter has pursued a three-dimensional agricultural policy -- debt, destruction and depression. The total debt load borne by American farmers has doubled since Jimmy Carter took office in 1977 and this has led to the destruction of the agricultural producer's ability to stay in business," Meek said. "The end result is going to be an economic depression for the entire country."

- more -

"The policies of this Administration have already resulted in 2,000 farmers being put off the farm per week, according to the U.S.D.A. Commodity prices are now at their lowest point in relation to purchasing power since the heat of the Great Depression in 1932.

"The time has come for the U.S.D.A. to be swept clean of the misguided and misdirected individuals who are satisfied with the instant praise they receive from consumer groups, when at the same time they know full well that the farmer and the consumer will eventually suffer from policies which keep agricultural prices artificially low," Meek said. "In the first nine months of this year, net farm income is 40% lower than it was for the same period a year ago while food prices have escalated 11%.

"I want to remind America's farmers that it was during a Republican Administration in 1973 and 1974 that we received the highest prices in history for our agricultural products. And while the American farmer now receives the cheapest prices in the world, the American economy is not in a healthy state. The dollar has been reduced in value for every month that Mr. Carter has been in office," Meek continued.

"The time has come for strong new leadership in Washington which will have the courage and the vision to expand our agricultural markets and at the same time encourage rather than discourage the agricultural producer. The fact is that of the 14 major pieces of legislation introduced in Congress in the last two years designed to help producers, President Carter and his Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland fought against every one of them. This alone is reason enough for all farmers to work for the defeat of Mr. Carter in this election," Mr. Meek said.

FROM: DEMOCRATS FOR REAGAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Monday, September 29, 1980

CONTACT: Keith Adkinson or
Janine Perrignon
703-685-3515

STATEMENT BY LEON JAWORSKI

For quite some time, I have been deeply disappointed in President Carter's lack of leadership, his vacillations and his lack of consistent goals. Moreover, I have been concerned with his failure to keep assurances he gave when he sought office four years ago. The conclusion is warranted that some of these promises were lightly made and quickly broken. One of these breaches contributed greatly to my decision to accept the role Governor Reagan tendered me--Chairman of the Democrats for Reagan Steering Committee.

When our country was still mourning the tragedy of Watergate, Jimmy Carter promised the people that if elected, he would return the Presidency to its post of honor and reverence. Far from fulfilling this promise, he has contributed to the casting of a cloud of suspicion over the Presidency in the Billy Carter-Libya fiasco. His glaring act of omission has aroused skepticism in the minds of countless voters who had believed him.

While millions of Americans were watching their pocketbooks shrink month by month, the President's brother received from a foreign government a handout of \$200,000 or more--call it loan or payment. The unanswered question is: What did Libya expect in return? There was nothing--absolutely nothing that Billy had to offer except his kinship to the President of the United States. Billy had no experience in government, none in technology--and was a failure in business, actually a bankrupt. What was Libya to receive in return?

President Carter had it in his power, by making only one public statement at a press conference or elsewhere, to assure the people that no one in the Executive Branch would extend to Billy

or to Libya special favors or privileges; that Billy's relationship to Libya so long as legally conducted was his own affair and that the White House would not interfere to aid or hinder. This would have been an admirable message for the Libyans, Billy Carter and the public to consume.

But President Carter chose to let the White House conduct undisclosed meetings with Billy and to keep the public in the dark, thus permitting this potential boil on the Presidency to fester. The result is a time-consuming and expensive congressional investigation.

Especially do formerly trusting but now skeptical Americans find this conduct disquieting, coming from one who rode into office under the banner of a knight in shining armor.

We have all been taught that a person's failure to perform effectively calls for a replacement--whether in business or in public office. Even in baseball when a pitcher is ineffective and is hit all over the park--then starts throwing bean balls, we call on the manager to "take him out."

I hope that my fellow Democrats will join me in putting country above party and "take him out."

* * * * *

FROM: DEMOCRATS FOR REAGAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Monday, September 29, 1980

CONTACT: Keith Adkinson or
Janine Perrignon
703-685-3515

JAWORSKI ACCEPTS 'DEMOCRATS FOR REAGAN' POST;
PLACES 'COUNTRY ABOVE PARTY'

WASHINGTON, D.C.----Former Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski today accepted Governor Ronald Reagan's appointment as national chairman of "Democrats for Reagan."

Saying he could no longer support President Carter, Jaworski called on fellow Democrats across the nation "to put country above party" and remove Carter from office. His decision to support Governor Reagan is "a matter of duty," the Houston attorney said.

"For quite some time, I have been deeply disappointed in President Carter's lack of leadership, his vacillations, and his lack of consistent goals," Jaworski said. "Moreover, I have been concerned with this failure to keep assurances he gave when he sought office four years ago," he said.

"The conclusion is warranted that some of these promises were lightly made and quickly broken."

Jaworski singled out the Billy Carter-Libya "fiasco" as one of the reasons he accepted the Democrats for Reagan chairmanship.

"When our country was still mourning the tragedy of Watergate, Jimmy Carter promised the people he would return the Presidency to its post of honor and reverence. Far from fulfilling this promise, he has contributed to the casting of a cloud of suspicion over the Presidency," he said.

"We have all been taught that a person's failure to perform effectively calls for a replacement--whether in business or in public office. Even in baseball when a pitcher is ineffective and is hit all over the park, we call on the manager to 'take him out.'"

"I hope my fellow Democrats will join me in putting country above party and 'take him out.'"

Jaworski, a member of the Houston law firm of Fulbright & Jaworski, headed the Watergate Special Prosecution Force in 1973 and 1974.

* * * * *

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NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Tuesday, September 30, 1980

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703-685-3630

REAGAN CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL SAYS CARTER STEEL RELIEF IS TOO LITTLE TOO LATE

WASHINGTON, D.C. -- A Reagan campaign official said today President Carter's program of relief for the steel industry is a half-loaf solution for a major national problem.

Ed Meese, Reagan's Chief of Staff, said the crisis in the steel industry is largely caused by Carter's own economic policies.

"Governor Reagan is glad to see Mr. Carter suggest, at least partially, some of the programs for the steel industry which the Governor has been proposing for a long while," Meese said.

"It should make steelworkers wonder, however, whether President Carter's heart is in it. He had four years to prevent the crisis in the steel industry.

"Yet he has waited until nearly half the nation's steel furnaces were shut down and the industry is operating at some of the lowest levels since the great depression."

Meese pointed out that 80,000 steelworkers are out of work. "One month before he faces them at the polls, President Carter comes up with half-loaf solutions to problems largely caused by his own economic policies."

- MORE -

Meese said Carter's commitment to the steel industry should have been apparent September 9 when he dedicated a steel plant, one of the few new facilities built since he took office. ;

"It should have been an encouraging moment for the industry," Meese said. "However, in addition to being a non-union shop, Mr. Carter found promise for the reindustrialization of America in a steel plant employing only 450 of the nation's 80,000 unemployed steelworkers and which turned out to be foreign owned and built with foreign steel."

Ted Stevens

United States Senator For Alaska



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Tuesday, September 30, 1980

CONTACT:

Dennis Fradley
202-224-3004

SENATE REPUBLICANS CALL FOR ADMINISTRATION AUDIT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Today, Senate Republicans called for an investigation of expenditures by White House and administration staff members to ensure that public funds are not being spent to promote the re-election of Jimmy Carter.

In a letter to the General Accounting Office, Republican members of the Senate Committee on Appropriations said they are requesting the expenditure audit because recent press reports indicate that "appropriated funds are being spent to advance the political candidacy of the incumbent president."

"It is outrageous that the administration is abusing the office of the presidency by using public funds in a political campaign," said Senator Ted Stevens (AK), one of the eleven senators who requested the GAO investigation.

As part of the expenditures audit, the Republican Senators asked the GAO to investigate cost allocations for travel by the president and vice president, accounting review procedures used by the White House to ensure that no political expenditures are paid with appropriated funds, charges for personnel costs related to holding political receptions and meetings at the White House, and payroll expenditures for ninety persons temporarily detailed to the White House to relieve permanent employees now on political duty.

* * * * *

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 22, 1980

Dear Mr. Staats:

As members of the Appropriations Committee, we are concerned that all expenditures of appropriated funds be in strict and full compliance with the requirements imposed thereon by Congress. Recent press reports concerning travel and other expenditures by the White House Office and various Executive Branch agencies indicate that appropriated funds are being spent to advance the political candidacy of the incumbent President.

We, therefore, request that you conduct an investigation and audit of these ongoing expenditures by the White House Office and any other Federal agency or establishment that you deem appropriate based on information developed in the course of this investigation. The investigation and audit are of the utmost importance to us in carrying out our responsibilities as members of the Appropriations Committee, as well as to the American public in assuring them that official funds are being expended only for their intended purposes. We trust that officials at the White House will welcome this opportunity to assure the public that the Administration has fulfilled its responsibilities in a proper manner.

This investigation and audit are not only within the realm of the normal oversight functions the General Accounting Office is expected to perform over the expenditure of public funds, but also the particular oversight responsibility for the White House Office that was assigned to you by Congress in P.L. 95-570, the White House Personnel Authorization Act (3 U.S.C. 105(d)), which provides that the Comptroller General may inspect all necessary books, documents and papers for the purpose of verifying designated categories of official expenditures, including travel and entertainment. Furthermore, this statute mandates that "the Comptroller General shall certify to Congress the fact of such verification, and shall report any such expenses not expended for such purpose."

The Honorable Elmer B. Staats
September 11, 1980
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Moreover, an audit of expenditures made by the White House Office is not without recent precedent. Shortly after President Ford assumed the Presidency in 1974, he requested that GAO complete a total audit of the accounts of the White House Office. The GAO is the only Federal agency with the authority necessary to conduct such an investigation and audit. As you are undoubtedly aware, the Federal Election Commission has concluded that the Federal Election Campaign Act does not provide it jurisdiction over the expenditure of legislatively appropriated funds.

While we believe it is unnecessary to suggest how such an audit should be conducted, we have several questions which we hope will be answered in your audit report:

(1) Do the procedures on allocating the costs of political travel by the President and Vice President, as set forth in the enclosed letter from then Counsel to the President Lipshutz to the FEC General Counsel, sufficiently limit the expenditure of appropriated funds to official purposes? Is the White House currently following these procedures? Are funds appropriated to the White House being used for travel and related expenditures which are political in nature?

(2) Are adequate accounting reviews and procedures presently used by the White House Office and the Executive Departments and Agencies to assure that no political expenditures are paid with appropriated funds?

(3) Have overtime and related personnel costs relative to the holding of political receptions and meetings at the White House Residence or other government owned facilities been improperly charged to public funds?

(4) Recent testimony before the Appropriations Committees by officials of the White House Office indicates that nearly 90 persons have been temporarily detailed to the White House by their employing agency. This is the largest number of detailees at any time during this Administration and suggests that they may be needed to relieve persons on the regular White House roles who are working on political activities rather than their official

The Honorable Elmer B. Staats
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duties. Is this a proper exercise of the detailing authority? Is it proper in such instances to pay White House aides with funds appropriated for official purposes to carry on political activities?

We very much look forward to having the benefit of your investigation and audit report on these very important questions and trust you will be able to handle this request in a prompt and timely manner.

Sincerely,

Jackie Davis

James A. McClure

W. J. ...

Henry Bellmon

...

...

Jack Stearns

Rich ...

Norman ...

...

Paul ...

The Honorable Elmer B. Staats
Comptroller General of the United States
441 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20548



Republican
National
Committee

TO: Mike Deaver, Jim Brady, Lyn Nofziger, Martin Anderson

FROM: Bob Garrick

Some of these comments by a surrogate might
catch up with you on the tour. For your review.

*Send
Garrick
5 Oct
1:30 PM*

9:00 A.M., EST
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, October 3, 1980

Contact: Claire Dorr
(202) 484-6607

Statement made by Former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, Friday, October 3, 1980
National Press Club

I am calling for a pledge from all three Presidential candidates today to increase the compensation of the men and women of our armed forces as the first order of business in any new administration. People are the most important element in any military service. We are not attracting top quality extensions of service personnel largely through inadequate pay incentives. Military pay must be immediately increased by 15% to restore 1972 real income levels to our military service personnel. Re-enlistment and extension bonuses must be substantially increased to retain skilled people in critical jobs: i.e., pilots, mechanics, computer programmers, boiler makers, etc.

No matter what perspective one uses, the condition of our Armed Forces is poor and there must be substantial doubt about its ability to carry its assigned missions. Moreover, current efforts to correct the problem are inadequate and must be increased if preparedness is to reach a satisfactory level in a reasonable amount of time.

...more...

Consider these facts:

1. None of our armed forces meets the goal of having 70 percent of its forces combat ready, largely due to critical personnel and spare parts shortages. Substantial numbers of our forward deployed forces and elements assigned to the RDF fall into this category.
2. The services continue to lose larger numbers of experienced people and to take in more and more Category IV and non-high school graduates.
3. All of our combat forces would run out of ammunition and spare parts well before 30 days and our mobilization base is so inadequate that it would take 60 days for it to begin producing significant amounts of material.
4. We do not have adequate lift capacity to move significant forces into the Persian Gulf or reinforce Europe, let alone deal with a simultaneous contingency.
5. The amount of training provided continues to decline and large numbers of our combat troops never get to fire the weapons they may be called upon to use in combat.
6. The backlog of overdue maintenance projects continues to grow and our real property continues to decline.
7. All this is taking place while the strategic and theater nuclear balances with the Soviet Union continue to deteriorate and the

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Page -3-
National Press Club
October 3, 1980

Soviets continue to outproduce us in the conventional armaments like tanks, ships, and tactical aircraft.

The answer to these problems is not to pretend that they do not exist, but to get on with the job of correcting them. Production levels of combat arms must be increased and the \$40 billion shortage of O & M funds and \$20 billion shortfall in minor procurement must be attacked, while we simultaneously make military pay competitive. It is not a question of trading off future capability for current readiness. We need both. I would urge that to do this we increase defense spending to 6 percent of our GNP in FY 1982 and keep it at that level for at least five years.

President Carter has failed to address these problems during the past four years. Governor Reagan has assured me that he will make the correction of these defense deficiencies the first order of business in the new Reagan-Bush Administration.

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Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

901 South Highland Street, Arlington, Virginia 22204 (703) 685-3400

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

CONTACT: Lyn Nofziger or
Ken Towery
703/685-3630

October 3, 1980

STATEMENT BY

THE HONORABLE JOHN CONNALLY

President Carter, by his gratuitous attack on the Federal Reserve, has proven that his policies are a menace to every wage earner, saver and investor in America.

But this time Mr. Carter's shameless scapegoating has gone too far.

The recent renewed surge of interest rates to crushing levels is attributable to one over-riding factor: the runaway deficit created by the Carter Administration and the Democratic Congress. In the fiscal year which just ended, the deficit will hit \$80 billion when the hidden off-budget red-ink totals are included. This is another of Jimmy Carter's all-time records. Federal spending rose upward at nearly an 18 percent annual rate during the last 12 months.

It is preposterous to blame today's punishing squeeze on home buyers, purchasers and small businesses or stingy money supply policies at the Fed. In fact, the printing processes have been expanding the money supply at an alarming 16 percent annual rate since last May.

-more-

The money famine facing private buyers today is attributable to the voracious spending and borrowing of the federal agencies and to the frantic efforts of the White House to spread election year boodle among every community and constituency in the land.

President Carter's attack dramatizes the fundamental failure of his economic policies and the dangerous confusion of White House economic thinking.

Interest rates can only be lowered when we contain federal spending, close the deficit, get the Federal treasury out of the credit market, and slow the rate of new money creation. Today's rolling inflation is the real cause of high interest rates. An end to printing press financing, of bloated federal deficits, are the only cures for both.

It is especially ironic that President Carter now seeks to shift the blame to the Federal Reserve. He appointed five of its seven current members. Since Jimmy Carter has already blamed every other conceivable group or factor for the nation's current economic calamity, he now taxes credulity beyond limit. He would actually have the American people believe that he alone stands blameless.

Finally, let there be no mistake about the future implication of the President's call for even more rapid increases in the money supply to accommodate the spending appetites of government. It implies a national economic policy based on systematic depreciation of the paychecks and bank accounts of every American wage-earner and senior citizen. It is a recipe for even higher interest rates, a renewed run in the dollar abroad and continued economic stagflation at home.

Mr. Carter's reckless quest for office now threatens to make a wreck of our economy. It threatens the financial welfare of every American family. It is time the finger of blame be pointed where it really belongs.

* * * * *



Republican
National
Committee

9:00 A.M., EST
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, October 3, 1980

Contact: Claire Dorrell
(202) 484-6607

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To: The Honorable
Mark Hatfield

From: Rich Williamson

The following is the statement we discussed.

On Sunday evening, Mr. Carter lost the first Presidential debate. He lost because he was afraid to show up at the League of Women Voters' Presidential Debate -- as he once promised -- to defend his record.

Within 24 hours of losing the debate, President Carter frantically struck back. Last night in California, Mr. Carter reached a new low in his mean-spirited and divisive charges against his opponents.

Just last week, the Washington Post ran an editorial in which they pointed out that "Mr. Carter, as a candidate, tends to convey a mean and frantic nature...Mr. Carter has abandoned all dignity in his round-the clock attack on Mr. Reagan's character and standing." The editorial continued by saying Mr. Carter "displays an alarming absence of magnanimity, generosity and size when he is campaigning... Jimmy Carter...seems to have few limits beyond which he will not go in the abuse of opponents."

Similarly, the Washington Star ran an editorial last week which said, "(Mr. Carter's) line of attack upon Governor Reagan... is unworthy of his office and unworthy of Mr. Carter himself."

Last night, President Carter in reaction and desperation over losing Sunday's debate continued to "run mean." This demeans the office of the Presidency and saddens all of us who feel this campaign

should address the critical issues facing the United States of an ailing economy, waste in government, and a weakened national defense.

As Governor Reagan said last week, "It is time to bring people together not divide them."

While we may not agree on every issue with Governor^r Reagan, we support him because we know he has the strong leadership and knowledge to be a great President on domestic and foreign issues. We know he will be a fair and moderate President of compassion. Particularly we know he will be a President of peace.

It is ironic that President Carter would seek to raise the peace issue in this campaign. After all, Jimmy Carter is the man who has practically dismantled our military. Because of his decisions, the United States today is more vulnerable than at any other time in our history.

Governor Reagan knows there is only one way to pursue peace in this complex and troubled world. That is through strength -- peace through strength.

Ronald Reagan is dedicated to a strong military as a means to assure peace. As a President, I am certain that Ronald Reagan would restore the strength that is so vital, so necessary for peace.

With Ronald Reagan in the Oval Office, I am confident he would be a man of peace. Every American citizen as well as our allies and adversaries abroad would be assured that President Reagan would be dedicated to a world of peace.

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