

ECONOMY

MONDALE/FERRARO

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 — Telephone 202-625-1600

February 21, 1983

FACT SHEET ON THE ECONOMY

Walter Mondale says:

I never thought that at any time in my life, I would see the sting of the grapes of wrath again. But today, there are thousands of decent American families living in their cars, roaming around this country seeking work and the dignity that comes with stability -- but unable to find it. If we are worthy of our ideals, we must commit ourselves to actions that end this misery.

Walter Mondale has a plan to end the recession and spur long-term economic growth.

- Reduce the deficits by
 - o scaling the defense budget to reality
 - o adopting tough health care cost containment measures
 - o repealing tax indexation
 - o cutting back scheduled tax cuts for the wealthy
- Strike an accord with the Federal Reserve Board to permit sustainable monetary accommodation and long-term economic growth.
- Adopt additional job and job-training measures.
- Reverse the Reagan budget cuts and invest heavily in education, from primary school to graduate school.
- Change taxes and regulations to promote innovation, entrepreneurship, and small business.
- Emphasize research and development in both the public and private sectors.
- Discourage wasteful takeovers and mergers that squander scarce capital and credit and divert managerial attention from the primary task of improving productivity and competitiveness.

- Forge agreements among business, labor, and government to revitalize our basic industries through commitments to reinvestment, productivity, quality, and long-term restructuring strategies.
- Rebuild our crumbling infrastructure to improve efficiency and promote exports.
- Use the Export-Import Bank and the Commodity Credit Corporation much more aggressively to promote our exports and counteract the subsidies offered by our trading partners.
- Work toward international growth and competitiveness by:
 - o coordinating growth policies with the other major industrialized nations
 - o restoring a structure of sensible currency valuations
 - o strengthening the international financial and banking system
 - o moving toward a much fairer regime of international trade, in which all nations play by the same rules of open markets and competition.

The Reagan Administration has failed the test of economic management.

- As a consequence of the Administration's misguided policies, we have suffered through the worst recession in half a century.
- Unemployment is the highest since the start of World War II.
- Deficits are the highest ever, and constitute a postwar record 6.5 percent of our GNP.
 - Real interest rates are at near-record levels, especially for consumers.
 - Our basic industries -- steel, autos, farm equipment, and the rest -- are on the ropes.
 - Business bankruptcies are the highest since the 1930s.
 - Business investment declined by five percent in 1982 and is expected to decline at least as sharply in 1983.
 - Farm and home foreclosures are running at two to three times the normal rate, and rising.
 - Bank failures have tripled.
 - Agricultural prices have collapsed.

- Distorted currency valuations, counterproductive export control policies, and a weak administration response to the unfair trading tactics of other nations have led to a record \$42 billion trade deficit in 1982, and a projected \$75 billion deficit in 1983.

EDUCATION

MONDALE/FERRARO

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 — Telephone 202-625-1600

Walter Mondale Says:

This country wants to get moving, and we want our schools to be the engine. We want to raise standards, boost achievement, and beat our competitors. Ask any American what we must do to get our edge back, and time after time the answer is to invest in education."

Announcement of national strategy for educational excellence, Harvard University, May 9, 1983)

The issue is federal leadership. The issue is Presidential responsibility. And if we don't act, we won't hold our edge. That's why I've laid out a major new program for reinvestment in American education and research. And that's what this debate about excellence is all about."

University of Minnesota, June 9, 1983)

Walter Mondale: A Record of Commitment to Education

Walter Mondale's father was a Methodist minister, his mother, a music teacher. As he has often said, "We had no money, but we did have a strong faith and a belief in education." He went to public schools, Macalester College, and the University of Minnesota—because his state had decided to invest in higher education. He went on to law school—because our country had a G.I. Bill of Rights.

Since then, through twenty years of public life, Walter Mondale has acted on his belief that the more people we educate—and the better we educate them—the stronger and more competitive a nation we will inevitably be.

Throughout his twelve-year Senate career, Mondale helped lead the fights for the programs comprising what he calls "The Magna Carta of American Education:" Title I aid for disadvantaged students; Head Start; student assistance; handicapped education; expanded vocational education; and more.

Mondale made significant personal contributions when, as the first Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, he uncovered the deprivation of disadvantaged children—and sought to remedy it. Most of the Committee's agenda was enacted through major legislation to help children with learning problems, start special education projects, improve bilingual education, and initiate the use of television as a teaching device.

As Vice President, Mondale served as the special advocate for education in the White House. He strongly supported the establishment of the Department of Education. He also was instrumental in boosting funding for elementary, secondary, and higher education.

Reagan Against Education

But today we have a President who doesn't understand the importance of education to our future. If he'd had his way, his budget cuts would have left:

- two and a half million American children removed from basic skill classes;
- half a million handicapped children out in the cold;
- a quarter of a million work-study students cut off;
- a million American kids without grants for college;
- six hundred thousand graduate students without loans;
- thousands of advanced research projects undone.

Walter Mondale Strategy for Excellence in Education

Walter Mondale wants to be the President who makes this generation of Americans the best-educated, best-trained in our history. And he's proposed a five-point strategy for excellence to achieve that:

- First, American students must be ready to meet the economic challenges of the future. Our classrooms must demand excellence and a rigor unsurpassed anywhere. And a national Fund for Excellence will make \$4.5 billion available directly to communities across the country to carry out plans they devise themselves.
- Second, we can't have good schools without good teachers. We must train them better, pay them better, and free them from paperwork so they can do their jobs better. And a new Education Corps should be established to attract a talented, committed generation of Americans into teaching. When fully phased in, this is an investment of \$1 billion more a year.
- Third, American science, research, and scholarship must remain the best in the world. We must modernize our university laboratories and libraries, and launch a national program to support graduate education. This will amount to an additional \$1 billion a year.
- Fourth, every child must have a fair chance to learn and to succeed. We must maintain our commitment to helping minority and disadvantaged children. This effort will cost \$3 billion more a year.
- Finally, higher education must not become the preserve of the wealthy. We must invest \$1 billion a year to strengthen student assistance programs, as well as our commitment to historically black colleges and universities.

The Mondale strategy for excellence in education, when fully phased in, represents an additional \$11 billion Federal investment in education. As President, he will be prepared to increase that investment—as long as it can be spent effectively and accountably.

There is a long haul ahead. There is much for everyone to contribute. The program outlined here is not cheap or easy. But neither is excellence.

In the 1960s, this country said that an American would walk on the moon before the decade was done—and we did. Today, in 1983, Walter Mondale says that American schools, colleges, and research centers can be the finest on earth before 1990—and they must.

ENVIRONMENT

MONDALE/FERRARO

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 — Telephone 202-625-1600

FACT SHEET ON THE ENVIRONMENT

Walter Mondale says:

I believe that each generation of Americans has the profound obligation to hand over to the next generation a country at least as rich, as clean, and as beautiful as it was when we received it from our parents.

When this election is over, I believe our nation will once again have stated publicly what I have heard around the country: overwhelmingly, Americans want to see the laws of the land enforced; and overwhelmingly, they want our land, our air, our water, and our public health protected now and for our children.

The Mondale Record

Walter Mondale has been proud to serve as a strong advocate on behalf of the environment through more than twenty years of public life: as Attorney General of Minnesota; as a U.S. Senator; and as Vice President of the United States.

Then-Senator Mondale co-sponsored the Clean Air Act of 1970, and took the lead on behalf of the Clean Lakes Act, signed into law as Section 314 of the Water Pollution Control Act of 1972. He sponsored legislation establishing the Boundary Waters Recreation Areas, the Voyageurs National Park, the Wild and Scenic River System, the Minnesota Wildlife Recreation Area, and many other wilderness and recreation areas. He consistently supported federal funding for research and development of solar and other alternative energy sources--as well as for energy conservation programs.

Mondale was proud to serve as Vice President in an Administration which enacted major amendments to strengthen the Clean Air and Water Acts; added more funding and land to our national parks, wilderness, and recreation areas than any Administration in American history; and established the EPA Superfund to clean up hazardous waste sites.

Since leaving office, Mondale has been a strong critic of the Reagan Administration's stewardship of our environment and natural resources. He has called to Interior Secretary James Watt's firing or resignation since early in the Reagan term.

The Reagan Assault on the Environment

Walter Mondale believes that this is the most anti-environment Administration in history. They've departed from an 80-year old tradition of bipartisan support for conservation by:

- bartering the public interest for a policy of privatization:
 - trying to sell off public lands and coal leases at fire sale prices;
 - proposing to let developers lock the rest of us out;
 - suggesting the termination of the whole wilderness system by the year 2000.
- not enforcing--or deliberately flouting--the laws of the land;
 - cutting the EPA's purchasing power by 45 percent--just when the workload doubled;
 - cutting EPA research--just when we needed to know more about toxic chemicals to safeguard public health;
 - failing to use the Superfund for its mandated purpose--just as waste sites are spreading and worsening;
 - undermining EPA enforcement across the board.
- failing to safeguard the future:
 - refusing to counteract acid rain;
 - halting strip-mine reclamation;
 - aiding and abetting destruction of wetlands;
 - ignoring endangered species.

The Mondale Plan

As President, Walter Mondale will:

- stop plundering and start protecting public lands--and keep them open to all Americans;
- enforce the laws we've enacted to protect ourselves, our air, our water, and our land:
 - use Superfund as intended: clean up sewage discharges from our cities; get toxic pollutants out of our air and water;
 - reverse the massive budget cuts which have destroyed the effectiveness of our environmental agencies;

program to promote minimum tillage and help farmers conserve

multiple use on multiple-use land and protect national parks,
areas, and national wildlife refuges;

unds for the Land and Water Conservation Fund necessary to
as well as the Federal Government purchase parks, refuges,
endangered species habitats, and national wildlife refuges;

lional rain as a national problem that demands a national

cut emission of sulfur dioxides by 50 percent;

ge promising technological developments that may lower the
the clean up;

te a treaty with Canada to jointly solve this urgent problem;

a effective Council on Environmental Quality to forsee long
stic and global problems, such as the warming of the atmosphere;

a national energy program to develop environmentally sound,
energy sources, and to promote conservation;

ssionals in charge of environmental programs, respect them,
them a mandate to enforce the laws of the land.

- launch a program to promote minimum tillage and help farmers conserve topsoil;
- encourage multiple use on multiple-use land and protect national parks, wilderness areas, and national wildlife refuge;
- restore funds for the Land and Water Conservation Fund necessary to help states as well as the Federal Government purchase parks, refuges, wetlands, endangered species habitats, and national wildlife refuges.
- treat national rain as a national problem that demands a national solution:
 - move to cut emission of sulfur dioxides by 50 percent;
 - encourage promising technological developments that may lower the cost of the clean up;
 - negotiate a treaty with Canada to jointly solve this urgent problem;
- restore an effective Council on Environmental Quality to foresee long term domestic and global problems, such as the warming of the atmosphere;
- relaunch a national energy program to develop environmentally sound, renewable energy sources, and to promote conservation;
- put professionals in charge of environmental programs, respect them, and give them a mandate to enforce the laws of the land.

ERA/ WOMAN'S ISSUES

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

America cannot be prosperous, or just, or a force for peace in the world until women win their rightful place in our society. The cause of women is not some narrow special interest; it is the cause of America itself. And it is my cause as well.

Throughout my public life I have been committed to policies that promote peace, not conflict; that promise economic equality, not dependence; that offer equal opportunity, not second-class citizenship. I will never retreat from these commitments. But they can be turned into reality only with the leadership of women as well as men, and with the full and equal participation of women at every level of our political process.

The following policies form the core of my commitment to women and are the core of my campaign. Key points include:

- an economic plan to promote economic growth, revitalize ailing industries, retrain workers for the jobs of the future, and put men and women back to work;
- a comprehensive program to implement pay equity;
- an unequivocal commitment to the nuclear freeze, meaningful arms control, a reasonable military budget, and a foreign policy that expresses the highest values of America;
- a strong, humane approach to medical care, social services, and human needs;
- a major new national commitment to education;
- support for a woman's right to decide whether to bear a child;
- repassage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment;
- elimination of discrimination in vital areas such as insurance and pensions;
- vigorous, comprehensive enforcement of the nation's civil rights laws;
- enactment of tough new fair housing provisions that include protections for families with children;
- support for earnings sharing in Social Security;
- a broad program to remove all impediments to the full participation of women in politics and government, and in the Democratic party;
- a national effort to increase public oversight of nuclear power, develop alternative energies, promote energy conservation, and dramatically reduce the health and genetic dangers posed by toxic chemicals and wastes.
- an end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and restrictions on the export of weapons-grade material;
- a national effort to reduce child and spouse abuse;
- reaffirmation of my commitment to affirmative action;
- preservation of SSI and strengthening Medicare.

EMPLOYMENT

The economic situation of women has deteriorated in the past few years, especially under the Reagan Administration. Although women have entered the labor market in vast numbers, they have not markedly improved their economic situation. Inequitable budget cuts and low-paying, dead-end jobs are leading to a growing feminization of poverty in our country.

Women are seriously segregated in the labor market, both by occupation and by industry. Women dominate the lowest paying jobs in the economy and women workers are concentrated in the lowest-paying industries. This segregation is cause for concern for it is these low-paying jobs and industries that have grown more quickly in the American economy. I propose the following:

PEACE, NUCLEAR FREEZE, AND DISARMAMENT

To halt and reverse the nuclear arms race has been one of my central concerns throughout my years in public life.

More than a decade ago I helped lead the unsuccessful fight to prevent the testing and deployment of multiple warhead missiles. While Vice President, I fought for ratification of the SALT II Treaty. And just two weeks ago, I joined with concerned members of the Congress to propose major new initiatives to restrict the export of weapons-grade material and toughen up our nation's opposition to world-wide nuclear proliferation.

To discharge our obligation to humanity and posterity, there are a number of steps we must take.

- We must move swiftly to negotiate a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze.
- We need a defense strategy that increases stability during crises and decreases incentives to strike first. I am firmly opposed to the MX missile. I will continue to oppose all systems and strategies that, in my judgment, are not unquestionably defensive.
- We need a prudent defense budget. I have identified specific weapons systems that I believe can be cut without shortchanging our defense—systems such as the B-1 bomber, nuclear aircraft carriers, and the MX missile. It is essential to increase efficiency by reducing wasteful duplication among the services and reforming defense development and procurement procedures.
- We need a comprehensive agenda for controlling nuclear arms and reducing the risk of nuclear war to include:
 - revising SALT II and resubmitting it to the Senate for ratification;
 - offering serious, negotiable proposals in the START and INF talks;
 - renewing efforts to achieve the long-deferred Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
 - recommitting the United States to the ABM Treaty;
 - restoring tight controls on the export of weapons-grade material and re-emphasizing non-proliferation to reduce the risk that new nations will enter the nuclear club;
 - pursuing agreements with the Soviet Union to improve crisis communications and reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war;
 - moving swiftly toward a summit conference with the leaders of the Soviet Union to check spiralling tensions and explore areas of possible agreement.
- We need a foreign policy that reaffirms American values. I propose a foreign policy that works much more closely with other nations to achieve peace, especially in our own hemisphere. And we must significantly increase the capacity of international institutions to deal with the staggering social, economic, and debt burdens of the developing nations. A policy oriented toward peace is a policy that addresses the fundamental human needs around the world.

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

One of our nation's most important responsibilities must be to assist and strengthen families. I have supported programs to help children and families throughout my career in public life:

I drafted and sponsored the Women's Educational Equity Act.

I co-sponsored the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, legislation creating Head Start, WIC, the food stamp program, and a host of other initiatives.

I led the fight for a national day care program. And I strongly advocated a tax system that was fair to working families.

I worked successfully for the adoption assistance program, expanded aid to education, reform of the food stamp program, and many other efforts to assist children and families.

I am committed to reversing the economic policies of the Reagan administration which have created massive unemployment and cut programs that helped the vulnerable. As President I would:

- Reverse Reagan cuts in vital health, social service and nutrition programs.
- Strengthen programs we know have worked and that can make a difference like WIC, Head Start, maternal and child health, and childhood immunization.
- Renew the nation's fight against hunger, and strengthen the food stamp program and the school lunch program, as well as other critical child nutrition programs.
- Restore cuts in Medicaid to ensure that poor women and children have access to quality health care.
- Repeal the destructive Reagan changes in the AFDC program which penalize the working poor.

The Reagan Administration is not conservative as it claims, but radical in its undermining of our national civil rights laws. As a nation we must recommit ourselves to the cause of civil rights. My agenda:

- I would ensure that only people who are firmly committed to civil rights are appointed to key posts such as Attorney General and the EEOC.
- I would appoint to the Civil Rights Commission men and women who believe in the civil rights initiatives of the past two decades.
- I would enforce affirmative action in the federal government.
- I would reverse the Reagan policies in the Small Business Administration to ensure full minority participation in loan programs and guarantee that minority businesses obtain at least their mandated share of federal contracts.
- I would seek repassage and ratification of the ERA.
- I would vigorously enforce the Voting Rights Act.
- I would protect and fully fund the Legal Services Corporation.
- I would extend Fair Housing legislation to protect families with children against discrimination.
- I would extend the coverage of the 1980 Democratic party platform to include the handicapped.

MINORITY WOMEN

Women of color suffer the double discrimination of sexism and racism. Older women of color suffer not only sexism and racism, but also the ravages of poverty out of all proportion to that experienced by other groups.

Women of color are more likely than men or white women to live in poverty. Among the reasons for the desperate employment situation of women of color are employer violations of the Equal Pay Act and other employment discrimination laws. I pledge vigorous Justice Department and EEOC enforcement of the Equal Pay Act and employment discrimination laws. And, as I have indicated, we need a major commitment to pay equity.

We must redouble our efforts to promote affirmative action. The Reagan Administration has broken with the tradition of progress made in the past decade to advance the concept of Affirmative Action. Labor Department officials have made significant changes in regulations enforcing Executive Order 11246. Key leaders in the Administration have spoken against principles of established civil rights laws and policy. I believe in the importance of affirmative action and will appoint people to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and Department of Justice who share my views.

Residential segregation plays a fundamental role in creating and maintaining segregation in schools and in denying access to employment opportunities. The Reagan Administration has been indifferent, if not hostile, to housing desegregation, retreating from enforcement of the fair housing laws and assaulting funding for housing programs for lower-income people. I would reverse these steps. I would seek a stronger fair housing law. I would favor legislation to establish an administrative body empowered to issue cease and desist orders to remedy housing discrimination.

Poor women often suffer from health problems associated with poverty, race, or ethnicity. The federal government's commitment to ensuring access to health care for poor women and mothers has been carried out in programs such as community health and family planning and Medicaid. I vigorously oppose the Reagan Administration's regressive policies on these programs. I will reverse the assaults on these programs.

In 1980, 37% of all households covered by Medicaid were headed by women. Fifty-two percent of these households were headed by white women, 45% by Black, and 12% by Hispanic women. Essential health care services provided through Medicaid, such as prenatal and delivery care, physical checkups, medication, dental care, and hospitalization have particularly benefitted minority and poor women. Cuts and changes in the Medicaid budget made by the Reagan Administration adversely affect a disproportionate number of Black, white, and Hispanic women and children. I pledge to reverse the Reagan budget cuts in critical health and human services programs.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Social Security has substantially reduced poverty among the elderly and has assisted millions of children. Sixty percent of elderly Social Security beneficiaries are women. Nearly a third of elderly single women depend on Social Security for 90% or more of their income. Yet women receive lower benefits. In 1982 the average male retiree received in excess of \$100 a month more than the average female beneficiary.

The Reagan Administration's attack on Social Security represents one of the most senseless political acts in our history. A radical program that would have reduced benefits from 20-40% was rejected by Congress. But other cuts did pass: elimination of the minimum benefit for future retirees; termination of parent's benefits when the youngest child reaches sixteen years of age; and phasing out of student benefits by September, 1985.

I am committed to a strong Social Security Program that provides a secure retirement base for all Americans, a disability program, and support for the children of disabled or deceased workers.

There must be constructive changes in the Social Security system that value the multiple roles women play in our society. The program must begin to treat marriage as an economic partnership. To achieve that objective, I support earnings sharing.

We also must defend and improve Medicare. Rather than cut Medicare, we should expand it to meet the health needs of the elderly and explore alternatives to long-term institutionalization and incentives for home health care. We must enact a strong hospital cost containment program that will keep health care costs down, protect the financial integrity of Medicare, and enable the elderly to afford the health care they need.

Finally, we must strengthen the Supplemental Security Income program. Women depend on this program which guarantees a floor of income support to poor elderly and disabled people. Today nearly 75% of SSI recipients are women.

The policies I support—pay equity, fair insurance and pensions, Social Security, Medicare, and SSI—will help current and future generations of women live more independently and securely.

WOMEN IN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Women must be more involved in government. A group which comprises over 51% of our population should be holding far more than 10% of elective offices they now hold. As a candidate for President I will:

- Ensure that women are involved throughout my campaign.
- Make certain that women are fully represented at the 1984 Democratic Convention.
- Assist Democratic women candidates.
- Urge the Democratic Party to promote the election of women.
- Appoint women to senior positions in the federal government.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND SAFE ENERGY

A clean, healthy environment and safe, renewable energy are goals that profoundly affect the health and well being of future generations. I am pledged to policies that will promote these goals.

I favor safety regulations and improved design of nuclear power plants, as well as moves to increase the ability of individual citizens and local environmental groups to raise health and safety issues. In addition, the NRC must be absolutely free to order the backfitting of existing plants, or plants under construction, with whatever safety improvements it determines are needed to protect public health and safety. I am not satisfied with the institutional safeguards built into the Nuclear Waste Policy Act. Additional measures are needed to ensure that interests other than the nuclear power industry and the Defense Department are fully and fairly expressed.

Energy conservation is now widely recognized as the easiest, fastest, and least risky means of reducing dependence on foreign oil. Consumers need information and there is a need for more research on energy systems. The Reagan Administration has cut DOE conservation program funding and the FY 84 budget includes no money for the low income weatherization program. At HHS, the Low Income Assistance Program which helps with utility bills has been cut. These cuts must be reversed.

The solar and renewable energy industry has the potential to contribute significant new energy resources. There are few areas in which a dollar of government investment can be more effective because jobs are created and sales are generated. It is common sense to make federal program investments in this industry.

During the 1970's, enormous strides were made in environmental protection. The Clear Air Act, Clean Water Act, and Resource Conservation and Recovery Act, among others, were passed with bipartisan support. They were enforced prudently and vigorously and our environment was cleaner, healthier, and safer by the end of the past decade. Since the beginning of the Reagan Administration, all these achievements have come under attack.

My priorities are straightforward:

- I will resist all attempts to weaken existing environmental laws.
- I will appoint officials committed to using the full power of their office to enforce the law.
- I will use existing authority—in particular, the superfund—to speed the cleanup of toxic waste dumps.
- I will give the EPA the personnel and resources it needs to carry out its legislatively mandated tasks, particularly identifying toxics BEFORE they are introduced into our air, land, and water.
- I will work for legislation to reduce the danger of acid rain. I favor measures that would reduce sulphur dioxide emissions by at least 50% by the end of the decade. I favor a negotiated treaty with Canada to resolve this problem on an international basis.

FOREIGN POLICY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C., JAN. 3 -- Walter F. Mondale today addressed the National Press Club at the Capitol Hilton Hotel on the topic of "A Safer World." Following is an edited transcript of his speech.

May I start by rejoicing with all Americans and with all of you in the release of Lieutenant Goodman. All of us are proud of Reverend Jackson's success. He conducted his effort as a private citizen with sensitivity. And he deserves our thanks on this happy day for Lieutenant Goodman, his family, and our country. I congratulate Reverend Jackson.

Today, I begin my 1984 campaign for the Presidency.

This election is a turning point for America, for we must decide many things.

First, we'll be deciding what kind of economy we'll have. Will America get its competitive edge back and lead the world economy again? Or will we saddle our kids with debt, second-rate jobs, impossible interest rates, and a falling standard of living?

Second, we'll be deciding what kind of people we are. Will we restore a sense of fairness and decency in American life? Or will it be the rich against the rest?

Third, we must decide what kind of future we will have -- if any. In today's world with some 50,000 nuclear weapons, our President literally holds the fate of the earth in his hands.

Over these last few years, I've traveled this country, I think more than almost any living American; I've talked with thousands and thousands of our citizens; and I know what they want. In November, they'll give a mandate to the next President to build a more competitive economy, a more just society, and a safer world.

These three themes -- growth, fairness, and hope -- are the keys to our future; the tests of the Presidency; and the issues of my campaign. I will be speaking about each of them in detail in the months ahead. But today I must begin with the most solemn responsibility of the Presidency: to lead us toward a safer world.

May I start by paraphrasing a famous question. Do we live in a safer world than we did three years ago? Are we further from nuclear war? After a thousand days of Mr. Reagan, is the world anywhere less tense, anywhere closer to peace?

Last week, in an interview, Mr. Reagan said, "The world is safer and further removed from a possible war than it was several years ago." That answer reminds me of what Will Rogers once said of Herbert Hoover: "It's not what he doesn't know that worries me. It's all the things he knows for sure that just ain't so."

Today, most Americans see what Mr. Reagan cannot. The Middle East and Central America are at war. A new wave of terrorism is breaking around the world. U.S.-Soviet relations are in crisis. Arms talks with Moscow have collapsed. A dangerous escalation of the arms race is under way.

When the globe is a tinderbox, we need a President who knows what he's doing.

We need a President who sees the world as it is, in all of its subtlety, its complexities, its dangers, and its potential; who's been tested by experience; who's read and remembers history; who will reduce the risk of nuclear war; who sees force as a last and not a first resort; who will speak up for American values; and who knows that it's the President himself who must command and drive American policy.

I will be that President. I will keep America strong. And I will use that strength to wage peace and prevent war.

To build a safer world, the first step I will take is to put our relations with the Soviets on a sound footing.

Americans have no illusions about the Soviet leaders and their proxies. We all know the record: Afghanistan. Cambodia. Poland. Angola. Central America. Syria. A relentless military build-up beyond defensive needs. A long history of expansion, repression, and terror.

The Kremlin must never question the strength of our deterrent, or our will to defend American interests in the world. On the nature of the Soviet threat, Americans do not divide.

Nor are we split on the need to prevent war with them. The first nuclear war between us may well be the last war in human history. The Soviet leaders must understand this. They rule a people who recall the horrors of war. The Kremlin is of course ready to exploit our every weakness, but they do not want war with us.

The job of an American President is both to check the Soviets through means short of war, and to meet them on the common ground of survival.

The risk of nuclear war cannot be eliminated overnight. But every day it can be either increased or decreased. And one of the surest ways to increase it is to cut off communications. The less we talk with the Soviets, the more we feed their fears.

It's three minutes to midnight, but we are scarcely talking to the Soviet Union at all. Whatever the status of Mr. Andropov's health, the fact is that in Geneva and Vienna, the conference tables are collecting dust. Mr. Reagan may become the first President since Hoover never to have met with his Soviet counterpart.

The superpowers cannot communicate by growling through megaphones. As President, I will propose regular, annual summit conferences with the head of the Soviet Union, and I will push for regular contacts between military and Cabinet officers of both countries. President Kennedy spoke the truth: We must never negotiate out of fear, but we must never fear to negotiate.

Second, a safer world requires a strong America.

Americans are prepared to pay for strong defenses. I support a strong defense based on a coherent strategy and growing at a steady, sustainable rate.

But I refuse to support Mr. Reagan's incoherent program or sign Mr. Weinberger's blank check. Their \$305 billion military budget is not a considered request, it is a shopping spree.

Where a Defense Secretary must exert control, Mr. Weinberger assures sweetheart contracting; lemon procurement; and management that lurches from outrage to outrage.

Where a President must make choices, Mr. Reagan can't say no.

I support a strong modern Navy. But I oppose Mr. Reagan's outsized fleet; its new mission -- attacking the Soviet land mass -- is irrational.

I support stronger conventional forces. But I oppose Mr. Reagan's budget priorities, which will surely jeopardize readiness, operations and maintenance.

I support a strong deterrent. But I oppose poison nerve gas, which fortunately was rejected by an overwhelming majority of Senate and House Democrats.

I favor the Midgetman, but not the MX, a destabilizing sitting duck.

I favor the Stealth bomber, which will serve us into the next century, but not the B-1, which will be obsolete the day it's deployed.

I favor a mutual, verifiable freeze on these and other nuclear weapons.

A President must choose. And a Presidential candidate must have a record of choosing, and not of signing blank checks.

Third, as President, I will strengthen our alliances.

We are the most powerful country on earth. But what tips the balance toward us and not Moscow is our common cause with other democracies. The Soviets have hostile vassals; we have true friends. And we must build on that strength.

Yet for three years now, Mr. Reagan has gone it alone. The pipeline fiasco; the military adventures; the loose talk about nuclear warning shots and winnable nuclear wars; the Star Wars proposal; the hostility toward arms control; a deficit that raises the real interest rates and raids the capital, the resources and the credit of other nations: no wonder the confidence of our allies has been shaken.

The Presidency is not about standing up to our friends. It's about standing up with them, and for them. We must persuade the next generation of allied leaders that America will use its power responsibly. As President, I will affirm that Western security is indivisible. And I will ensure that our allies keep their commitments as well.

Fourth, as President, I will be a voice again for American values.

Advancing our values advances our interests. Injustice is the seedbed of revolution; justice is the soil of stability. Societies that begin by being careless about rights, end by being casual about terror.

We must not ignore our other vital interests. Human rights is not the only dimension of our policy. But a President must know the strength that flows from our moral leadership. America must not only stand tall; it must stand for something.

But for the last three years, promoting American values has become a tactic and not a principle. When Mr. Reagan sends his Vice President to praise the Philippine dictator for his -- quote "love of democracy," when he vetoes Congressional efforts to curb Central American death squads, he encourages the extremes, drains our influence, and weakens our nation.

Our concern must run from the terror of the Russian Gulag to the jails of the Latin generals. The banning of South African blacks is no more acceptable than the silencing of Cuban poets. And as the newly-elected leader in Buenos Aires has reminded us, the distinction between repressive totalitarians and repressive authoritarians is cold academic comfort to the mothers of the disappeared.

I will return America to principled leadership. We cannot always have our way, but we dare not lose our way.

Fifth, as President, I will take charge of American foreign policy.

A President must be in control. What happens when a President tries to delegate foreign policy? Well, just look at the Middle East.

A while back, we had Camp David going. It was a classic example of what a President's personal commitment and intelligence can accomplish.

What's happened since? Camp David is nowhere. We've had Haig, Shultz, Allen, Clark, McFarlane, Habib, and Rumsfeld. And we've had as many Middle East policies as we've had staff turn-overs.

First, we offered strategic cooperation to Israel as if it were a gift. Then we took it away to punish them, as if they weren't our ally. Then we pressured Israel to make one-sided concessions to Jordan. Then we demanded that Israel withdraw from Lebanon. Then we pleaded with them to stay. Then we didn't accept their offer of medical help for our wounded Marines. Then we offered strategic cooperation again. Then we said we didn't mean it. And to cap it off, we helped rehabilitate Yasser Arafat.

A President cannot ad lib foreign policy. He cannot delegate war and peace. He cannot turn strategy over to his staff. And a President cannot ask Americans to risk their lives for a policy no one's in charge of, and no one understands. And for that and other reasons, I've called for a withdrawal of our Marines from Beirut.

Finally, a safer world demands a strategy that reduces the risk of nuclear war.

Since that first bomb went off, every President of every political party has understood that the highest responsibility of the President is to reduce the risk that those godawful weapons be used. Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter -- for two generations, every President has done something to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

Yet throughout that period, Mr. Reagan opposed every effort of every President of both parties to control nuclear weapons. Today, three years into his term, there hasn't been one single advance made toward meaningful arms control. Instead, we have an extremely dangerous and escalating arms race.

Nowhere else is Mr. Reagan's record more appalling and more unacceptable. He terminated the test ban talks. He abandoned the SALT talks. He fired seasoned negotiators, and appointed many amateurs and ideologues. He offered START proposals that were non-starters. He called freeze supporters the dupes of Moscow.

He has doubled spending on nuclear warheads. He wants to turn outer space into a new battlefield. He has weakened restraints on the distribution of materials that can be used for

nuclear weapons, and has allowed exports to countries which we know are trying to build their own nuclear bombs.

Today, we are further from arms control agreement than at any time that I can remember. And now the Soviets are threatening dangerous new escalations and deployments.

Mr. Reagan has wasted three precious years under the illusion that arms control is weakness. He believes that an arms race leads to arms control. He's dead wrong. An arms race, as we're now learning again, leads to an arms race.

As President, I will keep America strong -- but I'll use that strength to stop the arms race. After my inauguration, I will take a number of steps to reverse Reagan policies and prevent that war.

First, I will propose a summit with the Soviets -- and annual summits thereafter.

Second, I will begin negotiations for a mutual and verifiable nuclear freeze.

Third, I will resume negotiations for a comprehensive test ban.

Fourth, I will seek deeper cuts in nuclear arsenals within the SALT II framework. SALT II was a good, verifiable treaty. It took seven years to negotiate. It should have been approved, and I wish every Senator had voted for it. I will update SALT II and resubmit it for approval.

Fifth, I will repropose the "walk-in-the-woods" agreement worked out by Mr. Nitze, our ablest negotiator, to deal with intermediate nuclear weapons.

Sixth, I will terminate the MX missile and proceed with the Midgetman.

Seventh, I will renew the fight against nuclear proliferation.

Eighth, I will block production of poison nerve gas.

Ninth, I will seek to negotiate a verifiable ban on anti-satellite weapons.

Tenth, I will reaffirm our commitment to the ABM treaty. The Star Wars system Mr. Reagan wants to develop will destroy that treaty -- the most successful in history -- destabilize the military balance, and make a Soviet first strike more likely in a time of crisis.

Eleventh, I will move to establish nuclear risk reduction centers in Washington and Moscow, as proposed by Senator Nunn and the late Senator Jackson.

Twelfth, I will strengthen NATO conventional forces, as General Rogers has suggested, to raise the nuclear threshold, and prevent conflict in Europe from escalating into disaster.

I will make reducing the risk of nuclear war a Presidential priority again, with the full personal attention that it demands. Arms control is not just a public relations problem. It is not just another problem. It is the problem of human history.

The 1984 election will pose sharp tests for all candidates. Americans will be asking, who will lead us toward a safer world? Who has the best record and support for arms control? Who has made the tough choices in weapons systems? Who has the depth of understanding in national security and diplomacy? Who has been the most outspoken advocate of American values in the world? Who is most ready to run an organization as complex as our government?

In short, they will be asking, who is the best qualified to be President? My campaign will answer that question.

Over the last year, every week or ten days, I've gone down the street somewhere, and talked to Americans in their homes. One afternoon, I had a conversation with a young couple that still haunts me. They told me they hadn't decided whether to have children because they thought it might not be fair to bring kids into a world as dangerous as this one.

The gulf between the anxieties of that young couple, and the joy that Joan and I felt about starting our family, can be measured by one word -- and that word is hope.

Today, hope is rationed in this evermore dangerous world. Today, it often seems, as Yeats wrote, that "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold . . . The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity."

But our generation need not have a rendezvous with a nuclear winter. The best can recapture their conviction. The young can rekindle their hope. And the nation can turn its back on Armageddon -- and its eyes toward a safer world.

####

FOREIGN TRADE

MONDALE/FERRARO

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 — Telephone 202-625-1600

FACT SHEET ON FOREIGN TRADE

America's trade deficit--a record-breaking \$70 billion in 1983--will mount to \$120 billion this year. It will cost nearly three million jobs and slash our gross national product by 2.5 percent. While the policies pursued by other nations are responsible for part of the problem, the current administration must bear much of the blame.

Mr. Reagan's massive deficits are boosting real interest rates and distorting the value of our currency in relation to foreign currencies. This distorted dollar places an invisible tax on 30 percent on all our exports, and subsidizes imports at the same rate. And these high interest rates are forcing developing countries to finance soaring interest payments on their international debt by boosting their exports and slashing their imports of American products. The result is a disaster for any American whose job depends on exports, or who must compete with exports.

The impact of the Reagan deficits on trade is devastating in an economy where one in six jobs depends on exports, and one in three of our acres produces food for export. The first step to strengthen our exports must be to chop down the deficit. As President, I will reduce the deficit by over half during my first term in office. To accomplish that, I will: scale the defense budget to reality, contain runaway health care costs, manage our agricultural programs more wisely, and rebuild the revenue base.

We must also have a stronger trade policy to ensure that American products get a fair break in the world market.

American businesses, workers, and farmers can outcompete any businesses, workers, and farmers on earth. Today, however, they're often asked to compete against foreign governments that subsidize credit and restrict imports.

To counter unfair trade subsidies and promote negotiated reductions, we must aggressively use the Export-Import Bank and the Commodity Credit Corporation. And we must make the resources of those institutions available to small as well as large businesses.

We must also re-examine our trade laws to insure that remedies against dumping and other prohibited practices can be applied swiftly and effectively. We must open meaningful negotiations on services and national targeting strategies. And we must keep the pressure on our competitors until they agree to more fair and open terms of trade.

Getting to a sensible, open system of international trade will require tremendous sensitivity, sophistication, and commitment. That's the kind of leadership I'll provide.

FUTURE

MONDALE/FERRARO

2201 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 — Telephone 202-625-1600

February 24, 1

FACT SHEET ON THE FUTURE

Walter Mondale says:

Every generation has its own special challenge. But each generation has the same basic responsibility: to leave their children a better world than the one they inherited. We cannot go back. We cannot solve our children's problems by repeating our parents' answers.

Walter Mondale has a plan to build for America's future.

- Renew our commitment to educational access and excellence, from primary school to graduate school.
- Ensure fair treatment for every member of our workforce, by vigorously enforcing all antidiscrimination statutes, passing the ERA, and working toward pay equity.
- Promote science and technology by restoring a proper balance between civilian and military activities, and by refurbishing laboratories in our nation's great university research centers.
- Return to full enforcement of all environmental laws and regulations, renew the attack on toxic wastes, and address ignored problems such as acid rain.
- Recommit our country to energy security, through innovative technologies and new energy sources, more conservation, and stepped-up filling of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.
- Promote small business with measures to reduce interest rates, foster capital formation, and increase the supply of skilled researchers and engineers.
- Improve cooperation with our allies by
 - abandoning divisive export control policies
 - acting more firmly to address and resolve divisive trade issues
 - renewing our support for human rights and democratic values around the world
 - de-escalating the rhetoric of military confrontation with the Soviet Union and working firmly and patiently to reduce tensions



MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Copyright in the Walter F. Mondale Papers belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org