

WOMEN

# MONDALE

F O R P R E S I D E N T

## FACT SHEET ON WOMEN

### Walter Mondale says:

Work force participation among women has increased sharply, but women still only make about 59 cents to the \$1 men make. Economic discrimination is a disgrace and unfair.

I'd like to be a President who swears "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States" that contains the ERA: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

What this nation is witnessing -- and what the Reagan Administration is aiding and abetting -- is nothing less than the feminization of poverty.

### The Mondale Record

Throughout his career in public life, Walter Mondale has been a strong advocate of justice and equity for all women. He was an original co-sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States Senate. As Vice President, he lobbied extensively for the extension of the ERA ratification period.

While serving in the Senate, he authored the Women's Educational Equity Act and worked for a wide range of programs that addressed women's concerns. He stood up time and again to defend the Constitution and women's rights, and he made the tough votes. As Vice President, he continued with his commitment for justice and equity for women. He helped to ensure that women were appointed in the Administration and judiciary.

## The Mondale Program

To ensure full equality for women. This includes:

- o Full participation for women in American society. We must
  - pass the Equal Rights Amendment in the Congress and in the state legislatures;
  - appoint women to positions of power and responsibility at every level of the federal government and the judicial system.
- o To achieve economic security and opportunity for women, we must
  - have meaningful pay equity: equal pay for work of comparable value
  - ensure that all federal jobs and job training programs provide equal access and opportunity for women.
  - assure vigorous Justice Department and EEOC enforcement of all laws and regulations
  - institute fair treatment for women in the Social Security system and in pension and insurance plans
  - oppose all legislative and constitutional efforts to reverse the decision of the Supreme Court leaving private questions of reproduction to individuals, free from government interference
  - reverse the Reagan budget cuts in critical health, human service and education programs which have fallen disproportionately on women and the poor
  - oppose inequitable Medicare cuts, which primarily affect older women and their families
  - repeal the Reagan work disincentives that make welfare more economically attractive than work for some working women
  - vigorously enforce Title IX, which assures equal educational opportunity for women and girls
  - fully fund and support the Women's Educational Equity Act

- adequately fund WIC, food stamps, school lunches, child care, and child and maternal health programs
- ensure that women are involved in new economic development efforts
- provide new opportunities for women to participate in education and science
- strengthen the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

To work for a decent and secure future, we must

- Work for the control of nuclear weapons, through a bilateral and verifiable nuclear freeze, serious proposals to reach agreements with the USSR on European and strategic nuclear systems, tougher controls on the export of weapons grade materials, intensified efforts to halt nuclear proliferation, and measures to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war
- scale the Reagan defense budget to reality by eliminating excessively costly weapons systems -- such as the MX, B-1, and nuclear aircraft carriers -- that do not contribute to our national security; and by renouncing the President's "Buck Rogers" missile defense scheme that cannot work and threatens a dangerous new round of the arms race.
- insist on the strict enforcement of all environmental laws and regulations
- aggressively use EPA Superfund to cleanse our land and water of toxic and hazardous wastes.



YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

# MONDALE/FERRARO

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

## FACT SHEET ON YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

During 1979, under the direction of Vice President Walter F. Mondale, the Task Force on Youth Employment studied the very serious problems of unemployment among teenagers and young adults in our nation. The work of the Task Force led directly to the Youth Act of 1980.

In the course of its deliberations, the Task Force developed a number of principles to guide public efforts in the field of youth training and employment. Programs in this field should

- pay attention to the crucial high school years, not just to primary school and college
- involve teachers intimately in planning, right from the start
- target the geographical areas of greatest need
- establish strict, measurable standards, and hold both educators and students responsible for meeting them
- provide an explicit and concrete link between education and training, on the one hand, and jobs on the other
- forge cooperation among a broad spectrum of groups in the communities that participate in education and employment programs

These principles remain valid today. An outstanding example of a program that puts them into practice is the Boston Compact. The Mayor, the Superintendent of Schools, a truly representative School Committee, business and university leaders, and community-based citizens' groups have united behind a plan to offer jobs and hope to the young people of Boston.

- The public schools have pledged to establish and enforce tough standards of performance.
- More than one hundred businesses have agreed to provide jobs for high-school graduates.
- Community groups, universities, and businesses have joined together to offer the schools practical advice on how they can better prepare students for jobs and higher education.

—Businesses have provided equipment and personnel for activities such as the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resources Center, one of the truly outstanding centers of vocational training for the jobs of the future in this country.

Progress in the fight to reduce youth unemployment and provide fair opportunity for all depends on a strong, continuing commitment by the federal government. Construction of the Humphrey Center was funded by a federal program — a program that has been totally eliminated by the Reagan administration. Today, when job training is more vital than ever, the administration's 1984 budget has proposed a further 40 percent cut in total support for vocational education.

TEXTS OF SPEECHES FROM SAN FRANCISCO

- Mondale
- Ferraro
- Cuomo
- Jackson

# 'I Do Not Envy the Drowsy Harmony of the Republican Party'

Associated Press

*The prepared text of last night's speech by Walter F. Mondale to the Democratic National Convention accepting the party's 1984 presidential nomination:*

My fellow Americans:

I accept your nomination—and I welcome the fight that comes with it.

Behind us now is the most wide-open race in political history.

It was noisy—but our voices were heard. It was long—but our stamina was tested. It was hot—but the heat was passion, not anger. It was a rollercoaster—but it made me a better candidate, and it will make me a stronger president.

I do not envy the drowsy harmony of the Republican Party. They squelch debate; we welcome it. They deny differences; we bridge them. They are uniform; we are united. They are a portrait of privilege; we are a mirror of America.

Just look at us: black and white, Asian and Hispanic, native and immigrant, young and old, urban and rural, male and female—from yuppie to lurchpail, from sea to shining sea.

When we in this hall speak for America—it is America that is speaking.

When we speak of family, the voice is Mario Cuomo's.

When we speak of change, the words are Gary Hart's.

When we speak of hope, the fire is Jesse Jackson's.

When we speak of caring, the spirit is Ted Kennedy's.

When we speak of patriotism, the strength is John Glenn's.

When we speak of the future, the message is Geraldine Ferraro.

And now we leave San Francisco—together.

Over the next hundred days, in every word we say, and every life we touch, we will be fighting for the American future.

Joan and I are parents of three wonderful children who will live much of their lives in the 21st century. This election is a referendum on their future—and ours. So tonight I'd like to speak to the young people of America—and to their parents and grandparents.

I'm Walter Mondale. You may have heard of me—but you may not really know me. I grew up in the farm towns of southern Min-

ness taught music. We never had a dime. But we were rich in love and faith, and they taught me the values I've carried ever since.

They taught me to work hard; to stand on my own; to play by the rules; to tell the truth; to obey the law; to care for others; to love our country; to cherish our faith.

My story isn't unique.

In the last few weeks, I've deepened my admiration for someone who shares those values. Her immigrant father loved our country. Her widowed mother sacrificed for her family. And her own career is an American classic: doing your work. Earning your way. Paying your dues. Rising on merit.

My presidency will be about those values. My vice president will be Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro.

Tonight, we open a new door to the future. Mr. Reagan calls that "tokenism." We call it America.

Ever since I graduated from Elmore High, I've been a Democrat. I was attorney general of my state; then a U.S. senator. In 1976, an honest, caring man—Jimmy Carter—picked me as his running mate and I was elected vice president. And in 1980, Ronald Reagan beat the pants off us.

So tonight, I want to say something to those of you across our country who voted for Mr. Reagan—to Republicans, to independents, and yes, to some Democrats:

I heard you. And our party heard you.

After we lost, we didn't tell the American people that they were wrong. Instead, we began asking you what our mistakes had been.

For four years, I listened to the American people—all of you. I traveled what seemed like every acre of America.

It wasn't easy. I remember late one night, as I headed from a speech in one city to a hotel a thousand miles away, someone said to me, "Fritz, I saw you on TV. Are those bags under your eyes natural?" And I said, "No, I got them the old-fashioned way. I earned them."

To the thousands of Americans who welcomed me into your homes and businesses, your churches and synagogues: I thank you.

You confirmed my belief in our country's values. And you helped me learn and grow.

Tonight we come to you with a new realism: ready for the future, and recapturing the best in our tradition.

We know that America must have a strong defense, and a sober view of the So-

We know that government must be as well-managed as it is well-meaning.

We know that a healthy, growing private economy is the key to our future.

We know that Harry Truman spoke the truth: A president . . . has to be able to say "yes" and "no" and more often "no."

Look at our platform. There are no defense cuts that weaken our security; no business taxes that weaken our economy; no laundry lists that raid our Treasury.

We are wiser, stronger, and focused on the future. If Mr. Reagan wants to rerun the 1980 campaign: fine. Let them fight over the past. We're fighting for the American future—and that's why we're going to win.

One last word to those who voted for Mr. Reagan.

I know what you were saying. But I also know what you were *not* saying.

You did not vote for a \$200 billion deficit.

You did not vote for an arms race.

You did not vote to turn the heavens into a battleground.

You did not vote to savage Social Security and Medicare.

You did not vote to trash the civil rights laws.

You did not vote to poison the environment.

You did not vote to assault the poor, the sick, and the disabled.

You did not vote to pay 50 bucks for a 50-cent lightbulb.

Four years ago, many of you voted for Mr. Reagan because he promised you'd be better off. And today, the rich are better off. But working Americans are worse off, and the middle class is standing on a tightrope.

Lincoln once said that ours must be government of the people, by the people, and for the people. What we have today is government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich.

First, there was Mr. Reagan's tax program. What happened was, he gave each of his rich friends enough tax relief to buy Rolls Royce—and he asked your family to pay for the hub caps.

Then they looked the other way at the ripoffs: soaring utility bills, phone bill medical bills.

Then they crimped our future. They let us be routed in international competition and now the help-wanted ads are full of listings for executives, and for dishwashers.



Then they socked it to workers. They encouraged executives to vote themselves huge bonuses—while using King Kong tactics to make workers take Hong Kong wages.

Mr. Reagan believes that the genius of America is in the boardrooms and exclusive country clubs. I believe that greatness can be found in the men and women who built our nation; do its work; and defend our freedom.

If this administration has a plan for a better future, they're keeping it a secret.

Here is the truth about the future: We are living on borrowed money and borrowed time. These deficits hike interest rates, clobber exports, stunt investment, kill jobs, undermine growth, cheat our kids, and shrink our future.

Whoever is inaugurated in January, the American people will have to pay Mr. Reagan's bills. The budget will be squeezed. Taxes will go up. And anyone who says they won't is not telling the truth.

I mean business. By the end of my first term, I will cut the deficit by two-thirds.

Let's tell the truth. Mr. Reagan will raise taxes, and so will I. He won't tell you. I just did.

There's another difference. When he raises taxes, it won't be done fairly. He will sock it to average-income families again, and leave his rich friends alone. I won't.

To the corporations and freeloaders who play the loopholes or pay no taxes, my message is: your free ride is over.

To the Congress, my message is: We must cut spending and pay as we go. If you don't hold the line, I will: that's what the veto is for.

Now that's my plan to cut the deficit. Mr. Reagan is keeping his a secret until after the election. That's not leadership; that's salesmanship.

I challenge Mr. Reagan to put his plan on the table next to mine—and debate it with me on national television. Americans want the truth about the future—not after the election, but now.

When the American economy leads the world, the jobs and prosperity flow here, and the future is here for our children. That's not happening today. This is the worst trade year in our history. Three million of our best jobs have gone overseas.

Mr. Reagan has no plan to get our competitive edge back; we do.

We will cut the deficit, reduce interest rates, make our exports affordable, and make America No. 1 again.

We will launch a renaissance in education, science and learning. A mind is a terrible thing to waste. This must be the best-educated, best-trained generation in American history.

It's time for a season of excellence. Parents must turn off the television; students must do their homework; teachers must teach. America must compete.

To big companies that send our best jobs overseas, my message is: We need those jobs here at home. Our country won't help your business—unless your business helps our country.

To countries that close their markets to us, my message is: We will not be pushed around any more. We will have a president who stands up for American workers and American businesses and American farmers.

When I grew up, and people asked us to imagine the future, we talked about the great days ahead. But a few months ago, when I asked some fifth-graders in Texas to imagine the future, they talked about nuclear war.

Lately, as we've neared the election, this administration has been talking about a safer world. There's a difference: as president, I will work for peace and strength from my first day in office—not from my first day campaigning for reelection.

As president, I will reassert American values. I'll press for human rights in Central America, and for the removal of all foreign forces from the region. And in my first hundred days, I will stop the illegal war in Nicaragua.

We know our deep differences with the Soviets. America condemns their repression of dissidents and Jews; their suppression of Solidarity; their invasion of Afghanistan; their meddling around the world.

But the truth is that between us, we can destroy the planet. Every president since the bomb went off understood that. Every other president talked with the Soviets and negotiated arms control: why not this one?

Why can't we meet in summits at least once a year? Why can't we reach agreements to save this Earth? The truth is, we can.

President Kennedy was right: We must never negotiate out of fear. But we must never fear to negotiate. For the sake of civilization, we must negotiate a mutual, verifiable nuclear freeze before those weapons destroy us all.

The second term of the Mondale-Ferraro administration will begin in 1989.

By the start of the next decade, I want to ask our children their dreams, and hear not one word about nuclear nightmares.

By the start of the next decade, I want to walk into any classroom in America and hear some of the brightest students say, "I want to be a teacher."

By the start of the next decade, I want to walk into any public health clinic in America and hear the doctor say, "We haven't seen a single hungry child this year."

By the start of the next decade, I want to walk into any store in America; pick the best product, of the best quality, at the best price; turn it over, and read, "Made in U.S.A."

By the start of the next decade, I want to meet with the most successful leaders anywhere in America, and hear many minorities and women in that room say, "There are in this room tonight."

By the start of the next decade, I want to point to the Supreme Court and say, "The justice is in good hands."

Before the start of the next decade, I want to go to my second inaugural ceremony, with my right hand, and swear to "preserve and defend" a Constitution that contains the Equal Rights Amendment.

America is a future each generation must enlarge; a door each generation must keep open; a promise each generation must keep.

For the rest of my life, I want to tell our young people about their future.

And whatever their race, whatever their religion, whatever their sex, I want to hear some of them say what I say—with reverence—tonight: "I want to be president of the United States."

Thank you very much.

# Text of Address by Rep. Ferraro

## Accepting Her Nomination

### 'We're Going to Make the Rules of American Life Work Fairly...

Associated Press

*The prepared text of last night's speech by Geraldine A. Ferraro to the Democratic National Convention accepting the party's 1984 vice-presidential nomination:*

My name is Geraldine Ferraro, and I stand before you to proclaim tonight: America is the land where dreams can come true for all our citizens.

As I stand before the American people and think of the honor this great convention has bestowed upon me, I recall the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who made America stronger by making America more free.

He said, "Occasionally in life there are moments which cannot be completely explained by words. Their meaning can only be articulated by the inaudible language of the heart."

Tonight is such a moment for me. My heart is filled with pride.

My fellow citizens, I proudly accept your nomination to run for vice president of the United States.

And I am proud to run with a man who will be one of the great presidents of this century, Walter F. Mondale.

Tonight, the daughter of a woman whose highest goal was a future for her children talks to our nation's oldest party about a future for us all.

Tonight, the daughter of working Americans tells all Americans that the future is within our reach—if we're willing to reach for it.

Tonight, the daughter of an immigrant from Italy has been chosen to run for vice president in the new land my father came to love.

Our faith that we can shape a better future is what the American dream is all about. The promise of our country is that the rules are fair. And if you work hard and play by the rules, you can earn your share of America's blessings.

Those are the beliefs I learned from my parents. And those are the values I taught my students as a teacher in the public schools of New York.

At night, I went to law school. I became an assistant district attorney, and I put my share of criminals behind bars. Because I believe: if you obey the law, you should be protected. But if you break the law, you should pay for your crime.

When I first ran for Congress, all the political experts said a woman could not win in my home district of Queens. But I put my faith in the people and the values that we shared. And together, we proved the political experts wrong.

In this campaign, Fritz Mondale and I have put our faith in the people. And we are going to prove the experts wrong again.

We are going to win, because Americans across this country believe in the same basic dream.

Last week, I visited Elmore, Minn., the small town where Fritz Mondale was raised. And soon Fritz and Joan will visit our family in Queens.

Nine hundred people live in Elmore. In Queens, there are 2,000 people on one block. You would think we would be different, but we're not.

Children walk to school in Elmore past grain elevators; in Queens, they pass by subway stops. But, no matter where they live, their future depends on education—and their parents are willing to do their part to make those schools as good as they can be.

In Elmore, there are family farms; in Queens, small businesses. But the men and women who run them all take pride in supporting their families through hard work and initiative.

On the Fourth of July in Elmore, they hang the flags out on Main Street; in Queens, they fly them over Grand Avenue. But all of us love our country, and stand ready to defend the freedom that it represents.

Americans everywhere want to live by the same set of rules. But under this administration, the rules are rigged against too many of our people.

It isn't right that every year, the share of taxes paid by individual citizens is going up, while the share paid by large corporations is

getting smaller and smaller. The rules say: everyone in our society should contribute their fair share.

It isn't right that this year Ronald Reagan will hand the American people a bill for interest on the national debt that is larger than the entire cost of the federal government under John F. Kennedy.

Our parents left us a growing economy. The rules say: we must not leave our kids a mountain of debt.

It isn't right that a woman should get paid 59 cents on the dollar for the same work as a man. Because if you play by the rules, you deserve a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

It isn't right that—if trends continue—by the year 2000 nearly all of the poor people in America will be women and children. The rules of a decent society say, when you distribute sacrifice in time of austerity, you don't put women and children first.

It isn't right that young people today fear that they won't get the Social Security they paid for, and that older Americans fear that they will lose what they have already earned. Social Security is a contract between the last generation and the next, and the rules say: you don't break contracts. We're going to keep faith with older Americans.

We hammered out a fair compromise in the Congress to save Social Security. Every group sacrificed to keep the system sound. It is time Ronald Reagan stopped scaring our senior citizens.

It isn't right that young couples question whether to bring children into a world of 50,000 nuclear warheads.

That isn't the vision for which Americans have struggled for more than two centuries. And our future doesn't have to be that way.

For change is in the air, just as surely as when John Kennedy beckoned America to a New Frontier; when Sally Ride rocketed into space, and when the descendant of slaves, Rev. Jesse Jackson, ran for the high office of president of the United States.

By choosing an American woman to run for our nation's second-highest office, you send a powerful signal to all Americans



There are no doors we cannot unlock. We will place no limits on achievement.

If we can do this, we can do anything.

Tonight, we reclaim our dream. We're going to make the rules of American life work fairly for all Americans again.

To an administration that would have us debate all over again whether the Voting Rights Act should be renewed and whether segregated schools should be tax-exempt, we say, Mr. President: Those debates are over.

On the issue of civil and voting rights and affirmative action for minorities, we must not go backwards. We must—and we will—move forward to open the doors of opportunity.

To those who understand that our country cannot prosper unless we draw on the talents of all Americans, we say: we will pass the Equal Rights Amendment. The issue is not what America can do for women, but what women can do for America.

To the Americans who will lead our country into the 21st Century, we say: We will not have a Supreme Court that turns the clock back to the 19th Century.

To those concerned about the strength of family values, as I am, I say: We are going to restore those values—love, caring, partnership—by including, and not excluding, those whose beliefs differ from our own. Because our own faith is strong, we will fight to preserve the freedom of faith for others.

To those working Americans who fear that banks, and utilities, and large special interests have a lock on the White House today, we say: Join us, let's elect a people's president, and let's have government by the people.

To an administration that would savage student loans and education at the dawn of a new technological age, we say: you fit the classic definition of a cynic; you know the price of everything but the value of nothing.

To our students and their parents, we say: we will insist on the highest standards of excellence because the jobs of the future require skilled minds as well as hands.

To young Americans who may be called

to our country's service, we say: We know your generation of Americans will proudly answer our country's call, as each generation before you.

This past year, we remembered the bravery and sacrifice of Americans at Normandy. And we finally paid tribute . . . as we should have done years ago . . . to that unknown soldier who represents all the brave young Americans who died in Vietnam.

Let no one doubt that we will defend America's security and the cause of freedom around the world. But we want a president who tells us what America is fighting for . . . not just what we are fighting against. We want a president who will defend human rights—not just where it is convenient—but wherever freedom is at risk—from Afghanistan to Chile, from Poland to South Africa.

We want a president who will keep America strong, but use that strength to keep America, and the world, at peace. A nuclear freeze is not a slogan; it is a tool for survival in the nuclear age. If we leave our children nothing else, let us leave them this earth as we found it—whole and green and full of life.

I know in my heart Walter Mondale will be that president.

A wise man once said, "Every one of us is given the gift of life, and what a strange gift it is. If it is preserved jealously and selfishly, it impoverishes and saddens. But if it is spent for others, it enriches and beautifies."

My fellow Americans: We can debate programs and policies. But in the end what separates the two parties in this election campaign is whether we use the gift of life—for others or only ourselves.

Tonight, my husband, John, and our three children are in this hall with me. To my daughters, Donna and Laura, and my son, John Jr., I say: My mother did not break faith with me . . . and I will not break faith with you. To all the children of America, I say: The generation before ours kept faith with us, and like them, we will pass on to you a stronger, more just America.

Thank you very much.



# Text of Keynote Address by Governor Cuomo to Convention

SAN FRANCISCO, July 16 (AP) — Following is the prepared text of the keynote address by Governor Cuomo of New York to the Democratic National Convention tonight:

On behalf of the Empire State and the family of New York, I thank you for the great privilege of being allowed to address this convention.

Please allow me to skip the stories and the poetry and the temptation to deal in nice but vague rhetoric.

Let me instead use this valuable opportunity to deal with the questions that should determine this election and that are vital to the American people.

Ten days ago, President Reagan admitted that although some people in this country seemed to be doing well nowadays, others were unhappy, and even worried, about themselves, their families and their futures.

The President said he didn't understand that fear. He said, "Why, this country is a shining city on a hill."

The President is right. In many ways we are "a shining city on a hill."

But the hard truth is that not everyone is sharing in this city's splendor and glory.

A shining city is perhaps all the President sees from the portico of the White House and the veranda of his ranch, where everyone seems to be doing well.

But there's another part of the city, the part where some people can't pay their mortgages and most young people can't afford one, where students can't afford the education they need and middle-class parents watch the dreams they hold for their children evaporate.

In this part of the city there are more poor than ever, more families in trouble. More and more people who need help but can't find it.

Even worse: There are elderly people who tremble in the basements of the houses there.

There are people who sleep in the city's streets, in the gutter, where the glitter doesn't show.

## 'There is Despair, Mr. President'

There are ghettos where thousands of young people, without an education or a job, give their lives away to drug dealers every day.

There is despair, Mr. President, in faces you never see, in the places you never visit in your shining city.

In fact, Mr. President, this nation is more a "Tale of Two Cities" than it is a "Shining City on a Hill."

Maybe if you visited more places, Mr. President, you'd understand.

Maybe if you went to Appalachia where some people still live in sheds and to Lackawanna where thousands of unemployed steel workers wonder why we subsidized foreign steel while we surrender their dignity to unemployment and to welfare checks; maybe if you stepped into a shelter in Chi-

cago and talked with some of the homeless there; maybe, Mr. President, if you asked a woman who'd been denied the help she needs to feed her children because you say we need the money to give a tax break to a millionaire or to build a missile we can't even afford to use — maybe then you'd understand.

Maybe, Mr. President.

But I'm afraid not.

Because, the truth is, this is how we were warned it would be.

President Reagan told us from the beginning that he believed in a kind of social Darwinism. Survival of the fittest. "Government

**'There is despair,  
Mr. President, in faces  
you never see, in the  
places you never visit  
in your shining city.'**

can't do everything," we were told. "So it should settle for taking care of the strong and hope that economic ambition and charity will do the rest. Make the rich richer and what falls from their table will be enough for the middle class and those trying to make it into the middle class."

The Republicans called it trickle-down when Hoover tried it. Now they call it supply side. It is the same shining city for those relative few who are lucky enough to live in its good neighborhoods.

But for the people who are excluded — locked out — all they can do is to stare from a distance at that city's glimmering towers.

It's an old story. As old as our history.

## 'Courage and Confidence'

The difference between Democrats and Republicans has always been measured in courage and confidence. The Republicans believe the wagon train will not make it to the frontier unless some of our old, some of our young and some of our weak are left behind by the side of the trail.

The strong will inherit the land!

We Democrats believe that we can make it all the way with the whole family intact.

We have. More than once.

Ever since Franklin Roosevelt lifted himself from his wheelchair to lift this nation from its knees. Wagon train after wagon train. To new frontiers of education, housing, peace. The whole family aboard. Constantly reaching out to extend and enlarge that family. Lifting them up into the wagon on the way. Blacks and Hispanics, people of every ethnic

group, and Native Americans — all those struggling to build their families claim some small share of America.

For nearly 50 years we carried them to new levels of comfort, security, dignity, even affluence.

Some of us are in this room today only because this nation had that confidence.

It would be wrong to forget that.

## 'To Save the Nation'

So, we are at this convention to remind ourselves where we come from and to claim the future for ourselves and for our children.

Today, our great Democratic Party, which has saved this nation from depression, from fascism, from racism, from corruption, is called upon to do it again — this time to save the nation from confusion and division, from the threat of eventual fiscal disaster and most of all from a fear of a nuclear holocaust.

In order to succeed, we must answer our opponent's polished and appealing rhetoric with a more telling reasonableness and rationality.

We must win this case on the merits.

We must get the American public to look past the glitter, beyond the showmanship — to reality, to the hard substance of things. And we will do that not so much with speeches that sound good as with speeches that are good and sound.

Not so much with speeches that bring people to their feet as with speeches that bring people to their senses.

We must make the American people hear our "tale of two cities."

We must convince them that we don't have to settle for two cities, that we can have one city, indivisible, shining for all its people.

We will have no chance to do that if what comes out of this convention, what is heard throughout the campaign, is a babel of arguing voices.

To succeed we will have to surrender small parts of our individual interests, to build a platform we can all stand on, at once, comfortably, proudly singing out the truth for the nation to hear, in chorus, its logic so clear and commanding that no slick commercial no amount of geniality, no martial music will be able to muffle it.

## 'The Lucky and the Left Out'

We Democrats must unite so that the entire nation can. Surely the Republicans won't bring the convention together. Their policies divide the nation: into the lucky and the left out, the royalty and the rabble.

The Republicans are willing to treat the division as victory. They would cut this nation in half, into those temporarily better off and those worse off than before, and call it recovery.

We should not be embarrassed or dismayed if the process of unifying is difficult even at times wrenching.

Unlike any other party, we embrace men and women of every color, every creed

every orientation, every economic class. In our family are gathered everyone from the subject poor of Essex County in New York, to the enlightened affluent of the gold coasts of both ends of our nation. And in between is the heart of our constituency. The middle class, the people not rich enough to be worry-free but not poor enough to be on welfare, those who work for a living because they have to. White collar and blue collar. Young professionals. Men and women in small business desperate for the capital and contracts they need to prove their worth.

We speak for the minorities who have not yet entered the mainstream.

For ethnics who want to add their culture to the mosaic that is America.

For women indignant that we refuse to etch into our governmental commandments the simple rule "thou shalt not sin against equality," a commandment so obvious it can be spelled in three letters: e.r.a.l

For young people demanding an education and a future.

For senior citizens terrorized by the idea that their only security, their Social Security, is being threatened.

For millions of reasoning people fighting to preserve our environment from greed and stupidity. And fighting to preserve our very existence from a macho intransigence that refuses to make intelligent attempts to discuss the possibility of nuclear holocaust with our enemy. Refusing because they believe we can pile missiles so high that they will pierce the clouds and the sight of them will frighten our enemies into submission.

#### 'Proud of Diversity'

We're proud of this diversity. Grateful we don't have to manufacture its appearance the way the Republicans will next month in Dallas, by propping up mannequin delegates on the convention floor.

But we pay a price for it.

The different people we represent have many points of view. Sometimes they compete and then we have debates, even arguments. That's what our primaries were about.

But now the primaries are over, and it is time to lock arms and move into this campaign together.

If we need any inspiration to make the effort to put aside our small differences, all we need to do is to reflect on the Republican policy of divide and cajole and how it has injured our land since 1980.

The President has asked us to judge him on whether or not he's fulfilled the promises he made four years ago. I accept that. Just consider what he said and what he's done.

Inflation is down since 1980. But not because of the supply-side miracle promised by the President. Inflation was reduced the old-fashioned way, with a recession, the worst since 1932. More than 55,000 bankruptcies. Two years of massive unemployment. Two hundred-thousand farmers and ranchers forced off the land. More homeless than at any time since the Great Depression. More hungry, more poor — mostly women — and a nearly \$200 billion deficit threatening our future.

The President's deficit is a direct and dramatic repudiation of his promise to balance our budget by 1983.

That deficit is the largest in the history of this universe; more than three times larger than the deficit in President Carter's last year.

It is a deficit that, according to the President's own fiscal adviser, could grow as high as \$300 billion a year, stretching "as far as the eye can see."

It is a debt so large that as much as one-half of our revenue from the income tax goes to pay the interest on it each year.

#### 'Mortgage on Children's Future'

It is a mortgage on our children's futures that can only be paid in pain and that could eventually bring this nation to its knees.

Don't take my word for it — I'm a Democrat.

Ask the Republican investment bankers on Wall Street what they think the chances are this recovery will be permanent. If they're not too embarrassed to tell your the truth, they'll say they are appalled and frightened by the President's deficit. Ask them what they think of our economy, now that it has been driven by the distorted value of the dollar back to its colonial condition, exporting agricultural products and importing manufactured ones.

Ask those Republican investment bankers what they expect the interest rate to be a

## 'We must win this case on the merits. We must get the American public to look past the glitter.'

year from now. And ask them what they predict for the inflation rate then.

How important is this question of the deficit?

Think about it: What chance would the Republican candidate have had in 1980 if he had told the American people that he intended to pay for his so-called economic recovery with bankruptcies, unemployment and the largest Government debt known to humankind? Would American voters have signed the loan certificate for him on Election Day? Of course not! It was an election won with smoke and mirrors, with illusions. It is a recovery made of the same stuff.

And what about foreign policy?

They said they would make us and the whole world safer. They say they have.

By creating the largest defense budget in history, one even they now admit is excessive. By escalating to a frenzy the nuclear arms race. By incendiary rhetoric. By refusing to discuss peace with our enemies. By the loss of 279 young Americans in Lebanon in pursuit of a plan and a policy no one can find or describe.

We give monies to Latin American governments that murder nuns, and then lie about it.

We have been less than zealous in our support of the only real friend we have in the Middle East, the one democracy there, our flesh and blood ally, the state of Israel.

Our policy drifts with no real direction, other than an hysterical commitment to an arms race that leads nowhere, if we're lucky. If we're not — could lead us to bankruptcy or war.

Of course we must have a strong defense!

Of course Democrats believe that there are times when we must stand and fight. And we have. Thousands of us have paid for freedom with our lives. But always, when we've been at our best, our purposes were clear.

#### 'Our Allies Are Confused'

Now they're not. Now our allies are as confused as our enemies.

Now we have no real commitment to our friends or our ideals to human rights, to the refuseniks, to Sakharov, to Bishop Tutu and the others struggling for freedom in South Africa.

We have spent more than we can afford. We have pounded our chests and made bold speeches. But we lost 279 young Americans in Lebanon and we are forced to live behind sand bags in Washington.

How can anyone believe that we are stronger, safer or better?

That's the Republican record.

That its disastrous quality is not more fully understood by the American people is attributable, I think, to the President's amiability and the failure by some to separate the salesman from the product.

#### 'Make the Case to America'

It's now up to us to make the case to America.

And to remind Americans that if they are not happy with all the President has done so far, they should consider how much worse it will be if he is left to his radical proclivities for another four years unrestrained by the need once again to come before the American people.

If July brings back Anne Gorsuch Burford, what can we expect of December?

Where would another four years take us?

How much larger will the deficit be?

How much deeper the cuts in programs for the struggling middle class and the poor to limit that deficit? How high the interest rates? How much more acid rain killing our forests and fouling our lakes?

What kind of Supreme Court? What kind of court and country will be fashioned by the man who believes in having government mandate people's religion and morality?

The man who believes that trees pollute the environment, that the laws against discrimination go too far. The man who threatens Social Security and Medicaid and help for the disabled.

How high will we pile the missiles?

How much deeper will be the gulf between us and our enemies?

Will we make meaner the spirit of our people?

This election will measure the record of the past four years. But more than that, it will answer the question of what kind of people we want to be.

We Democrats still have a dream. We still believe in this nation's future.

#### A 'Credo' for the Democrats

And this is our answer — our credo:

We believe in only the government we need, but we insist on all the government we need.



We believe in a government characterized by fairness and reasonableness, a reasonableness that goes beyond labels, that doesn't distort or promise to do what it knows it can't do.

A government strong enough to use the words "love" and "compassion" and smart enough to convert our noblest aspirations into practical realities.

We believe in encouraging the talented, but we believe that while survival of the fittest may be a good working description of the process of evolution, a government of humans should elevate itself to a higher order, one which fills the gaps left by chance or a wisdom we don't understand.

We would rather have laws written by the patron of this great city, the man called the "world's most sincere Democrat," St. Francis of Assisi, than laws written by Darwin.

We believe, as Democrats, that a society as blessed as ours, the most affluent democracy in the world's history, that can spend trillions on instruments of destruction, ought to be able to help the middle class in its struggle, ought to be able to find work for all who can do it, room at the table, shelter for the homeless, care for the elderly and infirm, hope for the destitute.

#### 'Peace Is Better Than War'

We proclaim as loudly as we can the utter insanity of nuclear proliferation and the need for a nuclear freeze, if only to affirm the simple truth that peace is better than war because life is better than death.

We believe in firm but fair law and order in the union movement, in privacy for people, openness by government, civil rights, and human rights.

We believe in a single fundamental idea that describes better than most textbooks and any speech what a proper government should be. The idea of family. Mutuality. The sharing of benefits and burdens for the good of all. Feeling one another's pain. Sharing one another's blessings. Reasonably, honestly, fairly, without respect to race, or sex, or geography or political affiliation.

We believe we must be the family of America, recognizing that at the heart of the matter we are bound one to another, that the problems of a retired school teacher in Duluth are our problems. That the future of the child in Buffalo is our future. The struggle of a disabled man in Boston to survive, to live decently is our struggle. The hunger of a woman in Little Rock, our hunger. The failure anywhere to provide what reasonably we might, to avoid pain, is our failure.

For 50 years we Democrats created a better future for our children, using traditional democratic principles as a fixed beacon, giving us direction and purpose, but constantly innovating, adapting to new realities: Roosevelt's alphabet programs; Truman's NATO and the GI Bill of Rights; Kennedy's intelligent tax incentives and the Alliance For Progress; Johnson's civil rights; Carter's human rights and the nearly miraculous Camp David peace accord.

Democrats did it,—and Democrats can do it again.

We can build a future that deals with our deficit.

Remember, 50 years of progress never cost us what the last four years of stagnation have. We can deal with that deficit intelligently,

**'We should not be embarrassed or dismayed if the process of unifying is difficult, even at times wrenching.'**

gently, by shared sacrifice, with all parts of the nation's family contributing, building, partnerships with the private sector, providing a sound defense without depriving ourselves of what we need to feed our children, and care for our people.

We can have a future that provides for all the young of the present by marrying common sense and compassion.

We know we can, because we did it for nearly 50 years before 1980.

#### 'We Can Do It Again'

We can do it again. If we do not forget. Forget that this entire nation has profited by these progressive principles. That they helped lift up generations to the middle class and higher: gave us a chance to work, to go to college, to raise a family, to own a house, to be secure in our old age and, before that, to reach heights that our own parents would not have dared dream of.

That struggle to live with dignity is the real story of the shining city. It's a story I didn't read in a book, or learn in a classroom. I saw it, and lived it. Like many of you.

I watched a small man with thick calluses on both hands work 15 and 16 hours a day. I saw him once literally bleed from the bottoms of his feet, a man who came here uneducated, alone, unable to speak the language, who taught me all I needed to know about faith and hard work by the simple eloquence of his example. I learned about our kind of democracy from my father. I learned about our obligation to each other from him and from my mother. They asked only for a chance to work and to make the world better for their children and to be protected in those moments when they would not be able to protect themselves. This nation and its government did that for them.

And that they were able to build a family and live in dignity and see one of their children go from behind their little grocery store on the other side of the tracks in south Jamaica where he was born, to occupy the highest seat in the greatest state of the greatest nation in the only world we know, is an ineffably beautiful tribute to the democratic process.

And on Jan. 20, 1985, it will happen again. Only on a much grander scale. We will have a new President of the United States, a Democrat born not to the blood of kings but to the blood of immigrants and pioneers.

We will have America's first woman Vice President, the child of immigrants, a New Yorker, opening with one magnificent stroke a whole new frontier for the United States. It will happen, if we make it happen. I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters,—for the good of all of us, for the love of this great nation, for the family of America, for the love of God. Please make this nation remember how futures are built.

# 'We Must Forgive Each Other, Redeem Each Other and Move On'

Associated Press

*Excerpts from the prepared text of Jesse L. Jackson's speech at the Democratic National Convention last night:*

... There is a proper season for everything. There is a time to sow and a time to reap. There is a time to compete, and a time to cooperate.

I ask for your vote on the first ballot as a vote for a new direction for this party and this nation; a vote of conscience and conviction.

But I will be proud to support the nominee of this convention for the presidency of the United States.

I have watched the leadership of our party grow and develop. My respect for both Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart is great.

I have watched them struggle with the crosswinds and cross fires of being visible public servants, and I believe that they will both continue to try to serve us faithfully. I am elated by the knowledge that for the first time in our history a woman, Geraldine Ferraro, will be recommended to share our ticket.

Throughout this campaign, I have tried to offer leadership to the Democratic Party and the nation.

If in my high moments, I have done some good, offered some service, shed some light, healed some wounds, rekindled some hope, stirred someone from apathy and indifference, or in any way helped someone along the way, then this campaign has not been in vain.

If in my low moments, in word, deed or attitude, through some error of temper, taste or tone, I have caused anyone discomfort, created pain, or revived someone's fears, that was not my truest self.

If there were occasions when my grape turned into a raisin and my joy bell lost its resonance, please forgive me. Charge it to my head, so limited in its finitude; not to my heart, which is boundless in its love for the entire human family.

I am not a perfect servant. I am a public servant doing my best against the odds. Be patient. God is not finished with me yet.

This campaign has taught me much: that leaders must be tough enough to fight, tender enough to cry, human enough to make mistakes, humble enough to admit them, strong enough to absorb the pain, and resilient enough to bounce back. For leaders the pain is often intense. But you must smile through tears and keep moving with the faith that there is a brighter side somewhere.

I went to see Hubert Humphrey three days before he died. He had just called Richard

Nixon from his dying bed, and many people wondered why. I asked him.

He said, "Jesse, from this vantage point, with the sun setting in my life, all of the speeches, the political conventions, the crowds and the great fights are behind me now. At a time like this you are forced to deal with your irreducible essence, forced to grapple with that which is really important to you. And what I have concluded is this: When all is said and done, we must forgive each other, redeem each other and move on."

Our party is emerging from one of its most hard-fought battles for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination in our history. But our healthy competition should make us better, not bitter. We must use the insight, wisdom and experience of the late Hubert Humphrey as a balm for the wounds in our party, this nation and the world. We must forgive each other, redeem each other, regroup and move on.

Our flag is red, white and blue, but our nation is a rainbow—red, yellow, brown, black and white—and all are precious in God's sight. America is not like a blanket—one piece of unbroken cloth, the same color, the same texture, the same size. It is more like a quilt—many patches, many pieces, many colors and many sizes, all woven and held together by a common thread.

The white, the Hispanic, the black, the Arab, the Jew, the woman, the Native American, the small farmer, the business person, the environmentalist, the peace activist, the young, the old, the lesbian, the gay, and the disabled make up the American quilt.

Feelings have been hurt on both sides. There is a crisis in communications. Confusion is in the air. But we cannot afford to lose our way. We may agree to disagree, or disagree to disagree on issues, but we must bring back civility to the tensions.

We are co-partners in a long and rich religious history—the Judeo-Christian traditions. Many blacks and Jews have a shared passion for social justice at home and peace abroad. We must seek a revival of the spirit, inspired by a new vision and new possibilities. We must return to higher ground. We are bound by Moses and Jesus, but also connected with Islam and Mohammed.

These three great religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—were all born in the revered and holy city of Jerusalem. We are bound by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Rabbi Abraham Heschel, crying out from their graves for us to reach common ground.

We are bound by shared blood and shared sacrifices. We are much too intelligent; much too bound by our Judeo-Christian heritage; much too victimized by racism, sexism, militarism and anti-Semitism; much too threat-

ened as historical scapegoats to go on divided one from another.

We must turn from finger pointing to clasped hands. We must share our burdens and our joys with each other once again. We must turn to each other and not on each other.

The Rainbow Coalition is making room for Arab-Americans. They, too, know the pain and hurt of racial and religious rejection.

The Rainbow Coalition is making room for Hispanic-Americans who this very night are living under the threat of the Simpson-Mazoli bill, and farmers working in Ohio are fighting the Campbell Soup Company with a boycott to achieve legitimate workers' rights.

The Rainbow is making room for the Native American, the most exploited people of all and a people with the greatest moral claim among us.

The Rainbow includes Asian Americans, now being killed on our streets—scapegoats for the failures of corporate, industrial and economic policies. The Rainbow is making room for young Americans.

Twenty years ago, our young people were dying in a war for which they could not even vote. Twenty years later, they have the power to stop a war in Central America and the responsibility to vote in great numbers. Young America must be politically active in 1984.

The Rainbow includes disabled Americans.

The disabled have their handicap revealed and their genius concealed; while the able-bodied have their genius revealed and their disability concealed. I would rather have Roosevelt in a wheelchair than Reagan on a horse.

The Rainbow is making room for small farmers. They have suffered tremendously under the Reagan regime. The Rainbow includes lesbians and gays. No American citizen ought to be denied equal protection under the law.

President Reagan says the nation is in recovery. Those 90,000 corporations that made a profit last year but paid no federal taxes are recovering. The 37,000 military contractors who have benefited from Reagan's more than doubling of the military budget in peacetime are surely recovering. The big corporations and rich individuals who received the bulk of the three-year, multibillion tax cut from Mr. Reagan are recovering.

But no such comparable recovery is under way for the least of these. Rising tides don't lift all boats, especially those boats stuck at the bottom.

This administration must be held accountable for policies that have contributed to the growing poverty in America. Under President Reagan, there are 8 million more people in



poverty—now 15 percent of our nation is in poverty, 34 million people. Of the 34 million poor people, 23 million are white, 11 million are black, Hispanic, Asian and other. More and more of the poor are children. By the end of this year, there will be 41 million people in poverty—more people than at any time since the inadequate War on Poverty program began in 1965 . . . .

Many say that the race in November will be decided in the South. President Reagan is depending on the conservative South to return him to office. But the South is unnaturally conservative. The South is the nation's poorest region and, therefore, has the least to conserve. In his appeal to the South, Mr. Reagan is trying to substitute flags and prayer cloths for jobs, food, clothing, education, health care and housing.

But President Reagan is not even familiar with the structure of a prayer. He has cut food stamps, children's breakfast and lunch programs, the WIC program for pregnant mothers and infants, and then he says, "Let us pray."

In a prayer, you are supposed to thank God for the food you are about to receive, not for the food that just left.

Poor people and working people—black and white and brown—all across America, but especially in the South, must resist the temptation to go for Mr. Reagan's social placebo as a substitute for jobs and economic justice. Cotton candy may taste good, it may even go down smoothly, but it has no substance and it's not good for you.

Under President Reagan, the misery index has increased dramatically for the poor, but the danger index for everyone has escalated. The military budget has been doubled to protect us from the Russians, yet today Soviet missiles are closer and more accurate.

The Reagan administration has failed to achieve any agreed-upon nuclear arms reductions whatsoever. The Reagan administration's attempts to regain military superiority, to achieve a first-strike capability, its plans and preparations to launch and win a limited nuclear war, and its commitment to "Star Wars" has left the world a much more unstable and dangerous place in which to live.

We are at a nuclear standoff in Europe. We are mining the harbors of Nicaragua and attempting to covertly overthrow a legitimate government there—actions which have been condemned by many of our allies and by the World Court. Under this administration, we have been at war and lost the lives of American boys in Lebanon, Honduras and Grenada.

The victory for the Rainbow Coalition in the platform debates today was not whether we won or lost the vote, but that we raised

the right issues. We could afford to lose the vote. Issues are negotiable. We could not afford to avoid raising the right questions. Our self-respect and our moral integrity were at stake. Our heads are perhaps bloody, but unbowed . . . .

In the final analysis we must be driven not by a negative—the fear of Reagan—but by the positive leadership and programs of the Democratic Party. It is not enough motivation just to vote against Reagan; we must inspire our constituency to vote for us.

We must offer our people the vision of a just society and the dream of a peaceful world. We must inspire the American people with hope. We must put forth the vision of a government that cares for all of its people; the vision of a people at work rebuilding its nation.

We must not be forced to choose between the two valid principles of seniority and affirmative action. We must put all of America back to work . . . .

With courage and conscience, conviction and vision, we can win. If we don't raise the issues, if the truth is locked away, the people won't get excited. But when the truth is lifted up, they'll come running.

Across lines of race and sex, they'll come running to vote for us. If we lift up before this nation a plan to wipe out cheese and bread lines, to feed our hungry and malnourished people, they'll come running.

If we lift up a plan to house the homeless, and educate the illiterate, they'll come running. If we reach out to the Vietnam veteran, to the disabled, to the poor, to the widow, to the orphan, and tell them that help is on the way, they'll come running.

Ronald Reagan claims the votes of the South. I say to you this night that the soil is too rich and the people are too poor for Ronald Reagan to have the votes of the South. The South is going to rise up and move from racial battlegrounds, to economic common ground, and moral higher ground. We love our God and we love our country, too, but we want moral values with material substance. Black and white together, men and women, we will take the South . . . .

What this campaign has shown above all else is that the key to our liberation is in our own hands, and in our dream and vision of a better world. It is the vision that allows us to reach out to each other and to redeem each other . . . .

Faith, hope and dreams will prevail. We must be bound together by faith, sustained by hope and driven by a dream. Troubles won't last always. Our time has come. Our time has come. Our time has come. Thank you, and God bless you.

Fifth, we must avoid bias against vulnerable individuals and health institutions. Most controls will not be limited to Medicare only, as in present law. Rather, they must include all payors: government, private insurance companies, and individuals. And they must ensure that hospitals will be reimbursed appropriately for services to patients without adequate insurance.

### The Benefits of the Plan

With swift Congressional action, my plan could save \$15 billion annually in federal medical costs by FY 1989. By 1995, cumulative budget savings might well exceed \$150 billion. For our society as a whole, the gains would be far greater -- a total of more than \$300 billion during that same period.

With these results, my plan would achieve three central objectives:

First, the integrity of the Medicare system would be guaranteed -- without tax increases or benefit cuts.

Second, substantial reductions would occur in the federal budget deficit.

Third, scarce resources would be freed up for crucial investments in our future.

Enacting this plan into law will not be easy. Entrenched interests have defeated previous efforts at reform, and they will vigorously oppose this one as well. But today, business, labor, insurance, enlightened hospital administrators and physicians, and millions of individual citizens form a broad coalition for needed change. With their support, we can achieve long overdue health care cost containment -- and truly advance the national interest.

### The Basis of the Mondale Plan

My approach to health care cost containment is dictated by the special sources of inflationary pressure in this sector of our society.

General inflation has certainly played a part, but it cannot explain why medical inflation has greatly exceeded increases in consumer prices for more than 15 years. The aging of the population has played a small part. But taken together, increased services per person and population growth account for less than 10 percent of the dramatic expenditure increase of the past decade. When inflation slowed to 5 percent in 1982 -- through a deep recession and tragic levels of unemployment -- medical expenditures rose by three times as much.

The driving forces of this inflation are the method and scope of health care reimbursement. We compensate hospitals for their costs and the charges they establish. In general, the more the hospital spends, the greater its revenues. For doctors, the situation is comparable. The more they charge, the more our insurance programs pay. And where payment levels are restricted, as with Medicare, we leave doctors free to charge their patients whatever they wish. It is no surprise that physician fees are rising as rapidly as hospital costs.

Our hospital system has become an engine of inflation. It is racing out of control. We must throttle it back.

### The Reagan "Solution"

The Reagan Administration's approach to cost control is fundamentally flawed. Their diagnosis is that government programs are driving health care inflation. Their prescription is to cut benefits, shifting costs back onto the sick to restrain their claims. They want patients to pay more for care, especially Medicare and Medicaid patients. In short, the Reagan Administration wants to return us to the unfair principle that ability to pay should determine access to quality medical care.

In 1981, the Reagan Administration backed Medicare cuts of almost \$3 billion over three years, 80 percent of which was to be borne by Medicare beneficiaries. The hospital deductible was increased 25 percent, from \$204 to \$260, as was the medical services deductible, from \$60 to \$75. Just yesterday, the Administration suggests giving Medicare insurance bouchers to the elderly, hoping that "competitive pressures" will produce cost containment.

The Reagan proposal for Medicare patients to pay part of their hospital costs would affect some seven million elderly and disabled, half of whom make less than \$7,000 a year. The new policy would make them liable for substantial new hospital and physician charges, in addition to the many services -- like out-patient drugs and longterm mental health services -- that Medicare covers only partially, or not at all.

The Reagan suggestion that the elderly pay more in premiums, deductibles, and coinsurance reflects the same misguided faith in cost-shifting. The elderly already face very large bills under Medicare. In 1981, they paid an average 46 percent of their physician bills and 56 percent of their total medical costs. Making the elderly pay even more is simply wrong.

Medicare vouchers, Reagan officials also tell us, would be a helpful constraint on medical inflation. But that is almost certainly an illusion. The administration costs of private insurers average from 10 to 50 percent of program benefits, compared to 3 percent of Medicare. These insurers would have a hard time competing with Medicare if they faced the same range of customers. Instead, vouchers would almost surely increase



A few years ago, I and many others backed a reasonable legislative remedy for this problem. The hospital industry and the American Medical Association balked. They said that there was no need for federal legislation and promised to bring down health care costs voluntarily.

It never happened. Once the legislation was beaten in Congress, this "voluntary fort" vanished without a trace. In 1977, the average cost of a day in the hospital was \$124. It is now \$304. So today, we face not just a serious problem of health costs, but rather a crisis of health costs.

There are only three choices. We can raise taxes -- which no one wants. We can cut benefits -- which only Mr. Reagan and a few others want. Or we can contain costs -- which I will do.

My plan for tough, comprehensive health care cost containment will cut costs in a way that is fair to all Americans. It will guarantee the integrity of Medicare. It will preserve the diversity of the states within our federal system. It will encourage meaningful health care competition. And it will help reduce the destructive Reagan budget deficits.

#### The Mondale Plan

My program for containing health costs rests on five principles.

First, we must control the overall costs of medical care, not shift them from public to private budgets. The key test for my program is whether the rate of increase in health expenditures throughout our society is substantially reduced.

Second, the appropriate means to this end is prospective national limits on health outlays through the creation of state spending limits for hospitals and in-patient physician services under federal guidelines.

Third, states must be allowed to take responsibility for the restraint of costs within their jurisdictions. To meet overall spending limits, states must be free to revise their own plans, responsive to the diversity of local needs and circumstances. This means building on the examples of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York, among others, all of which have restrained health costs in the 1970s.

Fourth, within overall spending limits, we must encourage innovations -- like prepaid group practices -- that have demonstrated cost-effectiveness through lower hospitalization rates and efficient programs of primary care.



FOR RELEASE FRI., JAN. 6 AT 9:00 AM EST

JANUARY 1984

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla., Jan. 6--Walter F. Mondale today issued his plan for controlling health costs. Following is the full text of his statement and a description of the plan:

## THE MONDALE PLAN FOR CONTAINING HEALTH COSTS

### The Crisis in Health Costs

Our society has the resources to provide decent health care for every American. But today, the resources we devote to health care are not being properly spent. Instead, soaring health care costs threaten the savings and the security of American families. They burden the private sector. They widen the federal budget deficit. They are undermining Medicare. And they will make it impossible to achieve the long-deferred dream of full access to quality health care for all Americans.

We are spending tremendous sums on medical care: \$278 billion in 1981, \$322 billion in 1982, and some \$360 billion in 1983 -- more than 10 percent of GNP, and over \$1,500 for every woman, man, and child in the United States. Medical costs are now rising between two and three times the rate of general inflation. Unchecked, this trend will mean outlays of \$457 billion by 1985 and \$755 billion by the end of the decade.

| <u>PER CAPITA</u> |         | <u>TOTAL SPENDING (BILLION)</u> | <u>% OF GNP</u> |
|-------------------|---------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1950              | \$ 82   | 13                              | 4.5             |
| 1960              | \$ 146  | 27                              | 5.3             |
| 1970              | \$ 358  | 75                              | 7.5             |
| 1980              | \$1,075 | 249                             | 9.5             |
| 1985*             | \$1,882 | 457                             | 11.0            |
| 1990*             | \$2,982 | 755                             | 12.0            |

\*Estimated

This projected inflation virtually guarantees the insolvency of the Medicare program by the end of the decade. Between 1977 and 1982, Medicare outlays more than doubled, from \$21 billion to \$51 billion. If we do not act now, projected expenses will reach \$112 billion by 1988. By 1990, the Medicare Hospital Trust Fund will be empty. By the end of this century, it will be hundreds of billion -- perhaps even a trillion -- dollars in debt.

---

**We're the**

**PEOPLE**

**for**

**MONDALE/FERRARO**

**(800) 258-6700**

---

WALTER F. MONDALE AND GERALDINE FERRARO ON THE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO AMERICANS

ON ARMS CONTROL. Ronald Reagan has wasted nearly four years in the illusion that an arms race leads to arms control. Consequently, today there are nearly 50,000 nuclear warheads on our planet. Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro believe that their most solemn responsibility is to do all that they can to freeze nuclear weapons, reduce their numbers, and prevent a single one of them from ever being used.

Walter Mondale will challenge the Soviets to halt the arms race the day he is inaugurated President. He will call for temporary, and verifiable restraints, or moratoria, on the selected testing and deployment of nuclear weapons, and call on the Soviets to respond in kind. He will also invite the Soviet leadership to meet him within six months in Geneva for fully-prepared substantive negotiations to freeze the arms race and to begin cutting back the stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

ON THE ECONOMY. Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro's top priority is to make our economy the strongest, most productive on earth--and to do so in such a way that provides opportunity for all Americans. In his first term as President, Walter Mondale will reduce the massive Reagan deficits by two-thirds--by scaling the defense budget to reality, dealing with health care costs and other entitlement programs, shaping a sensible, long-range farm policy, and restoring revenues by introducing a fair tax program.

Walter Mondale also will work to prepare our economy for our future. He will get tough on trade, encourage more investment in our factories, our infrastructure, our economy, and our people. And, he will call America to adjust to changing economic realities by retraining displaced workers, helping companies and industries restructure, aiding hard-hit communities, and by establishing an Economic Cooperation Council to bring business, labor and government together.

ON THE ENVIRONMENT. Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro believe that each generation of Americans has the profound obligation to hand over to the next generation a country cleaner and more beautiful than it was when we received it from our parents. Ronald Reagan has proven that he holds a much different view regarding the environment. He has tried to sell off public lands, proposed cutting EPA's purchasing power by 60%, and has not used the Superfund for its mandated purposes--to clean up toxic wastes.

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro have a new plan. As President, Walter Mondale will keep our land open--to all Americans, expand the Superfund, and restore the budgets of environmental agencies and for the Land and Water Conservation Fund. He will cut the emission of sulfur dioxides, treat acid rain as a national problem and protect our national parks and precious wildlife from polluters.

ON DEFENSE. Americans should have no illusions about the Soviet threat. The Soviet leaders are ruthless and dangerous. They repress their citizens and maintain their pact by force. At the same time, we and the Soviets must live together on the same planet. We must deter aggression while seeking mutually beneficial arms control agreements (see "Arms Control" above) to prevent war and ensure our common survival.

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro are committed to a strong defense. That requires a coherent strategy and steady, sustainable growth in our military power to make it equal to the challenges of a dangerous world and a heavily-armed adversary. Mondale and Ferraro will make sure that our allies in Europe and the Pacific pay their fair share of the collective defense efforts, that our conventional forces are better-equipped, better supplied, and better-trained. This will reduce the risk of nuclear war.

ON EDUCATION. Throughout Walter Mondale's Senate career he helped lead the fight for what he calls the "Magna Carta of American Education": Title I aid for disadvantaged students; Head Start; student assistance; handicapped education; expanded vocational education. Subsequently, as Vice President, he served as a key advocate in the White House for education.

Under Ronald Reagan education has suffered. Both Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro know that to reverse this trend, and to get our competitive edge back we must invest in education--for it is the most important investment we can make in our future. As President, Walter Mondale will create a Fund for Excellence to allow communities to design methods to strengthen their academic programs. He will work to raise the quality of teaching and ensure--through substantial federal support--that American science, research, and scholarship remain the best in the world. He will guarantee that all American families can afford to send their children to college.

ON WOMEN'S ISSUES. Walter Mondale reaffirmed his commitment to equal opportunity by selecting the best running-mate he could find: Geraldine Ferraro. His long record of support for women is clear. He was a pioneer in the U.S. Senate, co-sponsoring the Equal Rights Amendment, the Rape Prevention Control Act, Title IX, and legislation prohibiting discrimination against women by credit institutions. He authored the Women's Educational Equity Act and a bill that would have created a nation-wide system of day care centers. Geraldine Ferraro also has been speaking out on behalf of women throughout her entire career--on Social Security, the Legal Services Corporation, and sponsoring the Pension Equity Act.

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro will continue their strong commitment. They will lead the fight for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; for equal pay for work of comparable worth; for vigorous Justice Department and EEOC enforcement of all laws and regulations; for leaving the personal question of reproduction to individuals rather than the government; for reversing cruel and unnecessary Reagan budget cuts that have fallen disproportionately on women, children and the poor.

ON CIVIL RIGHTS. As Attorney-General of Minnesota, Walter Mondale organized the first civil rights demonstration in his state's history; led his fellow state attorneys-general in the effort to guarantee legal counsel to every criminal defendant; led the fight to integrate the all-white Mississippi delegation to the 1964 Democratic Convention. As a United States Senator, Walter Mondale continued his work--on the historic Voting Rights Act of 1965, on sweeping fair housing legislation in 1967 and 1968, on establishing guidelines for and oversight of U.S. intelligence activities.

In 1970, Walter Mondale proclaimed, "I would rather lose my public career than give up on civil rights." Walter Mondale still holds those strong beliefs. As President, he will prohibit tax breaks for segregated private academies, renew progress on school integration and fair housing, pass the ERA, and protect all individuals against discrimination.

ON OLDER AMERICANS. Throughout their careers in public service, Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro have been steadfast defenders of older Americans. In the Senate he fought to establish the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, helped design the Title XX Social Services program, helped create the Legal Services Corporation, fought to defend and extend the Social Security system. In the House, she fought for housing and jobs for the elderly and for increases in funding for the Older Americans Act.

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro believe we must renew our commitment to older Americans. As President, he will safeguard Medicare and Medicaid, increase incentives for home health care, ensure the safety of nursing homes, and strengthen Social Security and many of the programs he fought for in the Senate, which Reagan has unmercifully attacked.

ON AGRICULTURE. Ronald Reagan's policies have produced the worst agricultural record since the Great Depression. In the last four years, nearly 200,000 farmers and ranchers have gone out of business. Net farm income, average farm land values, farm equity and agricultural exports have all fallen to new lows since the 1930's.

Walter Mondale will provide vital assistance to American farmers. First, he will reduce the perilous budget deficit by two-thirds, making credit more affordable. He also will overhaul the farm credit system, halt FmHA foreclosures on hardpressed farmers and move to stretch out loan repayments to provide needed breathing room for farmers who are creditworthy. Finally, he will work to promote agricultural exports--opposing all agricultural trade embargoes--and will develop soil and water conservation programs.