

BRIEFING -- TOUGH QUESTIONS

Mondale is Too Liberal for the South

As people get to know me and look at my record, they will find that it is moderate and pragmatic. In the Senate I find I have been able to work very closely with Members from the South on virtually every aspect of national policy. The main issue in this election has nothing to do with labels or stereotypes. It is this: Our government and our country desperately need strong new leadership. Jimmy Carter is a good and decent man. He will make a great President. The people know that and that's why the South is going to overwhelmingly elect him to be the next President of the United States.

Defense Spending

My record shows that I have always supported a strong defense -- and worked to make our defense as efficient as possible. I've voted to cut Pentagon waste, but I have been careful to examine each program thoroughly. We're going to work to trim waste, but we're not going to sacrifice our defense.

[NOTE: Would not talk about your position on Budget, or be very specific, because that gets you into hard-to-explain inconsistency with the Carter-Democratic platform position in favor of \$5-\$7 billion in cuts.]

Abortion

I personally have serious problems with the idea of abortion. I cannot support a constitutional amendment, but I have the deepest respect for those who do, and I do not think their concerns can be dismissed or

ignored. I've worked for many years to limit resort to abortion by encouraging alternatives such as counseling, voluntary family planning, and improved adoption procedures. I fully support Governor Carter's call for a national effort along these lines.

Coastal Zone Management

(Note: On Thursday the Democratic South Carolina legislature sustained the Republican Governor's veto of a bill which would permit South Carolina to take part in the Federal Coastal Zone Management Program.)

I supported Fritz Hollings' effort to secure passage of the Federal Coastal Zone Management Law. This measure was specifically designed to give States the right to decide whether or not they want to take part in the program. I believe the program is a good one. I am not aware of all of the impacts here in South Carolina, and I wouldn't try to say what this State should do.

Gun Control

I have always opposed measures calling for the confiscation of handguns and requiring licensing and registration of long guns. I do however favor a ban on the sale of "Saturday Night Specials," and prohibition of ownership by convicted criminals, minors and those who are not mentally competent. I support national registration only of handguns.7

Child and Family Services

I sponsored a child and family services bill that has been viciously attacked in a campaign of leaflets that contain fraudulent propaganda.

Unfortunately, these leaflets are not signed so it is impossible to find out who is behind them and hold that individual or group responsible for the contents. My bill is supported by a wide range of civic and religious organizations including the U.S. Catholic Conference, the United Methodist Church, the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, the PTA, the League of Women Voters, and the American Home Economic Association. Our objective is simply to do something to permit quality care on a voluntary basis for children of millions of American families where parents have to work. (Hollings is a sponsor.)

Energy

The present Administration has no energy policy and following the fiasco of Project Independence they have given up trying to develop one.

I believe the United States must get down to work, on its own and in cooperation with other consuming countries, to establish our independence from the OPEC cartel.

To achieve this goal, we've got to have a strong competitive and healthy private energy industry. I believe strongly in free market prices. But so long as world energy prices are dictated by OPEC, the U.S. Government should act as a consumer watchdog.

* * *

With respect to de-regulation of natural gas prices, the point is that we need a resolution of this issue, and the Administration, quite frankly is not working to do that. I have opposed de-regulation. Governor Carter

supports phased de-regulation. I expect I'll be reviewing my position.

* * *

In the past I have voted for vertical divestiture, but I recognize that there are problems with this approach not only in the South but even in my own state of Minnesota (where pipelines must be built soon and only our refineries can do the job in time). These problems are potentially serious, and they deserve thorough review.

Death Penalty

I've opposed the death penalty in the absence of evidence that it deters crime. I am reviewing Governor Carter's position on the death penalty for aggravated crimes (like the killing of a guard by a life prisoner) which strikes me as a highly responsible one in light of the new court decision.

Busing

I have never supported requiring racial balance. I have only opposed amendments attempting to interfere with the duty of the courts to interpret the Constitution -- and I am convinced that these amendments would be held unconstitutional even if they were adopted.

I believe that government leadership could do much to help local communities and the courts work out locally acceptable solutions. Presidents who have tried to make political mileage, instead of trying to help, have made a difficult job almost impossible. Southern communities should be proud of their leadership in a tremendously difficult period.

Farm Policy

I've always supported a decent floor under farm income so that farmers can earn a fair price. I've worked hard to liberalize the estate-tax law

so that farmers can be assured that their families will be able to inherit their property. I think we should improve both the level and term of the loan programs. Right now, we have a President who urges farmers to plant all out, yet four times in the last three years he has cut them off from their export markets with embargoes. We need a stable, sensible farm program.

Tax Reform - IDS

I do not believe that my sponsorship of the face-amount certificate amendment is inconsistent with my position on tax reform. This amendment would simply prevent a change in the treatment of bonds generally held by moderate-income Americans. I have always made it clear that, because this amendment prevents an effective tax increase on the small investor holding these bonds, it also helps the Minnesota corporation which sells the bonds.

I believe that my record on tax reform is a good one. For example, I am one of the primary sponsors of a package of amendments that seek to provide more significant tax reforms in the Tax Reform Act of 1976, which is now pending in the Senate. These amendments include provisions that would curb the use of tax shelters, reduce tax avoidance by high-income individuals and corporations, and reduce the tax incentives that encourage U.S. companies to locate plants overseas. The tax reform battle has been difficult, but I am determined to continue my efforts to make the tax laws more equitable.

Food Stamps

I recognize that there have been abuses under the food stamp program. Where problems like this exist, I believe strongly that we must correct them.

That's why I supported the Talmadge-Dole bill to eliminate abuses that have been uncovered.

Right to Work

I do not favor right to work laws.

Welfare Abuses

The present welfare system is too often a morass of red tape. Too often the working poor are penalized, families are divided, and too often abuses go uncorrected. Welfare reform will be one of the first objectives of the Carter-Mondale administration.

Foreign Aid

I've supported our foreign aid efforts not only for humanitarian reasons but because they can be an investment in peace in many troubled areas, such as the Middle East. Yet too often our foreign-aid dollars have been carelessly and badly invested. I agree with Governor Carter that we must stop taxing the poor in this country to help the rich in poor countries. What we need is not giveaway programs but new leadership that can coordinate aid, trade, and monetary policy to create a healthier world economic climate.

ISSUES ACCORDING TO LEGISLATIVE
RESPONSIBILITY

BERT

Housing
Busing
Bureaucracy and Government Inefficiency
Urban Policy
 --Grant consolidation
 --Employment
 --Revenue Sharing
 --Welfare Reform
 --Housing
 --Municipal Bonds
 --Municipal Transportation
 --Need to involve private resources
Health

BRAD (Tax Issues)

Minimum Tax
Foreign Source Income
Tax Shelters
Expense Account Deductions
IRS Procedures
Taxation of Capital Gains
Tax Cuts for 1976
Integration of Corporate and Individual Income Taxes
Estate Taxation
Tax Discrimination
Tax Policy and Housing
Tax Incentives for Business
Tax Policy and Charitable Giving
Social Security Taxation

DAVID

B-1 Bomber
ABM
Overseas Troop Deployments
Nuclear Strategy and First Strike Weapons
Diego Garcia
Binary Chemical Weapons
Cambodia/Vietnam
Trident/Nuclear Aircraft Carriers
Treaty Making Powers and War Powers
Chile
Amnesty
Defense Budget
Arms Sales
Korea
Human Rights & Immigration
Cyprus, Greece & Turkey

ELLEN

Abortion
Arts
Child Care
Children and Youth and Families
Education--Lifelong Learning
Women's Issues

GAIL

Energy
 --Pricing
 --Divestiture
 --General Policy
Environment
Bureaucracy and Government Inefficiency

JOHN

Balanced Budget
Non-inflationary Unemployment Rates
Fiscal Policy
Monetary Policy
Housing
Aging
Revenue Sharing
Science and Technology
Consumers

LARRY

Gun Control
Death Penalty
Crime
S. 1
Labor
National Health Insurance
Unemployment Compensation

MARK

Small Business
Estate and Gift Tax
Corporate Tax Reform
Paperwork
SMB Assistance Programs
Creation of Separate Department of Education
Federal Support for Public Education
Revenue Sharing funds for Education
Collective Bargaining for Teachers
Expanded Vocational and Career Education Programs

MARK (continued)

Handicapped Education
Busing
Democratic Platform on Education

MIKE

Agriculture
Transportation
Native Americans

Cait

CIVIL RIGHTS

Housing. Governor Carter has been criticized for lack of enthusiasm toward affirmative efforts to distribute the urban poor in suburban areas. The report of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity which WFM chaired, did advocate encouraging (but not requiring) metro areas to set up "fair share plans" for low and moderate income housing.

Busing. Governor Carter expresses dislike for busing as generally affecting only the poor and as isolating parents from the school, making parent involvement and after-school activities more difficult.

He personally supports solutions like the Atlanta plan involving eventually:

- elimination of segregation to the extent possible without transportation.
- the right to transfer (with transportation) so long as the transfer increases desegregation.
- full participation of minorities in the decision-making structure.

The WFM position has stressed:

- the need for government leadership in working out solutions acceptable to local communities.
- opposition to federal efforts require racial balance.
- opposition to amendments which would attempt to interfere with the duty of the courts to interpret and enforce the 19th amendment to the Constitution.

In General

Both Governor Carter and WFM strongly support non-discrimination requirements.

HEALTH

National Health Insurance

On NHI, Governor Carter supports development of a comprehensive national system financed by payroll taxes and general revenues. He supports phased implementation, covering those in greatest need first. He has not endorsed a specific bill or plan. WFM is a co-sponsor of the Kennedy-Corman bill but should be able to fully endorse the Carter agenda.

Other Issues

On the remaining health issues there appears to be no difference.

Governor Carter favors emphasis on prevention (including concern for cleaning up the environment and for occupational safety and health), orientation of medical education toward primary care, service programs for underserved rural and urban areas, support for medical education of women and minorities, and increased use of paraprofessionals and allied health personnel.

Potential Problem

Although both Governor Carter and WFM have expressed concern for spiraling health inflation, neither really has an answer to the charge that NHI will make it worse.

BUREAUCRACY AND GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENCY

No real conflict, except that WFM has taken a kinder tone. Governor Carter favors grant consolidation, restructuring and consolidation of government agencies; zero-based budgeting and performance auditing, all of which WFM has supported. No specific plans have been advanced.

5. Housing: No major differences. Key elements include: (1) Federal subsidies and low-interest loans for the construction of low and middle-income housing, (2) greater effort to direct mortgage money into the financing of private housing, (3) expansion of the successful Section 202 Housing Program for the Elderly, (4) greater emphasis on the rehabilitation of existing housing to rebuild our neighborhoods and publicly created jobs to spearhead this rehabilitation, (5) continued construction of rental homes for low-income families, and (6) prohibition of red-lining practices by lending institutions.

6. Municipal bonds: No apparent conflict. Governor Carter would study creation of a "Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corporation."

7. Municipal transportation: (To come from Mike).

8. Need to involve private resources: No conflict. Governor Carter stresses the need to use government funds to encourage private investment, including use of loans and guarantees and restructuring the Community Development Act to encourage local innovations such as "tax increment financing".

July 21, 1976

TAX ISSUES

SET FORTH BELOW IS A COMPARISON OF THE TAX POSITIONS ADVANCED BY GOVERNOR CARTER, SENATOR MONDALE AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM FOR 1976, RESPECTIVELY.

AREAS OF APPARENT AGREEMENT.

(1) Minimum Tax.

Carter -- has been critical of the fact that "oil companies pay less than 5% on their earnings while employees of the company pay at least three times this rate ... and many (individuals) pay no taxes on incomes of more than \$100,000."

Mondale -- has been the Senate's primary proponent during this session of a tough minimum tax for both individuals and corporations.

Platform -- calls for a strengthening of the tax laws "so that high income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income." Also calls for a redistribution of the tax burden that has been shifted from corporations to individuals.

(2) Foreign Source Income.

Carter -- favors a reduction or elimination of tax benefits that induce U.S. corporations to place plants overseas. The two main issues in the foreign tax area are "foreign tax deferral" which permits a domestic parent corporation to defer taxation on the unrepatriated earnings of foreign subsidiaries, and the "foreign tax credit" which permits a U.S. taxpayer to offset foreign taxes paid against U.S. tax liability. The implication of Carter's statement is that he would eliminate deferral; his brief statement is consistent with the retention of the foreign tax credit, a provision generally regarded as being a neutral factor with respect to the location of corporate operations.

Mondale -- during this session, has joined a tax reform coalition that called for a five-year phase out of deferral. In the Finance Committee, Mondale voted against repeal of the foreign tax credit.

Platform -- would seek to "end abuses in the tax treatment of income from foreign sources; such as special tax treatment and incentives for multinational.

corporations that drain jobs and capital from the American economy." This statement would most certainly call for the elimination of deferral, but the platform position on the foreign tax credit is ambiguous.

(3) Tax Shelters.

Carter -- has provided few specifics regarding tax shelters, but has called for a simplified tax structure that ensures that everyone pay his fair share of taxes.

Mondale -- has supported, during this session, proposals such as the LAL (limitation on artificial loss) proposals that would substantially curb the tax shelter abuse.

Platform -- provides for the reduction of "the use of unjustified tax shelters in such areas as oil and gas, tax-loss farming, real estate and movies." These areas are among those covered by the LAL provisions which Mondale has supported.

(4) Expense Account Deductions.

Carter -- has criticized the fact that "a business executive can charge off a \$50 luncheon on a tax return and a truck driver cannot deduct his \$1.50 sandwich."

Mondale -- during this session, has supported proposals that limit the business deductions for attendance at foreign conventions and home expenses. Presumably, both Carter and Mondale would recognize the conceptual validity of using business expenses to reduce the business income subject to taxation; however, both would presumably support efforts to eliminate extravagant business deductions.

Platform -- states that "we will curb expense account deductions."

(5) IRS Procedures.

Carter -- has not specifically addressed himself to this area.

Mondale -- during this session, has supported provisions in the Tax Reform bill that would provide more protection

Platform -- pledges to "protect the rights of all taxpayers against oppressive procedures, harassment and invasions of privacy by the Internal Revenue Service. "

AREAS OF APPARENT DISAGREEMENT

(1) Taxation of Capital Gains.

Carter -- has stated that he favors a "simplified tax system which treats all income the same." In a Fortune magazine interview, Carter specifically stated that he favors taxing capital gains the same as other forms of income.

Mondale -- during a June 24, 1976 floor debate on Mondale's minimum tax amendment, Senator Stone asked: "Does the Senator believe that there is a basic difference between ordinary earnings and capital gains?" Mondale's response was: "Always, yes, and I have always supported that."

To reconcile the apparent difference between the Carter and Mondale positions, one may wish to note that Mondale has proposed minimum tax amendments that would substantially reduce the beneficial tax treatment given to capital gains. Moreover, it should be noted that such a sweeping change as the elimination of the preferential capital gains rate is difficult to achieve as an isolated reform. As Carter has noted, "A piecemeal approach to change will not work." In the event that the Tax Code is fundamentally changed, the tax treatment of capital gains would certainly be an area that should be carefully examined.

Platform -- does not mention capital gains taxation.

(2) Tax Cuts for 1976.

Carter -- in a Jan. 26, 1976 position paper, Carter stated:

"I do not favor a tax cut for 1976. I believe most American people would much rather see some control over excessive spending (as would be ensured by zero-based budgeting technique) than to have a tax cut at this time with deficits in the neighborhood of \$70 billion."

Mondale -- favored an extension of the 1975 tax cuts into 1976 so that individual withholding rates would remain constant. Mondale also favors an extension

through 1977 of these tax cuts for both individuals and corporations. Of course, it can be argued that Mondale did not really advocate a tax cut for 1976 in relation to the 1975 cuts; the action taken by Congress, with Mondale's support, was necessary to maintain the reduced withholding rates that began on May 1, 1975 after passage of the 1976 Tax Reduction Act.

Platform -- takes no position with respect to tax cuts.

AMBIGUOUS AREAS.

(1) Integration of Corporate and Individual Income Taxes.

Carter -- has stated that he wants "to tax income only once." In response to a question, he suggested that he favors elimination of the double taxation of corporate earnings -- once at the corporate level and again when dividends are distributed to shareholders.

Mondale -- Even though Mondale has been an advocate for a strong minimum tax on corporations, this position is not necessarily inconsistent with the Carter view. Integration of individual and corporate taxes is viewed as desirable by many tax reformers. However, the revenue impact of such a proposal and considerations of tax equity demand that integration be adopted only in the context of comprehensive tax reform. Until such comprehensive reform takes place, it is reasonable to demand that the corporate tax burden be distributed fairly among all corporate taxpayers; a minimum tax is addressed to that objective.

Platform -- does not mention integration of corporate and individual taxes. However, the platform does call for "a reappraisal of the appropriate sources of federal revenues." In this regard, the platform document notes the dramatic shift in tax burden from corporations to individuals -- a statement that can be read, at least on the surface, as being inconsistent with the Carter position.

(2) Estate Taxation.

Carter -- has provided no general position with respect to estate taxation, and has indicated that he has not yet decided what should be the appropriate tax treatment of accrued capital gains at death.

Mondale -- has been a strong proponent of increasing the estate tax exemption (or providing a substantial estate tax credit), especially to reduce estate tax burdens on farms and small businesses. Mondale has made no public statement with respect to his current position on the "capital gains at death" issue.

Platform -- the platform provides as follows:

"We will overhaul federal estate and gift taxes to provide an effective and equitable structure to promote tax justice and alleviate some of the legitimate problems faced by farmers, small businessmen and women and others who would otherwise be forced to liquidate assets in order to pay the tax."

This statement would appear to advocate estate tax relief that is focused on farmers and small businessmen, rather than providing an across-the-board increase in the estate tax exemption.

(3) Tax Discrimination on the Basis of Sex or Martial Status.

Carter -- has apparently made no specific public statement on this issue.

Mondale -- although Mondale voted in favor of an alternative tax credit equal to 2% of the first \$9,000 of taxable income -- a proposal that provides substantial tax relief for single taxpayers-- his support for the per capita credit (now \$35) and sponsorship of a higher education tax credit may be viewed by some as proposals that discriminate against single taxpayers. His support for the child care credit is a significant recognition of the fact that the tax laws should reflect the legitimate expenses incurred by women, as well as men, in order to be employed.

Platform -- calls for the elimination of "tax inequities that adversely affect individuals on the basis of sex or martial status.

(4) Tax Policy and Housing.

Carter -- stated in January 1976:

"We must undertake a comprehensive review of the hidden ways in which our tax laws influence housing policy. Deductible mortgage interest and property taxes benefit upper and middle income homeowners in the amount of \$11 billion, while total Federal expenditures for subsidized housing amount to

approximately \$2 billion. We must concentrate on restoring and conserving existing neighborhoods as well as building new ones."

In a May 1976 statement, he elaborated upon the mortgage interest issue:

"I haven't ever said I would keep it as an income tax deduction. I've said I would keep the same amount of incentive for home ownership, or more."

Mondale -- Mondale has supported the use of tax incentives to develop low and moderate income housing and to encourage the rehabilitation of existing multi-family dwellings. For example, his recent minimum tax amendment provided for a deferral of the effective date for tax preferences affecting government-subsidized low and moderate income housing (specifically, the construction period interest and excess investment interest tax preferences) and has supported a limited extension of the special rapid amortization provisions for rehabilitation expenditures with respect to multi-family dwellings. However, Mondale's position has been that such tax incentives should be replaced ultimately by more adequate direct government subsidies.

No public position has been taken with respect to the deduction for home mortgage interest.

Platform -- No direct references made to the impact of tax policy on housing. Yet, the platform document does observe that "tax policies and other indirect subsidies have promoted deterioration of cities and regions." This statement reflects, in part, the tendency of tax shelter investments to encourage new construction (often in the suburbs) at the expense of rehabilitating existing urban structures.

(5) Tax Incentives for Business.

Carter -- has spoken of the need for a simplified tax structure, stripped of many special deductions and other tax preferences. It is unclear to what extent business tax incentives would play a legitimate role in such a revised code.

Mondale -- has supported a "permanent" 10% investment tax credit to encourage business investment in capital assets on the grounds that this incentive has proved to be the most efficient tax incentive for capital formation. At the same time, he has taken the position that the Internal Revenue Code is not usually the most effective vehicle for encouraging desired forms of behavior.

Platform -- the platform document states:

"We will eliminate unnecessary and ineffective tax provisions to business and substitute effective incentives to encourage small business and capital formation in all businesses. Our commitment: to full employment and sustained purchasing power will also provide a strong incentive for capital formation."

(6) Tax Policy and Charitable Giving.

Carter -- has stated that "basic tax reform proposals should give proper consideration to the role of private philanthropy in education."

Mondale -- under the minimum tax amendment adopted by the Finance Committee, the Mondale proposal, and the provision ultimately accepted on the Senate floor, a tax preference item was included for all itemized deductions (except extraordinary medical expenses and casualty losses) exceeding 60% of adjusted gross income. Since charitable deductions are itemized, the inclusion of such a tax preference arguably impairs charitable giving. Even though the charities have provided no extensive opposition to the minimum tax provisions considered by the Senate, Senator Curtis did propose that charitable deductions be excluded from the tax preference. The Curtis proposal was defeated by a vote of 29 to 56, and Mondale voted against the Curtis amendment.

Mondale has supported provisions, contained in the tax reform bill, that would enable private foundations to operate more effectively.

Platform -- contains no specific reference to charitable givings.

(7) Social Security Taxation

Carter -- has apparently made no specific statement with respect to social security taxes.

Mondale -- has opposed President Ford's proposal to increase the rate of social security tax on employees and employers. For the short run, Mondale feels that social security taxes need not be increased. For the long term, an increase in the wage base or the use of general revenues would be preferable to an increase in the social security tax rate.

Platform -- the platform document states as follows:

"The Ford Administration's unwise and unfair proposal to raise the regressive social security tax gives new urgency to the Democratic Party's goal of redistributing the burden of the social security to tax by raising the wage base for earnings subject to the tax with effective exemptions and deductions to ease the impact on low income workers and two-earner families. Further revision in the social security program will be required so that women are treated as individuals."

(8) Corporate Reorganizations,

Carter -- has made no specific statements regarding those sections of the Internal Revenue Code that permit corporations to be merged or otherwise reorganized tax-free. However, he has called for a simplified tax code, and the reorganization sections are among the most complex in the tax laws. Moreover, his stated goal of integrating corporate and individual taxes will require a careful re-examination of all corporate tax rules, including reorganizations,

Mondale -- has taken no public position on this question. There is no reason to suspect that his goals in this area would differ from Carter's. This staff recommends that he not interpret the platform statement (*infra*) to mean that the tax-free treatment of all corporate reorganizations be eliminated. Under the present tax structure, the general concept of tax-free reorganizations has merit; yet, refinements can be made to eliminate abuses. If corporate and individual taxes are integrated, a thorough re-examination of the reorganization provisions should be undertaken,

Platform -- states that "we will seek and eliminate provisions that encourage uneconomic corporate merges and acquisitions."

COMMENT:

The difference between Senator Mondale's support for some real growth in defense expenditures this year, and Governor Carter's call for a \$5-to-\$7 billion cut, reflects the different contexts within which each of these decisions and positions were developed. From the perspective of the Budget Committee, on which Senator Mondale serves, it is not possible to identify and enforce specific economies. In the absence of such economies, and without an improvement in the efficiency of the Pentagon, a real increase in resources is required to provide adequate muscle to our military posture. However, Senator Mondale has long favored trimming waste and inefficiency out of the Pentagon and the target stated by Governor Carter is a desirable goal.

DEFENSE: B-1

Mondale Position:

We need a secure strategic deterrent, and bombers are part of that deterrent. We are going to need a new manned bomber, but I have serious reservations about the B-1 -- about its performance, the mission its designed to perform and its cost.

I supported continued research and development and testing of the B-1. But I opposed a premature decision on producing that aircraft. The Carter Administration should be given an opportunity to decide whether we want the B-1 and whether it's going to fit into our overall strategy.

Actions Taken:

This year, Senator Mondale voted in favor of the McGovern Amendment to halt R&D and production of the B-1; voted in favor of a Culver Amendment to support R&D but defer decision on production until next year.

Carter Position:

He opposed production of the B-1 bomber at this time, but believes Research and Development should continue. The Production Decision should be made by the next Administration. He believes an addition to our manned bomber fleet may be necessary, but that the B-1 does not meet this need at this time.

Comment:

The Mondale/Carter positions are virtually identical. Senator Mondale, in years past, has supported cutbacks in the B-1 program. In 1975, he voted for continuation of the program as a symbolic gesture to underscore his support for strategic programs that strengthened our deterrent instead of undermining it as many Administration proposals in the field of new ICMBs and new MIRV warheads would

OVERSEAS TROOP DEPLOYMENTS:

MONDALE POSITION:

I do not support reductions of US forces in Europe except on a negotiated basis with the Soviet Union and its allies. I would, however, support some decrease in US forces if our allies were prepared to make a relatively larger contribution to the common defense -- a step I believe we should urge them to take. I would support thinning out our forces in Asia, including reductions on the Korean Peninsula, on the basis of consultations with Japan as well as South Korea.

ACTIONS:

In 1973, Senator Mondale voted in favor of a 40% three-year cut in US ground troops overseas. He also supported a proposed reduction of 110,000 US forces assigned to duty abroad. In 1974, he opposed a Mansfield Amendment which would call for a 125,000-man cut in the overall US level military personnel, and a limit of 312,000 on those assigned abroad. He supported a Mansfield Amendment which would establish a 2,076,100 man ceiling for military personnel and a 361,000 man limit for those assigned abroad.

CARTER POSITION:

The Governor has said he would favor thinning out our forces in Asia and reducing to zero our troops in Korea on a program to be worked out with the South Korean and Japanese Governments.

COMMENT:

Both Governor Carter and Senator Mondale oppose reductions in forces in Europe except on a negotiated basis. Senator Mondale's support for larger cuts in 1973 was in the context of continued Administration involvement in Indochina. It was not aimed at reducing or modifying our commitment to Europe nor to Japan. This was the reason for his opposition to the Mansfield amendment in June of 1974.

NUCLEAR STRATEGY AND FIRST STRIKE WEAPONS:

MONDALE POSITION:

I have opposed the development of strategic forces whose primary characteristic is the capacity to attack the deterrent of the other side. I believe this undermines strategic stability. I also believe that the so-called new doctrine of fighting limited nuclear wars is unrealistic.

ACTIONS:

Senator Mondale has voted against the MARK 12A warhead and the increase in accuracy programs for Minuteman III. Their purpose was to increase the counterforce or first strike potential of the Minuteman system. Mondale took the position that we should be seeking to diminish the vulnerability of our strategic forces and not increase the vulnerability of the other side's strategic forces.

CARTER POSITION:

Carter has taken a similar position to that of Senator Mondale. He believes a limited nuclear war is impractical and opposes the development of first strike counterforce systems (see interview with Les Gelb).



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