

The original documents are located in Box 36, folder “Mondale, Walter F. - General” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Scheduled for ABC 11 a. m. news (2:00 p. m. our time)

As Democratic Vice Presidential hopeful Walter Mondale spoke to California labor leaders, reports circulated today that President Ford called Ronald Reagan on Labor Day to discuss Reagan's replacing Dole as Vice Presidential candidate because of Dole's name being linked with an investigation into illegal campaign contributions. It has now been learned that the so-called Reagan conversation was a story planted by a publicist working on the Mondale-Carter campaign. We asked Presidential Press Secretary Ron Nessen, "Is there any truth to the story?" Nessen said, "Absolutely not. The President to my knowledge has not talked to Governor Reagan since the much-publicized conversation of several days ago."

The question persists whether this was an eager publicist or the start of dirty tricks in campaign 1976.

(They have no comment as yet from Democratic headquarters. They have spoken to Governor Reagan and he has reinforced Nessen's denial. This report will be updated hourly throughout the day, as new information becomes available.)

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PM-POLITICS-JOAN 9-10

SEATTLE (UPI) -- "THE TWO SCANDALS IN WASHINGTON ARE WATERGATE AND WATERGATE," SAYS JOAN MONDALE, WIFE OF DEMOCRATIC VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE WALTER MONDALE.

"THE DEMOCRATS ARE DOING IT TO THEIR SECRETARIES, AND THE REPUBLICANS ARE DOING IT TO THE COUNTRY," SHE TOLD A LOCAL TV TALK SHOW AUDIENCE THURSDAY ON HER CARTER-MONDALE CAMPAIGN KICKOFF TOUR IN WESTERN WASHINGTON.

LATER, SHE BLAMED THE REPUBLICANS FOR ERODING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNTRY'S ELECTED OFFICIALS.

"THE PEOPLE ARE NOT ANTI-WASHINGTON, THEY ARE ANTI-INCOMPETENCE. WE NEED CANDID, COMPASSIONATE, WELL-MANAGED GOVERNMENT THAT IS CONCERNED WITH PEOPLE'S NEEDS AND WILLING TO REACH OUT TO HELP," SHE SAID.

MRS. MONDALE DIFFERS WITH JIMMY CARTER ON ABORTION.

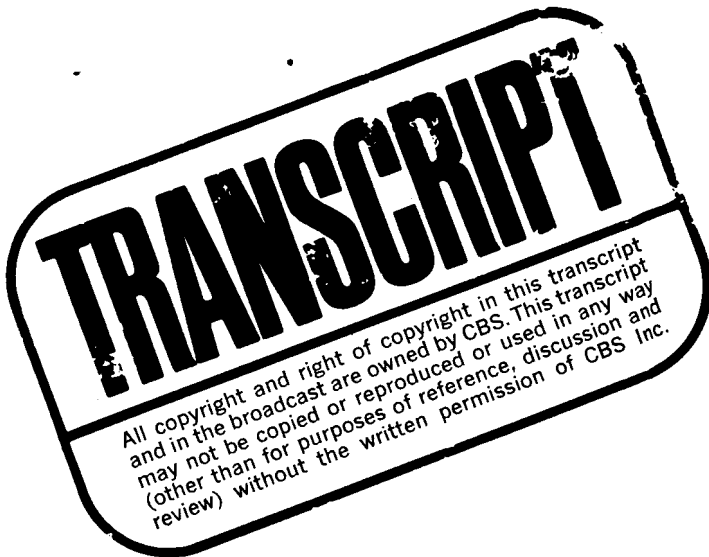
CARTER IS OPPOSED TO ABORTION AND GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE IT, BUT MRS. MONDALE THINKS THAT "EACH WOMAN SHOULD HAVE THE CHOICE ACCORDING TO HER OWN CONSCIENCE.

"NO WOMAN WANTS AN ABORTION," SHE SAID. "IT REPRESENTS FAILURE AND IS A DREADFUL DECISION TO MAKE.

"BUT THERE OUGHT TO BE A CHOICE AND IT SHOULDN'T BE DICTATED BY ANYONE ELSE."

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CBS NEWS
2020 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

FACE THE NATION
as broadcast over the
CBS Television Network
and the
CBS Radio Network

Sunday, October 17, 1976 -- 11:30 AM - 12:00 Noon, EDT

Origination: Chicago, Illinois

GUEST: SEN. WALTER F. MONDALE (D.-Minn.)
Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate

REPORTERS:

George Herman, CBS News

Lou Cannon, The Washington Post

Jed Duvall, CBS News

Producer: Mary O. Yates

Associate Producer: Joan Barone

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HERMAN: Senator Mondale, there's been a lot of talk about candidates for public office accepting plane trips and train trips and golf club visits and other kinds of amenities of that kind. Have you ever accepted any of that kind of amenity from anybody, and is it a good or a bad idea?

SEN. MONDALE: It's a bad idea, and I have not. It seems to me that in public life, it is terribly important that we establish standards that provide an example for the American people of how all of us should behave. In government you have a great deal of power; you have a great deal of influence; and it's not as though those visits and trips necessarily compromise you in the exercise of your duties--sometimes it might--but it's the fact that it gives an appearance that a public servant might not be fully committed to his duties of public service. And for that reason, I think it's very important, not only to behave in an independent way, but act in a way that shows that you're independent.

ANNOUNCER: From CBS News, Chicago, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview on FACE THE NATION, with Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, the Democratic vice presidential candidate. Senator Mondale will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Jed Duvall, by Washington Post Political Correspondent Lou Cannon, and by CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

HERMAN: Senator Mondale, I just want to revert to my opening question for a moment to make sure that I understood you correctly. There have been rumors and reports about almost every candidate that I can think of--he went to the golf club, he accepted an airplane flight from a friend who happens to be in business--so you are saying that you have never accepted any such free amenities of any kind?

SEN. MONDALE: That's correct. Now, I've gone out to dinner with friends and so on, but I have not done that sort of thing.

CANNON: You talked, in your reply, about the importance of giving an appearance of complete propriety. In 1971, according to a report filed with Congress, less than three months after you co-sponsored legislation to raise milk price supports, you received a 5,000-dollar contribution from the Associated Milk Producers. Does that--if that's correct--does that accord with your idea of giving no impression that you might be beholden to some lobbyist group?

SEN. MONDALE: Well, may I say, I come from the second largest dairy state in the union. I was for 90 per cent of parity, minimum price supports, when I was four years old. In our state, it's very important, and I think we're right in wanting the dairy farmer to have a decent return so he'll stay in dairying, so we can produce the milk that this country needs. And that we're doing. I don't think anybody in Minnesota thinks there's any relationship between that contribution, which indeed is a very modest one, on my behalf, and my consistent support for dairy minimum price supports. One of our arguments against this administration/^{is}that they twice vetoed minimum price support legislation, and that my opponent on the Republican ticket voted to sustain those vetoes. Let me say one other point. I think the whole present system of private financing of campaigns for public office, however, leads to the implications that is raised in your question, and I have always supported, for that reason, public financing of campaigns, where the public, through the dollar checkoff, finances a campaign, so that neither directly or indirectly, or through implication, we have to speculate about whether there is a commitment that goes with private

financing. We can do that either by an outright public financing, prohibiting any private contributions, or we can do it by putting severe limits on individual contributions and having a public match.

I have always been in favor of that, because it does give the appearance of a possibility of conflict of interest, and it puts us in a terrible position of trying to say, oh, no, we weren't influenced by a contribution. And particularly in this age when people have had their public trust and faith shaken so often, it is very difficult for us to try to argue that we were not. And so I--I'm saying I was not influenced. I've always been for that position. But I'd much rather have a system in America where those kinds of questions would not be raised.

DUVALL: Did I get it from the first part of your answer to Mr. Cannon's question about that contribution, when you said, I'm from a dairy state--

SEN. MONDALE: Right.

DUVALL: Is--do you mean to imply that there's some special license--

SEN. MONDALE: No--

DUVALL: --if you come from a state, say, a tobacco state or a particular state, that that adds to the validity of a contribution?

SEN. MONDALE: No, but what I was saying is that being in that--in a state like Minnesota, with a large population of dairy farmers, I've always had a great interest, as their representative, in dairy farming, and I've had a position all my life in support of decent programs for dairy farmers. And what I was really trying to say--that in light of that commitment and the rest, that I think that contribution

was an exceedingly small one.

HERMAN: How do you--this brings up a whole sort of question of how you square a politician's--an elected official's duty to his constituents with his broader concept. For example, the whole Carter-Mondale ticket is very strongly for tax reform--you have always been very strongly for tax reform; you've also always been fairly strongly--or frequently have been fairly strongly for tax benefits for certain groups in Minnesota. Now you've sponsored a provision that would have helped IDS. You actively supported a provision which would have given some big grain companies a total of some thirty or more million dollars in tax relief. How do you square this broad concept of wanting to reform taxes with this more parochial state concept of wanting to help **the** people in your state by putting in loopholes?

SEN. MONDALE: Well, the fact is that my record in the United States Senate in favor of tax reform is one of the best in the United States Senate. My opponent's record, and the record of Mr. Ford, when he was in the--

HERMAN: But I'm interested in the internal contradiction that's in your own--

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I--

HERMAN: Mr. Dole is another program.

SEN. MONDALE: Yes, but I think--I think I'm going to be able to demonstrate to you that I've had a solid record of tax reform, including--

HERMAN: Well, I believe I sort of stated that as my premise--

SEN. MONDALE: Well--

HERMAN: --that you do have a record of tax reform, and I'm trying

to find out how you square these little deviations.

SEN. MONDALE: I'm trying to answer the question.

HERMAN: Excuse me.

SEN. MONDALE: And many of the tax changes that I have sponsored would increase dramatically taxes on Minnesota businesses. For example, I've sponsored legislation, fought for legislation to repeal these tax shelters. Well, there are many people in Minnesota who benefit from that. I sponsored legislation to eliminate the foreign tax deferral. There are many Minnesota businesses that benefit from that. I've sponsored legislation in many other areas--for example, rolling back substantially the DISC benefits. Well, we have many exporting companies in Minnesota that would lose a lot of money on that. So what I'm saying is that I have consistently supported legislation, time after time, which increases taxes on my own constituents. That's the point I wanted to make.

Now the two amendments that you refer to--one had no revenue implications whatsoever. It wasn't a tax on IDS that they were talking about; it was a tax on an individual who held a certificate, and it didn't affect the tax; it affected the time in which the tax would be paid--that is, when the--the time when the holder received the money. So I think that there's just absolutely no question that one of the great differences between these two tickets is that we consistently support, advocate tax reform. Our record shows that we've been willing to do that, including in tough circumstances where it can hurt in one's own state. And on the other side, we have Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole, who have one of the worst records in favor of tax loopholes and in favor of increasing taxes on the average American that you can possibly

imagine.

CANNON: Well, Senator, you have advocated tax reform, but as a member of the Senate Finance Committee you've also talked about the necessity of compromising with Russell Long, whose ideas on tax reform are different than yours. Now if you're--if Carter is elected and you're there presiding over the Senate, whose idea of tax reforms are going to prevail? Are you going to try to push Russell Long around? Are you going to try to push tax reform through that committee? Or are you going to continue to say, well, we have to compromise with loopholes, which I know you personally don't agree with?

SEN. MONDALE: As you know, if we're going to have tax reform in this country--and we've had a long history of being frustrated in trying to achieve it--what we really need is presidential leadership. Under Mr. Nixon, under Mr. Ford, the leadership has been in just the opposite direction. For example, last year--this year again--the President has proposed reducing taxes on businesses by 20 billion dollars of additional relief by 1980, even though just a few days ago there was a report that ten major corporations paid nothing at all in income taxes because of the present preferences in the tax law. Ford Motor Company reported income of over 800 million dollars in two years--not only didn't owe any federal income taxes, but actually got a rebate of something like 180 million dollars.

Now if we're going to have tax equity--and none of these loopholes are available to the average American; they can hire the best tax attorney in town; they'll never find any loopholes for them, because there aren't any--what we need to do is to end these preferences that permit things like that to occur, and then with the revenue we pick up,

bring some relief to the average American. It takes presidential leadership to do that.

Now the President--now Mr. Carter has been very careful to state-- and I think he's done so properly--that in the development of tax laws, tax reform, it's important to take some time to carefully develop a plan that makes sense, that's fair to business, that yet deals with the preferences that permit some of these outrageous tax fictions to be used to avoid all or most of the taxes. In the development of that plan, the President would work with everyone. He would work with the Chairman of the Finance Committee, Russell Long; he would work with Congressman Ullman. That doesn't mean that they would agree, but certainly, in order to develop a plan there ought to be close consultation. Presidential leadership can differ from congressional leadership's points of view, and it doesn't--and as long as it's respectful, yet forceful, I see nothing inconsistent with that.

CANNON: But you're suggesting, Senator, that there is not a real fundamental difference between you and Mr. Carter and Senator Long and some of the other leadership--

SEN. MONDALE: There may very well--

CANNON: If can just ask the question, how do you propose to reconcile the very real differences? These outrageous tax fictions have been approved by Democratic Congresses and by the Senate Finance Committee.

SEN. MONDALE: Well, first of all, there may well be--as my first answer suggests--basic differences between our final proposals for tax reform and some of the views of those in the Congress. But leadership is required to develop public support, support in the Congress, to

adopt that--those measures. And to the extent possible, however, we should try to reach an agreement with the leadership to see if we can't reconcile as many of these differences as possible; and that, of course, that approach is a long overdue reform in our government, because for eight years there's been utterly no communications between our Presidents and the Congress. It's been a very hostile, non-communicative environment, and the cost to the public respect and the cost to this country in terms of trying to solve problems because there isn't such efforts to compromise and work together, has been a great expense to the American people.

What I'm saying is that a President can disagree with congressional leadership and still work with them and still have their respect. I think that's what we need.

(MORE)

HERMAN: I'm afraid I got a little lost there. As I understood Mr. Cannon's question, what he was asking was, would you be doing pretty much the same thing with Russell Long and others in the Committee after a Carter-Mondale ticket got in, as you're doing now, and my conclusion, after I boiled down those two rather lengthy answers, ^{that} is/the answer is pretty much yes, you would be doing pretty much the same thing you do now -- with the addition of pressure from the White House. Is that about the summary of what you were saying?

SEN. MONDALE: What I was saying -- now, I have a record in the Senate Finance Committee of trying to work in a balanced and mature way with people on that Committee with whom I disagree. In some cases, Senator Long and I have agreed in things, and sometimes we disagree. I've often disagreed with Senator Long, and I've often agreed with him, and we've fought where we disagreed in the Senate Committee, we fought each other where we disagreed on the Senate floor, and I see nothing wrong with that. What's been missing, and the reason we've never had effective tax reform in this country, is that we haven't had Presidential leadership to help those of us in the Congress that have been fighting all alone to try to get this reform. For example, when you want tax reform --

HERMAN: But then, I was substantially right, was I not, in my summation. You're saying you would be doing pretty much the same thing but with the addition of leadership from the White House.

SEN. MONDALE: I think that's correct.

DUVALL: Senator, we have been going through some bad inflation since 1973, and this is one of your, if not the main issue. You talk about unemployment, you talk about inflation. You blame the Republicans,

period. But anyone who has taken even a casual look at this knows that the Vietnam war had a lot to do with inflation and employment rates, and that the Arab oil boycott and other world factors--the nations are very interdependent. Now why do you leave those out? I mean --

SEN. MONDALE: Well, the oil boycott might be a good place to begin because the real issue there was not whether we would have to pay more for Arab oil --We knew we would.-- But whether we would adopt the Administration's policy of an immediate decontrol of U.S. produced oil. If they had had their way, today the average family in this country would be paying between \$500 and \$600 more this year simply for the cost of purchasing energy, directly or indirectly, than they are now paying. We fought for nearly two years to get this Administration to realize that just because the OPEC, the Arab cartel, charges a tremendous price for oil for political reasons, was no justification for letting U.S. produced oil rise to the same level. Now, we won that fight, partially, and having won that, we've saved a good deal of money. It's better than it would have been.

DUVALL: Well, what you say here, and what you say on the campaign trail, leaves the impression that this was all done in this country by Republicans, or whoever, when we know that there were some world factors that were not controlled and couldn't be controlled by any Americans.

SEN. MONDALE: But it's a good point, you see. What I am saying is that this Administration has applied the wrong remedy for inflation. They have assumed that inflation results from excess demand. Too many dollars chasing too few goods, causing inflation. And that's wrong. It's sort of like going to the doctor with a broken leg and being given

chemotherapy to cure cancer. You get sick from the treatment and your leg gets worse because you're not taking care of it. We have not been, for two or three years, in any kind of environment where we've had excess demand. Since they think that's the case, they have pursued a policy of massive unemployment to try to dampen down demand, and they've been very successful. We have the highest unemployment rate since the Great Depression, and it's getting worse. But since the remedy had nothing to do with the source of the problem, they've given us high unemployment, but inflation is getting worse. Now, what has been happening the last two or three years, are what is called cost push factors. Republican policies of high interest rates -- just one per cent on the cost of a house, the average house, increases the cost of that house by \$13,000 -- that means that interest rate policies have a tremendous impact on inflation. Secondly, the failure of this Administration to effectively enforce the antitrust laws -- one of the big reasons why, even in the midst of a recession and high unemployment, prices rise, is that we have certain, what economists call administered price sectors, big companies that so control a particular sector of the economy that they are able to raise prices tremendously, even though demand has slackened. For example, the aluminum industry. There's a report in the Council of Price Stability --

HERMAN: Those companies grew under Democratic presidents as well as under Republican presidents.

SEN. MONDALE: Yeah, but let me just finish this point, because the question was, how do you deal with inflation, and I think it's very, very important to answer this question completely so that it can be seen that there are ways of attacking inflation, and none of them are

being pursued today. Just take the aluminum industry. For example, there's a report in the Council of Price Stability stating that the aluminum industry is gouging the American public with prices that are clear out of line. What did the administration do? They didn't try to suppress the prices, they tried to suppress the report. And there has not been a single felony case brought under the Price Fixing Act since 1974. So you need strong enforcement of the antitrust law.

DUVALL: One of the things you may have to use is wage and price controls. Do you favor those?

SEN. MONDALE: We do not need those now, and I hope we never would. Because we do not have excess demand. But what we do need is a selective jawboning policy. In other words, just like John Kennedy, in 1960, stood up to the steel industry, when it was trying to rip off the American people, and said, now you keep those prices in line so we can have price stability, and we did for several years. There were several years in the '60's when our inflation rate was only about one per cent. It was simply because of the leadership.

CANNON: Well, Senator, those were years when you had the Vietnam war fueling the economy. Do you want to say that's a way to have control?

SEN. MONDALE: I want to get back to -- I just want to finish the inflation point. The other thing is taxes. This administration has constantly been pushing for higher payroll taxes, for shifting tax burdens away from corporations and wealthy Americans on to average Americans, pulling back from federal support for state and local education and the rest, which means local real estate taxes are increasing, and the combination of their economic policies and their tax policies also

is increasing the inflationary pressures on the average family. And I say this without any contradiction --that this administration's economic policies are a scandal, they have given us the worst unemployment we've had since the Great Depression, and they don't care. They have runaway inflation, which is getting worse, and they have no plans, and this has got to be solved and it will not be solved with a Democratic (sic) administration.

CANNON: Well, we just touched on something -- we just touched on --

SEN. MONDALE: Let me just answer that question, if I might, because the answer of the Republicans then is a typical Republican answer, a debating point, because they know they have no remedies for this ridiculous economic situation that's causing so much harm to the American people. So they say, oh, the Democrats succeeded because of war. Now there isn't an economist which says what they think about the quality of American economy. There is absolutely no need for a military buildup or for a war for economic full employment healthy economy. In fact,^a war disturbs and dislocates the economy. It's the worst thing that can happen. From 1960 to 1966, before there was any buildup in Vietnam that had any economic consequences whatsoever, because of reasonable, stimulative, fiscal monetary policies under a Democratic administration that wanted to put America back to work, we were able to reduce unemployment from seven per cent down to four per cent, and we were able to add several million to the work force, and we did it with a stable dollar, and it was the war at the end of the '60s that helped create some of this inflation. But none of that inflation is with us anymore, nor has it been for several years, and to say you can't have a sound economy, as the Republicans are now saying, with full employment

without war, I think is a good issue. We can do it without a war. They seem to suggest they can't do it without a war.

CANNON: Governor Carter summarized this a few weeks ago. He said that you're going to go all out after unemployment and take your chances with inflation. Is that what you're really saying in this --

SEN. MONDALE: Well, what I'm really saying, as you've heard several times, Mr. Cannon, is that we're going to attack both. Intelligent economic policies requires an all out effort to put people back to work. The personal humility -- humiliation, the personal damage of unemployment visited upon millions of American families by these Republican policies is disgraceful. But you also have to fight inflation. Inflation today is at a rate three times higher than under the Democrats. We did a better job of putting people back to work. We did a much better job of keeping prices under control. We never had deficits like this crowd has it. Why, last year their deficits in one year were greater than all the eight years that the Democrats were in power, and their deficits in these eight years are greater than the 192 years' previous history of this country. You can't solve the problems of this country without putting people to work and without having a President with the courage to stand up and fight inflation. You will have neither under this administration.

DUVALL: Can I change the subject? You spend a lot of time --

SEN. MONDALE: I wish you wouldn't. I'm enjoying it. (LAUGHTER).

DUVALL: You've spent a lot of time studying intelligence. Fidel Castro charged that the CIA sabotaged the plane that crashed in the Barbados last week. Do you think that he could be correct about that, and, please follow that with, will there be a Carter-Mondale Adminis-

tration opening to Cuba if you are elected?

SEN. MONDALE: To answer the first question, or last question first, yesterday Mr. Carter said, and I agree with him, that until we have an agreement with Cuba to stop their mischief around the world, and there is a better basis for it, he would not anticipate diplomatic recognition. Second thing is, our government has said that we were not involved in that, and I accept their statement. But it raises another issue. For so many years, over different administrations, we've become involved with covert, dirty tricks around the world, that were the subject of our report, attempted assassinations, undermining the government of Chile, and so on, our dirty tricks in Angola, that -- and that helps say why that's dangerous, because it shows that we have resorted to tactics in the past that were beneath the standard and the values of the American people. And whenever you do that, the chickens come home to roost and you get blamed for everything.

HERMAN: With those chickens, Senator, we've run out of time. Thank you very much for being our guest today on Face the Nation.

SEN. MONDALE: Thank you very much.

ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION Senator Walter F. Mondale, of Minnesota, the Democratic Vice Presidential Candidate, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Jed Duvall, by Washington Post Political Correspondent Lou Cannon, and by CBS News Correspondent George Herman. The Republican Vice Presidential Candidate, Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, has also been invited to FACE THE NATION. Next week another prominent figure in the news will FACE THE NATION.

Agronsky at Large

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Vice-President-elect WALTER F. MONDALE

as interviewed by

Martin Agronsky

for presentation, Friday, November 5 at 10:00 PM ET **

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MR. AGRONSKY: Good evening. After every presidential election, the name of the game is why did the winners win, why did the losers lose? And tonight we begin the Agronsky at Large series with the answers to those questions from two of the four men best qualified to provide those answers. They are Vice-President-elect of the United States, Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota, and the man he defeated in the contest for the vice presidential office, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas. We start with Senator Mondale.

Two years ago, the Vice-President-elect withdrew from the party's presidential competition, and he said then he didn't want to do what a politician must do to seek the presidency. Yet, he accepted this year his party's vice presidential nomination, and he fought as hard as any man could to win this office that brings him to the proverbial heartbeat away from the presidency.

Senator Mondale, many people feel, now that you are the Vice-President-elect of the United States, and even though you have explained why you withdrew initially from the presidential race by saying that any man who wanted to be president has to be willing to go through the fire, and you weren't at that time, many people would like to know what you feel now about this whole business of the presidency and the vice presidency.

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I'm glad I ran for president, and I'm glad I got out. There was another part of that statement that I made in '74 when I withdrew that didn't get any coverage, but was very important to my decision to withdraw, and that was that I'd spent about a year running for president part-time, because I insisted on doing my Senate work. That meant evenings, weekends, recesses and so




on, and it was clear to me that if I wanted to be a serious candidate for president that I had to abandon the Senate, and I wasn't willing to do that. And the sense, you know, of trying to do two jobs poorly I couldn't tolerate, and I think I did the right thing. I pulled out, and I'm glad I did.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, of the vice presidency itself, I think you said once when you were asked about it that if you were required to take over the presidency, you said--and whether you would feel yourself capable of really being president--you didn't know, that you hoped and you prayed that you would be. Well, again, how are you feeling about that now in terms of being president?

SEN. MONDALE: I don't know how anybody can be certain that they'd be a good president. I certainly would hope I could be, but I don't know. I would give it all I had if that point came about. I didn't, however, seek the vice presidency with the notion that I was going to become president. I did it because I wanted to help Mr. Carter become president, and help his administration do many things that I think this country needs so desperately. We've had deadlocked government now for eight years, and I think that's--a lot of the frustration that Americans feel is traceable, whether they know it or not, to just this constant collision and impasse that's existed over eight years, with people posturing as to who's to blame rather than getting the job done.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, let's take it back to you personally. When you took the vice presidency, the offer of Carter to be his partner, you've never really explained in any detail what went on between you and Mr. Carter at that point. How did he talk to you?



SEN. MONDALE: Well, as you know, he invited Joan and me to Plains, where we met with he and his wife, Rosalynn, and I spent two or three hours talking with him. And I sensed then we were getting along very well. I liked him immediately; he liked me; and there was a direct candor, and I told him exactly what I was concerned about, and he told me what he was concerned about. He asked me several tough questions, which I liked. I like--

MR. AGRONSKY: What kind of tough questions?

SEN. MONDALE: Oh, he was worried that--for example, I had said I wasn't--the very statement you talked about, that I didn't want to spend my life at Holiday Inns. He wondered about whether I really had, you know, the drive to campaign well. He, I think, basically wanted to know whether we were compatible personally, whether we could get along well. And I sensed right away that we did, and it was a very satisfactory meeting, in any event. I didn't know whether he was going to pick me or not, but I came away convinced that we could get along.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah. Well, now, look, you've been on the Hill quite a while, you've watched a lot of vice presidents operate; and I think you must have as great an awareness as anybody of the nature of the vice presidential office, at least as it's been in the past. What always happens is that traditionally the President-elect says of the Vice-President-Elect, it's going to be different this time. He's going to be an activist, the Vice President. I'm really going to give him ^{jobs to do.} That's what he says, but it never happens. It never has happened in the past, really. Last night in Plains, I wonder if that was an example of it? Now here you were--the President-elect and Vice

President-elect in Plains--but it was Jimmy Carter who stepped up on the platform. It was the Vice-President-elect who sat down there in that little church pew that they brought from somewhere or other. All the questions were addressed to the President-elect. The Vice-President-elect was a bystander, or, to use Vice-President Rockefeller's term for it, standby equipment. You really looked like standby equipment. What was going on there? Is this an omen of the future? I mean, is this what's going to happen?

SEN. MONDALE: You know that there is only one president in any administration, that's the President. A Vice-President is not an alternative president, nor should anyone think he is. It was my feeling--and I told Governor Carter that--that I thought that the newsmen wanted to ask the President-elect questions about what he intended to do, and questions of that kind, and that they weren't going to ask me any questions. And for that reason I thought it made a lot more sense to do it the way we did.

I'm not--maybe I could answer this question a little differently, because it goes to why I think the vice presidency can be important. First of all, Governor Carter and I get along very well, I think unusually well. Secondly, I think he values my advice. His idea of how we should proceed in this transition period was exactly the same as I was going to recommend to him. We had that long talk the other day. What I want--

MR. AGRONSKY: Explain that to me.

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I want--where I think I can best help this administration succeed--and that's what I'm most interested in--is to be able to just be with the President-elect as he considers all the

crucial issues, read all the same material, classified and the rest, as he reads, sit with him as he goes through the process of selecting key cabinet and other officials, and then permit me privately to tell the President-elect what I think makes most sense. I think that's the way that I can--

MR. AGRONSKY: You're going to have an input, then, on policy and people?

SEN. MONDALE: That's exactly what he said last night. That's what he told me privately, and I--for example, I've just received the same briefing papers that he has. I will be in Plains. I will be with him during most of these meetings, and reviewing the same materials he does, but in an advisory role. And that's exactly what I want to do, and I was very, very appreciative of Governor Carter for, you know--because that shows a lot of confidence. As far as I'm concerned, that's exactly what I wanted to do, and that's what he wanted me to do; so I feel very good about it.

MR. AGRONSKY: You feel good about it. Then you really feel that there is--this'll be the first time there'll be a stark breakthrough, that you're not going to be standby equipment.

SEN. MONDALE: I'm sure that that's not going to happen, but in any event, it's also a role that I have to earn. In other words, if my advice is sound, if it's helpful, then I think that this kind of relationship will be assured. If I don't do well, if the advice is not good and the rest, then I imagine I would have a different role. In other words, he's given me the chance now to earn this special role that's rarely existed between a vice president and a president. If I do well, I think I'll earn it.

MR. AGRONSKY: You know, there's one curious thing about the relationship of Mr. Carter and yourself--

SEN. MONDALE: Let me back up just a minute, if I can--

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah--

SEN. MONDALE: You said that no vice-president ever had a significant role. I don't think that's quite accurate. I think in many ways Vice-President Humphrey played a significant role in the Johnson administration. He certainly ranged across a whole wide spectrum of domestic issues. He played quite a role with the mayors and the governors, working with the President. He--I don't think it's accurate to say that vice-presidents have not had a significant role.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, I think that--I've spoken to Mr. Humphrey about this myself, and I never felt that he regarded it as a satisfactory role, put it that way.

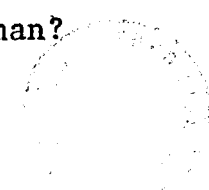
SEN. MONDALE: Well, before I went to see Mr. Carter, I went to see my old friend Hubert to discuss that, and he strongly urged me to take it if it were offered. He said--of course, the tragedy of Viet Nam has scarred that whole later--latter part of that administration, which he recognizes. If it hadn't been for that, he said it would have in many ways been one of the most challenging and meaningful aspects of his career, and he doesn't regret it at all.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, no man who is in political life can possibly ignore that in about the last 25 years or so three vice-presidents have moved to the presidency. You could never leave that out of the equation.

SEN. MONDALE: I want to say one other thing, if I might. I think I can prove that my career has been one that's not been overly

egotistical. In other words, I don't have to be in the headlines every day. I don't have an urge to, you know, be the front liner or such. But what I really want is to see this administration succeed. We've got to put people back to work. The tragedy of unemployment in this country is only dimly perceived by many, but it is tragic. People have to go back to work. We have to have far more effective policies to fight inflation that we have. The government, in my opinion, has to begin to move in certain areas like housing, health, environment--just government organization, effectiveness, efficiency, because there's a growing notion that government can't work, and there are certain areas where we can't solve our problems unless it can. And one of the things that attracts me to Governor Carter is that he is very conscious and committed to these objectives, and if I can help him succeed, which I think I can, whatever happens to Walter Mondale, that, I think, is not an inconsiderable contribution to the history of this country, and that satisfies me.

MR. AGRONSKY: All right. Now, look, Fritz--Senator--let me put it this way. I started to say to you that in a curious way you are a much better known quantity on the ticket than Mr. Carter. There is a feeling in the country that I think you ran into yourself in your campaigning. It just surfaces constantly in all sorts of comments from reporters that there is a great deal that is unknown about this man whom we've now elected to be President of the United States--in terms of character, in terms of the things that really move him, what kind of a human being is this? Now, it's tough to ask number two to define number one, but there is a great appetite in the country. You've been very close to him. How do you see this man?



Let me make just one more observation. Many feel that he is cold, that he's inner-driven, they say that he has the capacity to be ruthless. It's not always a warm feeling that comes from this man. Tell me how you see him.

SEN. MONDALE: I've been around him many, many times, under all kinds of circumstances and under great pressure. None of that is accurate.

MR. AGRONSKY: None of it?

SEN. MONDALE: No. He's a--first, he's very, very bright. This man is a gifted man, and this is going to become very, very apparent.

MR. AGRONSKY: Now you're talking about his intellect--

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I heard the whole question, and I'll answer it. Secondly, he spent an enormous amount of time, both in terms of experience at state and local level, more than that, really reading a mountain of material on the federal government. For a person who has not been in Washington, I think he's about as well prepared as possible, and this transition team that he's set up is outstanding, tapping the best minds in the country. Then, he is a warm person, and he's shown it to me many, many times, and my wife. I've been with him with his staff. He's a very considerate man, and I think the American people will sense that genuine warmth of leadership as he goes along.

I think the problem is basically this. You know, we all say the time has come to bring an outsider in to shake up Washington, and I believe that makes sense. But when a person who hasn't had a record in the federal government, like being in the Senate or in the House, or in the executive branch, runs for president, he's automatically

subject to the kind of attack that was made on him that you don't know where he stands. He has no record in the federal government to turn to as an anchor to justify the credibility of his statements on a particular issue. For example, when they would attack me as a gross dismantler of the Defense Department, I could say, wait a minute, I've got a record. Here's what I did in the budget committee--that's baloney. When they would say that to Mr. Carter, since he hadn't been in the Senate, he didn't have that kind of record that he could point to. All he had was what he had said on an issue.

And I think that perhaps the shrewdest thing that the Ford campaign did was to exploit what they knew to be the inability of--

MR. AGRONSKY: To cite the record.

SEN. MONDALE: --to cite a record, and the other thing is--and I think this was partly a difficulty that Kennedy had in '60--and that is, he came to the electorate as the first southerner since 1848 to have a serious chance to be elected. And there's regional differences, that is--people wonder about that--there's accent, a different accent, and his deep religious faith concerned some. And I remember when Kennedy came to Minnesota in '60, you know. He says, it's nice to be in Minnesoter. It took us about two weeks to get over that; he didn't even know how to pronounce our state. Well, I think that's part of the problem, and I think one of the great strengths of the Carter administration will be that he finally^{helped}/bring this whole country back together; and it may have been only a southern leader that could have done it. And I believe all of these--

MR. AGRONSKY: You don't see a driving--

SEN. MONDALE: I predict that all of these artificial--and I

think they're artificial--questions that have been raised are going to disappear almost immediately, just as they did with Kennedy, and that in Governor Carter we're going to see an outstanding president that people will like, relate to. He's warm, and he's compassionate; he's very bright. He'll know how to manage this government. That'll be very quickly apparent, and he's going to run the place. And I think we've needed that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, he chose a superb advocate in you.

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I told him that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, a lot of people think that the vice-presidential debates, which were unique, may have been crucial. How did you feel about it?

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I hope they were helpful. You know, Bob Dole and I are friends. Those are the kinds of things that it's difficult to comment on, but what I thought above all came across--which was one of the points I kept trying to make in the whole campaign--was the contrast between the two tickets. They were basically, in my opinion, what I called a very Republican ticket--nice people, but very Republican, and I think with policies that would disappoint the independents and the moderate Republicans; and I think that contrast came through in that debate. And I think it was helpful.

MR. AGRONSKY: Let's look at the one point that everybody noticed and that seems to have been scored negatively against Dole by himself, the reference to Democrat wars in which 1,600,000 Americans were killed. You responded to that, but very carefully, at the time of the debate. Looking back at it now, do you think that perhaps that was a decisive point that damaged Dole much and perhaps

damaged Mr. Ford, too?

SEN. MONDALE: I don't know. You know, you look at these polls after an election, after a debate. Governor Carter won clearly. I thought he won all three of them, but the polls showed he clearly won the last two. I guess there some polls around to indicate the public responded favorably to that debate, from our standpoint. I think it was helpful, how much, I don't know. And I must say for Senator Dole, he later said, that's not what I intended to say--in effect, tried to make it clear that he did not mean that we had deliberately started a war for partisan reasons. And I think, you know, the campaign is over. Those things happened, and he's made it clear that that's not what he intended. As far as I'm concerned, bygones are bygones. Let's try to put the country back together again. And we're going to need Bob Dole's help.

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah. Listen, take a look at what happened. You were out there, pressing the flesh, in Lyndon Johnson's phrase, talking to people, getting a feel. What did you get to feel mattered most in terms of issues? Can you spell it out?

SEN. MONDALE: Yes. Economics, I would say number one, getting people back to work, dealing with inflation; feeling that we needed forceful management of government again, that it was floating, drifting. And you could put a lot of examples, you know--the deadlock in government--just the feeling that somebody had to get a hold of things. Then, past that, were a series of issues like the environment, health, housing, education, foreign policy issues. But I think, in my opinion--and then the feeling that they'd been around for eight years, and maybe it was just a good idea to try something

different.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, look, Senator. In your list that you just gave me there are two things that are conspicuous by their absence: Viet Nam, Watergate. You did deal with Watergate to some extent--

SEN. MONDALE: My last--you weren't listening carefully. My last point, I think, had something to do with that

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah? How?

SEN. MONDALE: Well, you know, they'd been there eight years, and, you know--a lot of Nixon leftovers were still around, and I think that had something to do with it. The pardon, I think, had something to do with it.

MR. AGRONSKY: Why do you think that?

SEN. MONDALE: Well, I don't know, but I've seen--

MR. AGRONSKY: Was this a feel you had? Did anybody ever talk to you about it?

SEN. MONDALE: Yeah, and there were some polls that said as much. And so--but I don't think that it was a major issue. I think the major question was economics.

MR. AGRONSKY: Was trust a major issue, a feeling in the country, in effect, that politicians per se were not to be trusted?

SEN. MONDALE: Yeah, but that affected all of us. I mean--

MR. AGRONSKY: It would cut both ways.

SEN. MONDALE: If there's one thing that'll destroy this country, unless it can be corrected, it's this massive feeling out there that government can't work, politicians don't tell the truth, that there's-- that the public process of government is somehow irrelevant, or a cynical put-on. That kind of feeling of distrust and cynicism--I

think there was a poll last year that said, do politicians lie to you most of the time? Sixty-one per cent of the American people said yes. Just think about that a minute. That can destroy this nation. You know, a democracy is based on trust, and I would say if there's one thing that Governor Carter and I hope above all we might be able to do is kind of show by our performance that government can work, it can be sensitive, it can be close to the American people, it can be trustworthy, it can obey the law, it can tell the truth and all those things. And just maybe we can break through this tremendous feeling of resistance to those concepts.

I think a lot of the reasons people don't want to trust them, they're afraid they're going to have their hearts broken again, and you know, after it's happened enough, they're just reluctant to want to believe once more, and we hope we can do it.

- M O R E -



MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah, a feeling you might put in this way, that politicians promise, but they don't deliver on the promises, they don't perform. And then there was a feeling, too, was constantly reported, and again I'd like to have you critique this in a way, that there was apathy out there.

SEN. MONDALE: I think it's all part of the same thing.

MR. AGRONSKY: But was there apathy in your opinion? Or was it a different thing? Was it frustration?

SEN. MONDALE: There was a lot less apathy at the end than there was a month before the election. It was picking up; you could feel it, and in certain points of the country, there was a historic turnout, you know, but in other parts, quite a disappointing turnout, and I understand the overall voter participation was back about, what, 51 percent?

MR. AGRONSKY: Yeah. It was roughly equivalent to '72, I think.

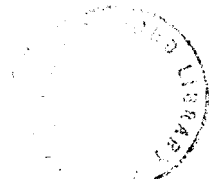
SEN. MONDALE: We have--we've got to do something to encourage people to believe again, and I don't think we can simply ask them to believe. We have to perform in a way that restores trust, and above all, we hope to do that.

MR. AGRONSKY: You know, one of the cynical evaluations of the way this election came out is that there are just more Democrats than there are Republicans in the country, that people weren't really turned on by Jimmy Carter, and if you'll forgive my saying so, by you either--nor were they turned on by Ford.

SEN. MONDALE: No, I won't forgive you.

MR. AGRONSKY: You won't forgive me? What'll I say?

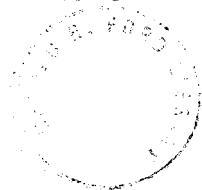
SEN. MONDALE: All right, I'll listen to the question. (LAUGHTER).



MR. AGRONSKY: All right--nor were they turned on by Ford or Dole. Now, is that an unfair evaluation?

SEN. MONDALE: You know, that last week, Governor Carter had some of the great crowds in American history--mammoth crowds. I believe that he was beginning to turn on the American people and we were--the last week, we were starting to gain again, and how do you sort that out relative to what, I don't know. My crowds tripled in about two weeks, the last two weeks, fantastic crowds for a vice presidential candidate, and I didn't sense apathy. I could just feel that apathy level dropping dramatically, but then when the vote came in, it was still in many ways disappointing, and our task, it seems to me, is to so govern this country and lead it in terms of wisdom and in terms of effectiveness, in terms of truthfulness and obeying the law and the other things, that we can restore that trust, that sense of caring and believing that's at the heart of this nation's future, it seems to me, and I believe we can do it, but that's the key task for us.

MR. AGRONSKY: Senator, let me pass on to you a very, very earthy comment made by a very dear friend of us both, whom I won't identify by name--perhaps the language will identify him. He said, you know, I hope this fellow Jimmy Carter remembers that it was that strange, Hungarian goulash called the Democratic Party that mattered enormously in the end. He says he's beholden to nobody; he should be beholden to that, and he made the observation, you know, labor, too. He said, those fellows in labor set up the phone banks, he said you might not ever award them a beauty contest and perhaps sometimes /need a can of ^{they} Right Guard, but he said that, too, was an essential part of the victory, and I hope that Carter remembers it. Do you think Carter senses that?



SEN. MONDALE: There's no question that all that is true, and many, many people helped. Let's just point out something. For the first time in, I don't know how many years, the south went solidly for Governor Carter, and that shows a tremendous affection and respect, crossing party lines, breaking with tradition, in that whole area, that was the key to this victory.

MR. AGRONSKY: Bob Dole says that meant they were voting accent.

SEN. MONDALE: No, they know Carter and they like him, and that is a great tribute to Mr. Carter's personal appeal and a great, I think, one of the most hopeful things that's happened in this country in a long time, because we had to get over this disgrace that if you were a southerner you couldn't be president. He's helped do that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Well, do you think you're going to have a good president?

SEN. MONDALE: I know it.

MR. AGRONSKY: And you're going to be a good vice president.

SEN. MONDALE: I'm sure of that.

MR. AGRONSKY: Thank you, Senator. I'm leaving you to go to Senator Dole. Is there anything you want me to tell him?

SEN. MONDALE: Give him my best wishes.

MR. AGRONSKY: I sure will. Thank you.

SEN. MONDALE: Thank you.