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memo from the desk of . . .
MIKE BAROODY

—

On Mondak vulnerabilities

REAGAN ON: WHY MONDALE'S A WEAK LEADER
(Where's the beef?)

o Four points:

1. no new ideas;
2. had a chance to lead as Carter's VP and didn't;
3. can't say no -- \$170 billion worth of promises;
4. plays politics of fear, guilt and resentment.

1. No new ideas: From Mondale's whole campaign, RR truly cannot think of single new idea or proposal he's made that will match our success, much less better it, for example on jobs and inflation.

o In fact, only 2 things he's said that most remember:

- one was "where's the beef" which he stole from Clara Peller (star of "Wendy's" hamburger ad);
- the other was, I'll raise your taxes, which is very much his own.

2. He had his chance: When in office, he and Carter missed many chances to make things better for all. In fact, they made things worse. They led us alright; they led us right into economic disaster:

- prime rate tripled from under 7% to over 21%;
- inflation almost tripled, under 5% to over 13%;
- misery index went from 12.5 to over 20;

3. Can't say "no":

- promises he's made so far could cost \$170 billion and there's still a month to go in the campaign;
- can't say no to union leaders;
- can't say no to Tip O'Neill, other big spenders;
- couldn't even stand up to his own party when he wanted a new national chairman;
- could he say no to the Soviets?

4. Playing politics of resentment and division: Whole campaign's been devoted to playing one group against the other, while promising everything to everybody (No matter how much the promises cost.)

- Also plays to fear and what WM once called (back in 1969) "our collective guilt." Contrasts with RR who sees Americans sharing a renewed sense of collective pride.

MONDALE: WHAT HE MIGHT SAY TO SHOW HE'S A STRONG LEADER

- o WM has shown courage to tell the truth about deficits and tell the world what he'd do about them.
 - RR would do the same -- raise taxes -- he just won't tell the truth about it until sometime after the election.
- o WM's whole career has been one of leadership on the tough issues. Leadership for:
 - civil rights and against segregation in schools, housing etc.;
 - women's rights;
 - peace, through long commitment to arms control.
 - compassionate, caring government;
 - in Mondale's own words -- "All of my life I have fought for justice in this country. I haven't just voted. I was out there working and fighting hard when I didn't have to do it. I didn't have to be out there working for farm workers as a Senator from Minnesota. I didn't have to fight for bilingual education as a Senator from Minnesota. I didn't have to fight for poor children in other states, but I did."

Besides, RR's no leader:

- o Can't lead from the Rose Garden without getting out to know American people and what's really on their minds.
- o Need in this campaign to face the issues, not just face the cameras (no leadership by photo-op.) Maybe in this debate, RR will do so for first time in this campaign.
- o Time to face truth of what this Administration has done to the country. This is government of, by, and for the rich.
- o RR can talk about past if he wishes but WM thinks we ought to be debating what RR and WM each plans for the future.

REAGAN ON: MONDALE AS FULL PARTNER IN CARTER FAILURES

- o If you liked the Carter-Mondale Administration, you'd love a Mondale Administration.
- o It would have many of the same people, the same policies, the same programs and -- RR predicts -- the same results.
- o The results were a mess -- a mess that really began to show in 1979. That was the year:
 - growth stopped in America; and,
 - inflation, interest rates hit double-digits; and
 - unemployment started rising; and
 - poverty started to soar, ending 30 year decline;
 - In 1979, there wasn't much but gloom, gas lines, and Afghanistan and then -- just as 1980 got going -- a grain embargo.
- o 1979 was also the year a different President of the United States blamed all this mess on you and your malaise.

Reminders from Jimmy Carter:

- o In his memoirs, Jimmy Carter wrote that WM was his "second in command" and that he "helped to plan strategy for domestic programs, diplomacy and defense."
- o Also has said "there wasn't a single decision I made during four years in the White House that Fritz Mondale wasn't involved in."

MONDALE ON: HIS CARTER CONNECTION

- o VP Bush reminded reporters recently that he doesn't agree with RR about everything. Same for Mondale when he was Vice President.
- o RR has to stop pretending this is 1980. He's not running against Jimmy Carter. Running against WM.
- o Did work closely with Carter, and proud of it, and didn't advertise differences with him when we disagreed.
- o Have said since there were disagreements. Grain embargo was one.
- o Carter Administration stood for something -- cared about the poor in this country, cared about human rights abroad.

In Mondale's own words:

- o "There were some real problems. We had quadrupling of oil prices, which was a mess for every economy in the world. But our deficits were much lower. And, as a matter of fact, in the first quarter of '81, things were getting much better. In the first quarter of 1981, we had 8 percent real growth."
- o "I was proud to serve as Jimmy Carter's Vice President. There was so much that we did that's going to look very good in American history. We had some problems. We had some bad breaks. That's the way it is. Now I'm running for President."

REAGAN ON: WHY MONDALE WOULD MEAN RETURN TO ERA OF LIMITS
(Instead of RR's era of opportunity)

- o The theme of their Administraion was that we would have to learn to settle for less; that our problems really couldn't be solved without years of pain -- or maybe never at all.
- o Since Carter and Mondale couldn't figure out how to cure inflation, they did what liberals usually do -- they set up a new agency to fight it, a new government bureaucracy. The man they put in charge summed up their Administration's philosophy when he said, "We can't avoid a decline in our standard of living. All we can do is adapt to it."
- o They really believed all of their own gloomy predictions, and what was worse, they acted on that belief.
- o As a result, they left unemployment, inflation and interest rates all higher than when they took office.
- o Mondale's fiscal plans and liberal programs are a blueprint for a repeat performance. They would end growth and stifle opportunity.
- o They had their chance and gave us a misery index in the 20s -- which means the opposite of opportunity. It means trouble finding a job if you're looking for one; and trouble making ends meet because of inflation if you're earning a paycheck.

Opportunity under Reagan

- o Now, there's sustained growth with low inflation. All are sharing in the first durable economic expansion since the 1960s.
- o Expansion opens opportunities for all, but it is proving to be especially important for two groups:
 - for Blacks, because this is the first expansion since the Civil Rights revolution of the 1960s ended legal discrimination; so, it's the first expansion they're fully free to participate in.
 - also for women, it's the first since they assumed their new roles in society in great numbers.
- o We're putting people back to work in this recovery, six million of them so far. A look at how the jobs are being distributed helps make point about Blacks, women.
 - half of the total, about 3 million jobs, have gone to women (and last year, 3 of 5 managerial and supervisory jobs went to women).
 - one million jobs have gone to Black Americans.

MONDALE ON: OPPORTUNITY VERSUS LIMITS

- o RR's temporary recovery gives a few an opportunity to make a quick killing -- and gives the rest of us an opportunity to work and sacrifice the rest of our lives to pay the bills for it (the deficit).
- o America is supposed to be land of opportunity for all; RR makes it land of opportunity only for rich and favored.
- o In Mondale's own words: "If you're rich, they give you tax breaks. If you're poor, they give you cheese. If you're a segregationist academy, they get government off your back. But if you're a Hispanic or an Asian or a black or a homosexual, they'll get off your side."

REAGAN ON: MONDALE'S PROMISES VERSUS AMERICA'S PROMISE

- o As one Democrat (John Glenn) said, WM will either have to break his promises, or break the bank.
- o America is about promise, not promises.
- o America's promise has always been that people here can go as far as their talents, energy and hard work can take them -- without government getting in their way.
- o In a word, the American promise is opportunity.
- o For too long, that promise got side-tracked or broken, by pettier promises of politicians.
- o A sampling of Mondale promises to pressure groups includes:
 - an \$11 billion program for the teachers' union;
 - \$20-\$100 billion for the environmental lobby;
 - protectionist legislation that would add up to \$1000 to the price of average American car (and cost us jobs in the long run).
- o Total cost of all his promises so far (and the campaign isn't over yet) is at least \$70 billion -- maybe as much as \$170 billion.

MONDALE ON: DEFENSE OF HIS PROMISES

- o Only promises I make are those I intend to keep.
- o One promise I'll make and will keep: I won't let average and low-income Americans pay more so that millionaires and big corporations can pay less or nothing at all.
- o Will not let working men and women in this country take it on the chin -- as clearly is the case. They're entitled to justice -- that's all.
- o America is about promises:
 - to the poor, that government won't ignore their needs;
 - to school children, that their government cares enough to fund needed programs for all of them, especially kids with special needs -- the handicapped, the disadvantaged.
 - to women, blacks, hispanics and others that discrimination won't be tolerated and that their leaders are committed to the fight against it.

In Mondale's own words:

- o "Nobody has served the special interest, the wealthy and powerful with more devotion for more years than Mr. Reagan."
- o "Is it a special interest to stand up for senior citizens and their Social Security? Well, Mr. President, if those are special interests, count me in."
- o "We have to define what is a public interest and who are the special interests. In my opinion, I stand on behalf of the people who've taken a terrible hosing in the last few years. We represent a broad cross-section of the country. When I stand up for full employment, reducing these Federal deficits, a sensible international trade policy, for education, science and training, Mr. Reagan may think that's a special interest, but I think it serves the profoundest objectives of this America and its future."

REAGAN ON: MONDALE'S EAGERNESS TO RAISE TAXES
(Seems he's always has been eager)

- o WM calls his latest scheme deficit reduction but it's not; it's just another tax hike -- and it's massive.
- o WM says it's a tax hike for the "rich." But it raises taxes for everyone with incomes over \$25,000 and for the average family, it's a tax increase of about \$1890.
- o Not only individuals making that much, but a young couple just starting out -- say each makes between \$12,000 and \$14,000 -- would pay much higher taxes on their combined income of under \$30,000 a year.
- o For a \$25,000 family income, WM says his tax hike will "only" cost about \$100.
 - even if he were right, \$100 is \$100, and it's a lot to add to taxes that are already high enough.
 - but he's wrong. Just his plan for dropping indexing would raise that family's taxes about \$500.
- o He says the plan will accomplish several goals; the only one he'd really achieve, though, is higher taxes.
 - the plan would increase the deficit, not cut it;
 - it would raise, not lower interest rates;
 - it would re-ignite inflation; and
 - bring back recession.
- o In just one year WM's \$1890 tax increase would wipe out almost all of the last 3 years' worth of RR's tax cuts, which totalled \$2020 for the typical family.
- o WM disputes our \$1890 figure. But it might even be higher when you figure his plan doesn't admit that:
 - his promises will cost at least twice what the plan budgets to pay for them;
 - debt interest payments will go up, not down;
 - growth he counts on can't happen with his plan.
- o Thank goodness there's little chance his plan would ever pass. Even many Democrats in Congress find a ten year, trillion dollar tax increase too expensive.
- o Same CBO WM cites so often says revenues will go up almost \$80 billion next year even with our cuts. Not big enough one year tax increase? WM wants to double it.
- o Wm voted for tax hike every year in the Senate. Also, taxes doubled in 5 years after he left Senate. But it didn't work -- still had deficits despite higher taxes.

MONDALE ON: DEFENSE OF HIGHER TAXES

Possible Mondale Points:

- o Said before and say again now, the deficit is a trap door under every American's future.
- o The main cause of deficit disaster was Reagan tax cut.
- o The main beneficiary of the tax cut was the rich.
- o RR criticizes my tax plan, but he won't tell you about his plan. His secret tax plan will sock it to the low- and middle-class and let his rich friends alone.
- o But he won't tell you about it until after election.
- o It's easy for RR to criticize my plan when he won't show us his. Let's put cards on the table. Let's compare plans. Have seen mine. Where's RR's?
- o The key difference here is not that WM will raise taxes and RR won't. Either one of us would have to. The big difference is that I'm not trying to hide my plans to raise taxes -- and he is.

REAGAN ON: MONDALE AS TRADITIONAL LIBERAL

- o Mondale's record marks him as the type of liberal who proclaims his care and concern for almost everybody and everything -- except for the middle class and the taxes they have to pay to cover the cost of WM-type liberal compassion.
- o WM trying to change his rhetoric, but he can't change his record.
- o In the Senate, WM had a more liberal voting record than George McGovern.
- o A few stands he's taken:
 - pro-busing;
 - against voluntary school prayer;
 - for more lenient penalties for drug-pushers (marijuana);
 - almost knee-jerk support for more regulations (strong support for oil regs that kept prices high and supply low.)
 - same knee-jerk support for federal boondoggle programs like CETA jobs that cost over \$50 billion in 7 years but made no dent in unemployment.
- o And now, he's reminded us all, he's for higher taxes -- at least \$85 billion a year higher.
- o Until this campaign, he's not been against deficits and often voted against lower deficits in some years past.
- o Said in 1975 that the economy could tolerate higher deficit that year (it was then biggest in peacetime history.) Said, "Sometimes we need a deficit."

MONDALE ON: DEFENSE OF HIS LIBERAL RECORD

- o RR accuses me of being a liberal as if it were a crime.
- o A liberal is someone who believes America is no jungle where only the strong and the rich should survive.
- o A liberal believes government has a moral obligation to help care for those who through no fault of their own need help: the elderly, the sick, the handicapped, the poor.
- o It's interesting that RR, who thinks being a liberal is like having the plague, keeps quoting famous liberals: JFK, FDR.
- o Why doesn't he quote some famous conservatives, like Nixon, Harding or Hoover?
- o Look at what liberal programs have given America: Social Security, Medicare, aid to education, school lunch program, civil rights movement, clean air and water.
- o RR wants big government when it pushes his aims:
 - a big military buildup;
 - government telling women they can't get abortion;

REAGAN ON SPACE: HOW MONDALE MISSED THE FUTURE

- o Back in 1972, WM boasted that he was "leading the opposition to the space shuttle."
 - o Three points about this:
 1. he led, but thank God the Senate didn't follow;
 2. if he'd won, there'd be no shuttle today (much less the two now flying -- Columbia, Discovery);
 3. during the same years he was voting repeatedly against the shuttle and the whole space program, he cast at least 16 votes for higher taxes. He really is for high taxes and against high tech.
 - o The shuttles now flying have already shown their worth:
 - satellite repair;
 - low cost satellite launches;
 - production of life-saving medicines that can't be made as cheaply, or at all, in earth's gravity.
- Potential*
- o Even bigger benefits to come:
 - permanent space station RR called for in SOTU;
 - space-based research lab;
 - commercial use of space to create new products for better lives here on earth, more jobs as well.
 - o Short-sighted Mondale approach back in 1970s would have meant no shuttle in the 1980s.
 - o Same approach in the 1980s, would mean no permanent manned space station for the 1990s.
 - o For future: to make sure tomorrow's scientists are well-prepared, RR proposed a \$200 million, 4-year block grant to train 10,000 math, science teachers each year.
 - o Under RR:
 - federal support for basic research up 1/3 since 1980;
 - Over 20 agencies doing over \$40 billion worth of research;
 - Tax credits for R&D stimulating private sector work.

MONDALE ON: SPACE

Possible Mondale points:

- o Nobody seriously doubts that the space shuttle has proven itself.
- o RR poses for shuttle photo-ops, but slashes education funding and cripples efforts in Congress to start a federal program for more math and science teachers.
- o Most of us learned back in 1957, after the Russians launched the first Sputnik satellite, that the key to America's ability to compete, in space or here on earth, is solid, quality education. RR's education budget cuts show he never learned that lesson.
- o Meanwhile, his main interest in space is to militarize it. He sees space as arena for "star wars." I see it as arena for peaceful progress.
- o RR likes the glamor of high tech, and it's fine, but what about older industries? RR says let them rust.

memo from the desk of ...
MIKE BAROODY

On Reagan vulnerabilities

MONDALE ON: FAIRNESS -- TAXES

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttals:

- o The Reagan tax cuts were a windfall for the rich. They actually raised taxes for the poor and the middle-class got only a token reduction.
- o The large corporations are getting away with murder while the average American's taxes have gone up.
- o If you make \$10,000, your taxes went up 22%.
- o If you make \$10-\$15,000, your taxes went up 7%.
- o From \$20-\$30,000 you were lucky to break even.
- o 90,000 corporations paid no taxes at all last year.
- o Tax cuts part of voodoo economics. They have made the rich richer, the poor poorer and the deficit the biggest in history.
- o There'll be a Reagan tax increase next year even though Mondale will be President. RR's deficits have made a tax increase essential -- so whoever's President, there'll be a Reagan tax increase next year.

REAGAN ON: FAIRNESS -- TAXES

Key points for RR to make:

- o More than 90 million Americans paid income taxes this year -- and every one paid at rates almost 25% lower. Because of the cuts:
 - \$30,000 income family paid over \$900 less;
 - \$15,000 income family paid almost \$300 less;
 - \$10,000 income family paid \$83 less (paid under \$300 in income taxes, would have paid closer to \$400):
- o The typical family of four will have paid a total of \$2020 less in income taxes for RR's first four years.
- o Next January indexing starts, giving permanent protection against these cuts being wiped out by inflation.
- o In future: WM wants more taxes; RR wants more taxpayers.
- o RR's growth policies will keep putting people to work making them taxpayers, not government dependents.
- o RR's tax policies will make system simpler and more fair; will also get at those now avoiding fair share in underground economy.

RR rebuttal points (as necessary):

- o Carter, Mondale and the Democrats raised taxes so much the 25% Reagan cut wasn't enough to make up for it.
- o In 1980 debate with Carter, RR said so -- that his 3 year tax cut couldn't make up for the multi-year tax increase (from bracket creep and SS increases) that Carter and Mondale would leave behind.
- o That doesn't make RR's tax cut for everyone unfair; it just underscores how much the Democrats increased taxes for everyone.

MONDALE ON: FAIRNESS -- SOCIAL CUTS

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o The Reagan cuts have been a disaster for the poor -- and have made more of them -- as poverty has risen in each of last three years.
- o His policies have been good for the rich, and only for the rich.
- o What we see today is an exterior of geniality that disguises the absence of compassion.
- o This Administration has launched a war, not on poverty, but on the poor.
- o Some examples: The Reagan Administration's budget cuts
 - plunged almost a million more people into poverty last year;
 - have thrown 3/4 million children off the Medicaid rolls;
 - denied student aid for another 3/4 million;
 - threw almost a million off food stamps in the midst of the deepest recession in 50 years;

REAGAN ON: FAIRNESS -- SOCIAL CUTS

Key points for RR to make:

- o Because of our program:
 - 1. inflation's down. It hurt poor the most. Made bigger budgets for social programs a cruel illusion. Higher benefits were worth less. Average AFDC family got 1/3 more dollars at end of 1970s than at the start, but could buy 1/3 less because of inflation.
 - 2. jobs: more people working this year than ever and for poor, a job is the surest escape from poverty.
 - 3. the needy: their needs being well met by programs designed just to help the poor. Spending for these "means-tested" programs is up over one-third in 1980. (These programs include AFDC, SSI, Medicaid, food stamps, subsidized housing, others.)
- o For those who measure fairness (or compassion) in dollars and cents, our budget for next five years plans about \$2.6 trillion in spending on human services -- everything from food assistance to education.
- o RR doesn't measure it that way, though.
- o Spending for some programs is up; it's down for others. But the fact is that a family totally dependent on food stamps, AFDC and Medicaid has an income today that's worth \$400 more than if inflation were still as high as it was when Mondale was Vice President.
- o For future: Will maintain a safety-net but determined to help get people out of vicious cycle of depending on government.

RR rebuttal points (as necessary):

- o After 1980, Congress and Administration agreed that reforms were needed and the laws were changed (couldn't have done that unless Congress went along.)
- o Still, even after these needed reforms:
 - 1 of 6 children in America served by Medicaid;
 - 99% of elderly covered by Medicare or Medicaid;
 - half of all full-time college students to get aid;
 - 10 million Americans getting federal housing aid;
 - record 22 million got food stamps last year.
- o But far more important than this, record numbers got jobs last year.

MONDALE ON: SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Reagan and the Republicans have had a life-long itch to tamper with Social Security.
- o Goes back to 1964, when they wanted to make it voluntary. Seems they won't rest until they've done in Social Security.
- o Only thing standing in their way this time was Democrats in Congress, like O'Neill and Pepper, who courageously blocked their attempts to slash benefits.
- o Medicare is their next target. They say it's going bankrupt and the only way to save it is to make older Americans pay more -- to make it cost more to get sick in America.

REAGAN ON: SOCIAL SECURITY -- MEDICARE

Key points for RR to make:

- o Democrats and WM really ought to be ashamed of scare tactics they've been using on SS for last three years.
- o Three points:
 - The system was facing bankruptcy when we took office; it's not now. We saved it.
 - Average benefits have gone up, not down. Average retired couple gets \$180 a month more than when Carter and Mondale left office;
 - RR has no plans to change the system.
- o As for Medicare:
 - spent \$35 billion in 1980;
 - spending \$66 billion in 1984.
- o More now covered by Medicare, Medicaid than ever -- 99% of the elderly, 1 of 6 children; 49 million in all.
- o Medicare does face problem in coming years. We'll solve it, as we did SS problem -- provided we can get bipartisan cooperation and avoid political football.
- o Have already made progress by bringing down health care cost inflation from murderous 11 percent range under Carter and Mondale to around 6 percent now. Our reforms such as "prospective payment" showing results.
- o For future: Having saved Social Security trust fund, will focus on building bipartisan support for shoring up Medicare.

RR rebuttal points:

- o WM and Democrats have no room to talk on Social Security. They had their chance.
- o They came up with plan in 1977 and Democratic Congress passed it into law. It had two parts:
 - record tax increase for all working Americans;
 - record benefit cut for new retirees.
- o They said it solved trust fund problem for 50 years.
- o Five years later the trust fund ran out of money; had to borrow \$17 billion so SS checks wouldn't bounce.

MONDALE ON: FARMERS AND AGRICULTURE

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o The farmers in our Midwest are having the worst year in their history.
- o Record farm bankruptcies stand as an indictment of Reagan farm policy. Even his own Secretary of Agriculture's farm operations in Illinois are near bankruptcy.
- o Farmers are paying the price right now for Reagan deficits. High interest rates are killing them and there's no relief in sight.
- o Farm income has been near Depression levels during this Administration and many farmers are just giving up. Can't blame them.
- o Management of farm programs a mess. PIK helped agribusiness more than any others. As usual, small and family farmers get little or nothing from Republican Administration.

REAGAN ON: FARMERS AND AGRICULTURE

Key points for RR to make:

- o Farm economy on the way back from Carter-Mondale mess.
- o We're working to expand export trade -- and this year we'll set a record for agricultural exports.
- o Expanded world trade is the real future for American agriculture and our farmers know it.
- o RR ended grain embargo; replaced it with long term agreement for Soviets to buy 50% more wheat and corn. Just agreed to let Soviets buy 10 million tons more; they've already bought 23 million in last year.
- o As world recovery sets in, demand for American food products will grow even more.
- o Lower inflation, lower interest rates beginning to make difference on the farm.
- o For the future: As the recovery takes hold world-wide and other countries catch up, demand for U.S. goods will skyrocket and so will prospects for U.S. farmers.

RR rebuttal points:

- o Farmers took a real beating in the late 1970s.
 - inflation tripled;
 - production costs went up about 15% a year in 1979-80;
 - Farmer's Home loan rates went from 5% in 1977 to 12.5% in 1980;
- o Then there was the grain embargo.
- o Mondale says there'll be no more embargoes -- but his protectionist policies will shut off markets for our farmers just as surely as an embargo would.
- o Farm debt rose almost 2/3s during the Carter-Mondale years. Went up 25% in 1979 alone. *INFLATION*
- o Farmers Home working to avoid bankruptcies.
(Note: 1360 went bankrupt in FY83; too many but still, less than 1/2 of 1% of 270,000 with FmHA loans.)
- o USDA making \$4.6 billion in direct loans to farmers this year.

MONDALE ON: FAIRNESS--WOMEN

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o This Administration has most anti-women record in modern history.
- o From President on down, this Administration just doesn't understand the recent changes in society and the changing role of women in it.
- o Opposition to ERA inexcusable and unexplainable.
- o The feminization of poverty during Reagan's term. Women most hurt by Reagan policy are the poor and the elderly.
- o Working women on marginal incomes find they're being punished for working and not going on welfare. Their children suffer, too.

REAGAN ON: FAIRNESS -- WOMEN

Key points for RR to make:

- o Women have great stake in this recovery. This is the first period of sustained solid growth -- and the greater opportunity that comes with growth -- since women began to assume their new roles in great numbers.
- o 3 million more women found jobs in last 20 months.
- o In 1983, women filled 60% of the managerial and supervisory jobs.
- o Women are starting their own businesses now in record numbers -- no one could do that very easily in the Carter-Mondale years of stagflation and no-growth.
- o On equal rights: We are reforming laws and regulations, and ridding tax and pension law of discrimination.
- o On ERA: Mondale as VP couldn't get a single state to ratify, though a dozen non-ratifying states had Democratic-controlled legislatures. That's leadership?

RR rebuttal points:

- o On feminization of poverty: the poverty rate for households headed by women rose 2.3% in 1980, the last year Mondale was Carter's Vice President.
- o Last year, that rate actually went down -- not enough but at least it's going in the right direction again.
- o Marriage penalty: It's wrong to make a married woman pay more income tax than a single woman with the same salary. Under Carter and Mondale, that was the law and they didn't change it when they had the chance. We did change it; the law's a lot fairer now to working wives.
- o Widow's tax: Inheritance taxes often used to force a widow to sell the family farm or business. That was the law under Carter and Mondale. We got rid of it.

MONDALE ON: DEFICITS AND INTEREST RATES

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Deficit is Reagan's biggest broken promise.
- o A trapdoor under our nation's future.
- o Have built a credit card recovery that our kids will be paying off for years to come.
- o Real interest rates have doubled.
- o Attracted by high interest rates, money from around the world came pouring in, drove the dollar's value up 25% and everything produced by an American worker or farmer was in effect taxed an invisible 25%.
- o These deficits will keep interest rates high, choke off recovery.
- o Because of deficit and interest rates, last year was worst trade year in American history.
- o Promised that voodoo economics could give us a balanced budget by this year. Instead we have the biggest deficits in history.
- o Reagan talks tough but no action. Hasn't used the veto very much -- no more than LBJ did and he thinks LBJ was the big spender. (RR vetoed only \$60 million worth in his first 2 years.)
- o 67 mile-high stack of \$1000 bills when Reagan began will be well over 100 miles high when he's finished.
- o Massive increases in Pentagon budget and tax cuts for the rich gave us this deficit.
- o Constitutional amendment to balance budget just a dodge. Reagan has never yet proposed a balanced budget to the Congress.
- o I have a plan to reduce the deficit 2/3s by 1989. I challenge Ronald Reagan to unveil his plan. Where will he cut -- Social Security again? education again? Medicare? nutrition programs for children and the elderly? housing?

REAGAN ON: DEFICITS AND INTEREST RATES

Key points for RR to make:

- o Government's too big and it spends too much. That's why we have a deficit.
- o Right way and wrong way to cut deficit. The right way:
 - continued growth in the economy;
 - controlling spending so what comes in from taxes can catch up to what goes out in spending.
- o Higher taxes not the answer: Taxes doubled in 5 years before RR took office and the total debt still went up about \$282 billion.
- o Cause of the deficit is a political problem, not an economic one. The political problem is big-spending Democrats in Congress.
- o Glad we're finally getting some Democrats to say they are concerned about deficit. Now, if only they'd act.
- o For future: Will push for balanced budget amendment, line-item veto, broadened tax base, slower spending growth (2478 Grace Commission recommendations will help here).

RR rebuttal points:

- o Congress decides how much will be spent. President makes recommendations but can't spend a dime more or a dime less than Congress says he can.
- o Congress rejected \$300 billion in cuts RR proposed. ✓
- o Does anyone believe deficits would be lower if this were Carter and Mondale's 2nd term instead of RR's 1st. Just promises he's made so far would cost from about \$70 billion to \$175 billion.
- o WM says can't get deficit down unless taxes go up. Also said couldn't have growth without inflation; couldn't have this recovery at all. Wrong then, wrong now.
- o While RR's been fighting to shrink government, WM's looked for new ways to spend more taxpayers money. Records and careers of each of us clear; so is choice.

MONDALE ON: THE ENVIRONMENT

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Last four years have seen wholesale retreat on the environment:
 - Superfund mismanagement -- only 6 toxic waste sites clean-up.
 - acid rain unchecked. no action, just research;
 - scandal, perjury at EPA;
 - land policy calls for drilling and mining of wilderness lands.
- o Nearly every environmental group agrees this is most anti-environment Administration in history.
- o Watt, Burford, Lavelle.
- o Legis Bottled up

REAGAN ON: THE ENVIRONMENT

Key points for RR to make:

- o Using balance and commonsense, we can save the environment and save jobs. Don't have to choose one or other.
- o No retreat on basic goals:
 - Air is getting cleaner;
 - Water quality also improving.
- o RR doesn't claim improvement started with us; rejects claim it ended with us.
- o National Parks in best shape in many years. 5 year, \$1 billion clean-up nearly done. (Carter-Mondale had left parks in bad shape -- unsafe, dirty.)
 - now that clean-up about done, starting to budget for purchase of new lands -- parks and wilderness.
-- signed wilderness / bought Coastal zone
- o For future: Will reauthorize Superfund next year. Get needed answers on acid rain. Reduce lead in air with new EPA plan on gasoline. Also, economic expansion will help spur new technology -- possibly including pollution controls.

RR rebuttal points:

- o Burford, Lavelle and Toxic wastes: dumps being cleaned up. Superfund a new program but already at work on over 300 of worst sites.
 - another 300 cleaned up in emergency actions.
 - so have acted on 600, not 6. Finishing any with program only 4 years old is good since some take years to clean up.
 - will have checked out all the thousands of sites reported as possible hazards in next 2 years.
- o Watt and federal lands: No new drilling or mining in wilderness areas. Are trying to expand development off-shore. So did Carter and Mondale.
- o Acid rain: Doubling research effort. It's a priority but nation has spent over \$130 billion on clean air in last decade. Won't spend more on new program, add billions to family utility bills, until we know more.

MONDALE ON: RELIGION AND POLITICS

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o People would be surprised to learn God is a Republican.
- o Religion is a personal matter between an individual and his God; shouldn't be sensationalized or trivialized by politicians.
- o Reagan reaching toward a kind of "moral McCarthyism" that brands those who disagree as "anti-religionists."
- o It's troubling that someone who calls Catholicism a "false religion" or states that Jews are damned to go to hell is a welcome policy adviser in the White House.

REAGAN ON: RELIGION AND POLITICS

Key points for RR to make:

- o American roots run deep in the Judeo-Christian tradition.
- o That tradition itself draws from a set of values built up over millenia and those values themselves are deeply rooted in a rich heritage of faith.
- o No President has ignored them; every President has respected them. RR has done no more; will do no less. Recent comments may be noteworthy because for so long, so many in society ridiculed these values. RR just one of many now standing up for them.
- o Political controversy is narrower -- two basic issues:
 1. School prayer: RR's against ban on voluntary prayer in schools; WM is for the ban.
 2. Ideology: For many liberals, it's OK for ministers who agree with them to speak on issues. Not OK if they don't agree. That's like saying Catholic bishops may speak on nuclear deterrence, but not on abortion. RR says it's their right to do both.
- o The wall is between Church and State. Constitution doesn't say political leaders have to build a wall between what they say and their own consciences.
- o RR will keep speaking his mind and his conscience.
- o Resurgence of respect for worth of traditional values likely to continue. No threat in that to any person, or to anyone's rights. RR believes it is a welcome sign and will do what he can to encourage it.

RR rebuttal points:

- o (To be fair about this, it was Ferraro who first raised the religion issue in this campaign with her charge RR not a good Christian.)
- o Back to abolitionist days, and more recently with anti-war and civil rights, anti-abortion and anti-pornography movements, churches and churchmen have taken stands and, sometimes, taken action. Part of our history.

MONDALE ON: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Possible Mondale attack line and/or rebuttal:

- o Last year was worst trade year in American history and that's a direct result of Reaganomics.
- o Had a trade surplus three years ago. There will be \$100 billion deficit this year.
- o Money pouring in from all over the world because of high interest rates here. Drove up value of the dollar by 25% above its real value. It's as though everything produced by an American worker or farmer is taxed invisibly by 25%.
- o Meanwhile, imports of foreign steel and other products are shutting down American workplaces, losing jobs, especially in Northeast and Midwest. That's not fair trade; it's unfair competition but Mr. Reagan thinks it's just fine.
- o 3 - 4 million of our best jobs have gone overseas.

REAGAN ON: INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Key points for RR to make:

- o Exports are now rising faster than in any recovery in post-WWII period. This comes after 3 years of decline because of the recession.
- o Basic reason for trade imbalance is strength of U.S. recovery and the fact that other countries haven't caught up with us yet.
- o *consumers benefit*
- o As their recoveries pick up steam, the foreign market for American goods will, too.
- o Another factor is trade barriers that other nation have erected. Rather than putting up trade barriers of our own, we're working to get others to tear theirs down. And we're having some success.
 - Japan: They've agreed to let in twice the beef and 50% more citrus products from the U.S. (Where's the beef?" -- more of it's going to Japan.)
 - Japanese also eased restrictions on high-tech products, such as U.S. telecommunications equipment;
 - Europe: Eased barriers to sale of \$8 billion in U.S. farm products, lowered barriers to sale of U.S. wines
 - .. *equi. exports - can't list*
- o There's fresh evidence that, led by our growth, recovery is strengthening for some of our major trading partners, like Japan, Canada, and European countries.
- o One recent estimate says growth in these countries is averaging 7% now -- enough to start putting them in the market for our goods.
- o Absolutely the wrong time for trade war and protectionism. Right time for free, fair competition is now and in the future -- a future marked by growth.

RR rebuttal points:

- o Protectionism isn't answer. For every job it seems to save in one sector, we lose 3 or more in another.
- o Domestic content bill, for example, claims to create jobs in car industry. But it would actually cost America jobs -- 132,000 by some estimates.
- o And the same Congressional Budget Office WM likes to cite when it agrees with him, says that bill would add as much as \$1000 to the cost of an average new car.

MONDALE ON: LEADERSHIP STYLE, AGE, OUT-OF-TOUCH

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o I've been in the White House and know that a President, if he's not careful, can start inhaling the royal treatment he receives. The stewards, the trumpets, Camp David, it's very intoxicating.
- o A President can very quickly think the state of the nation can be judged by the condition of the Rose Garden. Look for somebody who knows the difference; who knows what it's like to be unemployed, to be unfairly taxed.
- o The President is getting detached from the country; says his tax and budget cuts are fair, that he's controlling arms race, but we know better.
- o Mr. Reagan has held only half as many press conferences as President Carter did and spends a lot of his time ducking questions.
- o Even on debates -- it was like pulling teeth to get this scheduled. I wanted six.

REAGAN ON: LEADERSHIP STYLE, AGE, OUT-OF-TOUCH

Key points for RR to make:

- o Think we've shown American people that government can work; problems not beyond our control if we are determined to tackle them, have coherent policy and if the people let their representatives know what they think.
- o RR well aware of hardships many have faced in recent years. They didn't start in 1981.
- o RR known for going to people from time to time in major addresses to outline problem or policy (tax and budget cuts, Lebanon and Grenada, etc.)
- o American people well-known, too, for going to President with their concerns. Meet with them, hear from them in letters -- almost impossible to be out of touch with their concerns, their hopes and their fears.

RR rebuttal points:

- o On leadership style: To coin a phrase, Walter, "what you see is what you get."
 - RR's too old to change and too proud of what he and American people have accomplished in last 3½ years to want to.
 - Sorry if you think I'm doing it wrong. This is the first time I've ever been President.
 - As Lincoln said: "If the end brings me out alright what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference."
- o On accesibility to press: In addition to formal press conferences, have had ____ Q&A sessions with reporters.
 - Not a secret what I stand for and have done. You had no trouble finding out enough about my record and my policies to talk about them and criticize them over many months of your campaign.
- o On detachment and insensitivity: You go too far with that. I sought this job in the first place because I care, not because I don't care.
 - No party's cornered the market on care. If you want to base your campaign on the fairy-tale that Democrats are the only one's who do, go ahead, give it a try. And maybe some of the time, you'll be able to fool some of the people.