

MONDALE COMPOSITE STUMP SPEECH

Together, we've got a lot of work to do. America is not just for here and now. We have a responsibility to our children and their children, because America is not a short-term business; America was intended to be forever. It is on the issues that prepare America for our future where the deepest contrasts are to be found between my candidacy -- what I want to do -- and what's going on today.

There are three things that we must do together. First, we need a more competitive America. America has to be number one again in the world of international competition.

Second, we need a restored sense of fairness and justice -- a fairer America. We are not a jungle; we are a community, a family, a nation -- and we need a President who causes us to care for one another again.

Third, we need a safer world. Ours is the first generation that possesses the capacity to destroy life on earth. We must have a President who keeps us strong, but uses that strength to keep the peace, and above all, to control nuclear weapons and reduce the risk that those godawful things will go off and destroy everything that's been created from the beginning of civilization.

Let's take the first problem. This is the worst trade year in American history. Last year we imported \$70 billion more than we exported, losing from two to three million jobs and giving American farmers, who are very dependent on exports, the worst year since the Great Depression. This year will be even worse -- the worst trade year in American history.

Why? Because under this administration, they have put in place policies known as Reaganomics that work this way: everything produced by an American worker, or business, or farmer intended for international competition or competing with imports carries an invisible tax of 30%. On the other hand, everything produced by a foreign worker, or a foreign farmer or business in competition with you carries an invisible subsidy of 30%. It's as though we deliberately tacked on an export barrier to prevent exports and to encourage the importation of foreign products.

This affects you. It affects farmers and workers all over America, and it affects American business. When we're number one, the future flows to us. The jobs are produced here. The wealth is generated here. And the future is built for our children. When we're not competitive, the future flows away from us. And the jobs, the wealth, and the future of our children goes elsewhere. We can't tolerate that -- the future must be here.

So the first thing I want to do as President is to undo

Reaganomics and stand behind American workers and American businesses and American farmers -- to put America back to work and keep our future here.

We've got to bring these deficits down. And I have pledged to reduce Mr. Reagan's deficits by more than half in my first term. We have to get those interest rates down, so that people can borrow to buy homes and cars, so we can put people back to work, so small businesses can generate wealth, so we can grow and grow for a long time. It's absolutely indispensable to our future.

Another thing we have to do to get our competitive edge back is to invest in this next generation. We often say that a mind is a terrible thing to waste. We can't afford to waste a single one.

But when it comes to the human mind, and training the human mind, this administration is uneducable. They like to save money on our kids by not supporting them; by pulling back from education; by denying them a chance to go on to college or vocational school. If children in trouble and need help under Title I or Head Start; if they're handicapped, and need just a little help to have a part of the fullness of American life, that's where this Administration likes to save money, on the future.

If you elect me, I will be the best President education ever had. We're all going to have to work: teachers, parents, students; everyone's got to do a better job. But we also have to invest in those kids and give them the chance they need in this knowledge-intensive world. If we do our job, we'll be number one, we'll out-compete everybody, we'll be able to defend this nation and keep the peace, and our kids will find security and prosperity. We're going to give our kids the chance they need for the future.

The second thing we need is to restore a sense of fairness in America today. This is where this administration is so predictable and so wrong.

I don't think this administration understands what it's like to live on a moderate income. My dad was a Methodist minister and my mom was a music teacher. And they spent their whole life in the small towns of Southern Minnesota, serving their faith, raising our family and being good neighbors. They never had a dime. Dad started out as a farmer and lost that farm.

But they were wonderful people. And I noticed that I always carried the towns where Dad served when I ran for election. They remembered him and my mom, and they knew that they were real people -- genuine, caring, and kind. They weren't people on the make; it never occurred to them that money was that important.

Most Americans are like that. They're never going to make a lot of money. They're going to live on modest incomes. But in

America, we don't measure people by money. We measure people by what they really are. And when we talk about government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that's what we mean.

But what we've got today is a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich.

Look at taxes. In the last tax bill, if you're making \$200,000 a year, you get \$60,000 in tax relief. If you're making \$30,000 a year or less, under the Reagan tax package, when you count all taxes, your taxes actually went up. You don't think so? Look at that payroll tax. Look at the gas tax. Look at the telephone tax. Look at the way state and local taxes had to go up to make up for the federal aid that was cut back.

There's been a massive shift of the burden of paying for America -- away from that thin veneer of the very wealthiest in our society and those major corporations onto the backs of middle- and moderate-income families trying to raise their families and make ends meet from month to month. What happened was this: they cut taxes enough so the very rich can buy a new Mercedes-Benz, and they cut your taxes enough to buy a hub-cap.

We're going to change that. I believe in taxes based on the ability to pay. I believe in the progressive principle. I think those with wealth that are getting away without paying their fair share of the taxes ought to join the rest of us in paying for the cost of this wonderful country of ours.

Look at the costs that are imposed on ordinary citizens. What's happening with your telephone bills? Is this Administration protecting you? What's happening to utility bills -- are they trying to make it easier for the average American to make it?

And what's happening to health costs? I want to talk about that a little bit, because that's a big issue in 1984.

Do you remember in 1980, when I told you that if this crowd gets elected, mark my words, they're going to go after Social Security? Remember I told you that? And along came Mr. Reagan. He said that he would protect Social Security, adjusted for inflation for everybody on Social Security and everybody who later becomes eligible for Social Security. Remember that promise? And a lot of people believed him.

And right after the election, he went to Washington and the first thing they did was to try to cut \$80 billion out of Social Security. They cut it out of the poorest -- usually widows trying to live on a very limited income. They terminated benefits for the dependents of widows going on to college. They tried to prevent early retirement for disabled Americans who must retire early. Across the board, they tried to pick on Social Security and rob it of its promise.

Then they tried to cut Medicare, and did. This last year they proposed that the average cost of a stay in the hospital for a person under Medicare would go up 70%. Now they're trying to make other deep cuts in Medicare and trying to put most of the burden on senior citizens.

Now, I'm sure in the White House they say, those old folks can pay a few more bucks. Well, you go and talk to some average senior citizens. They don't have thirty bucks. They don't have three bucks. They're making it from week to week and month to month by calculating nickels and dimes. You sit down, and they can tell you the utility bill, they can tell you the telephone bill, they can tell you every cost they have to pay because their whole lives, they're adjusting that little bit that they have to try to have a secure future.

Meanwhile, the cost of health care is soaring absolutely out of control in this country. In 1950, the average cost of health care per year was \$83. By 1990, unless they stop, the average cost is going to be \$3,000 a person.

That reminds me of a person I talked to in Florida who's a federal retiree; his wife has asthma. She went to the hospital for four days. She went in on a Monday and came out on Friday, and they got a bill for \$2,050 for four days in the hospital, not counting the doctors.

This is not just another problem; it is a problem of radical proportions. This administration is doing nothing about it. It's doing nothing to bring decent health care within the reach of the average American. It's dumping more and more cost on decent people who don't have the money to pay for decent health care. Now what do we do about it?

I say we should get smart. Let's get strong, national health care cost containment legislation that stops this runaway rip-off of medical programs and helps our people have decent health care at prices they can afford.

That's what being a President is all about. When people are in trouble, this President's supposed to be with the people and not with somebody else. And as President, that's exactly where I'm going to be.

Fairness requires the enforcement of civil rights. It requires the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and the elimination of discrimination against women.

Look what they've done there. For thirty-five years, since the Civil Rights Commission was established, every President -- even Mr. Nixon who wasn't my favorite President -- protected the Civil Rights Commission. Along comes this administration and fires all the good people on that Commission, and tries to turn it into just a front office to speak for whatever the White House

wants, which is not the idea at all. So I've got a two-part plan: the first part is, I'm going to fire everybody they've hired. And the second part is, I'm going to hire everybody they've fired. And I'm going to get on with the work of enforcing justice in this country.

The same is true with the rights of working men and women in this country. When we've had this massive unemployment, for the first time I can recall we've had an Administration that didn't do a single thing to lighten the burden on the unemployed. I haven't seen that before in my lifetime. Dad told me Hoover did that, but that's the last time. You know, when Americans lose their jobs, and are looking for work, they're entitled to respect, dignity, and help from the President of the United States.

We not only didn't get that, but we got what I thought were insults. They said, "Look at the help wanted ads." Apparently the idea was that there were plenty of jobs even though we all knew better.

Remember that strike with Greyhound Company? During that strike, one of the officials said, "These people don't seem to understand that they're a commodity." No, we don't understand that. And we never will. In America, we're all human beings with rights under the law, and we're entitled to dignity and respect and fairness.

Fairness also means protecting that environment. I don't know where they get those characters like James Watt -- although I kind of miss James Watt, he got me up in the morning. But for three years they have assaulted our environment. They haven't protected our air and our land and our water and our natural beauty. We got rid of James Watt; we got rid of Ann Gorsuch; now it's time to get rid of the person who appointed James Watt and Ann Gorsuch.

The third thing we must do is elect a President who will lead us to a safer world. Since the first bomb went off, every President has understood that, regardless of party.

Whatever divides us as Americans, survival is not on that list. Every President -- Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter -- everyone has done something to reduce the risk of nuclear weapons. And during that period Mr. Reagan opposed every effort of every President of both political parties to control those weapons.

When Mr. Reagan took over, he dumped SALT II, he abandoned negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty, he lifted all the restraints on the distribution of weapons-grade materials and sold technical licenses to countries that we know are trying to build their own nuclear bombs -- and now, today, after three years of this administration, there isn't a single bit of negotiating going on for any arms control whatever. There is a dangerous arms race underway which is costing us billions and

making us less secure every day. All across the world -- in Central America, in the Middle East, name it -- we are less safe, tensions are up, and this is a more dangerous world than the one Mr. Reagan took over three years ago. That is one thing that Americans cannot tolerate.

To ease tensions, I've proposed a specific, comprehensive plan. I'm not for arms control because I like the Soviet system -- I think it's dreadful. They're a police state. We know that they're building up their military budgets, and we know that they're using their power irresponsibly in Poland, in Cambodia, in Afghanistan. But we also know that they probably don't want to be blow up and destroyed any more than we do.

So, for the survival of humanity, we've got to reach out the negotiate arms controls. We've got to be strong, but use our strength to keep the peace. To do that, we need a President with the experience, the wisdom, the knowledge, the spirit, the understanding, the stamina, and the commitment to drive for peace. We need a President who knows what he's doing. I do. On my inauguration day, I'll be the best-prepared new President in modern history.

I'm ready to lead: for competitiveness, for fairness, and for a safer world.

By the end of the first term, I want to walk into any store in America, pick up the best product, at the best price, and the best quality, and turn it over and read, "Made in the U.S.A."

By the end of this decade, I want to walk into any school in America, and meet some of the brightest students, and hear them tell me, "I want to be a teacher."

By the end of this decade, I want to be able to tell the American people that we've reduced the risks of war on this earth.

We can do it. We're going to win this election. We can put people back to work. We can educate our children. We can protect the environment. We can be fair to all Americans. And we can keep the peace while remaining strong.

Give me your help.



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