

GARD

Judy
Bremer

MONDALE/FERRARO ISSUES PAPERS

August 28, 1984

This packet represents issue statements from the campaign on a wide range of issues. An alphabetized index is on the next page for you. From time to time we will send you updated issue papers. Please feel free to use items from this packet as you see fit for distribution in your own state.

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ACID RAIN

EDITED TRANSCRIPT

REMARKS OF WALTER F. MONDALE

ACID RAIN CONFERENCE

MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

January 8, 1984

There's really no better place to kickoff this famous year of 1984 than New Hampshire.

In this Orwellian age of "Newspeak," when the administration calls acid rain "poorly buffered precipitation," I'm glad to be in a state known for plain speaking. One of New Hampshire's most famous plain speakers, Daniel Webster, once said, "Nothing will ruin the country if the people undertake its safety. And nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own."

You have proven this point.

One hundred-ninety seven of one hundred-ninety nine New Hampshire towns joined you in calling for strong action to reduce sulfur dioxide emissions by 50 percent.

Every member of the New England congressional delegation of both parties has said, "Mr. President, acid rain is a problem we can't afford to ignore."

You have doubled public awareness of acid rain in just three years. And today, thanks to your work here, surveys indicate that 90 percent of the people of our nation who know about acid rain believe it to be a serious, national problem. And they're right.

Acid rain is killing our lakes, destroying our forests, reducing the value of our crops, dissolving our buildings, and contaminating our drinking water. Acid rain recognizes no state boundaries: lakes in my beautiful state of Minnesota are now suffering. Acid rain recognizes no national boundaries: in Canada, it is damaging forests and lakes.

If we don't act soon, we may find our environment damaged beyond repair, as I have pointed out -- just as West Germany is now discovering that it may be too late to save its legendary Black Forest.

But call on Mr. Reagan for help, and he calls for another study. His failure to act on this issue is matched by his appalling -- let me say that again -- appalling failure on environmental issues across the board.

He has failed to enforce our laws. With 546 hazardous waste sites on the priority cleanup list, he's allowed work to start on only six of them. He's authorized spending on only eight-tenths of one percent of Superfund resources to clean up toxic sites. And recently, when the statute of limitations on hundreds of toxic dumps was running out, he let it expire. In short, he would rather take a polluter to lunch than to court.

Mr. Reagan has failed to honor the public trust. Every President of both political parties since Teddy Roosevelt has fought to protect the public lands as a public trust. But this President has tried to give them away -- at fire sale prices.

Mr. Reagan failed to accept your invitation to this conference -- although he's filed here as a candidate for President. I'm usually very critical of Mr. Reagan, but I don't blame him; if I had a record on the environment like as lousy as his, I wouldn't show up, either.

Mr. Reagan has demoralized all of the key environmental agencies. Indeed, that may be the longest-term cost of it all. When EPA's workload doubled, he tried to cut the budget and staff in half. At EPA, CEQ, Interior, and the other agencies, he's failed to appoint professionals. Today, we have made some progress. But not enough. We did get rid of Ann Gorsuch. And we did get rid of James Watt. But now, we must get rid of the person who appointed Ann Gorsuch and James Watt.

Throughout his career, Mr. Reagan has tried to make "environmentalist" a pejorative word. And today, unfortunately, some politicians are playing right into his hands. They're labeling you, and the superb movement that you represent, a "special interest."

Well, if having air that you can breathe; land you can walk; woods you can hike; water you can drink; and wilderness that our children can inherit: if those are special interests, count me in.

I grew up in rural Minnesota. I know what natural beauty is. I know what it's like to canoe for hours on wilderness lakes. I believe that one week with a rod and reel can be more helpful than a year with a psychiatrist. I have gone ice-fishing across our nation's northern border, from International Falls, Minnesota, to Berlin, New Hampshire. And I refuse to let anyone deny such beauty to my children or to yours.

That's why I pushed to pass laws to strengthen the Boundary Waters Canoe Act, to create the Voyageurs National Park and St. Croix River system, and to prevent Reserve Mining from dumping into that most majestic of all fresh water sources, Lake Superior. On every issue, on every front, we've been together: Clean air, Clean water, Clean lakes, pesticide control, wildlife protection, national parks and rivers, solar and renewable energy, and all the rest.

Today, we're working together on the issue of acid rain. And my approach is built on these principles.

First of all, Presidential leadership. You've seen, during this conference, how many different plans are floating around. The only way we will pass one -- the only way we will pull the Congress and the people of our country together -- is with a President who leads.

When we're together, we win. I think that's what the recent fight over toxic wastes tells us. They told us at that time that problem couldn't be solved. It was too expensive. But unlike now, the White House was used to pull our leadership, and our experts across the nation together, and to pull the states together. We put a coalition in the Congress; and we passed the Superfund. That's the leadership that I will restore in the White House.

The second principle is a 50 percent reduction in sulfur dioxide emissions, along with deep reductions in nitrogen oxide. I came to New Hampshire early last year. Unlike some others, I immediately endorsed your Town Meeting Resolution. A 50 percent reduction -- supported by the National Academy of Sciences -- was my position then; it is my position now; and it will be my position as President of the United States.

Third, there will be costs -- and they must be fairly shared. Acid rain is a national problem and it requires a national solution. I support a self-financed trust fund that meets these tests -- based on these principles.

First of all, it must be truly national. And I think all 48 states must be involved.

Secondly, it must have sticks as well as carrots. Today, dirty air and acid rain are good business. We must make them bad business. Polluters must pay more. Polluters with bad records must not be rewarded. The big utilities must be prohibited from passing on many of the costs of clean air on to their consumers -- just as Seabrook must be made to eat many of the costs of their planning disasters. Unless that is embodied in the plan, we may well find utilities using public funds to carry on unacceptable practices, to pick up cost that they ought to be paying themselves, delaying long overdue new technology that can address the problem, and even worse, blaming the environmental movement on every rate increase they pass on to the American consumer.

Just recently, there have been studies that show that although the wholesale price of natural gas has gone up, that the biggest source of inflation, which is now very severe in many parts of this country in gas rates, has been the expanding profit-shares that have been added on by the utilities at the local level.

As we shape this trust fund we have to be very, very clear that our essential efforts to protect this nation from acid rain are not exploited and used for the profit of the very people that are polluting, and like to tack evermore costs onto the American consumer and blame the environmental movement for that action.

Next, the trust fund must encourage cost-effective new technologies. As President, I will restore support for research and development and provide incentives for business to take advantage of it.

And the trust fund must also prevent Americans from being singled out for punishment through no fault of their own. The aggressive use of new technologies can promote regional economic development and preserve jobs.

The fourth principle of my approach to acid rain recognizes that it is an international problem as well. I support a treaty with Canada committing both our countries to 50 percent reductions. Mr. Reagan has treated our good neighbor to the north shabbily. He has stonewalled negotiations for three years. As President, I will sit down with Canada's leaders to work this problem out -- to adopt a treaty. And I think we should do the same on this issue with Mexico as well.

There is one plan for stopping acid rain that you haven't heard at this conference -- and that's Mr. Reagan's. And it goes like this: Divide the environmental movement. Make them fight over fine points, and make sure they never get together.

I guess I am the only candidate for President who has served in public life through all the major fights of what we now call the environmental movement over the last quarter of a century. I've heard all the debates. I've been involved in every one of them.

And in every one, the opposition always says the same thing -- read that record if you have it. They tried to divide our country by claiming that there is a profound conflict between protecting the environment and a healthier economy. If you pass this legislation, it will destroy thousands of jobs. It will be too expensive. It will pull down economic growth.

They were certain and ardent that that would happen if we passed the Clean Air Act. They said that about the Clean Water Act -- and every other significant piece of legislation, including the Superfund.

And every time, history shows they have been dead wrong. In every case, the economy has improved, our health has improved, our labor force has kept growing and the quality of American life has kept rising in ways that the GNP can't measure.

Indeed, in this country, many of the most dramatic periods of economic growth have been the same periods when the environmental laws have been most vigorously enforced.

We are a better and wealthier America because of the environmental movement. That's what David Freeman's experience TVA has shown. They stepped forward, dealt with acid rain, and did so in a way that served everyone's interest.

Today, our country is going about the business of choosing its next President.

Americans -- and I have traveled this country, and I know what I'm talking about -- want their President to move forward again on the environment. But recently, one candidate has been saying repeatedly that enforcing environmental laws will, and I quote, "put ten million people out of work." We've heard that before. It wasn't true then, and it's just as wrong today.

Let's choose a President who rejects that red herring. With presidential leadership we can clean up our environment, build a more competitive America, a fairer America and a safer world.

When I was just starting out in public life, we had another kind of dangerous rain, called atomic rain. Countries were testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Strontium-90 was poisoning our children's milk.

I joined with many in this room to fight that danger. Despite our differences with the Soviets, a treaty was written to halt atmospheric testing. If we could work out an agreement with the Soviets, then surely we can agree among ourselves.

There is power in this room. Let's use it. There is talent in America. Let's mobilize it. If we stand together, nothing can stop us. Nothing will.

Thank you.

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Q. What are your reactions to Mr. Glenn's acid rain proposal?

A. I believe that on this issue the past is prologue. Basically, each of us seeking the Presidency has records, some going back many years. Review those records. Ask who has been committed, not just nominally, but who has been fighting and working and caring and leading on these issues.

I just spoke of the League of Conservation Voters records, which combine some six years of roughly shared service in the Congress with a combined record. During that period, myself and Cranston were almost even -- I had 82%, he had 83% Gary Hart had 77%, Mr. Glenn had 59%.

On the issue of acid rain, in 1982 there was a 15 to 1 vote on the resolution in the Senate's Environment Public Works Committee to get going on the environment. One person voted no. Mr. Glenn criticized that vote and said we should "go slow" on acid rain.

Last year he refused to support the New Hampshire Acid Rain Resolution and criticized those who did so, I assume including the National Academy of Sciences as, "overpromising." Today the proposal he makes falls substantially short of the 50% goal which most people who have studied it agree to be the central objective of any effective legislation.

And the way I look at this legislation it puts the same burden on polluters as non-polluters alike.

Mr. Glenn voted for James Watt. James Watt has never been one of my heroes.

Mr. Glenn voted to slash money to the EPA by 21%, helping Mr. Reagan to cripple that agency.

After examining all the key votes on the Clean Air Act, the League of Conservation Voters said that Mr. Glenn has a "very poor voting record on clean air issues."

In 1979, after the Three-Mile Island disaster, Mr. Glenn opposed a moratorium on the licensing of atomic plants. And he opposed measures to give the victims of nuclear accidents adequate compensation -- something, incidentally, I feel is long overdue, and I supported it for years in the Senate.

AGING

February 20, 1984

STATEMENT BY WALTER F. MONDALE FOR THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
ON THE AGING'S MAGAZINE, PERSPECTIVE ON AGING

Two years ago when I spoke to NCOA's annual conference I closed my address by observing that the Reagan Administration "has done one thing for all of us. It has forced us to think profoundly again about our nation and our purposes. It has asked us to ask ourselves again, what kind of people are we? What are the moral duties that define our national purposes?"

These remain the central questions Ronald Reagan and his radical right wing allies have raised. For the past three years I have spoken out strongly and consistently against the uncaring, survival of the fittest mentality that dominates the White House. During this campaign I will continue to do so. And as President, I will reverse the Reagan policies of neglect and greed with sensitive leadership that responds to those who need our help.

I believe there is a bargain in American life. When you work for a lifetime; when you pay taxes; when you raise your family to be good citizens — at the end of your working life, you ought to be able to count on certain things.

You should have the dignity that comes from independence. You should be able to put food on the table. You should be able to pay for heat and rent. You should not be terrorized by medical bills. And you should be as sure of that Social Security check as the sun coming up in the morning.

That's one of the reasons we have government — to guarantee the bargains in American life. As my beloved friend Hubert Humphrey put it, "The moral test of government is how it treats those in the twilight of life."

During my twenty-five years in public life, I have fought to meet Hubert's test. I am proud that I was an original sponsor of Medicare. And I also cosponsored the Older Americans Act, Title XX, food stamps, legal services, Medicaid, and SSI.

Yet despite the progress we have made, much remains to be done to ensure that older persons have lives of decency and dignity. Several tasks rank high on my list of priorities.

First, we must strengthen and protect Social Security. Social Security rests on the principle that older Americans deserve a secure retirement. That principle stands at the heart of our nation's commitment to fairness. A Mondale Administration will restore the cuts made in 1981 by the Reagan Administration and will oppose efforts to reduce or tamper with benefits. We must also strengthen Social Security's treatment of women. To achieve that objective, I support a sensible plan to implement the concept of earnings sharing.

Second, we must contain health costs. Earlier this year I proposed a tough, comprehensive health care cost containment plan that is fair, will guarantee the integrity of Medicare — which will be one of my highest priorities, encourage meaningful health care competition, and reduce the destructive Reagan budget deficits. Under my plan, we could save \$15 billion annually in federal health costs by 1989. Significantly, my program would not allow providers to pass-through these cuts to Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries.

Third, we must explore alternatives to long-term institutionalization and incentives for home health care. Expanding Medicare and Medicaid and adequately funding Title XX should be part of this agenda.

Fourth, we must strengthen the Older Americans Act. We should expand, not retract, the services state and area agencies, nutrition projects and senior centers provide.

Fifth, we must open up opportunities for older persons to work and be involved in their communities. A Mondale Administration will preserve the senior employment program, insist on an EEOC that enforces age discrimination laws, and work to enact Claude Pepper's bill to abolish mandatory retirement at age 70.

There are, of course, other things we must do as well. I will work to raise the SSI minimum payment, strengthen nursing home inspections, preserve legal services, and fight discrimination against women and minorities.

Ronald Reagan's strategy has been to divide us into two Americas—the thin veneer of the rich who are doing better and better, and the rest who are doing worse and worse. In Reagan's America, only the fittest and richest survive. My America is a civilization, a community, a family, where we care for each other.

Twenty-one years ago, when President Kennedy sent the Medicare bill to Congress, he said, "It is not enough for a great nation to merely have added new years to life. Our objective must also be to add new life to those years."

He was right. We have unfinished business. That is why this fall's election will be so vital.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

MONDALE/FERRARO

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FACT SHEET ON AGRICULTURAL POLICY

August 1984

Walter Mondale says:

"Mr. Reagan's policies have produced the worst agricultural record since the Great Depression. All my life, I've believed that family farming is crucial to America. I won't tolerate the destruction of the family farm system in this country. I won't permit our rural communities to wither away. To deal with this crisis, I'll offer action -- not rhetoric."

The Reagan Record

- o Nearly 200,000 farmers and ranchers have gone out of business since Mr. Reagan took office -- almost 1000 each week since January, 1981.
- o Net farm income has fallen to its lowest level since the worst years of the Depression.
- o For the first time since the Depression, average farm land values have fallen for three straight years.
- o Farmer equity has fallen for the first time in 27 years.
- o After 13 consecutive years of growth, our agricultural exports have fallen by over 21 percent since 1981, largely because of currency distortions produced by the Reagan budget deficits and high interest rates.
- o The cost of farm commodity programs has soared out of control, reaching \$18.9 billion in FY 1983 (not counting PIK), compared to an annual average of \$4 billion in the previous Administration.

The Mondale Approach to Agricultural Prosperity

1. Unify rural America to ensure fair treatment for all commodities and communities.
2. Reduce the Reagan budget deficit by two-thirds by 1989 to lower interest rates and correct currency distortions that destroy farm exports.
3. Institute predictable, longterm farm programs to balance supply and demand and to help farmers plan ahead and earn decent prices for their commodities, by aggressively using policies such as price supports, loan levels, target prices, paid diversion, and farmer-held reserves.

4. Deal with the farm credit crisis by:
 - o overhauling the farm credit system from top to bottom;
 - o making farm credit serve family farmers, not speculators;
 - o halting Farmers Home Administration foreclosures on farmers hardpressed through no fault of their own;
 - o stretching out loan repayments for creditworthy farmers who need a breathing space;
 - o working with local communities to target credit aid properly;
 - o ensuring that the Small Business Administration does its part;
 - o working with the friends of rural America to shape a solution to the private credit problem, using federal loan guarantees targeted to hard-pressed, creditworthy farmers to stretch out and restructure their loans.
5. Fight for American agricultural exports by resisting unfair foreign tactics.
6. Oppose agricultural trade embargoes.
7. Include strong longterm, locally approved soil and water conservation programs as an integral part of the farm bill to protect the natural resources that make our family farm system the most productive in the world.
8. Work to strengthen rural economies and communities by supporting farmer-owned cooperatives, the Rural Electrification Administration, agricultural research, the Agricultural Extension Service, and the Federal Crop Insurance Program.
9. Support a revitalized and soundly managed Food for Peace program to help feed the world's hungry, assist developing nations, and build longterm markets for our agricultural exports.

Conclusion

Through mismanagement, lack of understanding, and unwise economic policies, the Reagan administration has driven down the income of family farmers while farm commodity program costs have skyrocketed. Walter Mondale brings a lifetime of experience and commitment to agriculture. Through sensible economic policies that reduce deficits, interest rates, and currency distortions, by wise management of farm programs, and by reordering priorities, he will help improve the wellbeing of family farmers and rural America while decreasing the burden on the taxpayer.

edited transcript

FARMER'S BREAKFAST

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

JANUARY 4, 1984

I am here because I want to talk to the farmers of Arkansas, and I want to talk to the farmers of this country. This could well be the worst farm year in American history, and unless we change economic policy, in a few years something that's indispensable, if not sacred to American life, is going to be gone -- this thing called the family farmer. Americans must understand again what farmers have meant to this nation, and what a farm recession means to non-farmers.

One of the great miracles of American agriculture is the productivity of the American family farmer. Americans pay less for food as a percentage of income than any people on earth -- and most places, half or one-third -- because of the enormous productivity of the family farmers. Up until about 18 months ago, agriculture was the major earner in international trade. In the days of soaring oil prices, if it hadn't been for American farm exports and the dollars that were earned from that, I don't know where our economy would be.

What's the biggest business in America today? Agriculture. People don't know that, but it is. And when farmers are doing well -- and they can buy that tractor and that equipment and the things they need for modern farming -- then the rest of the economy does well. When farmers are in bad shape, the rest of the economy quickly follows. My dad used to tell me that depressions are farm fed and farm led, and I still think that's the case. Keeping a solid, sensible family farm system and the impact of a healthy rural America on the rest of America are both central issues in the 1984 campaign.

It's been a long time since a candidate for President has talked directly and specifically to farmers. But I want to be frank about it. I am the only farm kid running for President. I spent my years in the Senate, a good many years, on the Senate Agriculture Committee. As Vice-President, I fought for strong agriculture. I grew up in a rural area. And I want to be a President who once again pursues policies that strengthen the rural farm economy and family farming in this country.

This could be the last chance for a strong, effective farm program in this country, and for rural family farmers, and for strong rural life, and I want your help here in Arkansas. I want the message to go out that farmers and rural Americans are aroused again, and they want a change that will make a difference.

There are four essential points:

First, the deficit. This morning I picked up the paper, and I noticed that soybeans dropped the limit yesterday. Why? Because the dollar went up in value on the international market. The sensitivity of American agriculture today to exports is something that no farmer needs to be told about. Here in Arkansas, 50 percent of your cotton is dependent upon exports, 60 percent of your rice, 75 percent of your soybeans, and until recently, half of your broilers. In other words, if you're doing well in international exports, you've got a good chance. But if you're in retreat, you're out of luck.

What would you say if I said I've got this plan for you: We're going to tax everything that an Arkansas farmer produces for export by 25 percent. And we'll take that revenue, and we'll subsidize everything produced by a foreign farmer competing with you by 25 percent. How do you like that idea? Well, that's exactly what you've got now.

These huge deficits that Mr. Reagan has engineered -- \$200 billion a year, as far as the eye can see -- have caused a gross distortion in the value of international currencies. The value of the dollar has shot up in a distorted way, and the value of our major trading partners -- Japan, Western Europe, all the agriculture-producing areas -- straight down the hill. And the result is that every time something you produce competes in international markets with another source, their stuff is cheaper than yours, even though you're the most efficient, competitive farmers on earth.

What happened two years ago? Did you suddenly become inefficient? Did you forget how to farm? For 13 consecutive years, farm exports rose every single year. Right across the board, they rose, until 1981, when Reaganomics went into place, the dollar soared, and now agricultural exports are off by 25 percent. And they're going to be worse next year than this year. That's like a dagger in the heart of the farmers of Arkansas.

So the first thing we've got to do is to get those deficits down, bring those interest rates down, and get the dollar to reach a reasonable value, so that your agricultural exports can begin to rise in the world as they were for 13 consecutive years. In other words, we need a President who makes sense.

Will Rogers once said of Hoover, "It's not what he doesn't know that bothers me. It's all those things he knows for sure that just ain't so." Mr. Reagan may know for sure that you can have a healthy economy with a deficit that chews up 60 and 70 percent of the net savings of all Americans, but it just ain't so. Those deficits have got to come down, and we've got to restore the competitiveness of American agriculture.

Second, I believe in free international competition, but increasingly, things are happening that rob you of your competitive posture. There is no agriculture on earth that produces like American agriculture. We are more efficient, we are more price

competitive, we've got the best transportation systems -- nothing approaches America as the breadbasket of the world. If you can play on a level table, if the rules are fair, you'll beat them all, as you did. But what's happening now is that they're tying your hands behind your back.

First, most countries with agriculture support their exports with a public bank that extends credit terms in order to export their agriculture. Many of these countries now are lowballing those credit terms.

Second, the Common Market, which taxes everything that comes into Europe, builds up a huge pool of money that they use to subsidize agricultural products produced in Europe -- soybean oil, broilers, flour. They are now spending billions of dollars a year in dumping those products, or deeply subsidizing them, around the world.

A few years ago, the United States dominated broilers. And the government wasn't helping you -- you were winning because you were the best producers. We dominated the flour market. Most soybean crushing took place in the United States. Now, as the result of these policies by other governments, through subsidies, through quotas, through written-down credit terms amounting to billions and billions of dollars, your rice, your broilers, your beans, your soybean oil, your flour -- these markets are being taken away from you. And we've got a government that won't stand up to that tactic.

Now you must be expected to compete with a foreign farmer -- that's your business. But you cannot be asked to compete against a foreign government. As President of the United States, I want to tell our friends, "That's enough of that." I'm going to be the President who stands up for American workers, and American businesses, and American farmers again, and insists on a fair deal in international competition that protects your rights.

Third, we've got to stop inflicting self-imposed wounds on American agriculture. Our reputation as a reliable supplier of agricultural goods is essential. The President I worked for wrote a book, and in that book he pointed out that his Vice-President strongly and fiercely opposed the grain embargo. And I did -- I didn't think it would work. I thought it would leak; in other words, other countries would pick up our markets, and we'd be left holding the bag, not only with reduced markets, but with a reputation that we couldn't be relied on. In the 70's, when they slapped on those restraints on soybeans, I opposed that. When we put those embargoes on, they built the Brazilian bean market, which competes with us now.

Embargoes don't work. You don't run another country by denying them a product that they can buy somewhere else; you just hurt yourself. I have been against every embargo that has been imposed in all the years I've been in public life, because they're self-defeating. As President of the United States, I'm

not going to embargo the export of American goods. My old friend Hubert Humphrey said, "I'll sell them anything they can't shoot back."

Fourth, rural America must stand together. In fact, America must stand together. We've got to quit snarling at each other, and start working together. Labor and management have to sit down together and work these problems out. Government has to help out. And that's just as true in agriculture.

When I was a Senator, we used to stand together, all of us. We had our commodities from Minnesota, and we'd work with the Senators from Arkansas, with Bill Alexander, and with all the farm commodities around the country. We'd work up what we called an omnibus farm bill -- nothing fancy, but a steady, solid, sensible farm program that would keep supply in relationship to demand and permit farmers to have some predictability.

Farmers are not asking the taxpayers to guarantee prosperity. They are asking for a chance for some stability, so that they can work within an environment that gives them some authority over their own lives, and some predictability, and some bankability, and the other things that make farming possible.

But Mr. Stockman -- in a private interview published in the Atlantic Monthly in 1981 -- told us that the Reagan strategy is to pit farmer against farmer, to divide rural America, to get the soybean people fighting with the corn people, the beef people fighting with the broiler people, get everybody fighting with each other, and tear that farm program apart by dividing rural America.

They are right on schedule. That's exactly what they want to do. The White House, the Department of Agriculture, OMB -- they're all doing everything they can to weaken rural America. And when you weaken one part of it, you weaken them all. It's like a chain -- it's no stronger than its weakest link.

As President of the United States, I want to bring rural America back together. I want us to work together for strong and sensible farm policy. I will be your President to be certain that chain does not have a weak link, but that we're together across the board. It is crucial to our future.

This year, there has been colossal mismanagement of the farm program. It's almost criminal. It was clear in 1981 and 1982 that we needed steps to bring supply into balance with demand. They let those supplies, those reserves and surpluses, soar. As farm exports disappeared, they paid no attention to it. And all of that backed up on the farm, broke farm prices, led to farm bankruptcies, reduced farm values, and everything that you know of. Then they laid a patch with PIK -- and it may have been essential because of the critical and dangerous situation that we're in. But the 1984 program isn't worth a thing, and people aren't going to sign up. It is going to have one of the lowest

participation rates in modern history, and we're going to be right back in the soup again.

Stop and go -- I think they're trying to destroy public respect for those basic commodity programs, just as they have every time they've been in office before. I want sensible, solid, predictable management. Instead of spending, as we are this year, \$21 billion to try and deal with the hangover cost of those policies, I would like to see some of those resources used to pay farmers to produce. That's what you're good at, not reducing production, but producing agriculture to feed hungry people.

It isn't a child's fault when they're hungry. And whatever problems we've got in this country, we've got ways of giving those children a chance to have healthy bodies and healthy minds. In this country, where agriculture should be looked on as a blessing and not as a curse, when most nations on earth marvel at what we can do, we ought to be ashamed of ourselves that we can't match agricultural abundance with nutritional needs in our own country.

We're peddling arms all over this world, and I'd like to see us provide aid to some of those countries in the form of food again. I remember when Food for Peace saved millions of Americans, and the oldtimers in this room remember it. And many of those countries became tremendous cash markets for us later on, because we showed them how to do it.

Today, in the Sahelian region, there are millions of our fellow human beings without enough to get through the next day. We can't afford a lot of new money, and we know that. But can't we shape our policies so that America again is seen as a nation that uses its resources, its people, its genius, and its spirit to reach out and touch, in a good and a decent way, the lives of other human beings on earth?

That's what I want to be. That's the kind of President I want to be.

I see American family farmers and American agriculture as one of the great assets and marvels of America, and I don't want to see it ended. I want to strengthen rural America. I want to be your President. And I want to work with you to get it done. Thank you very, very much.

AMERICAN INDIANS

FACT SHEET ON AMERICAN INDIANS

MAY 1984

"As Vice President, our Nation formally acknowledged what the world knows, that all of us have a share in the centuries of tragedy borne by the Indian people, that all of us have a special duty to halt the mutilation of the minds and spirits of Indian people. That responsibility includes dealing fairly and honestly with Indian governments and people and fulfilling the Nation's promises to protect Indians and their property.

"As a State official, as a United States Senator, as Vice President and as a private citizen, I have upheld my constitutional duty and moral responsibility to honor our treaties, to faithfully carry out our Indian resource protection laws, to meet the highest fiduciary standards, to respect Indian cultural distinctiveness, to help Indians lift themselves from poverty, to advance the social justice agenda so that Indian people may attain the education, health and quality of life goals they so urgently seek and require. As President, I could do no less."

THE MONDALE RECORD

- Initiated a wide variety of administrative changes and bills to protect Indian land, water and other natural resources, as well as Indian governmental authorities and cultural rights.
- Served actively on the U.S. Senate Special Committee on Indian Education, which brought to public light the tragic state of Indians' educational attainment.
- Sponsored the first major Indian education reforms to take control of Indian education from the bureaucrats and place it in the hands of Indian parents and teachers.
- Authored the Indian Education Act, which recognized the special contributions, talents and needs of Indians through the provision of bilingual and bicultural instruction, nutrition and guidance.
- Supported bills and funding to assure local control of Indian higher education, which have resulted in the establishment of our 20 Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges, as well as increased funding for Indians in vocational education institutions.
- Sponsored the extension of proper health-care facilities in all Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, and successfully defended attacks against critical Indian Health Service programs.

- Sponsored the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, which created a sustained and coordinated federal effort to provide vastly improved health services and professional opportunities to Indians.
- Supported enactment of the Indian Child Welfare Act, which assured tribal court jurisdiction in custody proceedings, recognized tribal kinship structures and provided safeguards for Indian families in cases of involuntary adoption, as well as establishment of such pro-family services as day care, child recreation and counseling.
- Sponsored legislation requiring the full provision of welfare benefits to Indians, who remain the Nation's poorest population.
- Supported public service employment for Indians living on reservations, who are today the Nation's least employed population.
- Supported the Indian Financing Act, which makes available to Indian governments and businesses low-cost loans for economic development.
- Supported enactment of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which brought Native Americans under the protection of the First Amendment.
- Supported enactment of the Alaska Lands legislation, which settled land and subsistence hunting rights of Alaska Natives.
- Supported the specific rights and needs of numerous individual Indian governments, including the restoration of 29,000 acres of land within the White Earth Reservation to the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, the restoration to federal status of previously terminated tribes in Wisconsin, Oregon and Oklahoma, and the water rights of tribes in Arizona.
- The Mondale Record is one of consulting with Indian people and governments, of caring, of action in every aspect of Indian life and raising the standard of Indian living.

THE REAGAN RECORD

- A record of attempts to revive the failed prolicy of termination through the backdoor of appropriations.
- A record of economic policies that has sky-rocketed reservation unemployment to today's level of 60% to 95% on in most Indian communities.

- A record of attempts to wipe out decades of progress in Indian education -- including his veto and denial of federal duty in higher education regarding the Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges Act.
- A record of undercutting the Indians' pressing health needs, including his administration's stonewalling on Congressionally-mandated health facilities for the Rosebud Sioux and Gila River Reservations, continuing efforts to eliminate the Community Health Representatives who meet the daily health needs of Indians in isolated areas, attempts to drastically cut funds for the Indian diabetes prevention programs and ongoing efforts to prevent reauthorization of the Indian Health Care Improvement Act, which has brought about dramatic improvements and lowered the level of Indian infant mortality.
- A record of ignoring the voice of Indians in regard to their social justice needs and their resource rights.
- A record of supporting his high officials as they have publicly insulted Indians and demonstrated their ignorance of the Indian policy aspects of their offices.
- A record of insensitivity and mean-spiritedness concerning the population in greatest need of sensitive and immediate attention.

ARMS CONTROL

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FACT SHEET ON ARMS CONTROL

July 1984

Walter Mondale says:

Somehow civilization has always managed to overcome the follies of government. Humanity has proven to be awesomely resilient. But today, all that is changed by the possibility of nuclear war. There is no bouncing back from extinction. The folly of atomic holocaust will be different from all the others. If the last chapter of human history occurs, no one will be left to write it.

There are nearly 50,000 nuclear warheads on the planet. The most solemn responsibility of a President is to do all that he can to freeze them, reduce their numbers, and to prevent a single one of them from ever being used.

Walter Mondale has a Plan:

1. Challenge the Soviets to halt the arms race -- with temporary, bilateral, and verifiable moratoria in several areas. The key steps:

A moratorium on testing and deploying of all weapons in space and on testing anti-satellite weapons (a "space freeze").

A moratorium on underground nuclear testing.

A moratorium on the testing and deployment of new strategic ballistic missiles now under deployment.

A moratorium on the deployment of nuclear-armed sea-launched cruise missiles.

An early summit with the Soviet leaders to reduce tensions and explore possible agreements.

If the Soviets respond in kind, we can move toward a quick freeze of the arms race.

2. We further need to reverse the arms race and reduce the risk of nuclear war. Walter Mondale will:

- work to institute regular, annual summit conferences with the leaders of the Soviet Union.
- work for negotiating a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze.

- propose deep cuts in nuclear arsenals within the SALT II framework.
- re-propose the "walk-in-the-woods" draft accord, which would halt deployment of Pershing II's in return for significant cuts in Soviet SS-20's.
- re-open negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- reaffirm our commitment to the ABM Treaty and negotiate with the Soviets for a permanent anti-satellite treaty and ban on weapons in space.
- terminate production of weapons such as the MX missile, B-1 bomber, and poison nerve gas.
- work for a verifiable treaty banning chemical weapons.
- renew the fight against nuclear proliferation.
- seek the mutual pull-back of battlefield nuclear weapons from the frontlines of Europe.
- strengthen our conventional forces in NATO to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons.
- propose the establishment of U.S.-Soviet nuclear risk reduction centers and other improved communications for a crisis.

The Reagan Record on Arms Control

Ronald Reagan has wasted three and one half precious years in the illusion that an arms race leads to arms control. He's dead wrong. He's proved that an arms race leads to an arms race.

The Reagan debacle includes:

- the failure to ratify SALT II and to re-enter negotiations for a comprehensive test ban.
- his Star Wars fantasy.
- the collapse of arms control talks.
- the breakdown of communication with the Soviets.



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