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Memorandum: New Jersey Political Briefing

Geraldine Ferraro

Tom Silver

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Geraldine Ferraro
FROM: Tom Silver
RE: NEW JERSEY Political Briefing

October 6, 1984

CAMPAIGN UPDATE

A statewide poll conducted for ABC News Sept. 12-17, shows the GOP ticket up by 32 points (61%-29%). The last published poll was one conducted July 30-Aug. 6 for the Newark Star Ledger, which showed a 23 point deficit.

Mr. Mondale campaigned in New Brunswick last Monday. See the attached article.

This is a targetted state for the Republicans. The New Jersey Reagan/Bush campaign, which is chaired by Cong. Jim Courter, has announced that it intends to spend \$1 million here.

A New Jersey Democrats-for-Reagan committee was recently announced. It is headed by former Assembly Speaker and one-term Cong. Joseph LeFante, who is from Hudson County (where Carter topped Reagan by just two percentage points). It is anticipated that Jersey City Mayor Gerald McCann, the Hudson County Democratic chair, will endorse Reagan. Jersey City received a \$40 million UDAG grant for waterfront renovation earlier this year, and the President may attend a dedication ceremony in October.

Our state chair is Cong. Frank Guarini. Senators Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg are honorary co-chairs. State coordinator Rosa DeLauro, who arrived in the state in mid-August, is Sen. Chris Dodd's AA. She and her staff of about eight work out of a Woodbridge headquarters.

The state party has an additional 16 field organizers. We are working very closely with the Bradley campaign, which is setting up an extremely thorough GOTV program. DeLauro and her staff worked out of the Bradley campaign headquarters before our own office was opened.

In addition to Guarini, Bradley and Lautenberg, Assembly Speaker Alan Karcher has been very active -- serving as a surrogate, for example.

continued...

The Democrat's voter registration drive has a goal of 100,000 new voters. The GOP is also engaged in a well-funded and highly successful registration program. The registration deadline is Monday.

President Reagan visited a high school in Bergen County in early July, and campaigned in Elizabeth and Hoboken on July 26. He was back on Sept. 19, for a rally in the small town of Hammon-
ton, in Atlantic County.

NEWARK

Kenneth Gibson was first elected mayor of Newark in 1970. His current term expires in 1986. He is a past president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. In 1981, he came in third in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. He is contemplating another gubernatorial bid next year.

Gibson chaired Rev. Jackson's New Jersey campaign. He is now being very supportive, according to our New Jersey staff.

Peter Rodino has represented Newark since 1949. He is safe. His district, the 10th, is now majority black. Most of the balance of surrounding Essex County is in Joe Minish's 11th CD. Minish's closely contested race is discussed in the state politics section below and in an attached article.

Essex County Executive Peter Shapiro was elected in 1978 at the age of 26. He directed the Kennedy effort in New Jersey in 1980 and was a key Mondale supporter last spring. He is a likely gubernatorial candidate next year.

The heavily Italian and relatively prosperous North Ward of Newark is the bailiwick of the Adubato family. Freshman Assemblyman Steve Adubato Jr. is considered something of a rising star in state politics. Mondale campaigned for him last October. His father runs the North Ward Cultural Center and is close to Cong. Rodino. His mother, Fran, is the ward chair. His uncle Michael is also an assemblyman from Newark.

New Jersey's largest city and its business and financial center, Newark has 329,000 residents, 58% of whom are black. The Central and South wards are heavily black, the West Ward black and Irish, the industrial East Ward Hispanic; the Ironbound neighborhood is Portuguese.

Essex County as a whole has 850,000 people and cast 10% of the state vote in 1980. It was one of just three counties carried by Carter that year. His plurality was 28,000 votes out of 287,000 cast.

STATE POLITICS

The major election in the state this year is Sen. Bradley's reelection contest -- which is no contest. His opponent, Montclair Mayor Mary Mochary, drew just 11% in the last published statewide poll. Bradley has amassed a huge war chest and is campaigning as if he had a real race in order to roll up as impressive a margin as possible to enhance his national standing.

Joe Minish, a 22-year veteran of the U.S. House who represents suburban Newark, is probably the most vulnerable Democratic incumbent in the country this year because his district was changed radically in New Jersey's post-1982 reapportionment. Over 60% of the district is new to Minish and the added territory is heavily GOP. His opponent, Assembly Minority Leader Dean Gallo represents about 25% of the new district in the Assembly and previously represented nearly 60% when he served on the Morris County Board of Freeholders. Minish has a large war chest but the RNC and allied groups have made this race one of their top targets in the country and there is little danger of Minish outspending his challenger.

In other House contests: AFSCME state political director James Hedden is thought to have a shot at unseating GOP Cong. Chris Smith, whose district includes Trenton. Farther south, Democratic Mayor Jim Smith of Mount Holly, who was an official in the Byrne administration, may have a chance to pick up the seat of the late GOP Cong. Edwin Forsythe. Because their districts are so marginal, neither Bob Toricelli nor Jim Howard (who represents the central coast) can be considered safe.

There are no legislative elections this year and no major mayoral contests.

STATE OVERVIEW

The Voters. There are 5.7 million people of voting age in New Jersey, 11% of whom are black, 6% Hispanic, 17% 65 and older, and 10% unionized.

According to NBC exit poll data from 1980, a very high 51% of voters identified themselves as Catholic (vs 28% in the NBC national survey), 32% as Protestant (vs 55% nationally) and 11% Jewish (vs. 5% -- the state's Jewish population is smaller only than New York's). As many as one-third of the state's residents are of Italian ancestry, by some estimates. Other major ethnic groups are Irish, German, and Polish.

New Jersey is one of the most heavily white-collar states (59% of the workforce, the same as New York) and is the second most urbanized, after California.

There are approximately 3.7 million registered voters here. About a third are Democrats, a fifth Republicans and the balance unaffiliated.

Presidential Primary. The turnout in the New Jersey primary was 679,000, up more than 100,000 from 1980. You won the popular vote decisively, with 45% to Hart's 30%, and Jackson's 24%, and cleaned up in the delegate balloting, winning 99 of the 107 at stake (Jackson won other eight).

New Jersey put you over the top at the convention, as you will recall. They cast 115 votes for you and seven for Jackson.

Carter vs Reagan. The ninth largest state, New Jersey has 16 electoral votes. Since 1960, the Democrats have carried the state just twice--in 1960 and 1964--but on two other occasions they came very close. Humphrey lost here by just 24,000 votes (2.1% of the total vote) and Ford topped Carter by 65,000 (2.2%).

In 1980, Reagan won in New Jersey with a very comfortable plurality of 399,000 votes out of 2,976,000 cast. It should be kept in mind, though, that his vote share of 52% was less than two percentage points higher than Ford's. (And nearly 800,000 registered voters did not bother to go to the polls.)

Carter carried the state's urban centers but lost the suburbs--which cast better than three-fourths of the vote--by 20 percentage points. Carter carried just three of the 21 counties: Hudson (Jersey City), Essex (Newark), and Mercer (Trenton). He came very close in Camden, losing that traditionally Democratic county by just 7,000 votes, which was half the number of votes that Anderson siphoned off there.

NEW JERSEY - BASIC POLITICAL DATA

16 ELECTORAL VOTES

POLITICAL LINEUP

Governor	Thomas Kean (R)
Senators	Bill Bradley (D), Frank Lautenberg (D)
U.S. House	9D 4R 1 Open
State Senate	23D 17R
State Assembly	44D 36R

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE

1984 Primary	678,893: 45% Mondale, 30% Hart, 24% Jackson
1980 General	2,928,553: 52% Reagan, 39% Carter, 8% Anderson
1976 General	2,954,341: 50% Ford, 48% Carter

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Population (1982)	7,438,000 (9th)
Single Ancestry	11% Italian, 6% Irish, 6% German, 4% Polish
Voting Age Pop. (1984)	5,659,000
65 and Older	16.8%
Union Members	10.1%
Black	11.0%
Hispanic	5.7%
Med. Fam. Inc. (1980)	\$22,906 (4th)
Registration (1984)	3,704,000

KEY DEMOCRATS

Democratic Party:	
James Maloney	Chair
Virginia Feggins	Vice Chair
Ann Campbell	DNC (At-Large)
Vincent Rigolosi	DNC
Jacqueline Klein	DNC
June Fischer	DNC
Paul Bontempo	DNC
Raymond Durkin	DNC
Sarah Dowling	DNC

Legislative Leadership:

Carmen Orechio	Senate President
Joseph Hirkala	Senate President Pro Tem
John Russo	Senate Majority Leader
Alan Karcher	Assembly Speaker
Thomas Deverin	Assembly Speaker Pro Tem
John Paul Doyle	Assembly Majority Leader

U.S. House Delegation:

James Florio	1st: Southwest - Camden
William Hughes	2nd: South - Atlantic City; Vineland
James Howard	3rd: Central Coast - Asbury Park
Bernard Dwyer	6th: Central - New Brunswick
Robert Roe	8th: North - Paterson
Robert Torricelli	9th: North - Fort Lee; Hackensack
Peter Rodino, Jr.	10th: Newark
Joseph Minish	11th: North - Newark Suburbs
Frank Guarini	14th: North - Jersey City

CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION (Ds)

Sen. Bill Bradley

- Seat up this year -- completely safe.
- Elected 1978 with 56%.
- Committees: Energy and Natural Resources
Finance
Special Aging
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 85%
1982 - 100%
- From Denville (northern New Jersey).

Sen. Frank Lautenberg

- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1982, defeating Millicent Fenwick 51%-48%.
- Computer firm executive.
- Committees: Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Commerce, Science and Transportation
- ADA Rating: 1983 - 85%
- From Montclair (Northern New Jersey).

Cong. James Florio [1st CD: Southwest - Camden]

- Safe seat.
- Elected 1974.
Reelected 1982 with 73%.
- New Jersey General Assembly, 1969-75.
Lost to Thomas Kean by 1,800 votes in 1981 gubernatorial race.
- Committees: Energy and Commerce
Interior and Insular Affairs
Select Aging
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 85%
1982 - 85%

Cong. William Hughes [2nd CD: South - Atlantic City]

- Safe seat.
- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1974.
Reelected 1982 with 68%.
- Committees: Judiciary (Chair, Crime Subcommittee)
Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Select Aging
Select Narcotics and Drug Abuse
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 70%
1982 - 80%

Cong. James Howard [3rd CD: Central Coast - Asbury Park]

- Favored, but could be close.
- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1964.
Reelected 1982 with 62%.
- Committee: Public Works and Transportation (Chair)
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 90%
1982 - 90%

Cong. Bernard Dwyer [6th CD: Central - New Brunswick]

- Safe seat.
- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1980.
Reelected 1982 with 68%.
- Edison mayor, 1969-73.
New Jersey Senate, 1974-80.
Maj. Leader, 1980.
- Committee: Appropriations
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 85%
1982 - 90%

Cong. Robert Roe [8th CD: North - Paterson]

- Safe seat.
- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1969.
Reelected 1982 with 71%.
- Mayor of Wayne Township, 1956-61.
- Committees: Public Works and Transportation
(Chair, Water Resources Subcomm.)
Science and Technology
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 80%
1982 - 75%

Cong. Robert Torricelli [9th CD: North - Fort Lee]

- Favored, but could be close.
- Elected 1982 with 53%.
- Assistant to Gov. Brendan Byrne, 1975-78.
Counsel to Vice President Mondale, 1978-79.
- Committees: Foreign Affairs
Science and Technology
- ADA Rating: 1983 - 85%

Cong. Peter Rodino, Jr. [10th CD: Newark]

- Elected 1948.
Reelected 1982 with 83%.
- Committees: Judiciary (Chairman)
Select Narcotics Abuse and Control
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 85%
1982 - 100%

Cong. Joseph Minish [11th CD: North - Newark Suburbs]

- Very vulnerable.
- Elected 1962.
Reelected 1982 with 64%.
- Exec. Sec., Essex W. Hudson Labor Council, 1954-61.
Treasurer, 1961-62.
- Committees: Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs
(Chair, General Oversight Subcomm.)
House Administration
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 85%
1982 - 80%

Cong. Frank Guarini [14th CD: North - Jersey City]

- Safe seat.
- National convention delegate (WFM).
- Elected 1978.
Reelected 1982 with 77%.
- Committees: Select Narcotics Abuse and Control
Ways and Means
- ADA Ratings: 1983 - 90%
1982 - 90%

Redistricting Affects Key Jersey Race

By JOSEPH F. SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, Oct. 5 — After 22 years representing a Congressional District whose Democratic voting strength made his re-election routine, Representative Joseph G. Minish this year finds that redistricting has forced him into a tight race.

When New Jersey lost 1 of its 15 Congressional seats after the 1990 census, a Federal court approved a Republican redistricting plan that dramatically changed the 11th District. Upper-middle-class suburban towns in Warren, Sussex and Morris Counties were added to the district, replacing many of the blue-collar communities in Hudson, Passaic and Bergen Counties that had bolstered Mr. Minish's Essex County base in the old district.

For about half the voters in the new district, Mr. Minish is a new candidate. But he rankles at the suggestion he

may be the underdog to his challenger, the Assembly minority leader, Dean A. Gallo. Mr. Gallo, an ally of Governor Kean, is waging a well-financed campaign.

"I'm still the Congressman, and he's the challenger," Mr. Minish said.

Officials of the national Republican Party have targeted the district as one they think they can win because of its new makeup.

Mr. Gallo, who said when he announced his candidacy last April that he would not have run in the old 11th District, has raised more than \$400,000 toward a goal of \$550,000. Much of the money is from business political-action committees. He is a former Councilman in Parsippany-Troy Hills, the largest community in the district, and he was a Morris County Freeholder.

Voter registration favors the Republicans, 31 percent to 28. About 41 percent of the voters are not registered in

either party. This group has tended to support Republicans in statewide races.

Mr. Minish, who had more than \$200,000 in funds from past campaigns, expects to spend \$400,000, mostly from fund-raising events, small-business men, bankers, insurance executives and labor committees, according to the campaign.

The 68-year-old lawmaker said he believed his sponsoring a bill to create a board to force defense contractors to return excess profits to the Treasury has made him a target of the defense industry.

Mr. Gallo said that Mr. Minish had an "antibusiness record" and that was why many business groups were supporting the challenger.

At a fund-raising luncheon in West Orange at which Transportation Secretary Elizabeth H. Dole endorsed him, Mr. Gallo allied himself with President Reagan's economic policies, the call for a balanced-budget amendment to Constitution and the move to give the President to veto specific items of bills.

"People forget that we had double-digit inflation, an ailing auto industry and unemployment on the rise, and many were calling the country a basket case," he said. "Jimmy Carter went on television and told people to lower their expectations, and I couldn't believe it. Ronald Reagan said that's not the case and that the ladder of opportunity is still there."

Power of Congress

Mr. Gallo, 48, said Mr. Minish has voted against Mr. Reagan's policies, including his tax-cut legislation and budget proposals, 70 percent of the time, "and I don't believe Ronald Reagan has been wrong 70 percent of the time."

In an interview in his campaign office in West Orange, Mr. Minish said the balanced-budget amendment was a false issue. He said he opposed a line-item veto, "because I don't want to leave it up to David Stockman to decide whether money Congress votes for education and health programs remains in the budget."

Mr. Minish said that he disagreed with the call by Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic Presidential candidate, for a tax increase next year to reduce the Federal deficit. "That's Mondale's problem, not mine," he said. "I'm not for increasing taxes."

At a fund-raising event Thursday, Mr. Minish raised more than \$100,000. Lee A. Iacocca, chairman of the Chrysler Corporation, who credited Mr. Minish with much of the success of the loan-guarantee legislation that helped the auto maker, was the main speaker.

Mr. Iacocca, a registered Republican, said, "If the voters turn out Joe Minish, it would be a sad day, not just for the people of the district, but for the country."

With 10 toxic-waste sites on the Federal Superfund list for cleanup in the district, the Minish campaign said the environment was the key issue in the race. Mr. Minish has supported legislation to protect the Pinelands and clean up toxic wastes.

He has criticized Mr. Gallo's votes in the state Legislature against creating an oil-spill compensation fund that became the model for the Superfund and

a "right to know" measure intended to inform workers about dangers from industrial chemicals.

In an interview in his legislative office in Parsippany, Mr. Gallo said the comparisons of his votes in the Legislature with his positions in the Congressional race were like "comparing apples and oranges." He said he supported subsequent bills that expanded the oil-spill fund and favored reauthorization of the Superfund and increasing its \$1.6 billion budget to more than \$10 billion.

"I also intend to ask Governor Kean to set aside \$100 million from the state budget surplus to be used to start cleaning up dangerous state toxic-waste problems in anticipation of obtaining reimbursement from the Superfund later on," he said.

Both campaigns said they planned to begin radio advertisements in a few days.

REAGAN ON ARMS

Calls President Well-Meaning But Uninformed on Issue

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., Oct. 1 — Walter F. Mondale today accused President Reagan of having the capacity only to "dream" of arms control initiatives that are "doomed" because of his ignorance of the issue and his failure to master Presidential leadership.

"When the fate of the earth is at stake, good intentions aren't enough, and good intentions are all that we have today," Mr. Mondale told a noisy, partisan crowd here at the State Theater in depicting the President as grossly uninformed about nuclear weapons.

In some of the Democratic Presidential candidate's strongest criticism to date, Mr. Reagan was castigated as a President who "didn't bother to learn" such crucial points as the fact that nuclear missiles cannot be recalled once they are launched, and that most Soviet missiles are land-based.

Mr. Mondale was referring to points previously cited in news articles in which the President talked of "recalling" missiles and also said that he had not been initially aware of the Soviet emphasis on land-based missiles.

Focus on Peace Issue

"I don't doubt the President is for peace," Mr. Mondale said. "But he has not mastered what he must know to command his own Government and to lead." Mr. Mondale, seeking to exploit the President's relatively weak standing on the peace issue in public opinion polls, attacked Mr. Reagan in careful terms that granted his sincerity but denigrated his performance.

"If a President doesn't know, if he doesn't decide, a President can't lead," he told the crowd, which spilled outside the theater onto the rain-slicked streets near Monument Square.

Speaking in his slow, muted cadence, Mr. Mondale sought to use the issue of arms control to portray a President handicapped by shallow involvement and limited curiosity in a vital responsibility of government.

"When a President is not vigorously involved, things just don't happen, and they're not," said Mr. Mondale, looking out at an audience packed to the balcony with supporters, including a number of students. Rutgers University is in New Brunswick.

"In Central America, there are no talks; in the Middle East there is no policy; in Lebanon there was no protection, and on earth there is no arms control," he continued.

Turnaround Is Charged

The Democrat accused the President of interrupting a four-year military buildup in order to focus on arms control in time for the election campaign.

"The Presidential sea-change raises a crucial question," Mr. Mondale said. "Which Reagan would be President if he's re-elected? Which are we to believe?"

In carefully avoiding a frontal as-

sault on the President's sincerity, Mr. Mondale tried to draw a distinction between Mr. Reagan's popularity, which is strong in the polls, and his handling of the arms issue.

"There is no reason to doubt Mr. Reagan's desire for peace," he said. "He dreams the same dreams that we do. But a President also must master, command, learn and lead."

He continued, "You can dream of the lion lying down with the lamb, but if you don't learn that most Soviet missiles are land-based, as Mr. Reagan didn't bother to learn, then your efforts

at arms control are doomed."

Mr. Mondale again cited the bombing of the United States Embassy in East Beirut in charging that the President was too uninvolved to accept responsibility. "What we have today is a President who gives us alibis," he said.

Mr. Mondale spoke here six days before the first of two televised debates he is to have with Mr. Reagan. His need for a come-from-behind victory was symbolized by a banner that offered a variation on Harry S. Truman's underdog slogan of 1948: "Give 'em Hell, Fritz!"

"We're gonna win because we're mad," Mr. Mondale said, trying to capture some of this same spirit. "We've had enough of this."

The former Vice President seemed cheerful in confronting the loud, happy crowd. "What'd you feed 'em here today?" he asked the master of ceremonies. At the close of his address, he playfully grabbed a news reporter's microphone and announced, "This is Fritz Mondale signing off."

Mr. Mondale denounced Mr. Reagan's standard campaign tactic of praising some past Democratic Presidents in an effort to attract Democratic voters.

"You leave our heroes alone," he advised Mr. Reagan. "You quote your own — Coolidge, Hoover and Nixon."

Mr. Mondale also objected to Mr. Reagan's recent mention of the name of Bruce Springsteen, the rock singer and New Jersey native, in a Presidential campaign stop in southern New Jersey. The Democrat claimed to have the Springsteen endorsement. "Bruce may have been born to run, but he wasn't born yesterday," he said, alluding to a hit record by Mr. Springsteen.

1 9/23/84
Ferraro
charges NJ-Pro
harassment
The Record

By Janmy Scott
Staff Writer

NORTH BERGEN — Democratic vice-presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro brought her campaign to Hudson County yesterday, invoking a few of the classic concerns of her working-class audiences and alleging that there is an organized smear campaign dogging her as she tours the country.

At a senior citizens housing complex, she said she would back controls on medical fees and support tax incentives to encourage families to keep aging parents out of nursing homes.

Later, she repeatedly attacked President Reagan at a Democratic Party picnic in Bayonne, accusing him of neglecting education and the environment while pretending to give his support.

But Ferraro stayed away from subjects like the economy and abortion, even when small knots of people from antiabortion groups jeered her at each stop, waving posters and color pictures of fetuses.

Earlier, outside her home in Queens, Ferraro said there is clear evidence of an organized effort to attack her. If the Reagan-Bush

campaign is behind it, she said, "Why don't they come out and fight like men?"

Arriving in North Bergen shortly after 1 p.m., Ferraro held what was billed as a "round table" for several hundred senior citizens in the community room of Edward A. Lawler Towers, a federally funded, high-rise apartment house.

Asked whether senior citizens' contributions to Medicare would have to rise, she suggested she would keep the health-care program sound by imposing government controls on hospital and doctor's bills.

The government might also emphasize hospice care, rather than hospitalization, for people with some long-term illnesses, and home care instead of nursing-home care for the elderly.

When one woman suggested the country should have socialized medicine, Ferraro replied, "I can say we should. Can I say we could promise it now? No. It would be less than honest."

But she urged members of the audience never to be embarrassed to avail themselves of services like the federal Food Stamp program, even though she said the Reagan administration seems to disparage those programs.

"It's not a sign of weakness to be compassionate, to care about the poor and disabled," said Ferraro, whose running mate, Walter Mondale, has been accused by Republicans of "weakness" and poor presidential potential.

"To me, that's a sign of leadership," she said, speaking of compassion.

Outside, a Catholic nun who identified herself as Sister Theresa from St. John's parish in Guttenberg stood with a small group under a large banner that read, "Pro-life is Pro-Reagan."

"Ferraro is pro-choice, which we equate with pro-choice to kill," she explained. She said she belonged to a group called Hudson County Right to Life and that a member standing nearby "has been everywhere Geraldine Ferraro goes."

Asked if she supported Reagan, Sister Theresa said, "Definitely. He's kept all his commitments to pro-lifers."

But by the time Ferraro's motorcade reached the Bayonne Democratic City Committee's picnic in Hudson County Park, there was a nun up on the speaker's platform, gazing out over the crowd through sunglasses.

She was introduced as Sister Imelda Marie, Ferraro's kindergarten teacher. She said that she had taught Mrs. Ferraro at the Mount St. Mary School in Newburgh, N.Y., and now teaches at St. Paul's in Jersey City. She made no comment on the abortion controversy.

Also in attendance were U.S. Senators Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg, New Jersey Assembly Speaker Alan Karcher, and numerous Hudson County mayors.

While elderly women wearing sunhats fashioned from campaign posters picknicked out of earshot, and small boys played soccer in a field behind the podium, Ferraro spoke of fairness and leadership to the more than 1,000 people milling about the sunny park.

"Real leaders don't ask us if we're better off than we were four years ago — that's just part of the question," she said. "They ask us if our

country is better off — and that includes not only ourselves but our neighbors, our parents, our children, and our whole community.”

Ferraro accused Reagan of appealing to people's "self-interest" instead of "better instincts," of favoring the rich over the middle and lower classes, and hurting those least able to help themselves.

“Real leaders don't ask us if we're better off than we were four years ago . . . They ask us if our country is better off, and that includes not only ourselves but our neighbors, our parents, our children, and our whole community.”

She specifically cited the case of Bruce Merli, a Vietnam veteran from New Jersey who she said had received full disability benefits but was cut from the program by the Reagan administration.

Ferraro said Merli's benefits have now been restored, after months of appeals. But he has a judge to thank, not the administration, she said.

“We will redirect the moral compass of our country,” Ferraro promised. “. . . Let me say to this president: Don't tell me your policies are fair. Don't pretend to support the very things your policies undermine.”

Cheering and clapping occasionally interrupted the 30-minute speech. Later, a group of cheerleaders from Marist High School in Bayonne bub-

bled up and down chanting “Jersey for Gerry” as she disappeared into a limousine.

Ferraro had the campaign trail to herself yesterday, with Reagan and Mondale both in Washington, D.C., and Vice-President George Bush at his private home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

After leaving Bayonne, Ferraro met briefly with black leaders in Newark in a private meeting closed to the media. From there, she flew to Washington, D.C.

Earlier, in a press conference outside her home, Ferraro ran down a list of what she called evidence of organized attacks on her, including a telephone number in Massachusetts where information on her activities is available.

“You see the same signs appearing at the rallies,” she said. “We also have evidence of a phone system being in place in the State of Massachusetts, where people are advised of my presence, all of my activities. That seems organized to me.”

A call to that number was answered with a tape recording giving a list of winners in a “club drawing,” followed by this note: “A rumor has it that Gerry Ferraro will be in Boston on Wednesday of next week; the Globe printed that information on Friday.”

Ferraro's campaign is tentatively scheduled to visit Boston Wednesday.

“I think some of the stuff goes a little bit further than hardball politics,” Ferraro said. “Some of the signs are slurs.”

She specifically mentioned signs at a rally Thursday at the University of Texas at Arlington, where she faced the most intense heckling of her campaign.