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**THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON**

September 27, 1984

**TO:** Jack Svahn

**FROM:** ***MIKE BAROODY***  
*Director of Public Affairs*

Per our conversation.

## R-B Supplement

### TOXIC WASTE AND SUPERFUND

#### Possible Mondale Attack Lines

- ° Mr. Reagan, your administration has cleaned up 6 toxic waste sites under the billion dollar program called Superfund. Your own EPA even predicts that the government will have to clean up several thousand more before the process is over. That means, if we assume that your lax policies are not creating more sites seeping into drinking water as we speak, that your Superfund program would have to last for centuries at this rate. Can you defend this?
- ° The Reagan appointees at the EPA would rather take a polluter to lunch than to court.
- ° Mr. Reagan says he is for the Superfund, but then he opposed reauthorization tooth-and-nail throughout the past year -- reauthorization supported by members of both parties. Come clean, Mr. Reagan.
- ° Your Superfund enforcement is so lax, that many of the sites where the government takes wastes from Superfund sites themselves are leaking -- thereby creating additional Superfund sites. How can you defend this kind of environmental legerdemain?
- ° Toxic waste policy, like your deficits, is mortgaging our future for the fleeting present. Is that the kind of legacy we wish to leave our children and grandchildren?

#### Possible Reagan Attack Lines

- ° Before the Carter-Mondale Administration even took office, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act had passed the Congress. But when I took office in 1981, despite record spending by your Administration on EPA, the basic regulations telling people how to comply were nowhere near complete. What kind of record is that?
- ° It is reckless of you to attack my Administration on Superfund, because you know -- or ought to know -- that, that program is a longterm engineering enterprise, and no matter who is president in the coming years, will preside over the fruition of the work we have begun at a breakneck pace. But then if you were really interested in clean-up, and not politics, you would have questions about the new Superfund bill you say you support, which adds so many demands on the Fund that it will allow lawyers to clean up, but will not clean up our country anywhere near as fast as we would like.

## ACID RAIN

### Possible Mondale Attack Lines:

- ° Your people look the other way while people are being poisoned by acid rain.
- ° Mr. Reagan has ducked the issue of acid rain -- and his administration richly deserves its title as the most anti-environment administration in history.
- ° Mr. Reagan tells us he does not know enough about acid rain to start a federal response. He wants more time to study. Tell that to the farmers and sportsmen whose lakes are dying and whose hope is disappearing.

### Possible Reagan Attack Lines:

- ° You campaign among the miners and tell them their jobs are safe. Then you campaign among the environmentalists and tell them you support immediate cuts in sulfur dioxide emissions that we all know would cause those miners to lose jobs. And then you tell us all that you support action on acid rain but say you don't have specifics yet as to how it will be done or who will pay for it. And you say I am irresponsible for wanting to make certain we act, as a nation, in a fair and effective way that first requires the best research available?

## R-B Supplement

### ENVIRONMENT

#### Possible Mondale Attack Lines

- ° Tonight, Mr. Reagan says he is for a cleaner environment. Is he therefore prepared to publicly state, for the record, that he renounces the policies of his appointees, Anne Burford and Rita Lavelle?
- ° I am pleased that you appointed William Ruckelshaus to the EPA. It was good politics and good government to do so. But have you asked him to stay for a second term? After the election and the political heat is gone, can we expect to see more of Anne Burford and James Watt--only months ago you tried to appoint her to another major environmental post.
- ° Mr. President, not one major environmental law has been passed during your administration, and most of the laws are operating on a temporary basis. Is that leadership?
- ° Mr. Reagan turned the Superfund into a "Super Fraud", and he has put a "for sale" sign on our public lands and a "for rent" sign on our public beaches.
- ° When the President went to the Chesapeake Bay, he did not clean it up. He had his picture taken.

#### Possible Reagan Attack Lines:

- ° The environment has always been a bipartisan issue, and for you to campaign as if I were for acid rain or toxic waste is disgraceful. Your "dumpstumping" in the primaries in New Jersey was not fair to Senator Hart and it's not fair to me, now.

## R-B Supplement

### CIVIL RIGHTS

#### Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- ° Under the Reagan Administration, the Department of Justice, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and other enforcement agencies have taken no action to enforce the principle of equal pay for comparable effort. I intend a President to turn that around.
- ° Most of the civil rights cases this Administration claims to have prosecuted were begun under the Carter Administration.

#### Key RR points:

- ° When Senator Hubert Humphrey explained Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, he said: "It does not provide that any quota systems may be established to maintain racial balance in employment." But Walter Mondale supported 1984 Democratic Platform language which came dangerously close to calling for numerically verifiable quotas.
- ° In 1983, Administration officials registered 1,102 persons to vote in six counties in Mississippi under Section 7 of the Voting Rights Act. The Carter-Mondale Administration never used this authority to register voters.
- ° Three appointees to the Civil Rights Commission are all Democrats, each of whom has a sterling civil rights record. Chairman Morris Abram, an Administration appointee, marched with Martin Luther King, Jr., in Alabama.
- ° Mondale says he will fire the President's appointees to the Commission, which would violate the law. In a statement adopted unanimously, the Commission informed Mondale that his remarks "do not show a respect for the independence of this body."
- ° Walter Mondale didn't care about the rights of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party who were denied seats at the 1964 Democratic Convention. Mondale was the chairman of the credentials subcommittee that was set up to resolve the Mississippi challenge. Mondale called this black group "...a bunch of protesters pushed onto a bus in Mississippi." Mondale knew they had a legal right to be seated at the convention, because he headed a group that raised \$12,000 to support the project in Mississippi. President Johnson wanted a unified convention, and Mondale was chosen as the hatchet man.
- ° Mondale would like us to believe he is "Mr. Commitment," but he once apologized for having suggest that "one man, one vote" should be instituted in South Africa.

R-B Supplement

HOMELESS ISSUE AND HOUSING FOR THE POOR

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

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

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FOOD ASSISTANCE AND HUNGER PROBLEM

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- ° As President I would:
  - Reverse Reagan cuts in...nutritional programs.
  - Review the nation's fight against hunger, and strengthen the food stamp program and the school lunch program, as well as other critical child nutrition programs.
- ° To Ronald Reagan ketchup is a vegetable.

Key RR points:

- ° Welfare and food stamp eligibility has been tightened up to ensure that scarce Federal funds go to truly needy persons, who have nowhere to turn for their basic needs. After the 1981 welfare reforms, 35 states recognized the wisdom in this approach and raised their basic benefit levels.
- ° The inflationary policies of the Carter-Mondale Administration caused the real median value of food stamp benefits to decline by 13 percent.
- ° Reforms passed in 1981 and 1982 have succeeded in doing what they were designed to do: slow the growth of program costs, reduce the level of waste and abuse, strengthen the administration of the Program and, most important of all, retarget food stamp aid to those in greatest need.
- ° Through these reforms the Program was able to serve more of the poorest citizens. The average monthly level of benefits per recipient rose (in real dollars) from \$34.11 in 1980 to \$37.49 in 1983.



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ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- ° Strengthen programs like WIC, Head Start, maternal and child health, and childhood immunization.
- ° Repeal the destructive Reagan changes in the AFDC program which penalize the working poor.

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SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- ° Social Security needs no reform.
- ° In 1980, then-candidate Reagan had promised to "protect that program [Social Security]," but the president broke that promise immediately after the election and tried to emasculate the program and cut benefits substantially by nearly 80 billion of dollars.
- ° One of the most callous things to happen recently was when 300,000 people were terminated from (Social Security) disability rolls without any review or legal protection whatsoever.
- ° The Reagan Administration's attack on Social Security represents one of the most senseless political acts in our history. A radical program that would have reduced benefits from 20-40% was rejected by Congress. But other cuts did pass: elimination of the minimum benefit for future retirees; termination of parent's benefits when the youngest child reaches sixteen years of age; and phasing out of student benefits by September 1985.
- ° 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.
- ° Health care costs are soaring out of control. My plan will cut these costs in a way fair to all Americans, protect Medicare, and save about \$15 billion a year by fiscal 1989.
- ° My plan seeks to deal with the soaring costs of Medicare and Medicaid by putting a cap on overall spending for all aspects of health care, hospital costs, doctor bills, diagnostic fees and drugs.
- ° The Reagan Administration has made widely-noted pleas to doctors to accept a freeze on Medicare fees. But if doctors are free to charge their patients beyond what Medicare seems reasonable, a freeze on the latter is no constraint on the former.
- ° 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.

Key points for RR to make:

- ° Mondale's plan would result in a rationing of health care services to all, just like the failing systems of socialized medicine in Western European countries.
- ° In 1979, the former Vice President claimed that the Carter-Mondale Administration demonstrated leadership on Social Security by instituting the largest peacetime tax increase in history.
- ° Under the leadership of President Reagan, Social Security is solvent again. But Mondale now promises to "improve" the system with add-ons and extensions.
- ° Total Medicare, Medicaid, and health care services spending rose sharply under Carter-Mondale -- from \$32.3 billion in FY 1977 to \$60.4 billion in FY 1981, or an increase of 87% in just four years.
- ° It should be remembered that Carter, too, sought to contain health costs. Yet Carter and Mondale were never able to secure Congressional passage of any health cost containment proposal.

## R-B Supplement

### BUDGET PRIORITIES -- PENTAGON VERSUS SOCIAL PROGRAMS

#### Possible Mondale attack line and/or rebuttal:

- ° The national defense share of federal outlays has grown significantly since Ronald Reagan took office, from 23.6% to 29.4 %. At the same time, the share of the federal budget going to low income programs continues to decline. Since FY81, low income programs have declined from 14% of the federal federal budget to 10.5% in the FY85 request.
- ° The Reagan budgets are committing the nation to pay off extravagant new weapons purchases for years to come -- all at the expense of a balanced budget and domestic programs.

#### Key RR Points:

- ° A President's first duty is to ensure the nation's security. The Carter/Mondale Administration left the United States at risk.
- ° Walter Mondale himself has said that no nation can be asked to reduce its defenses below the threats it faces.
- ° As Vice President, Walter Mondale outdid even Jimmy Carter in attempting to emasculate our national security by lobbying Carter to veto defense appropriations bills.
- ° From 1969 to 1976, Senator Mondale received an average rating of 3 (out of 100) on the American Security Council National Security Index. In three of the four terms rated, Mondale received a zero rating. Do we really want to trust this man's sense of priorities?
- ° In addition, Senator Mondale consistently voted for sharp cuts in nearly every category of military spending.
- ° Mondale had a nearly identical defense voting record to that well-known man of strength, George McGovern. On the ASC Index of key votes, they disagreed only once in twelve years -- on the B-1, which Mondale now opposes.

R-B Supplement

LEADERSHIP STYLE, AGE, OUT-OF-TOUCH

Possible/actual Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:


- ° American people don't want salesmanship, they want leadership. They don't want slogans and name-calling, they want realism coming from the leadership in the White House.
- ° Mr. Reagan won't tell us what he wants to do in the next four years. He seems to be afraid to be straight with the American people. Where's your plan, Mr. Reagan?
- ° A Mondale Administration won't have the uncaring, icy indifference of the Reagan Administration.
- ° The President is the most isolated president in American history. I'm not sure which is worse, the arrogance of Mr. Reagan's isolation or his confidence that the American people will let him get away with it. I'm not sure which is more damning, the emptiness of his happy-talk campaign or the cynicism about the American people that it implies.
- ° We do not want policy by evasion, economics by rabbit's foot, government by a smile button and leadership by isolation from the lives of working Americans.
- ° We've got a President who's running all over this country not answering a single question. We've got a President who is not telling us anything about the future. We've got a President who has held fewer news conferences than any President in modern history.
- ° The President is moving around this country in a cocoon and trying to silence us with childish heckling.

R-B Supplement


LEADERSHIP STYLE, AGE, OUT-OF-TOUCH

RR rebuttal points:

° On accesibility to press/isolation:

 In addition to Q&As and press conferences, I discuss key issues and Administration policies with the American people each Saturday in a regular radio address. I invite you and the press to tune in next week -- same time, same station.

° On dozing off in Cabinet meetings:

 I understand Zbigniew Brzezinski says you had a better defense for lengthy meetings in the White House -- afternoon naps in your office.

° On detachment:

If you're implying that I don't get involved with the day-to-day minutiae of the White House, you're absolutely right. I think a president's time is better spent on larger issues than deciding who gets what magazine subscription or who uses the White House tennis court.

° On indifference/uncaring:

Walter, you forget I'm a father...and a grandfather. And I want my children, your children and every child in America to have a future that is not only more prosperous but more secure. That's what we're working for and I think the American people agree a return to failed policies of the past isn't the best direction to follow.

## RB Supplement

### WIMP I: WHY MONDALE'S A WEAK LEADER

#### I. Possible Mondale Attacks on Reagan

- ° RR has created two Americas, one for the very thin veneer of wealthy Americans who are doing better and better and the second America for the rest of us who are doing less and less well.
- ° This will be the worst trade year in American history -- RR is providing no leadership to restore competitiveness or to train the next generation.
- ° We are supposed to be a caring nation and we want a President again who will lead us back to that path.
- ° RR is looking at the world through Rose Garden-colored glasses.
- ° The people won't settle for government by staff policy, by default, management by alibi, and leadership by amnesia.
- ° RR won't take charge, he won't master the facts, he won't decide between the competing views of his advisors.

#### II. Possible Reagan Attacks on Mondale

- ° Mondale provides no consistent direction or leadership:
  - Deficits: WM used to say we need a deficit in order to stimulate the economy, he now says we can't run a country with one. WM used to say we need a deficit to help unemployment, he now says a deficit causes unemployment.
  - Protectionism: WM used to say protectionism is no solution to our economic problems, he now says it is a policy he would follow.
  - Grain Embargo: WM criticized Senator Kennedy during the Carter administration for not supporting the grain embargo, he now says he does not support grain embargos.
  - Tobacco: WM claims he has "always supported" the tobacco program, in fact, during Mondale's Senate years he walked (did not vote) on 5 important tobacco votes.
- ° It is WM who looked to Jimmy Carter's handling of the Iran hostage crisis as "masterful."
- ° WM provided no leadership into the future as the acknowledged leader of the anti-space shuttle forces while in the Senate.

## RB Supplement

### WIMP II: MONDALE AS FULL PARTNER IN CARTER FAILURES

- ° Mondale learned many lessons during the Carter-Mondale administration -- among them, raising taxes. WM helped enact the two largest tax increases in history (social security and ~~windfall profits~~).
- ° Despite having the same advisors as Carter and the same ideas-- it was WM who said the day after the 1980 election, "There's no question that the people yesterday decided they wanted a fundamental change in government."
- ° Is WM proud to have learned his lessons of leadership in the administration which produced double digit inflation? A prime interest rate over 20 percent? Rising unemployment? Average mortgage payments that fewer families could afford? Afghanistan? Iran hostage crisis? The grain embargo?

### Reminders from Jimmy Carter:

- ° In his memoirs, Jimmy Carter wrote about Mondale: "We agreed that he would be truly second in command, involved in every aspect of governing...[Mondale] helped to plan strategy for domestic programs, diplomacy and defense."



## RB Supplement

### SLEAZE FACTOR

#### Possible Mondale Attacks on Reagan

- ° For nearly three years, almost every couple of weeks another rotten apple is falling out of a tree. It's what I call the sleaze factor.
- ° Ed Meese is someone who says when a hungry child goes to a soup kitchen, that child is undeserving and a hustler.
- ° RR's EPA would rather take polluters to lunch than to court. Now let's get rid of the person who appointed Ann Burford and James Watt.

#### Key RR points

The Carter-Mondale Administration had some unfortunate appointments .

- Bert Lance, who resigned under pressure as Carter's budget director in the midst of congressional hearings into his questionable financial dealings. Lance was charged with making unsecured loans to himself, his relatives and various business and political associates.

Lance was sued in 1978 by the Securities and Exchange Commission for failing to report activities in a business deal. He settled out of court.

This is the same man Mondale appointed as his general campaign chairman. Later Mondale came under pressure for this appointment and cast Lance out like a leper.

- Peter Bourne, Carter-Mondale administration top aide on drug abuse resigned after admitting he had made out a prescription for a controlled drug to a fictitious person.

- ° There have been unproven charges brought against the Democratic ticket. Certainly WM understands a need to not make quick judgments on people until the facts are out.

-- WM has forgotten his high toned rhetoric of the past and resorted to probing every weakness and loop-hole in the federal election laws to finance his bid for the presidency. He stretched and twisted the laws so much that his own Democratic rivals charged that he had actually violated federal statutes. The FEC is now looking into these charges.

This is the same WM urged passage of public funding for presidential elections, saying, "The present system gives an irresistible incentive to get around the law and everybody knows it."

Geraldine Ferraro has also been brought into questioning:

-- The House ethics committee voted 12 to 0 to investigate charges that Ms. Ferraro violated the Ethics in Government Act by failing to report fully on her and her husband's business transactions and holdings.

And in some cases the facts are out:

-- In her 1978 congressional primary campaign, the Federal Election Commission ruled loans made to her campaign by her husband were illegal. She was fined \$750 by the FEC.

RB Supplement  
INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Possible Mondale attack line and/or rebuttal:

- ° The Reagan deficits are destroying our position in international commerce.
- ° RR has piled up the worst trade year in American history and is running on a platform that ignores it.

Key points for RR to make:

- ° WM has called for an all out trade war by saying he would "match other countries' export subsidies product-for-product and dollar-for-dollar." This subsidy has been estimated at between \$18 and \$130 million.
- ° The domestic content bill Mondale endorses will endanger our farmers' markets through a surge in trade protectionism.  
-retaliation
- ° Mondale is suggesting because our dollar is strong we buy foriegn goods for too litte and sell our own goods for to much.

R-B '84 Supplement

MONDALE AS TRADITIONAL LIBERAL

Actual Mondale attacks:

- o "The people of this country have to get a President who knows what it's like to be a working person, and is on the side of working men and women."
- o "We have never had a President that has assaulted the interests of working men and women like the Reagan Administration."
- o "Ed Meese is someone who says when a hungry child goes to a soup kitchen, that child is undeserving and a hustler."
- o "Nobody has served the special interests, the wealthy and powerful with more devotion for more years than Mr. Reagan."
- o "The Reagan Administration socked it to workers. They encouraged executives to vote themselves huge bonuses -- while using King Kong tactics to make workers take Hong Kong wages."

Points for RR to make:

- o Mondale tries to pit American against American, group against group. The President does what is right for all Americans.
- o Mondale has traditional liberal guilt:
  - "The sickening truth is that this country is rapidly coming to resemble South Africa."
  - "All must share the guilt for [poverty]."
  - "... we are not as humane or generous as we think we are."
  - "Our priorities are close to being obscene."
- o Mondale wants the government to be more involved in matters that should be handled by the family. Sponsored legislation to create a national day care system. Favors federally-funded clinics providing birth control to children without their parents' knowledge.
- o Whenever there is a problem, he believes the government should intervene, rather than calling upon the genius of the American people. Education is a case in point. The President called upon teachers, parents, students, and educators to recommit themselves to excellence. Mondale supports a number of new programs costing at least \$11 billion.

## RB Supplement

### CRIME

#### Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Sure we all want to reduce crime, but Mr. Reagan's approach is to assault the most basic liberties in the Constitution. I tremble at the thought of what a Reagan-appointed Supreme Court would do to the Bill of Rights.
- o If Mr. Reagan's against crime, why did he cut the budgets for the FBI and Drug Enforcement Administration in 1981?

#### Suggested RR rebuttal points

- o Can't underestimate the importance of judicial appointments. A 1983 study shows that the Carter-Mondale judges were much more lenient than federal judges appointed by Presidents Nixon and Ford. Carter judges favored the criminally-accused 58% of the time, compared to 31% for Ford's and 30% for Nixon's.
- o Mondale's judges might be even more lenient than Carter's. In 1976, Mondale disagreed with Carter when Carter said the Warren Court had gone "too far" in protecting the rights of the accused.
- o Mondale has done nothing to get crime control legislation passed in the House of Representatives. He has intervened on other pending legislation (immigration) apparently he does not believe this is important enough.
- o Mondale is against the death penalty (unlike Geraldine Ferraro, who supports capital punishment.)
- o As a Senator, Mondale voted to reduce the penalty for selling marijuana.

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TUITION TAX CREDITS

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Tuition tax credits undermine the institution of public education. If the government encourages parents to send their children to private schools, they won't care what happens to the public school system and will be less willing to vote the taxes needed to support it.

Possible Reagan attacks on Mondale:

- o Even Geraldine Ferraro supported tuition tax credits until the Mondale campaign silenced her.

RB Supplement

AID TO COLLEGE STUDENTS

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttals

- o An entire generation is being denied the opportunity for higher education.
- o Mr. Reagan talks about the future, but how are we ever going to compete with the Japanese if are best students are unable to afford college?

Possible Reagan attacks on Mondale:

- o The Carter/Mondale administration administered the student loan program so badly that there were bilions of dollars in delinquent student loans when we took over. There were even employees in the Carter Education Department who hadn't repaid their student loans. We cracked down on this.

RB Supplement

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK AND COMPARABLE WORTH

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o "The law now clearly requires the federal government to enforce the concept of equal pay for comparable effort." We were doing that in the Carter administration but Mr. Reagan dumped it. *no*
- o All we want is justice. As usual, Mr. Reagan wants to return to the past. He doesn't understand how society is changing.

Possible Reagan attacks on Mondale:

- o Mondale's plan would cost at least \$3.3 billion and possibly as much as \$10.3 billion.
- o When Mondale was Senator, there was a 30% pay disparity between his male and female staff members. Out of 114 partners at Mondale's law firm, none are women.



R-B '84 Supplement

FAIRNESS -- WOMEN

Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o Unlike Mr. Reagan, I recognized over a decade ago that working women had special child-rearing problems. That is why I sponsored legislation to provide day care for young children. The Republicans showed they were anti-women by opposing this bill, which would be law now except that President Nixon vetoed it.
- o Mr. Reagan's initiatives for women have been shown to be a sham. The woman working on the so-called ERA alternative resigned when she learned that he had no interest in the issue.
- o Mr. Reagan's record of appointments is very poor -- much worse than the Carter Administration.
- o The Reagan Administration has gutted Title IX, which used to guarantee equal educational opportunities for women students.

RR Rebuttal Points

- o RR female appointments excellent. Mondale in no position to complain. Out of 114 partners in his law firm, none are women.
- o Mondale opposed tax indexing and now seeks to repeal it. This is the only protection single mothers have against the ravages of inflation.
- o Inflation took a terrible toll on working women during the Carter-Mondale years. Elderly women living on fixed incomes, mothers trying to get by on government assistance, and middle-income working mothers all found it painful when the cost of necessities skyrocketed.
- o The 1981 tax reform lowered personal income tax rates, helping those women business owners paying personal, rather than corporate, income tax.

## R-B '84 Supplement

### FARMERS AND AGRICULTURE

#### Possible Mondale Attacks on Reagan

- o "The incompetence in the management of the farm program in the last two years has been colossal. This year the program is costing \$31 billion and the farmers are worse off."
- o Farmers are not selling to overseas markets as well as they could because America's over-priced dollar makes everything Americans produce more expensive than it should be.
- o Pick a president who understands the farm program.
- o We need to sell more food and less guns.

#### Possible Reagan Attacks on Mondale:

- o During the Carter-Mondale years, farm production costs and debt rose by more than half and FmHA loan rates went from 5% to 12.5%.
- o In 1979 alone, farm income dropped by more than a third.
- o From 1976 to 1980, the price of land doubled and many farmers who wanted to expand their operations had to go deeply into debt.
- o The 1980 grain embargo prevented American farmers from selling 18 million tons of grain to the Soviets, who turned instead to our competitors.
- o Many of the farmers forced off their land during the past few years were bankrupted by loans taken out during the Carter-Mondale years, when inflation and interest rates were both at record high levels.
- o Farmers would be particularly hard hit by Mondale's protectionist trade policies. He favors domestic content and steel quotas. Both would result in retaliation against U.S. exports, particularly farm products.
- o Even Gary Hart said that Mondale's protectionist policies would hurt the family farm. ("... the first people to suffer will be the farmers of Nebraska and Colorado who will find their international markets cut off...." Washington Post, 5/11/84)
- o At various times, Mondale has advocated cutting \$12 billion, \$10 billion, and \$4 billion from farm programs. This would be a serious cut, since the farm budget for next year is only \$12 billion.

Agriculture -- page 2

- o Our Administration virtually eliminated the inheritance tax for small farmers -- over the opposition of many Democrats. Mondale did not support that bill.

## RB Supplement

### RELIGION IN POLITICS

#### Possible Mondale attack lines and/or rebuttal:

- o I don't want Jerry Falwell or anyone else writing the prayers my kids are forced to say in school.
- o The President is not the defender of the faith; he's the defender of the Constitution, which protects all faiths.
- o Our ancestors came to America to escape religious persecution; all Americans should be free to practice their faiths without the government establishing a religion.
- o Mr. Reagan has questioned my religious faith and even implied that I was intolerant of religion because I disagree with him about school prayer; I am insulted.
- o Once you let politicians interfere with religious faith, you destroy it.
- o Those who seek to inject government and politics into religion lack confidence in the wisdom and the decency and good sense of the American people.

#### Possible Reagan rebuttal points:

- o When any student organization, even a communist group, can hold meetings in a school after class, but a religious group cannot, I call that being intolerant of religion. When private groups are prevented from erecting Nativity scenes out of their own funds on the town common, I think that's being intolerant of religion.
- o Geraldine Ferraro first injected religion into politics this year: "The President walks around calling himself a good Christian. I don't for one minute believe it." (7/15/84)
- o Jesse Jackson kept up the religious theme when he said: "the family of Jesus would not have fared so well under Reagan. ... Under closer examination, he's closer to Herod than he would be to the family of Jesus." (8/25/84)
- o Mario Cuomo was not reluctant to call St. Francis of Assisi, "the world's most sincere Democrat" in his acceptance speech. (7/16/84)
- o Mondale himself has many times referred to himself as "a preacher's kid."

- o Mondale also injected religion into politics when he appealed for Jewish votes by promising to move the American embassy in Israel from the secular capital of Tel Aviv to the holy city of Jerusalem.
- o Religious leaders have often been active in American politics. Mondale did not object when:
  - Martin Luther King, Jr., used the moral authority of his ministry to pursue civil rights for blacks.
  - The Rev. William Sloan Coffin and the Berrigans led protests against the Viet Nam war.
  - The U.S. Catholic bishops published a letter against nuclear arms.
  - The Rev. Jesse Jackson used churches and religious groups as the center piece of his campaign and his voter registration drives.
  - The Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in July 1984, urged church leaders to organize church members to help defeat President Reagan this fall.
  - The nation's largest black church, the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc., became deeply involved in registering voters for the Democratic party.

## RB Supplement

### EDUCATION

#### Possible Mondale attack line and/or rebuttal:

- o Mr. Reagan's report card on education is not good. In fact, he has flunked the course.
- o Reagan has slashed spending on education all across the board.
- o Reagan is anti-teacher, driving away the best teachers.
- o We don't need a teacher in outer space, we need better-paid teachers in the classrooms

#### Key RR points:

- o It was RR who called attention to the near-crisis in American education. The Commission on Excellence on Education identified the serious problems in American education.
- o The problem with American education is not that we're spending too little money but that we're not spending what money we do have well enough. In non-inflated dollars, per-pupil spending on education has doubled during the last 20 years.
- o Now, after the Commission's report, we're seeing a return to basics. Every state has joined in. We're seeing more course requirements, higher graduation standards, more homework, stricter discipline, and an increase in morale.
- o We're also promoting innovative ideas such as merit pay, which would reward outstanding teachers.
- o Education is primarily a state and local responsibility. The federal government does have a part to play -- particularly on behalf of disadvantaged students. We are meeting the needs of these students by retargeting aid to them.
- o This approach has brought important dividends. SAT scores this year rose by the largest amount since a 19-year decline leveled off earlier this decade.
- o Mondale does not recognize the need for reform and reinvigoration in education. His only solution is to spend more money.
- o He has made explicit promises for new spending totalling \$11 billion.
- o He also told the NEA he supports their goal of increasing to one-third the federal share of spending for U.S. education. This could cost U.S. taxpayers another \$35 billion.

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- o Mondale has waffled on the issue of merit pay. He said merit pay has meant "whites are paid more than blacks, men, more than women, 'nice' teachers, more than 'uppity' teachers."
- o Mondale has advocated the politicalization of the teaching profession, on more than one occasion urging teachers to become a more potent political force.

## DEFICITS

### KEY POINTS FOR RR TO MAKE

- o First thing to remember: key economic goal is to maintain non-inflationary economic growth and keep putting people back to work.
  - Mondale tax increase plan would create a new recession and could throw 3 million to 6 million people out of work -- last thing we want.
- o Why do we have a deficit? Two main reasons:
  - Recession from 1980-1982, caused largely by high C-M inflation and high taxes -- caused huge fall-off in revenues.
  - Too much spending. Congress has refused to enact \$300 billion in budget savings. Spending in 1980 (last C-M year) went up whopping 17%.
- o Walter Mondale does not have a deficit reduction plan; he has a tax increase plan, pure and simple.
  - Calls for \$85 billion in new taxes. But when all his promises are added up, bill for average household is \$1,890 per year in new taxes.
  - \$68 billion (40%) of his deficit plan is all smoke: \$51B from low interest payments (yet C-M tripled interest rates) and \$17B from economic growth (yet C-M left a recession -- negative growth).
  - All of spending cuts come from huge slashes in defense preparedness. Mondale actually proposes net increase in domestic spending -- and that doesn't count all of his campaign promises (e.g., in press conference endorsed huge new Superfund bill not included in budget).
  - In fact, if inflation and interest rates are only 4% higher than Mondale projects and economic growth 2% lower (modest assumptions compared to actual C-M performance), Mondale deficits would be over \$400 billion.
    - \* Fritz Hollings in primary predicted Mondale would create \$400 billion deficits; now we see why.
  - Because Mondale plan would mean double-digit inflation, return to 20% interest rates, higher taxes, and more unemployment -- all Americans would be worse off, and deficits would be still higher.
- o Reagan plan for future: maintain strong economic growth and low inflation and keep lid on spending growth (plus BB Amendment and line-item veto).
  - If growth continues at 4% pace, will have \$400 billion in new revenue by 1989 without raising taxes. (2nd quarter 1984 growth: 7.5%)
  - Secret to deficit control is not to spend all of that money. Keeping spending growth rate down to about 5% per year would bring deficits to \$30 billion to \$40 billion range by 1989. (RR already brought spending growth rate down to 6.2% in 1984.)
  - In the process, keep taxes down for working Americans, keep inflation low, keep create new jobs for the unemployed -- all better off.



## DEFICITS

### REBUTTAL POINTS

#### o Mondale record on deficits.

- WM in 1979: "Sometimes we need a deficit in order to stimulate the economy."
- WM in 1975: "...the economy could tolerate a deficit much bigger than Ford's projected \$52 billion for ... 1976..."
- In 1975, WM had chance to vote for \$35 billion deficit. Instead, he supported deficit nearly 2X as large.
- WM consistently opposed Balanced Budget Amendment.

#### o Mondale record on spending control.

- As Senator, Mondale voted on 29 Presidential vetoes of spending bills. Every time, Mondale voted to override the veto -- and thereby spend more money. So Mondale as President could be expected never to veto a spending bill (unless it was for defense).
- WM has made campaign promises that would add from \$69 billion to \$176 billion to budget -- no way to reduce deficit or spending.
- WM has never favored line item veto; in 1971 voted against permanent federal spending ceiling.
- Last year of C-M spending rose 17% and WM fought internally for still higher domestic spending.

#### o Taxes and deficits.

- Taxes more than doubled from 1976 to 1981, yet deficits were nearly \$60 billion and headed upward.
- In 1980, C-M proposed nearly \$100 billion in tax hikes that was supposed to yield budget surplus -- actually left nearly \$60 billion deficit and economy headed into deep recession.
- Congress spends every dime it gets its hand on. In 1982, promised \$3 in spending cuts for every \$1 tax increase -- got the tax increase, never delivered on spending cuts.
- Raising taxes again, same result: recession would reduce revenues, leave higher deficits, while Congress would spend every new tax dollar.

#### o Causes of deficit.

- Taxes as % of GNP: 19.9% in 1970, 19% in 1985 -- American people not paying too little in taxes.
- Defense: declined nearly 7% in real terms from 1960 to 1980.
- Non-defense spending: tripled in real terms from 1960 to 1980.

## TAXES

### KEY POINTS FOR RR TO MAKE

- o Key difference between two candidates: WM believes in sharply higher taxes on working Americans; RR believes in simplifying taxes and bringing rates further down.
  - And rates still need to come down. Median one-earner family paid \$518 in federal taxes in 1955; paid \$7,000 in 1982. Way too much.
- o What WM plan means for average family.
  - Adding up all WM promises means taxes would go up \$1,890 per year for average household -- equivalent of one month's mortgage, car payment, groceries, and electric bill.
  - WM says average family wouldn't be hurt, but he's dead wrong. Everybody earning over \$20,000 today (\$25,000 in 1989) would pay higher taxes -- as well as those hoping someday to earn over \$25,000.
    - \* Example: WM says indexing changes would hurt only the rich. Not so. According to Joint Committee on Taxation, could get WM's projected revenues (\$30+B) only by eliminating indexing for all families earning over \$25,000/year. That alone some \$500 tax hike/year for \$25,000 family.
    - \* Worse, scrapping indexing means every time you get cost-of-living pay raise (needed because of WM's double-digit inflation), get pushed into higher tax brackets and pay higher tax rates. Government profits; workers worse off.
- o What WM plan would do to economy.
  - Huge WM tax hikes would end recovery and bring on a new Mondale recession -- just like huge 1978-81 tax hikes led to serious recession. That could cost 3 million to 6 million workers their jobs. Incidentally, means much bigger budget deficits.
  - RR prime goal: do nothing that would stop recovery and throw people out of work.
- o RR tax record.
  - Typical family of four will have paid total of \$2020 less in income taxes during RR's first four years than otherwise. Without Reagan tax plan, this family would pay double the taxes in 1989 they otherwise would.
  - Indexing will keep inflation from raising tax rates.
  - Tax cuts have produced strongest recovery in decades, 6 million jobs.
- o Future plans.
  - Simplify taxes, eliminate loopholes that allow people to escape fair share of taxes, continue cutting back tax shelters.
  - Keep rates coming down for working Americans and families.

## TAXES

### REBUTTAL POINTS

- o "RR increased taxes on working Americans..."
  - Tired of hearing WM try to duck responsibility for his own tax policies.
  - Taxes did go up in 1981-83 for many low- and middle-income workers, for two reasons:
    - \* Huge payroll tax increases (biggest tax increase in history) pushed by C-M in 1977; WM provided tie-breaking vote in Senate.
    - \* C-M double-digit inflation forced workers into higher tax brackets -- automatic tax hikes. WM would bring them back.
  - Same people would pay WM tax bill in future: \$1,890/year, avg. household.
- o "...and gave rich big tax breaks."
  - Biggest tax break, lowering top rate from 70% to 50%, put in by Democrats. Was good and helpful idea, but they originated.
  - Under RR tax reforms, from 1981 to 1982, share of federal personal income taxes paid by:
    - \* Millionaires, up 43%.
    - \* People over \$50,000, up 7.5%
    - \* People under \$20,000, down 10.5%
  - Tax indexing benefits: 78% to \$50,000 or less; 6% to \$100,000+
  - Investment incentives have led to strongest recovery in decades, 6 million new jobs -- good for all people, especially poor.
- o WM record on taxes.
  - One area where WM is consistent. WM in 1976: "I have consistently supported legislation, time after time, which increases taxes on my constituents."
  - While in Senate: supported 10% surcharge, increased consumer taxes, 40% increase in top income tax rate.
  - Under C-M, average family of four saw tax burden rise 56%.
  - New WM plans would bring taxes to highest peacetime level in history.
- o "Secret plan".
  - Direction no secret: bring rates down, close loopholes, simplify.
  - Promise: no overall tax increase, no increase in income tax.
  - National sales tax: no plans whatsoever; would hurt consumers.
  - WM plan no secret, either -- \$1,890 tax increase per year.

## FAIRNESS

### KEY POINTS FOR RR TO MAKE

- o Two criteria for helping poor: (1) Do you meet basic needs of poorest in the present?; (2) Do you create conditions whereby poor can become financially independent? One more criterion: Do you help the poor without imposing undue burden on working Americans?
- o WM policies fail on all three counts.
  - C-M double digit inflation increased prices of necessities for poor families -- prices for food, energy, medical care, housing up 17% in 1979 alone.
    - \* As result, real value of AFDC benefits down 18%; real value of food stamps down 13%.
    - \* Family, fixed income of \$7,000, was \$500 above poverty line in 1979; by 1980 was \$500 below poverty line -- due to C-M inflation.
    - \* WM would bring back double-digit inflation, make poor worse off.
  - Opportunity for poor dismal under WM. Federal aid only part of solution. Must create opportunities for poor to become financially independent. WM policies would not do this.
    - \* C-M high taxes and inflation led to serious recession, and from 1979 to end, nearly 5 million, many poor, lost their jobs.
    - \* WM proposed taxes of \$85B/year or more would end recovery, create new Mondale recession, throw millions out of work.
    - \* WM opposed enterprise zones -- new jobs in inner cities.
  - Burden on working Americans: 56% tax burden climb for average family under C-M, \$1,890/year increase under WM plan speak for self.
- o RR policies create new opportunity society for poor.
  - First step: Protect benefits for poorest. Spending for AFDC, food stamps, SSI, housing, medicaid, etc., up one-third since 1980. Plan to spend \$2.7 trillion on human services in next five years. Not ashamed of that record at all.
    - \* This aid worth more because of 3-4% inflation. Family totally dependent on AFDC, food stamps, Medicaid -- benefits worth \$400 more than if at C-M inflation rate.
  - Next step (WM ignores): Growing economy. Because of RR tax cuts, growth strongest in decades, create more than 6 million new jobs. (Research Triangle Institute study: twice as many welfare families with earnings were able to leave welfare rolls in 1981 as in 1980.)
  - All this happening while cutting tax burden on working Americans 25%.
- o Crucial difference: All WM can offer is more dependence on government aid, whose value destroyed by inflation. RR policies offer hope of financial independence for all Americans.

## FAIRNESS

### REBUTTAL POINTS

- o RR slashed benefits for poor.
  - If one-third increase from 1980 to present is "slashing benefits," WM must be using some of that "new math." I say one-third increase good, especially with lower inflation -- not ashamed of at all.
  - But was room for retargeting: almost half (42%) of means-tested benefits went to families over 150% of poverty line. Before RR reforms, families on welfare could often get more than by working, and families earning \$100,000/year were eligible for student loans. Examples: only 45% of school lunches, 52% of subsidized housing went to poor.
  - We've changed that. Not fair for worker earning \$10,000 to pay taxes to provide aid to those better off than him or her.
  - Still, those below 130% poverty still eligible for completely free school lunches, food stamps, maximum SSI and Medicaid benefits. And families with little or no outside income eligible for essentially same AFDC benefit. In fact, 35 states have raised AFDC benefit under RR.
- o Poverty rose under RR policies.
  - WM has no place to talk about poverty. By 1980, poverty level of 13.0% was higher than 1968 level. In fact, in whole post-war period, poverty rose fastest under C-M -- from 11.4% in 1978 to 14% in 1981, an increase of 23%.
  - Under RR, poverty increase slowed substantially, going up only 7% in 1982 and levelling off in 1983. Because of 6 million new jobs in last 20 months, poverty rate will be down substantially in 1984.
  - Massive WM tax hikes will end recovery, create new recession, throw millions out of work. That, plus double-digit inflation, will push millions more into poverty, just as under C-M. Continued strong growth, low inflation under RR will bring poverty rate down.
- o Feminization of poverty.
  - Number of female-headed households in poverty doubled from 1965 to 1981 -- RR wasn't President then. During period, illegitimacy, divorce, crime, children without fathers all went up dramatically.
  - Under RR, in 1983, rate went down -- not enough, but a start.
  - In last 20 months, 3 million women found jobs. Under WM, they would lose jobs -- would worsen feminization of poverty problem.
- o Jobs for poor.
  - Under CETA under C-M, 15% of enrollees found permanent, private sector jobs. Under RR program, JTPA, figure is 70% (115,000).
  - RR economic recovery creates almost as many jobs per month as Democrats' multi-billion "jobs" bill would have created in a year.