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WALTER F. MONDALE QUOTEBOOK

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ABORTION

Mondale's early position on abortion was one of indecision. However, by 1976, he decided to oppose a Constitutional Amendment to ban abortion and has consistently supported that position.

ABORTION

Mondale has taken no position on the controversial proposal for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning abortions.

"I don't know yet," he said recently when asked his views on it. "I'm deeply troubled about that issue. I just don't know yet."

Atlanta Constitution
May 6, 1974

"I personally oppose. . . the Constitutional amendment which would prohibit all abortions. But at the same time, I deeply respect those who feel differently on that issue. . ."

Los Angeles Times
July 28, 1976

Mondale told reporters he was opposed to a Constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions, but carefully added, "I fully respect those who do not believe in abortions. . . It's a difficult issue not easily resolved."

Albuquerque Journal
July 28, 1976

Q. "How about abortion?"

A. "I oppose the Constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion, but I have always voted for the amendments that would prohibit the use of federal funds to force a doctor or a hospital against their conscience to perform abortions.

Q. "Didn't you also vote for government aid to pay for abortions?"

A. "I voted against an amendment that would have prevented the use of funds for poor mothers because, however that issue is resolved, I don't think it should evolve on just a poverty basis so just the poor(women) can't get them."

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

AERONAUTICS

Mondale has severely attacked the space shuttle as a "senseless extravaganza in space." He has accused the shuttle of being "a classic case of bureaucratic deception and waste." Mondale, however, has been a strong supporter of the Skylab program.

AERONAUTICS

In defending the progress made by the American space program:

"The seven-year-old American space program is the largest and most complex peacetime endeavor ever attempted by this or any other nation. It is designed to give the American taxpayer a dollar's worth of value for every dollar spent and it is making steady professional progress."

Mondale Newsletter
"Reports to Minnesota"

March 26, 1965

In offering an amendment to delete funds for the project, Mondale, described the program as "one of the most indefensible items in the budget," particularly in light of domestic needs.

NASA has requested \$110 million to start final design of a reusable spacecraft that would shuttle men and supplies to a space station. To Mondale, the request was but a down payment in a manned space flight program that according to agency estimates would cost \$14-billion but that he estimated would probably cost upward of \$30 billion.

New York Times
December 8, 1970

In attacking a proposal for the development of a reusable space shuttle, Mondale said:

"In short, it will mean a vastly expanded space program - designed primarily to accomodate a more costly manned space extravaganza."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
May 27, 1971

In explaining his opposition to the space shuttle, Mondale said:

"You have to sell big programs on reasons that make sense," he said. "I have not heard what kinds of dividends will flow from a space shuttle that justifies spending \$9 billion on it, and frankly I don't think I will."

Questioning the sense of urgency on the part of NASA, Mondale said:

"I'm at the very least against a hurry-up program. I want them to wait until the Skylab tests are over to find out if men can stand long duration flights, and I want to see the shuttle worked out so it's cash effective before I support it."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
June 28, 1971

In regard to the space shuttle, Mondale called it a "senseless extravaganza in space."

"In the magnitude of its cost, in the folly of its concept and, thus, in its damage to the country, the space shuttle is many times worse than the SST."

New York Times
January 7, 1972

Mondale expressed anger at Nixon's veto of a child care bill and an announcement of plans to develop a space shuttle:

"Typically, this administration can squander \$6.5 billion to fly four people in orbit, while it refuses to invest less than one third that amount to provide desperately needed day care and development programs for millions of pre-school children..."

Congressional Quarterly
February 26, 1972

Mondale said he was opposed to the development of the space shuttle because it was a waste. He said the effort to land men on the moon had been important because of the necessity to "regroup our posture as the pre-eminent technological society in the world," but that the space shuttle served no such purpose. Instead, he characterized it as "a manned extravaganza to get public support" and said the money "should go to solve human problems."

Congressional Quarterly
February 26, 1972

Mondale said that arguments for a space shuttle had become "a classic case of bureaucratic deception and waste."

New York Times
May 10, 1972

Following problems in the Skylab laboratory, Senator Mondale, a "strong supporter" of the Skylab program, predicted that the failure would "shake Congress' confidence in NASA. . .," adding, "I'd want to take a very close look before voting for another Skylab."

Congressional Quarterly
May 19, 1973

AGRICULTURE

Mondale has been an avid critic of Republican agricultural policies. He has supported retention of investment tax credits for farmers and called for increases in price and income supports.

Mondale has spoken out against large grain inventories, requested more stringent production controls, and is opposed to any grain embargo.

AGRICULTURE

"... the American farmer has been giving rather than receiving a subsidy from the rest of the economy."

Mondale Newsletter
"Reports to Minnesota"
 May 1, 1965

Mondale introduced a bill to guarantee free movement of milk in interstate commerce. The Milk Sanitation Act of 1965 proposed establishment of uniform federal health standards and rating procedures to eliminate the restrictive effect and discriminatory use of state and local health requirements.

Mondale News Release
 May 19, 1965

"Local milk sanitation standards have become either by design or by the passage of time, weapons of economic warfare. They are, in effect, trade barriers confining the area of production for a given market and protecting local producers from out-of-state competition."

Mondale News Letter
"Reports to Minnesota"
 May 22, 1965

Mondale stated that America's major problem doesn't lie in the economic growth of what the senator called the "big metropolitan globs." It lies instead in finding a solution to the problem of prosperity for the farmer and the small town.

Mankato Free Press
 August 18, 1965

"The eccentricities of government bookkeeping should not be charged to the American farmer. It makes more sense, for example, to charge the \$155 million dollars annual subsidy to the Merchant Marine to the Department of Commerce- the agency that has jurisdiction over the Merchant Marine.

"The cost of food donated to our needy people or used in school lunch programs - amounting to over \$700 million dollars a year - should more logically be charged to education and public welfare.

"Food for Peace is an instrument of foreign policy properly chargeable to International Affairs rather than to the farm program. Congress has finally recognized this in the 1936 budget for international affairs. But nevertheless, in the final Agriculture Appropriation Act - which many Americans think is entirely subsidies to the farmer - Food for Peace is still included along with many other programs whose main benefits go to the general public.

"When all these miscellaneous items are squeezed out of the budget charged to the Department of Agriculture, the program costs predominately for stabilization of farm income total only about \$2.8 billion - no where near the \$7 billion that we hear so much about."

Faribault Daily News
 December 18, 1965

"Nowhere is the need for public understanding of our farm program budget greater than in the area of its budget costs," said Mondale. "Consumers and taxpayers are generally led to believe that the total annual appropriation to the Department of Agriculture - about \$7 billion - is a subsidy to the farmer. The truth is - about two-thirds of this expenditure goes for programs whose primary benefits come not to the farmer, but to the nation as a whole."

Faribault Daily News
December 18, 1965

Mondale introduced legislation that would establish a national food and fiber reserve for use in national emergencies and major disasters, and would protect consumers from runaway prices.

Mondale stated that the bill "would require maintenance of reserves in wheat, feed grains, rice, cotton, milk and milk products, soybeans, and edible fats and oils." The bill "would establish a formula to restrict release of stockpiled commodities for the purpose of stabilizing prices."

Mondale Newsletter
"Reports to Minnesota"
March 12, 1966

Mondale warned President Nixon's top economic advisers that he will "fight every step of the way" any effort to end present farm price support programs.

St. Paul Pioneer Press
January 28, 1969

Mondale stressed that farm bargaining was designed to supplement -- not replace -- federal farm programs, and that it would offer what he called "self-help tools" which farmers could utilize if they so desired.

Albert Lea Tribune
January 31, 1969

Mondale re-introduced legislation (The National Agricultural Bargaining Act) to give farmers the right to bargain collectively for prices and terms of sale of farm products.

Albert Lea Tribune
January 31, 1969

Mondale co-sponsored an amendment that would retain the 7 per cent investment tax credit for investments up to \$25,000 a year by farmers and small businessmen.

The credit would be repealed for investments over \$25,000.

Mondale said he favored the farm-small business exception because "these two groups are most seriously affected by inflation and rising interest rates and have no rising costs as do large businesses."

Rochester Post-Bulletin
July 4, 1969

Mondale, McGovern, and 12 other senators introduced a bill to expand present farm programs. The bill would replace the Agriculture Assistance Act of 1965 which expires in 1970.

The bill would:

- Make existing programs permanent;
- Give the secretary of agriculture power to set acreage controls of soybeans;
- Increase direct federal payments and price support loans for corn and feed grains; and,
- Create federally held consumer protection reserves of wheat, feed grains and other commodities as a supposed hedge against crop failure.

It is estimated by supporters that the bill would mean at least \$150 million a year to Minnesota farmers.

Minneapolis Tribune
October 24, 1969

Mondale is working on an amendment to the Federal Wholesome Meat Act to allow the sale of retail meat by locker plant operators provided it is federally inspected.

"There were some mistakes in the original law and we are hoping to correct them."

The language of the law now is that meat must be inspected when processed and then again before being sold. Mondale said, "It was never intended that there should be double inspection."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
May 3, 1970

"No industry is more threatened by retaliatory protectionism than United States agriculture. In particular danger are wheat, soybeans, and feed grains."

Deluth News Tribune
September 26, 1970

Mondale stated that the "colossal economic failure" and lack of concern for rural America have been "the greatest failings of the current administration."

"The Nixon administration has turned its back on agriculture and the recent coalition farm bill." Mondale said the Republicans had fought efforts by him and his colleagues in the senate "to get feed grain payments to farmers."

Mankota Free Press
October 22, 1970

"We need to put more dollars into the pockets of several million farm families. And the Administration can do this by increasing price and income supports.

"Anything less will insure the continued deterioration of our farm economy, and the plight of people from rural areas."

Westbrook Sentinel
Westbrook, Minnesota
June 3, 1971

Mondale opposed an amendment to S. 1316 which would allow meat to be transported in interstate commerce without federal inspection if it had passed state inspection equal to that carried out by the federal government. Mondale argued that guarantees of wholesome meat for consumers would be jeopardized if the federal requirement could be lifted.

Congressional Quarterly
August 14, 1971

Mondale said that the administration farm program is depressing farm prices and driving more farmers off the land.

He stated that a farm family in Minnesota today earns 60 percent less than if it were on welfare in New York City.

"That's a disgrace. That's penalizing work and encouraging welfare and that's precisely why hundreds of thousands of rural Americans are giving up."

Minneapolis Tribune
September 19, 1971

"In view of the latest planting intention survey showing that farmers will reduce corn plantings only four per cent from last year, we could end up with another tremendous overproduction on top of our huge carryover stocks," Mondale pointed out.

The Senator also announced that he has helped to organize a caucus of Midwest senators to pressure Butz into implementing positive measures before the corn crop is planted.

Worthington Globe
February 7, 1972

Mondale charged Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz with lobbying against legislation that would have increased price supports by 25 percent on wheat and feed grains and would have established strategic reserves of storable agricultural commodities.

"Dr. Butz personally lobbied against the measure, using every concession to split the members of the Agriculture committee and defeat the bill," Mondale said, "He has been successful at delaying all emergency legislative measures that offered hope of improving prices for the 1971 crop."

"Dr. Butz admits that depressed prices were caused by administration policies encouraging larger corn plantings last year, and he has promised to take necessary steps to raise corn prices," he continued. "But so far all we've seen from Dr. Butz is an ineffective publicrelations stunt that has removed only 10 million bushels

of corn from the market in two months."

Worthington Globe
February 7, 1972

"If the patchwork of programs now offered in place of positive allotments doesn't achieve acreage reduction, we must develop legislation to correct the 1970 Farm Act. It will be a tragedy if this nation again builds huge grain inventories as in the 1950's, thus holding down prices.

"We must prevent this with better supply management programs."

Mondale Newsletter
"Reports to Minnesota"
Spring, 1972

Mondale told a meeting of the Minnesota Farmers Union that,

"When we get down to specifics, the truth is that the Nixon-Butz farm program has been strong on public relations but weak in helping farmers toward a fair level of income for their fantastic level of productivity."

Hibbing Daily Tribune
June 19, 1972

Mondale, speaking at a political program in Melrose, Minnesota, said that recent proposals to dismantle the U.S. Department of Agriculture are not in the best interest of rural America.

He said the current idea to move the Rural Electrification Administration and several other agencies from the Department of Agriculture to a department of community development would leave the department "production-oriented."

St. Cloud Daily Times
July 3, 1972

Regarding the recent lifting of import quotas on meat, Mondale said, "The pressure should be put on consumer prices rather than farm prices."

St. Cloud Daily Times
July 3, 1972

"We have to have production controls that work. We will not always be saved by Russian sales that clear away excess production. We cannot depend on crop disasters elsewhere. Intelligent production should be geared to demand."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
August 31, 1972

Mondale introduced legislation that would require the Internal Revenue Service to base federal estate taxes on farm property on the property's value for farm use.

In order to avoid creating a "tax shelter" for those retaining farm property but later converting it to an alternative use, the Mondale bill defers the tax that

would be assessed if the property were valued at its "highest and best use." This deferred tax would be assessed where the land is converted to non-farm use or transferred out of the immediate family.

Mankato Free Press
September 25, 1972

Mondale urged farmers to start building a coalition to elect congressmen who will support bold changes in the government farm program.

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
September 30, 1972

"I believe that the United States has an obligation to cooperate with other countries in an effort to alleviate human suffering in less developed nations as a result of food scarcities. In view of the damage to our world credibility as a reliable supplier of agricultural products caused by the recent drastic imposition of an export embargo. I believe we also have a strong economic and political interest in working with other countries to deal with world food supply and distribution problems. Furthermore, I believe consumers in the United States would benefit from the adoption of international mechanisms to bring stability to agricultural supplies and prices."

Congressional Record
September 17, 1973

Mondale, speaking at the 72nd convention of the National Farmers Union, told the delegates the United States "as the world's leading grain supplier, must begin to look at the problem of food distribution not only on a national, but also on a global basis."

Mondale said work should begin now on international agreements to aid India, West Africa and other countries developing urgent food needs that cannot be met by the commercial market.

St. Paul Dispatch
March 14, 1974

"The urgency and seriousness of the crisis in meat and poultry production cannot be overestimated. Within a short time the depression at the farmer-feeder level could extend to other industries, including packers and processors, truckers, grain farmers and the financial community.

"Ultimately, the consumer would be the victim if meat and poultry producers are forced into widespread liquidation" because "wild price increases and shortages would inevitably result."

Congressional Quarterly
June 29, 1974

Mondale said at a press conference that he had wired the President and asked him to:

- reverse the administration's opposition to a program of emergency loan

guarantees for meat, dairy and poultry producers;

- implement duties on imported dairy products as a countermeasure to subsidized Common Market products dumped into the U.S. economy;
- direct the Federal Trade Commission to study price gouging by "middlemen" in the meat industry.

Mondale said these actions are "needed immediately to stem the huge losses of thousands and thousands of family farmers."

Mankato Free Press
July 3, 1974

Hinting that price gouging existed in the meat processing industry, Mondale said lower supermarket counter prices would increase meat consumption and in turn aid both the consumer and the farmer.

"Supermarkets have been quick to raise their prices on meat, but slow to drop them when the wholesale price came down," Mondale said.

Mankato Free Press
July 3, 1974

"It is time that we as a nation realized that there is no substitute for Federal farm policies and programs that encourage greater stability in agriculture and permit the family farmer to produce the food we need. Federal crop insurance on a comprehensive nationwide basis is, in my judgement, one of the most important elements of a viable, national food strategy."

Congressional Record
June 17, 1975

"The senators in Minnesota and Wisconsin and the other dairy states have walked the plank time and time again for national minimum wage laws. When New York City was in trouble, the senators from the Midwest helped save that city from disaster. I think there is no delegation that has tried harder than the delegation from the Midwest to be national senators, meeting the needs of all our states.

"Now it happens that the agricultural sector of our economy is subject to the direct kind of economic consequences, that everyone will pay for. I want senators to try to realize the tremendous stake all of us have in decent minimum price supports."

Congressional Record
February 4, 1976

"While the Government is not and should not be in the business of preventing losses or insuring profits for farmers or any other group of businessmen, the crisis faced by Midwest farmers today is not that of profit or loss. It is a crisis of maintaining normal livestock versus liquidation."

Congressional Record
June 15, 1976

Mondale said to South Dakota farmers that a Carter administration would not impose grain export embargoes. He also called for raising price supports to bring them closed to production costs.

United Press International
July 31, 1976

"We will make food, not guns, a major force of American foreign policy. What has been wrong with American foreign policy is that it doesn't represent the values of the American people. Using food to help the starving and the needy would represent us in our finest dimension."

United Press International
July 31, 1976

"The first element of a good farm program. . . is a farm act that allows our producers to put all our resources to work, and that can't be done until we protect them against depression level prices."

United Press International
July 31, 1976

The "stop and go" farm export policies followed by the Republicans "lack stability, lack predictability and are totally unfair to rural America."

United Press International
July 31, 1976

In speech in Pierre, South Dakota, Mondale accused the Republican administration of having a "stop-and-go" agricultural policy and of having little concern for the family farmer:

"Four times in the last three years this 'free market' administration, so-called, has embargoed farm exports, seriously undercutting the position of American agriculture in world trade."

Des Moines Register
August 1, 1976

In speech at Pierre, South Dakota, Mondale said the Democrat farm program would include:

- (1) Price guarantees pegged to production costs to permit sufficient production to meet domestic and foreign demand;
- (2) Increased commodity loan rates and extension of the term of farm loans permitting limited producer-held reserves to guard against shortages;
- (3) Government efforts to restore U.S.'s "reputation as the world's most reliable and competitive supplier of food;" and,

- (4) Appointment to key posts of people who "believe in the farmer and know their first responsibility is to serve him."

Des Moines Register
August 1, 1976

BUSINESS

Mondale has opposed loan guarantees to major corporations saying that "a monopoly is preferable to competition supported by government subsidy." He has advocated efforts to facilitate loans for small businesses.

BUSINESS

In regard to his opposition to a bill authorizing loan guarantees to major business enterprises, Mondale stated:

"In my judgment, these small firms have a much stronger case for government assistance than the larger firms. The small firms have much greater difficulty borrowing in the money markets, and the government-managed credit squeeze of the last 2 years has had a much greater impact on them.

"The bill before us today rewards bigness--it does for the large corporations what we never have done for the small firms. The American people will correctly conclude that to get government assistance, you have to be big and have political clout."

Mondale went on to say that, "though undesirable, a monopoly is preferable to 'competition supported by government subsidy.'"

Congressional Record
July 23, 1971

Mondale, speaking on S. 2303 (emergency loan guarantees to major businesses) and its relation to Lockheed, stated that:

"I would have opposed a special Lockheed bill although I felt that Lockheed had some legitimate complaints concerning its treatment by the Pentagon. My feelings about the general bill are less complicated. I think it would be a disaster. . .

"My own guess--based on the available evidence--is that the banks will come through with the money for Lockheed if the Congress turns down the guarantee."

Congressional Record
July 23, 1971

In introducing a bill to extend periods for which some Small Business Administration loans can be made, Mondale said:

"Mr. President, I have made extensive inquiries about this proposal and in every case there has been agreement that lengthening the term of SBA loans is a safe and responsible proposal. Small bankers in Minnesota have indicated that they now must turn down many potential lenders who would be glad to accommodate if the term of SBA loans was extended, as I am proposing. As I have shown, the job-creating potential of this bill is significant. Given the desperate need for jobs in rural and urban areas, I hope that the Congress will move quickly to approve this bill."

Congressional Record
August 7, 1972

In introducing a bill to encourage banks to grant credit to certain high priority needs, Mondale stated:

"The Federal Reserve Board's present across-the-board tight money squeeze has driven interest rates to their highest levels since the Civil War and imposed severe strain and hardship on many parts of the economy. Yet a great deal of business borrowing and spending continues undeterred, and inflation remains at an intolerable level.

"It is clear that we have gone beyond the limits of what an across-the-board tight money policy can do. The present meat-ax approach is both unworkable and unfair.

"Big business borrowers are getting all the credit they ask, whether they plan to use it for inflation-fighting investment in new productive capacity, or inflation-fueling investment in speculative overbuying of inventory, real estate, and foreign currency speculation, or conglomerate takeovers. . .

"The Federal Reserve Board needs a more selective weapon in its anti-inflation arsenal; the credit allocation legislation I am introducing will give it to them."

Congressional Record
August 13, 1974

In remarks to the Minnesota AFL-CIO, Mondale called for an end to the "near-monopoly that giant businesses now have over loan funds" and advocated selective credit legislation. Under this legislation, the Federal Reserve Board would "make money available at lower cost in critical, productive sectors of our economy--like housing, small business, and agriculture."

The Forum
 Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
September 28, 1974

Senators Mondale and Phil Hart, and Representative Bill Ford sponsored a bill which would prevent increased profits of automobile factories at the expense of the community. It would require hearings by a federal agency before a company could move or close a plant.

New York Times
November 10, 1974

In a Hilton Head, South Carolina interview, Mondale said:

"The nation's savings and loan business is vital to the housing construction business in this country, and we must do whatever is necessary to keep the savings and loan industry healthy."

Birmingham News
July 25, 1976

BUSING

Mondale has been a stringent opponent of efforts to restrict the use of busing in school desegregation. He has labelled busing as "the best known way to overcome de facto segregation." He has called busing "the means--and at times the only means--by which segregation in public education can be reduced, "and has said that busing is "an essential remedy."

Since his selection as the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, Mondale has moderated his rhetoric, saying, "I've never been for forced busing to achieve racial integration. . ."

BUSING

Speaking on the Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1969, Mondale said:

" . . .this amendment would retain provisions prohibiting busing which, to my knowledge, is perhaps the best known way to overcome de facto segregation."

" . . .it does not repeal the provision in the existing statute which prohibits busing to overcome racial imbalance."

Congressional Record
Februray 9, 1970

Speaking on a compromise busing plan, Mondale said:

"Let us not kid ourselves that this does anything about the problem of de facto segregation. It may indeed simply weaken the effort to do anything about de jure segregation."

He called the Stennis amendment a "sanctimonious proposition. It would not repeal existing antibusing laws although busing would provide a short-range solution to de facto segregation," he said.

Congressional Quarterly
Februray 27, 1970

"I think it is obvious and logical that if we bus children on the basis of geography, rather than on the basis of color, we will have less color."

Congressional Record
Februray 28, 1970

" . . .wherever a school board as a matter of policy separates children on the basis of color, such a policy must be ended; and that the court has the authority to require school districts to pursue a host of remedies designed to disabuse the district of that policy. Those remedies could include. . .a policy of busing part of the students."

Congressional Record
February 28, 1970

In discussing the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation, Mondale said that he had found that "de facto increasingly is being seen as just a more subtle form of de jure segregation."

New York Times
April 20, 1970

On the Supreme Court busing decision, Mondale stated:

"I don't know why so many have tried to say the decision affects the South only. In my opinion it's a national decision that strikes at official segregation everywhere--in Minnesota or Mississippi or anywhere."

Minneapolis Tribune
June 20, 1971

"Busing children to achieve integration is unpopular--but in many areas sensible transportation of children is the only way for this generation to achieve some school integration."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

"But if we bar the use of reasonable transportation as one tool for achieving desegregation, we will set in concrete much school segregation which is the clear and direct product of intentional government policy--segregation which would not exist if racially neutral policies had been followed in the first place."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

"Busing is the means--and at times the only means--by which segregation in public education can be reduced. But in itself, busing can be either helpful or harmful."

"It can be the safest, most reasonable way for children to reach integrated schools of high quality. Or it can be used to uproot stable communities, and destroy the one chance that parents have to provide the best for their children."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

". . .we do have a choice to make--not only for ourselves, but for our children and for future generations of Americans. That choice is not between blind acceptance of massive busing for racial balance or total rejection of support for any transportation to achieve school desegregation."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

"Too often the wealthy have fled to suburbs or placed their children in private schools, so that desegregation has only affected the poor."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

"Busing is the way the overwhelming majority of school children outside our central cities get to school. . .

"The issue is not busing or racial balance. The issue is whether we will build on hopeful examples of successful integration to make school desegregation work--or endorse segregation in principle; whether we will help the courts to avoid educational mistakes--or leave them to face the complexities of school desegregation alone."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

In opposing the Griffin antibusing amendment, Mondale said:

"But if we abandon support for school integration where it can be accomplished, if we refuse to support an essential remedy, and if we destroy the public good will necessary to make desegregation successful once it has taken place--we will work tragic harm.

"Black children, and their parents, know that the real issue is not massive busing to achieve an arbitrary racial balance. They know the real issue is our willingness to accept integrated schools. White children know this, too. And the health and stability of our society over the next 50 years will reflect the lessons which we teach our children today."

Congressional Record
February 18, 1972

"Like the President (Nixon), I do not support 'unnecessary transportation to achieve an arbitrary racial balance.' None of the hundreds of educators with whom I have talked in the past two years supports this kind of effort. And the Supreme Court has made it crystal clear that busing will be required only where it is reasonable and does not place undue burdens on school children."

"Nor do I believe that educationally advantaged students should be bused to school, where they will be overwhelmed by a majority of students from the poorest and most disadvantaged backgrounds. All the evidence we have collected indicate that this kind of 'desegregation' helps no one at all."

New York Times
February 19, 1972

"The country is at a crossroads," Mondale said. "School desegregation in the South is largely completed. But we from the North are now beginning to feel the pressure, which our colleagues from the South felt for so many years, to abandon the course set by the 14th Amendment."

"If we do," he continued, "we will deal a blow to public education, in the North and in the South, from which it may never recover."

New York Times
February 19, 1972

"It has been demonstrated that integrated education--sensitively conducted and with community support--can be better education for all children, white as well as black, and rich as well as poor."

New York Times
February 19, 1972

"I am left with a deep conviction--that American education is failing children who are born black, brown, or simply poor." Further, he said, the inquiry convinced him that "integrated education is essential to ending the inequity."

New York Times
February 19, 1972

"The Constitution deals only with segregation which is the result of racially discriminatory official action. But once school officials have taken account of race in assigned students and locating schools, an effective remedy cannot be achieved without taking race into account--and reasonable transportation may also be needed."

Congressional Record
February 24, 1972

"We can assume our share of the burden. We can begin to ask the right question--not whether we should resist school desegregation, but how we can best work to assure that school integration is conducted in a sensible, educationally beneficial manner."

Minneapolis Tribune
February 24, 1972

"I oppose the amendment of the distinguished Junior Senator from Michigan [Griffin].

"Amendment Number 915 seeks to deprive federal courts and agencies of all power to require transportation of students in order to eliminate racially discriminatory school assignment policies. This amendment is unconstitutional. And it attempts to protect racial discrimination of the clearest sort."

Congressional Record
February 25, 1972

"We had an amendment here a year ago to provide help for busing under court order and this administration refused to do so. I think the leadership was trying to say whatever else we do we should not turn our back on those districts caught in the middle and provide no help. That is the least we can do."

Congressional Record
February 25, 1972

"The Senate's duty is clear. Our responsibility is to support the courts and the Constitution. Supporters of the Griffin amendment (anti-busing amendment) would have us believe that the Supreme Court is incapable of making responsible judgments about this issue."

Congressional Record
February 28, 1972

"So the issue is not , to bus or not to bus; it is whether we will build on successful examples to make school desegregation work; whether we will help the courts to avoid educational mistakes--or leave them to face the complexities of school desegregation alone."

New Republic
March 4, 1972

"Every reasonable effort must be made to overcome the results of officially approved school segregation and reasonable transportation will be required where necessary to defeat the results of racially discriminatory student assignment policies. . .

"Quality integrated education--sensibly achieved and with community support--is one of the best hopes for the education of our children and the future of divided communities throughout this nation."

Congressional Quarterly
March 4, 1972

"Contrary to popular impression, courts have not generally ordered excessive busing or engaged in indiscriminate 'racial balancing.' The proportion of children riding buses to school in the Deep South is less than three percent above the national average, and barely seven percent above the average for the Northern and Western states."

New Republic
March 4, 1972

". . .the idea that American children, for the sake of some theory of computerized mixtures, ought to be bused to carry out some kind of balance notion never has made any sense to me. . .Where I draw the line is in trying to deny the court the power it needs to eliminate. . .deliberate public policies that separate children on the basis of race. That. . .is intolerable under the Constitution and intolerable from a public-policy standpoint. And that's why I have resisted attempts to limit the courts' jurisdiction to eliminate discrimination--attempts that often include a ban on busing. There are many other ways that we can work on this problem, but fighting limits on the courts is one that we must work on if we intend to eliminate discrimination."

New Yorker Magazine
May 19, 1973

". . .if we abandon the quest for an integrated society, a good deal of the promise of this country will be gone.

"I think the schools have to be part of this effort--and in many cases, buses are necessary: the key question is how and under what circumstances."

Minneapolis Tribune
January 17, 1976

"In my opinion, if the Griffin amendment (antibusing amendment) were effective-- and I do not see how it could possibly be--it would be the most racially re- gressive measure adopted by Congress since adoption of the 14th Amendment."

Congressional Record
February 25, 1976

"The issue is not busing. The issue is whether we will move ahead to make desegregation work educationally--as Title VI of the Committee amendment, the Emergency School Aid Act, would do--or whether we will try to turn back the constitutional clock, as the pending amendment would do." (Griffin Amendment)

Congressional Record
February 25, 1976

Senator Mondale said he thinks an Atlanta plan that minimizes busing and gives Blacks more control of community schools "shows the way out" of the nation's busing controversy.

"Maybe the Atlanta (court desegregation) order is the best example of handling school desegregation."

Washington Post
July 24, 1976

Mondale said that as a result of the Atlanta court order "the community is together, the schools are working and everybody's happy."

Washington Post
July 24, 1976

"I have never been for forced busing to achieve racial balance in schools." Mondale said July 15, the day after he was named the party's Vice Presidential nominee, that he does not advocate busing as the best method to achieve racial balance. "I just don't want to repeal the 14th Amendment." Mondale said that an administration sincerely trying to solve the problem of discrimination could "sharply reduce the need for busing."

Associated Press
Hilton Head, South Carolina
July 24, 1976

"My position has always been not for busing as such but that I'm opposed to repeal of the 14th Amendment, which prohibits discrimination. A sensitive government would use its influence to work with the courts to achieve the elimination of discrimination in ways that diminish the disruption and tensions and the unnecessary busing. Atlanta may be the example of how it should be handled. . .They worked out a program in which there's minimum busing, but in which the Black feels thoroughly comfortable."

Time Magazine
July 26, 1976

When asked if he has been moderating some of his positions, Mondale said:

"For instance, on busing, I didn't moderate my view. It's always been where I've been. I'm not for busing except where the court may find it necessary to eliminate discrimination. But the stories have always been 'Mr. Busing.' So now for the first time I've got a national audience and I say where I really was, and I have a hundred speeches where I said just what I said in that news conference, so now the story is 'he's moderating.' I'm not moderating."

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

When asked: "How do you tackle something like the Atlanta city schools, where there is no massive busing but there is also no integration any more?" Mondale responded:

"Within a school district. The only position I've taken affecting public education is I've been unwilling to accept the notion of discrimination under the law. In other words, where there is an official policy by which a governmental body deliberately separates children who would otherwise be together, separates them on the basis of race, I have been unwilling to take that (remedial) jurisdiction away from the courts."

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

In an interview, Mondale stated:

"I've never been for busing for busing's sake. I've never been for forced busing to achieve racial integration, never been for that. People can live where they please as long as there's not official discrimination. What I object to is official discrimination.

"I believe a government that tries can work with the courts, work with the community, can bring about a remedy like the one in Atlanta, which is Constitutionally sound but in which both the schools and the community move forward.

"Every time I've spoken on this issue, I've said exactly what I just said, but some reporters have taken it as though I'm for busing for some social purpose. I never was and I always said so."

Chicago Tribune
August 9, 1976

CAMPAIGN FINANCES

In 1969, Mondale stood on the floor of the Senate and announced he had never "received one dime as a campaign contribution from a union." Today, as a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, he is one of the largest recipients of union funds in the Senate.

Mondale has received several questionable corporate contributions, but has denied knowledge of any of them.



CAMPAIGN FINANCES

"Let me say that I have been in politics for 20 years. I ran for the U.S. Senate and I have never received one dime as a campaign contribution from a union."

Congressional Record
December 8, 1969

Mondale received \$5,000 from a dairy farmers' organization less than three months after he cosponsored legislation to raise milk-price supports. The money came from the Associated Milk Producers, Inc.

Congressional Record
October 26, 1971

Saying he supported full disclosure of political contributions but wanted the rules to be the same for everyone, Mondale said he wouldn't disclose the sources of contributions to his campaign prior to April 7, 1972.

St. Cloud Times
August 14, 1972

"First, I never accept a contribution in exchange for anything. If the contribution does not come voluntarily and without strings, I simply won't take it.

"Second, I try never to accept money from any source in a quantity that crowds my own judgement. If it strikes me as too much, depending on its source, then it probably is.

"Third, I try very hard to broaden the base of my contributions so that they cover as wide a spectrum as possible in sums that are as small as possible.

"And last, I believe in a practice of prompt and full disclosure of all sources of campaign funds."

Today's Health
September 1972

Nearly one-third of the \$100,000 Mondale collected in his campaign for re-election has been donated by labor organizations.

The largest labor contribution came from the AFL-CIO's political action arm, COPE, which gave \$5,500. The United Steelworkers of America Political Action Fund gave another \$5,000. Most of the others were \$500 and \$1,000 contributions.

Mondale is a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee in the Senate.

St. Cloud Times
September 11, 1972

Mondale urged leaders of the nation's farm cooperatives to become more involved politically if they want to have responsive government.

"Face up to the reality of financing political campaigns--then get some money together to help your friends get elected to Congress."

Birmingham News
March 8, 1973

Mondale maintained that financing elections through private contributions resulted in the "American government being put up for sale to the highest bidder, a buy America campaign."

New York Times
December 2, 1973

The political fund of Associated Milk Producers, Inc. in October 1972 reported a \$2,000 campaign contribution to Senator Mondale and then deleted it from the public record without explanation.

Mike Berman, a Mondale staff assistant, who doubled as campaign treasurer, said of the \$2,000: "I just don't think we got it." No such money, he said, "ever came to me." He surmised the \$2,000 may have been recalled by Associated in midstream.

Minneapolis Tribune
May 21, 1974

The 3M Company entered a plea of guilty to the charge of illegal political gifts. Walter Mondale was one of those receiving such gifts.

New York Times
January 23, 1975

In response to a questionnaire sent by Carter to his prospective running mates, Mondale stated:

"In 1966, when running for the U.S. Senate, I held a joint fund-raising event with the then-governor. One of his fund-raisers raised \$2,000 from a family known as the Kitzers, who owned the Allied Insurance Co. which subsequently became deeply involved in legal difficulties. It developed that the contribution was from corporate funds although I had absolutely no knowledge of that fact. When I discovered it, I immediately sent \$1,000 (I was splitting the proceeds of the fund-raiser with the governor) back to the Kitzers."

Vermont Times-Argus
August 3, 1976

CIVIL RIGHTS/MINORITIES/BLACKS

Mondale takes great pride in being the dauntless defender of civil rights. He has constantly criticized Republican administrations, governmental agencies, and the South of being insensitive to the rights of Americans.

He has particularly taken to heart the causes of the Southern Blacks and the American Indians.

CIVIL RIGHTS/MINORITIES/BLACKS

In a speech before the State Commission Against Discrimination, Mondale said:

"I have long felt that we are long on preaching and short on performance in Minnesota.

"Every citizen has the right to expect a certain minimum of legal protection against assaults on his dignity as a human being. If we are to provide this protection, reform of our civil rights laws is essential."

The Forum
 Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
 January 22, 1964

In speaking of racial incidents in Selma, Alabama, Mondale said:

"The diabolical pattern of sham literacy tests, intimidation and brutality used to prevent the Southern Negro from registering to vote is well documented and well known."

Mondale Newsletter
 "Reports to Minnesota"
 March 11, 1965

Mondale criticized the Department of Defense for awarding contracts to several Southern textile mills and charged that it was part of Nixon's Southern strategy, which had included promises that the "heat would be off" in civil rights cases. Mondale said of Defense contracts: "It would be a reasonable guess that this is a payoff."

Washington Post
 February 27, 1969

Mondale accused the Nixon Administration of paying off political debts to the South by giving Defense contracts to "segregationist" Southern textile mills.

"It's well know there was a Southern white strategy in the November campaign to assure Southern white racists" that federal enforcement of civil rights laws on schools and job equality would be eased, Mondale said.

"It's my guess this is part of the payoff."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
 February 27, 1969

Mondale criticized the Bureau of Indian Affairs for not allowing a greater voice to Indians in education of their children.

"What is there about Indians that should make them any less desirous about having something to say about the education of their children?"

In criticism directed at the BIA Commissioner, Robert Bennet, Mondale said:

"Isn't it about time that you permit Indian parents to control the education of their children and stop this nonsense?"

St. Paul Pioneer Press
March 28, 1969

In opposing a proposal by John Stennis to apply school desegregation guidelines throughout the country, Mondale claimed it would provide "those who oppose the elimination of the dual school system throughout this country, primarily in the South, a powerful new weapon to resist the elimination of de jure segregation."

St. Paul Dispatch
February 28, 1970

In speaking of attempts to achieve racial balance in schools, Mondale said that "we will never solve this national problem or have a national policy until Northern Whites realize that they have to move away from their hypocrisy and recognize that they can't just sock it to the South, that they must take action themselves."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
March 2, 1970

In speaking on the Stennis Amendment, Mondale said:

"What I'm saying is that I think the South in a sense got away with murder when they successfully confused official discrimination, which is illegal, with the moral and educational problems. The problems surrounding de facto segregation. . . are not legal problems."

Christian Science Monitor
March 4, 1970

In speaking of the effects of the Stennis Amendment, Mondale said:

"But I think what the South, those who favor discrimination, will do is say, well, now, HEW, you get out of Bogalusa and you go to Boston and don't you come back here until you've solved de facto segregation. . . What they have in mind is blocking the elimination of the dual school system in the South."

Christian Science Monitor
March 4, 1970

Mondale criticized a Nixon Administration proposal calling for spending \$1.5 billion over two years for aid to schools which were desegregating because there were not enough guidelines.

"I do not think the Congress should grant this much discretion to an Administration whose record in the field of human rights is spotty, at best."

Mondale also criticized the proposal because it would reward "those states whose school districts are under federal court order to desegregate. But it penalizes those states that voluntarily integrate their schools.

"To reward those who resist integration over those who integrate voluntarily seems to me to display a wrong order of priorities."

Minneapolis Tribune
May 24, 1970

". . .now that the crunch is on and as the courts order more desegregation, the rate of dismissal of Blacks will most likely rise."

New York Times
June 17, 1970

Speaking on the frustration of Blacks caused by problems of integration, Mondale said:

"Right now my impression is that most black people still believe in integration. But, I'm under the impression that this support is beginning to wane. If the law of the land continues to be some sort of trick, I can see where the Black Americans will back off from living together in society."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
July 27, 1970

Speaking in criticism of the IRS and its "deception" in tax exempt status for segregated private schools in Mississippi, Mondale said:

"Instead of determining, as the court ordered, whether these schools are in fact operated on a racially segregated basis to permit white students to avoid public school desegregation, the IRS has asked them simply to announce an open admissions policy."

"It waited until September school enrollments were closed and classes were filled without a single Black admission and then suspended exemptions of only those 11 schools which refused to promise they would open their doors to black students.

"Both the timing of the IRS actions and the substitution of its own freedom-of-choice open-admissions criteria for those ordered by the court have assured 30 Mississippi segregation academies that they will be able to operate all-white schools without admitting black students during the coming school year."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
August 22, 1970

In announcing the results of an investigation into the Administration's handling of funds to assist schools in integration, Mondale said:

"Probably the most serious indictment, in addition to unbelievably sloppy administration of these funds, is that there didn't seem to be any affirmative concern about encouraging hopeful, healthy desegregation efforts."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
March 16, 1971

In a letter to Interior Secretary Rogers Morton on the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mondale stated:

"Under Commissioner Bruce's leadership, the Bureau had been making significant progress toward the goal of true Indian self-determination-- a goal which has been consistently thwarted by the indifference and paternalism of Bureau and Interior Department officials in the past."

Minneapolis Tribune
August 20, 1971

"We believe in an America which prohibits discrimination for an irrational reason."

Des Moines Register
July 17, 1976

CONSUMERS

Mondale has been a consistent advocate of federal legislation in the field of consumer protection. He has supported proposals for a Consumer Protection Agency and has advocated legislation to facilitate class-action lawsuits by consumers.



CONSUMERS

"The battle for the consumer's rights is a continuing one, which demands constant attention to the often difficult problem of reconciling the legitimate desires of the public with the legitimate claims of business to maximum operating freedom under the free enterprise system."

State DFL News
July 1964

"Existing federal consumer agencies are outmanned and outgunned by powerful corporations. In most cases, they have become captives of the special interests they were supposed to regulate."

Mankato Free Press
October 4, 1971

"The consumer class-action bill would be a major step toward bringing thousands of American consumers closer to the courtroom, by allowing them to band together to protect rights that they could not protect individually."

Minneapolis Tribune
June 25, 1972

"I propose to allow the Administration of the Consumer Protection Agency the power to aid--with information and financial assistance--private, consumer organizations that wish to intervene in or participate in agency or judicial proceedings which affect consumer interests."

Congressional Record
June 24, 1974

"Literally thousands of Americans have been defrauded of millions of dollars by pyramid sales. The pyramid sales scheme is America's number one consumer fraud problem." Some states have been very successful in curbing the practice, Mondale said, but federal legislation was needed to prevent violators from escaping to states with weak or nonexistent anti-pyramid sales laws.

Congressional Quarterly
May 24, 1975

COURTS

Mondale has voted against most of the Republican appointments to the Supreme Court. His opposition to each appointee being basically the same--"insensitivity and indifference to human rights."

COURTS

"It's a tragic situation, but on the balance of things it's very close, and I think he (Justice Abe Fortas) should resign from the court."

Minneapolis Tribune
May 11, 1969

Mondale said his principal ground for opposing Judge Clement Haynsworth is the Judge's "view of American society."

Judge Haynsworth, Mondale said, "comes out of an environment" that has been consistently anti-labor and anti-civil rights, "and his rulings reflect that."

Minneapolis Tribune
September 28, 1969

Mondale said he decided to vote against Harold Carswell's Confirmation because of what he termed Carswell's "insensitivity to racial discrimination."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
January 30, 1970

Speaking in favor of the Criminal Justice Reform Act, Mondale said:

"The bill contains one basic standard designed to accomplish the expeditious disposition of criminal cases in those states participating in the program. This standard requires that a state--and its localities--implement whatever reforms necessary to insure that the trial of all criminal cases will be commenced no later than 60 days from the date of a defendant's arrest or the initiation of prosecution--whichever occurs first. Failure to meet this standard will result in dismissal with prejudice of the charges against the defendant."

Congressional Record
January 28, 1971

Mondale said William Rehnquist's "record demonstrates a persistent insensitivity and indifference to human rights. During a period when this country has tried to insure equality under the law, Mr. Rehnquist often went out of his way to oppose legal efforts to end various types of racial discrimination."

Minneapolis Tribune
December 5, 1971

CRIME/DRUGS

Mondale has been an advocate of a stronger federal role in reforming state criminal justice systems. He was a sponsor of legislation to impose sanctions on countries involved in heroin traffic and introduced legislation to compensate victims of violent crime.

CRIME/DRUGS

Speaking on the Criminal Justice Reform Act, Mondale said:

"We are committed to the basic premise underlying this legislation: that the crime rate will not be significantly reduced unless there is comprehensive reform of every aspect of a state's criminal justice system and that such reform must be planned and implemented by state and local governments with substantial federal financial and technical assistance."

"The principle here is simple: criminal justice must remain primarily the responsibility of state and local governments; but the Federal government can play a vital role in encouraging and financing reform."

Congressional Record
January 28, 1971

"I am introducing here comprehensive legislation which would build an international quarantine to stamp out heroin traffic. The bill provides means to do this through fair cooperation with other countries. It offers assistance in diversifying crops and a major U.S. contribution to an international police campaign to break the drug network of processing and distribution.

"But if this cooperation is not forth-coming, if others show evasion or indifference in our emergency, then my bill would call for strict penalties--the suspension of all U.S. military, economic, and other assistance, and ultimately an action to impose United Nations sanctions.

"I know these are harsh measures. They are made necessary by the harsh realities of what the heroin traffic is doing to our Nation."

Congressional Record
February 1, 1971

In speaking of the problem of drug addiction and its causes, Mondale said:

"Our crisis was ignited by poverty, bigotry, despair--by schools that mutilate a child's mind and spirit, by perverted priorities that elevate gadgets over human beings."

Congressional Record
February 19, 1971

Speaking on his proposal for a commission to study the relationship between crime and drug addiction, Mondale said the commission would "recommend a nationwide program to control that addiction and thus the crime that results from it.

"It should be clearly understood that the ultimate purpose of this Commission is to reduce substantially the crimes committed by addicts. Toward this goal, every legitimate method consistent with Constitutional rights must be explored.

"If the Commission's answer is a government-run drug maintenance program, so be it. Such a recommendation would not necessarily eliminate drug addiction. But it could eliminate the need to steal in support of a \$75 a day habit."

Congressional Record
February 19, 1971

"On February 1, 1971, I introduced a bill to stop heroin addiction at its source, in the poppy fields and processing laboratories of our nation's friends and allies. My bill, the International Opium Control Act, would cut off all U.S. economic and military aid to countries which continue to produce or process heroin. It would offer economic and technical assistance over a limited period of time to help cooperating nations cushion the cost of replacing opium with other crops.

"The choice we must make is plain--continued equivocation or commitment to treat heroin traffic as a priority matter in foreign policy. If we equivocate, our allies may pledge cooperation, as in the past, while they allow greater and greater quantities of heroin to be exported to the United States. If we act firmly, we may benefit, not only Americans, but the millions of addicts in other countries as well."

Congressional Record
March 19, 1971

In introducing a bill to compensate victims of violent crime, Mondale said the rights of victims as well as criminals should be respected:

"It is a mockery of justice that an innocent victim should be forced to bear the experience of the crime and also the burden of paying for it."

Minneapolis Tribune
November 6, 1971

Mondale said that the problem of drug abuse is "one that is growing relentlessly and being sustained by a flow of narcotics from countries that are supposed to be our friends and allies," mentioning Turkey, France, and South Vietnam as countries not cooperating with the U.S. in the battle against drugs.

St. Paul Pioneer Press
December 13, 1971

Speaking at St. Olaf College on the subject of prison reform, Mondale said:

"Despite all we know about prison reform and its role in reducing crime, despite the relatively low cost of these reforms, the unavoidable fact is that our country has not cared enough to do something about it."

Mondale went on to say that:

"The ultimate reason for the failure is political cowardice in the face of prevailing myths in this country. It just may be officials are afraid to go beyond the rhetoric of reform and clean up our prisons-- afraid they will be charged with old scare phrases of 'coddling the criminal and permissiveness.'"

Faribault Daily News
Faribault, Minnesota
February 11, 1972

In speaking in favor of a bill to compensate victims of violent crimes, Mondale said:

"Our society has the responsibility to protect its citizens. Individuals are discouraged from carrying weapons for self defense, so when someone suffers an injury at the hands of a criminal, the government has essentially failed in its duty to that citizen. It is only fair that some restitution be provided."

Congressional Record
March 28, 1972

As for legalization of marijuana, Mondale said he does not favor complete legalization, but a modification of present laws with an emphasis on prosecution of "pushers."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
August 3, 1972

Speaking on the ban of U.S. aid to Turkey because of opium production, Mondale said:

"I can understand Turkish sensitivities and realize that the possibility of an aid cut-off could hurt Turkish pride. That is not the objective. I do not want to infringe on Turkish sovereignty nor make life more difficult for the Turkish government which is struggling back toward democratic rule. I am against growing opium in this country as well as in Turkey. I recognize that drug addiction is primarily an internal U.S. problem. But the Turkish people and the Turkish government will have to understand that the growing of opium poppies is not just an internal Turkish problem. It affects the lives of Americans."

Congressional Record
May 9, 1974

Mondale said that Turkey "should not be able to be the recipient of vast profits through the illicit sale of addictive drugs to our young people and at the same time have their hand out taking hundreds of millions of dollars from the taxpayers of the United States in the form of military and economic aid. They cannot have it both ways."

Congressional Quarterly
July 20, 1974

"Specifically, I have never asked that diplomatic relations with Turkey be severed. I have, however, proposed that the U.S. terminate military and economic assistance to that nation unless they are able to prove that the opium they intend to begin growing again will not find its way into illegal channels."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
August 21, 1974

Mondale told James Adams, Assistant to the Director of the FBI, that the Bureau had botched its job in investigating political activities, and said:

"It has interfered with civil liberties and finally in the last month or two through its public disclosures has heaped shame upon itself and really led toward the undermining of crucial public confidence essential to law enforcement agencies in the country."

Los Angeles Times
December 3, 1975

Mondale said that over the last year the intelligence panel (Subcommittee on Domestic Intelligence Matters) had seen a "broad pattern" of abuses by the FBI in counter-intelligence.

New York Times
January 5, 1976

Mondale, head of the Senate Subcommittee on Domestic Intelligence, stated that the subcommittee's chief area of concern is the Justice Department's proposal that the FBI be permitted to move clandestinely against violence-prone groups if it believed there was a "likelihood" that they were preparing to engage in terrorist or other criminal activities that threatened the national security.

New York Times
January 5, 1976

Speaking of the difficulty in drawing the line in domestic intelligence matters, Mondale said:

"We don't want terrorists running loose around the country, we don't want organized crime running loose, we don't want drug pushers running loose, and the FBI says they want to use techniques that might not be Constitutionally appropriate."

Minneapolis Tribune
February 1, 1976

Speaking of the FBI's campaign to discredit Martin Luther King, Mondale said it was an episode which "went clear beyond the Constitution, the law and due process.

"It had nothing to do with terrorism, Communism, or anything else. They just had a vendetta against him. That's the kind of thing we have to stop."

Minneapolis Tribune
February 1, 1976

Speaking on the subject of giving the FBI investigative authority beyond violations of criminal law, Mondale said this would be a "step off a cliff. When you go beyond criminal law and get into political ideas, you're in trouble."

Congressional Quarterly
February 7, 1976

Mondale said, "There is evidence we (the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities) haven't seen everything," in regards to intelligence agencies' material on secret operations. He said that committee staff members had come across an FBI file with an assassination heading while working on an investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy.

"It was apparently labeled 'Assassination: Mr. Castro,' or something like that," Mondale said.

New York Times
May 17, 1976

Q: "Where do you stand on the death penalty?"

A: "I've always opposed the death penalty for two or three reasons. Innocent people might lose their lives; secondly, it makes it harder to get a conviction; and thirdly, it's brutal.

"There may be limited areas where it might make some sense. I think the governor and I may disagree on some of those areas. But I haven't really looked at his position."

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

Speaking on the FBI, Mondale said he would urge Carter to restore the FBI to being "an effective, hard-hitting, tough, law-abiding organization that has the respect of the American public," and went on to say that "it is absolutely crucial that the Attorney General control and direct far more closely than he does the day-to-day operations of the bureau."

Los Angeles Times

August 12, 1976

Mondale claimed that Attorney General Levi failed to provide the Senate Intelligence Committee with a list of FBI irregularities, saying that if he had done so, the Committee might have discovered which FBI employees had deceived Director Clarence Kelly into believing burglaries had ceased in 1966. This was disputed by Levi, who said "Senator Mondale is wrong when he implies that the Justice Department never provided" the list.

Los Angeles Times

August 13, 1976

DEFENSE

Criticism of defense spending has been a favorite topic of objection for Mondale. With a standard liberal explanation, Mondale says, "I believe in a strong national defense," but has favored almost every proposed defense cut that has passed before the Senate. Inconsistent with this posture, however, he has supported development of the B-1 bomber.

Mondale opposes blanket amnesty for draft evaders, but favors a case by case examination.

DEFENSE

"Yes, the Democrats are partly to blame for giving the Pentagon a blank check. But we haven't changed our attitude just because of a change in administration. I opposed the ABM (Anti-ballistic missile) when Johnson was president and I have been fighting defense spending for two years."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
June 13, 1969

Mondale said that deployment of the Safeguard system [ABM] will cost the United States "a rare opportunity to level off the arms race."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
July 29, 1969

"I believe in a strong national defense," Mondale said. "But the thinking of the Defense Department is difficult to change. The people there are not bad. It is a question of habits."

Rochester Post-Bulletin
September 4, 1969

In speaking of ways to cut inflation, Mondale said: "We must continue to search for economy in government spending. The major area for such saving remains the Pentagon budget."

Hopkins Sun
January 29, 1970

On the fact that most defense contracts were arrived at through negotiation rather than competitive bidding, Mondale said:

"Differing companies use different accounting methods to arrive at their costs under this type of procurement. The complexity of cost accounting makes it nearly impossible at times to compare contracts, to calculate actual profit or to keep track of what costs should reasonably be charged to the taxpayer."

Congressional Quarterly
April 17, 1970

"With the advent of Minuteman and Polaris missiles, the attack carrier is no longer part of our strategic nuclear forces. Its main role today is to provide air cover for such limited war missions as bombing enemy supply lines and supporting ground troops."

Family Weekly
May 24, 1970

Mondale told the Joint Services Subcommittee that "rapid technological innovations in missile development have made the carrier unusable in all but the most limited conflicts."

New York Times
March 28, 1971

Mondale announced that he will vote against extension of the military draft.

Red Wing Republican Eagle
June 4, 1971

"...the burden of proof for this billion-dollar investment in the CVAN-70 is to show why more than 12 fully modern carriers are essential to national security. Yet, nowhere has the Navy made that case."

Congressional Record
July 26, 1972

"I do not favor blanket amnesty of draft evaders. This should be on a case to case basis, with an alternate public service as a remedy in some cases. And battle field desertions are wholly beyond equities."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
August 31, 1972

In regard to a bill which would allow money for combat troops in Cambodia only on congressional authorization, Mondale stated:

"It is to avoid a constitutional tragedy as well as a further human tragedy. Twelve years after American forces were first committed to Vietnam in the name of protecting a friendly but vulnerable government once again a President of the United States entirely on his own is using U.S. military force in a foreign country with absolutely no constitutional authority for doing so."

Congressional Record
April 11, 1973

"The ratio of high ranking officers to enlisted men is far out of proportion. Colonels drawing well over \$20,000 a year are used to carry around charts and hold pointers during Pentagon briefings on why the Defense Department needs additional manpower."

St. Paul Dispatch
August 15, 1973

"On the military side, the grade structure has become so top heavy with high-ranking officers, it's not like a pyramid, but like a baloon."

Minneapolis Tribune
August 16, 1973

"I had originally intended to offer an amendment which would have required the Secretary of Defense, in implementing whatever manpower reduction is passed by Congress, to reduce all grades in each military department by the same percentage figure. But I have come to believe that there are genuine questions of equity for those officers who have devoted their careers to military service, and efficiency in carrying out those cuts in such a short period. I therefore decided to modify my approach in offering this amendment."

Congressional Record
September 21, 1973

Mondale said that the active strength of Armed Services cut to 156,000 men will save \$1.6 billion annually.

"I congratulate the Armed Services Committee for taking this responsible action. I share the committee's concern that the U.S. maintain a fully adequate defense capability; but one that is also efficient and balanced."

Congressional Record
September 21, 1973

"I believe that we must emphasize other more stabilizing options: mobility-land or air mobile Inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBM's), or more submarine-launched ballistic missiles. We also can further diversify our forces such as by adding a long-range stand-off cruise missile capability for our ships and planes. This would continue the traditional U.S. policy of producing an assured deterrent by making clear that there will be no advantage to be gained by the Soviets in trying for a first strike capability; at the same time, these programs will not threaten the "Soviets with a first strike."

Congressional Record
June 7, 1974

"We must not have the Trident as our only option [to strategic ballistic submarine missile programs] particularly when it faces such serious cost problems and such serious questions have been raised about its strategic value."

Congressional Record
June 11, 1974

Mondale supports President Nixon's efforts in the Soviet Union to come to a strategic arms agreement.

Mankato Free Press
Mankato, Minnesota
July 3, 1974

"According to the White House the main accomplishment of 'the Vladivostock Summit' was the agreement to limit strategic arms. The agreement was presented to the press as a breakthrough, as a major achievement in the effort to gain control over the strategic arms race.

"I believe this claim will not stand up to analysis. The Vladivostock agreement will do little to alleviate the arms race and, in fact, there is a grave danger that the agreement may stimulate it."

Congressional Record
December 12, 1974

"I am voting for the B-1 because I believe that the thrust of our strategic programs should be in the direction of survivability and flexibility. Despite many of its drawbacks in performance and cost, the B-1 at least moves in the right direction."

Congressional Record
June 5, 1975

"We have kept our military machine polished but have let our cities decay, our transportation systems collapse, our national unity dissolve..."

New York Times
June 6, 1975

"The concept of limited use of strategic weapons is something that could only be conceived in the isolation of some think tank."

Congressional Quarterly
August 9, 1975

Mondale said, on the subject of keeping up with the Soviet Union in nuclear armaments, "The right response to increased Soviet counterforce is not more counterforce on our side." To avoid dangers of increased missile accuracy, the U.S. should invest time in assuring survivability of its nuclear arsenal, according to Mondale. He suggested increasing the mobility of IBCM force, so that missiles could be moved from silo to silo and confound Soviet offensive strategy.

Congressional Quarterly
August 9, 1975

"I hope the up-coming debate in the Senate will help answer the question..."Is the B-1 a prudent defense investment for the United States?" Frankly, I have my doubts."

Minneapolis Tribune
February 28, 1976

"I will continue favoring the completion of the research and development phase of the B-1. But I will oppose giving the go-ahead on production."

Congressional Record
May 20, 1976

Mondale said in Plains, Georgia, that the key to the nation's defense should be maneuverability of weapons and their delivery systems. He used this as an explanation for his approval in the Senate of the B-1 Bomber.

Washington Post
July 28, 1976

ECONOMY

Mondale considers the answer to economic problems to be the creation of public service jobs and wage-price control programs.

Mondale agrees that a "ceiling on expenditures is badly needed;" however, he has favored raising debt ceilings and supported some of the most expensive legislation ever proposed.

ECONOMY

"The lack of trained manpower is perhaps the greatest impediment to sustained economic growth in America today. Skilled labor is scarce."

Fergus Falls Daily Journal
November 2, 1965

"Current economic policies are heading us into one of America's modern economic marvels - the inflationary recession."

"We are suffering now from a policy which lacks the flexibility, imagination and dynamic leadership demanded by the inflationary recession of 1970."

"... the administration must cease its adamant refusal to take an active interest in price and wage decisions which adversely affect the national interest."

Minneapolis Star
February 19, 1970

Mondale said that the pending import quota bill is part of a dangerous wave of United States economic isolationism that could hurt American shippers, manufacturers and consumers.

"It is a Pandora's box of protectionism which openly invites higher prices to the American consumer and serious retaliation, economic isolationism and a serious setback to world trade negotiations."

Mondale stressed that American agriculture probably would be hurt first and most if Japan, for example, should retaliate against the U.S. for limiting Japanese textile exports to this country.

New York Times
September 26, 1970

Mondale called President Nixon's freeze policies "courageous and dramatic," but full of inequities. "What is needed, immediately, is a mechanism such as the wage stabilization board of the Korean period to deal quickly and efficiently with the main complaints.

"I think to let go the controls would be insane at this time," adding that some form of controls may last for years.

Mankato Free Press
September 2, 1971

"We must cut the business tax cuts in half, greatly increase the tax relief for consumers, provide a program of extended unemployment insurance benefits and double the number of public service jobs for the unemployed."

The Forum
September 14, 1971

"In a nutshell, the problem we are trying to solve is that of 5 million unemployed

Americans - people who want to work. Instead, we are spending billions of dollars on unemployment compensation and welfare payments. We paid out \$78 million in unemployment benefits in Minnesota, alone, last year. But we have, as yet, no plan or program to give them the work they would prefer to do.

"What then, is the answer? It seems to me to be public service employment. The industry of public service is one in which there is tremendous need for jobs to be done. At the same time, creating new jobs is, without a doubt, the most reliable way of counteracting the unemployment problem."

Congressional Record
January 31, 1972

Legislation that would increase to 500,000 the number of public service jobs available under the Emergency Employment Act has been introduced by Senator Mondale.

He said it would reduce unemployment without contributing to inflation "because it will put unemployed people to work without creating upward pressure on wage rates."

Mondale Newsletter
"Reports to Minnesota"
Spring 1972

Speaking in favor of his proposal for an Excess Property Distribution Program in OEO, Mondale said:

"Mr. President, I find it sad and ironic that at a time when the Administration is concerned about inflation and is invoking price and wage controls, they are attempting to get perhaps the most effective and most justifiable price control mechanism of the federal government.

"In closing, I suggest that the issue underlying this legislation is whether the Government should be encouraged to do all it can to save money for the taxpayers, and whether vital and significant public service programs should be threatened or diluted simply because the suggestion has been made - although not documented - that some businessmen are not satisfied with their present level of profits."

Congressional Record
July 19, 1972

Mondale, keynoted the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention with a call for a "wage-price control program. . .that controls prices as vigorously as wages."

Mondale accused the Administration of having "held the lid on the average worker's wages, trod lightly on prices and done nothing about profits or interest rates."

St. Paul Dispatch
September 25, 1972

Mondale called for a "wage-price control program. . .that controls prices as vigorously as wages."

He contended the Administration "has held the lid on the average worker's wages, trod

lightly on prices and done nothing about profits - or interest rates.

West Central Daily Tribune
September 26, 1972

"Everyone agrees that a ceiling on expenditures is badly needed. The American people cannot afford to pay in inflation for the continued deficits on the record level of recent years." Mondale went on to note that:

"In recent months the need to bring spending under control has become ever more urgent. We are now experiencing the worst inflation in 22 years, putting an intolerable burden on our citizens and threatening the stability of the dollar abroad.

"Much of this is due to delayed adoption and premature abandonment of wage and price controls and other economic mistakes, but some of it is due to our spiraling deficits.

"By acting now to impose a firm ceiling on spending, we can assure American citizens that inflation will not be fueled by more deficit spending, and we can assure our friends abroad that we are doing our part to maintain the stability of the dollar.

"We can demonstrate clearly that Congress is prepared to act in a fiscally responsible manner."

Congressional Record
April 4, 1973

Speaking on the showdown between President Nixon and the Congress on spending, Mondale said:

"The people think we're spenders, but they're worried about one-man rule; if we make it clear we're responsible in spending and worried about the value of the dollar - and that this is the real issue - I think we'll win, although it will be a slow process."

National Journal
April 14, 1973

Mondale proposed an amendment imposing a 90-day across-the-board freeze on prices, rents, and consumer interest rates. The freeze would not apply to wages.

"In my opinion it would be unfair to force working Americans to remain behind in the race against inflation, and therefore I believe that moderate wage increases must be permitted simply to keep pace."

Congressional Record
June 4, 1973

The issue "is not spending, it's priorities for spending. President Nixon has proposed a fundamental --almost revolutionary -- appeal to change the direction of the country from one of compassion to one of almost selfishness."

New York Times
June 15, 1973

"I believe we need a restrictive budget in the sense we cannot permit high deficits at this point during serious inflation. But we can both diminish deficits and increase support for needed public services by closing tax loopholes, which would have a salutary effect on the economy, and by reordering priorities."

Christian Science Monitor
September 2, 1973

"The United States, Japan, and the Common Market countries are all suffering from intolerable rates of inflation. This inflation poses a threat to our political institutions, for the continual increases in the cost of living tend to erode public confidence in government.

"When prices spiral out of control, people may reach out for government which can effectively halt inflation even at the expense of their democratic traditions.

"Inflation is eating away at the real earnings of working people in the United States. Shortages of food, fuel, timber, cotton, scrap iron, cement, and many other products are a major cause of rapid inflation this year."

Congressional Record
December 3, 1973

Mondale called inflation "the most reactionary force in the world today," because of the way it endangers the foundations of Western democratic society. Mondale said that during a recent Atlantic community conference in France "it was frequently brought to my attention that no nation has ever experienced inflation of greater than 20 percent and survived as a democratic society."

Minneapolis Tribune
April 24, 1974

Mondale said that William Simon's opposition to the Democrat-backed tax cut was "typical of the old-fashioned big banker's approach to the economy."

New York Times
April 24, 1974

"Certainly more business investment and production is important, but why must it come from more tax subsidies for big business, and not from a demand - increasing tax cuts for workers?"

The Mondale Memo
July, 1974

"They [Nixon-Ford] gave us the first \$200-billion budget and then the first \$300-billion budget. They've given us seven wage controllers, six energy czars, five Treasury Secretaries, two freezes and four phases."

New York Times
October 10, 1974

"Now, President Ford, "Mondale said, "we're talking to you. We are asking for jobs now. And if we don't get them we're going to get a new President."

New York Times
February 5, 1975

"The trouble with the Ford budget," said Mondale, "is that he listened to those Republicans who still pray to the god of balanced budgets."

Mondale said the economy could tolerate a deficit much bigger than Ford's projected \$52 billion for the 1976 fiscal year, and might even need it to make a deal in unemployment.

Congressional Quarterly
February 8, 1975

Mondale told the Senate Finance Committee that the tax increase of the Administration should be blocked because "they have not told us why the one million-barrel per day cut (in imports) is needed this year with our economy already in deep recession."

Houston Chronicle
February 8, 1975

"President Ford is disturbed by the projected \$52 billion deficit for fiscal year 1976, and he should be. But he is disturbed for the wrong reasons.

"Some deficits result from excessive Federal spending. The \$25 billion 'guns and butter' deficit of fiscal year 1968 was one of these.

"But others result from recession and declining revenues. That is what has caused the huge fiscal year 1976 deficit, and President Ford says as much in his budget message."

Congressional Record
February 11, 1975

"What America needs above all is a system which will provide jobs for all people who want to work and give them economic security during periods when our system proves unable to provide employment. To accomplish this, a comprehensive system is needed which will provide incentives to private industry to provide jobs, expand programs for public service employment so that much of our needed public works can be accomplished, provide job training in needed job skills, and provide income maintenance based upon unemployment compensation when work is unavailable."

Congressional Record
July 10, 1975

Mondale said a Library of Congress study found that bills vetoed by President Ford this year would have produced 638,500 jobs.

"While claiming to be doing something positive about our economic adversity, the President is instead adding to our high unemployment by his unfortunate vetoes."

United Press International
August 2, 1975

"Nixon hyped up the economy in 1971 and 1972 and then right after the election we went cold turkey," Mondale said, and that sequence caused a pre-election boom and post-election economic trouble.

New York Times
October 22, 1975

Mondale sponsored an amendment that would have raised 1976 spending by \$89 billion - a move rejected by an overwhelming Senate vote.

Pittsburgh Press
July 16, 1976

"...I strongly favor full employment policies in the private sector. I want right now, under these circumstances, more stimulative fiscal and monetary policies that put these people back to work.

"Well, some people say that's very liberal. I happen to think it's very conservative. Work is fundamental to American life."

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

"...the best thing you can do for someone who is poor is to have an economy that provides plentiful, good jobs. That's the best antipoverty program. .. because it provides income, it provides work experience, it provides pride, and it strengthens the family."

Albuquerque Journal
August 2, 1976

Mondale charged that President Ford's economic advisers are "so ideologically obsessed with their own policies" that they permit unemployment to control inflation.

United Press International
August 5, 1976

After a meeting in Washington with AFL-CIO President George Meany, Mondale said he and Carter will emphasize the need for more jobs and a restraint on inflation. He charged that a GOP administration never would be able to solve both problems at once. Mondale said he and Meany "agree wholeheartedly" on the steps that must be taken to bring about full economic recovery - one of them being the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Bill.

United Press International
August 5, 1976

Mondale said it might take some time for a Carter Administration to deliver on promises of jobs, housing, etc.

"We have to... do it prudently, and we have to do it within economic constraints and budget constraints. We have no illusions about that, and I think that's the way the American people want us to proceed.

"But we estimate that with a few years with decent economic policies, we'll be back to a balanced budget and we will have the kind of economic growth that will permit us to move toward these programs, such as decent health care."

Los Angeles Times
August 12, 1976

"Republican economic mismanagement has seen unemployment in the construction trades soar to an unbelievable 18 per cent in 1975 and an intolerable 17 per cent today."

"America prospers when reasonable credit is available at steady and stable rates. The result of their policy of jacking up those rates is builders who are afraid to make long-term commitments and families who cannot afford homes."

United Press International
August 16, 1976

In speech to the UAW conference at Black Mountain, North Carolina, Mondale said:

"Since the Republicans came into office in 1968, almost everything that's supposed to go up - wages, jobs, housing and economic opportunities - has gone down. And everything that's supposed to go down - prices, interest, unemployment, and budget deficit - has gone up."

Mondale called jobs and inflation "the central issues in 1976," calling for an end to Republicans' "roller coaster economics." While recommitting, Carter-Mondale pledged to "fight inflation with tools other than massive and deliberate unemployment, a strategy that has not worked and cannot work."

Washington Post
August 16, 1976

"I think that's where they [the Republicans] are most vulnerable. They've loused up the economy unbelievably. The biggest new program we have is the \$55 billion to pay for the cost of unemployment."

Washington Post
August 23, 1976

EDUCATION

Mondale has been an indefatigable activist in the field of education. He has been an outspoken proponent of desegregation in public schools, and a critic of the tax-exempt status for private schools.

Mondale has advocated more federal intervention in education through funding and regulation.

EDUCATION

"The Budget Bureau's proposal to slash the school milk program by 80% and the hot lunch program by 10% is poor economy in my estimation.

"I am wholeheartedly in favor of reducing unnecessary government expenditures, but I do not think that either of these programs fit in that category. Instead, the school milk and lunch programs are a modest investment in the health of the nation -- and are no place to economize."

Mondale Report
February 28, 1966

"I do not believe it is justifiable to cut education programs in an attempt to restrain an inflation which is fed primarily by excessive military expenditures."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
September 3, 1969

"President Nixon asked Congress for about \$781 million for higher education, far short of the full funding authorization of \$2 billion."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
November 8, 1969

"In addition to improved lobbying methods, educators must learn more about Congress and the budgeting authorizing and appropriating processes. Know where the leverage is."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
November 8, 1969

"What always impresses me is how infrequently one sees anyone [in Washington] lobbying for higher education. . .or any of the human programs."

Minneapolis Tribune
November 8, 1968

In response to testimony by Jervis Leonard that the Nixon administration was pursuing the only legal permissible school desegregation policy:

Mondale retorted that the Administration was pursuing "a false or a highly strained legal technical course" that was more harmful to black children than no desegregation at all.

Mondale responded, saying:

"You haven't been neutral in the development of the law. The department has done all that it could to develop a narrow set of technical rules so it should say, "Aha, we have succeeded in enforcing the law."

"The real issue is integration and quality education, and you've changed that into a very narrow legal question of what the courts require."

"The real victims are the school children. I'm absolutely convinced that if we don't go after integration with a whole heart, we would be better off not to go after it at all. The present tokenism is that damaging to these children."

New York Times
July 14, 1970

Reaction to the knowledge that HEW has ceased cutting off federal funds and is supporting court action instead in dealing with the remaining hard-core holdouts on school integration:

Mondale said he thought it "incredible" that the department had not investigated complaints or looked into court actions now under way involving the turning over of public school property and equipment and the transfer of teachers to the segregated private schools.

New York Times
August 7, 1970

Mondale said that tax-exempt status for private schools was "palpably ridiculous." It would, he said, "take us right back to where we started. . . to a publicly supported segregated school system."

Congressional Quarterly
September 11, 1970

Response by Mondale to testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Education Opportunity by Alexander M. Bickel who claimed that complete integration of schools is neither legally required nor practically possible:

"Your bill," Mondale said, referring to Bickel's alternative approach to desegregation, "gives comfort to enemies of racial integration. It gives the black child no power he doesn't have. On the contrary, it enshrines the neighborhood school."

Mondale recalled testimony from a number of education experts. "These people in the front lines say unanimously that integration has been very successful, that disadvantaged children do better in integrated schools."

These hopeful signs should be followed, he said, where integration is possible. Where it is not, additional resources should be applied. Mondale said, the benefits of integration do not stop with education. He described the need to live as "one society."

"When children go to school together," he said, "their racial caricatures disappear."

New York Times
September 25, 1970

Mondale accused HEW of showing "a wholesale, tragic and callous disregard for the needs of children in desegregating school systems."

Mondale charged that the \$75 million made available by Congress late last summer to help schools desegregate had been "distributed in return for token applications."

New York Times
March 16, 1971

Mondale was expected to support a proposal of Senator Abraham Ribicoff that would require significant racial integration of schools and housing patterns in the suburbs.

Last year he opposed a proposal that advocated the equal enforcement of civil rights laws in both North and South.

New York Times
March 17, 1971

"You can take your diplomas, go out to the comfortable life and forget - or you can bring your special insights and experience to help the next generation have a more relevant and meaningful education."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
May 24, 1971

"If people are refusing to send their children to school because there happens to be black children there, I have nothing but contempt for that position. But if the school is actually so bad that it's not going to help, or damage the child, then I believe whoever they are they've got a very legitimate case."

CBS "60 Minutes"
November 14, 1971

Mondale, in regard to the Mondale-Nelson proposal for federally sponsored child development, said the new bill responded to extensive need.

"There's absolutely no doubt that there are millions of disadvantaged kids who need pre-school years," he said, "Plus there are some 6 million pre-school kids whose mothers are only 700,000 slots in licensed day-care facilities."

The combination of "cheated children and those whose parents aren't home," he said, prove the need, even using the Administration's own statistics.

New York Times
February 16, 1972

"The real costs of inadequate education and the lack of equal educational opportunity in this country are for the most part immeasurable.

"For the individual educational failure means a lifetime of lost opportunities. But the effects are visited on the Nation as well, for society as a whole also pays for the undereducation of a significant segment of its population."

Select Committee on Equal
Educational Opportunity Report
May 13, 1972

Senator Mondale said he favors considerably greater financial participation by the

federal government in public education.

Federal participation would help reduce local real estate taxes, which go mainly for education, Mondale explained.

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
August 31, 1972

"There's a need for a cabinet level department of education with a secretary of education to oversee all federal educational efforts and bring our nation's educational needs directly to the President."

Lake Region Echo
Alexandria, Minnesota
October 24, 1973

"The Federal government should work toward supporting about one-third of the cost of education. I don't see that in the near future. The budget is so tied - I'd just like to stay up with inflation."

Richfield Sun
August 15, 1974

"We have considered education to be a preparation for life more than a tool for continuing development. In these times of rapid change and swiftly advancing technology, this narrow view of educational potential is being questioned and challenged."

New York Times
December 22, 1975

"... I've been a strong believer in education for a long time. There are millions of kids who don't get a chance in America. Many of them, because of that, are going to end up on welfare, unemployment insurance. They're not going to be participating in public life. They're going to have troubled families and many of them, unfortunately, will commit crimes. In any event, their life is going to be a desert. And then the next generation comes along and the next family.

"Now, is it liberal or conservative to try to pursue a strategy that puts more of these kids on their feet so that they can achieve and accomplish?"

Atlanta Constitution
July 31, 1976

In a speech in Miami Beach, Florida, Mondale said to the American Federation of Teachers:

"For eight years together we have fought against the most antieducation administration in our history."

He went on to say that, "We have a chance this fall to put an end to government by veto, to put a President in the White House who really cares about education."

Associated Press
August 16, 1976

In a speech to the teacher's union in Miami, Mondale called the education budget of the Administration, "unbelievable." Because of budgets like this, the federal government is spending less in real terms for schools today than at any time since 1966."

Washington Post
August 17, 1976

Speaking to the Convention of the American Federation of teachers, Mondale said:

"We want to place at the top of the Carter-Mondale priorities a restoration of an administration and of a government that places the education of our children as the number one priority."

Miami Herald
August 17, 1976

ELECTION REFORM

Mondale has stated that all campaign costs should be financed publicly, declaring that under the present system "there is nothing that is not for sale in American government."

Mondale has been a critic of the selection process for Presidential candidates, calling it "one of the most irrational" processes in the political system. He has proposed a system of regional primaries, in which any state wishing to hold a primary would be required to hold it on the day assigned to its region.

ELECTION REFORM

Commenting on the electoral system, Mondale stated:

"It is a 'winner-take-all' system, providing that all a state's electoral votes go to the winner whether the margin is one vote or one million."

Thief River Falls Times
January 30, 1969

"The power and curse of money should be eliminated from American politics and all campaign costs should be financed publicly."

"The present system puts a price tag on almost every politician in America."

"The average American can't get politicians to listen because of the power and curse of money in American politics."

West Central Tribune
Willmar, Minnesota
April 25, 1972

Mondale introduced legislation to correct what he termed the "apparent effort of the Internal Revenue Service to sabotage" the new \$1 checkoff system for financing presidential election campaigns.

"Instead of putting the checkoff on the front page of tax returns as Congress intended, the IRS decided on its own to place it on a separate form which is unlikely ever to come to the taxpayers' attention."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
March 6, 1973


On public financing, Mondale stated:

"The Nixon Administration has never believed in this system. . . . Apparently, he (Nixon) is doing everything possible to see that the system fails. . . ."

Congressional Quarterly
April 21, 1973

"The Justice Department controlled by the Executive--has shown little eagerness to pursue possible election crimes while the independent General Accounting Office has moved forcefully within the limits of the authority granted it. The lesson is obvious--the agency charged with investigating political crimes must be free from political control."

Congressional Record
May 23, 1973



Mondale introduced legislation "to establish an independent office of Federal Elections to investigate and prosecute any violation of federal law occurring in connection with Presidential and Congressional elections.

"In addition, this bill would transfer the responsibility for supervising and receiving campaign spending reports under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to the new office of Federal Elections."

Congressional Record
May 23, 1973

Mondale said that he would seek to restore a requirement that candidates disclose the occupation and place of business of contributors when campaign reform legislation reaches the Senate floor.

New York Times
July 10, 1973

The country must stop "putting our candidates up for sale to the highest bidders," Mondale said. "We must do it now while details of Watergate are clear in everyone's mind. Money in politics is no longer just bad, it is rotten. It is corrupting and compromising American government--taking it from the people and giving it to those who are corrupt and cynical enough to buy America."

New York Times
July 25, 1973

"It seems to me it (the need for public financing) has really come to a head with the disclosures in Watergate, and now a new element has been added, namely, the growing belief in the business community that they, too, are now being victimized by a system of private financing that has now led to something that is little short of extortion, if not extortion itself."

Congressional Record
November 27, 1973

". . .in my opinion, there is a good case for a blended system of public and privately supported campaigns, provided that the public share is high enough to give a reasonable guarantee that we have dealt with the problem we are trying to solve here, and that is the corruption of private money.

"What bothers me with this fifty percent share in the Stevenson Amendment is that it raises again the possibility that candidates seeking to raise the private money they need to run an adequate campaign would accept money amounts from sources that might again compromise and possibly corrupt the public officials. I am sure that this is something the Senator from Illinois wishes to avoid as much as I do."

Congressional Record
November 27, 1973

Mondale said that all public officeholders "have known for years how demanding, compromising, and sometimes corrupting our present system of financing campaigns has become.

"The underworld shakedown tactics of the Nixon fundraisers have shown many businesses what can happen when the present system is pushed to its outer limits. It becomes simple extortion, the collection of protection money."

St. Paul Dispatch
November 28, 1973

Mondale told the Senate that "it is impossible to have a clean system of private funding of campaigns which will produce enough money to permit a person to run and to be elected."

St. Paul Dispatch
November 28, 1973

"I cannot think of any issue that is more serious, more fundamental, or more necessary than trying to relieve American government of the stench and odor of the present system which compromises and corrupts the processes of American government and American freedom."

Congressional Record
November 30, 1973

On the need for campaign reform, Mondale said:

"This is the time to act. The public now sees that corruption and compromise are almost inevitable under the present system. The public realizes that the problem is getting worse, not better, and that if we fail to act now, there is a good chance that what we have seen in Watergate will not be an end, but the beginning, of a sordid picture by which the American government is put up for sale to the highest bidder--what we might call a 'Buy America Campaign.' This must stop, and must stop now, if we are to do anything to restore public confidence at this time."

Congressional Record
December 1, 1973

"Any person who listened at all to the disclosures in Watergate realizes that democracy itself is threatened by a continuation of the present system, which permits persons who wish to do so, and who have sufficient wealth, to compromise and sometimes corrupt the decisions of American government, in exchange for large and sometimes massive campaign gifts."

Congressional Record
December 1, 1973

"I think it is appropriate that we meet this morning for the first time in 112 years on a Sabbath morning because I believe what we have before us truly is the Lord's work. If it was necessary once to force the moneychangers out of the temple, it is equally obvious we must chase those who would compromise and corrupt politics and the American political system out of the system this morning and seek to do so by adopting cloture and going on to adopt the underlying measure."

Congressional Record
December 2, 1973

Speaking of need for honesty and openness in government, Mondale said:

"Of course, central to the chief objective is a system which does not tempt public officials, in their desperate need for huge campaign funds, to respond in a way which prefers those who have big money as against the ordinary citizen. It seems to me that that is precisely what is involved in this financing legislation; namely, the need to change the way in which we finance campaigns, so that it is possible for a person, once elected, to deserve the office and to be in a position to serve his conscience and his country, rather than a long list of campaign contributors who probably had something in mind when they give [sic] so generously."

Congressional Record
December 3, 1973

Mondale introduced legislation "to provide for partial public financing of primary and general elections for the House and Senate under a system in which small private contributions would be matched by federal payments."

Congressional Record
May 15, 1975

"Lincoln once said that the American government was of the people, by the people, and for the people; but, as we have learned from Watergate, increasingly it is getting to be a government of big money, by big money, and for big money. The American people have seen and smelled that now, and want to eliminate it. This system of compromises occasionally corrupts American government. I do not say that in a partisan sense. The measure adopted by the Senate on public financing enjoyed the overwhelming bipartisan support of the U.S. Senate."

Congressional Record
November 30, 1975

"One of the realizations, I think, that the American people are coming to, is that they are paying for elections now. Increasingly we do not have a system of private financing of campaigns, at least as disclosed through the Watergate hearings. The public pays for it through the compromising of governmental decisions made at the behest of large contributors."

Congressional Record
November 30, 1975

The present system of nominating Presidential candidates "verges on anarchy."

"We can hear the candidates. But they can't hear us. They're always running."

New York Times
December 5, 1975

The way Presidential candidates are selected "is indisputably one of the most important processes in our entire political system, but it is also, unfortunately, one of the most irrational. It has evolved over nearly 200 years without design, structure, or purpose into a complex maze of state laws, party regulations, and unwritten traditions. No other major nation chooses its leaders in such a chaotic manner, and the question is whether we should continue to do so."

Minneapolis Tribune
December 13, 1975

Mondale rejects a national primary because, among other reasons, it would unduly advantage the rich and the well-known.

New York Times
March 11, 1976

The Mondale bill, on primary reform, Mondale notes, would not guarantee that better Presidents would be elected. But it would guarantee that the 1980 Presidential race would proceed along orderly lines with results that allow the public and the press to make meaningful comparisons of the candidates.

New York Times
March 11, 1976

Mondale has proposed a regional system, with the order of voting to be chosen by lot each four years. Each region would vote on a given day, four in all, and any state that wanted to hold a primary would be obliged to hold it on the day assigned to its region. To qualify for federal matching subsidies, a candidate would be required to enter at least one primary per region.

New York Times
March 28, 1976

"Money in politics is no longer bad; it's rotten. It is corrupting and compromising American government. It is taking the people's government from them and handing it to those rich enough and powerful enough and cynical enough to want to buy America.

"If one thing comes out of the Watergate scandal, it is the profound, smelly, stinking, total pervasive smell of money. Apparently there is nothing that is not for sale in American government."

Minneapolis Tribune
July 25, 1976

ENERGY

In the field of energy, Mondale has been most active in opposition to the Alaskan Pipeline and the oil industry. Mondale prefers a Canadian route for the pipeline and blames the oil industry for escalating gas and oil prices.

ENERGY

"I believe that there is no question as to the need for an immediate freeze and roll-back in domestic crude oil and refined petroleum product prices."

Congressional Record
January 24, 1972

Mondale said the proposed Alaskan oil pipeline will do nothing for Minnesota and the Midwest.

The Minnesota Democrat said the only benefit of the pipeline would be to lower the price of oil on the West Coast "where oil is already much cheaper than in Minnesota" and to provide oil for export to Japan.

Mondale suggested as an alternative a pipeline across Canada "that would lower oil prices in Minnesota and be of enormous benefit to midwestern industry and consumers."

Mesabi Daily News
May 24, 1972

"The environmental and economic advantages of the trans-Canadian route are so obvious that Congress should select this route to pipe Alaska's oil reserves to the United States."

Congressional Quarterly
March 3, 1973

In a speech to the Senate on the trans-Alaska pipeline, Mondale took note of a "massive advertising campaign" by major U.S. oil companies in favor of the trans-Alaska route and said, "Those ads are completely false, completely misleading." Mondale predicted that "Once again, the major oil companies are going to find themselves blocked and stalled in their efforts to force a decision which ignores the environmental and energy needs of the country."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
July 12, 1973

"The trouble with the Alaskan pipeline is that it would send 2 million barrels a day to the west coast. . . which is more than they can use."

Congressional Quarterly
July 21, 1973

"With the Alaskan pipeline we cannot get east of the Rockies. That is why so much of it (the oil) will be sold to Japan. . ."

Congressional Quarterly
July 21, 1973

"I have sponsored legislation creating a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation that would inject a badly-needed note of competition into this huge and highly profitable industry."

"By using a government corporation to explore for and develop oil and gas primarily on federally-owned lands, we would break the hold of the big oil companies on the industry, and, by returning the profits which the Corporation earns to the U.S. Treasury, we will help American consumers reap a double reward in the form of lower prices and increased federal revenues.

"The Federal Oil and Gas Corporation is in no way intended to be a forerunner to the naturalization of the oil industry. To the contrary, it is designed to restore competition so that the free market system can truly work. It should also increase the pace of development of our public lands so that we can bring to market additional secure domestic sources of oil and gas.

"I have also proposed a measure that would guarantee the continuation of oil price controls past the April 30 expiration date. This price control system would stabilize fuel prices at levels in existence on the date of initiation of any rationing plan. It would limit price hikes to the amount of cost increases incurred, and allow the President to force oil companies to absorb part of these cost increases if he determines that their profit levels are sufficient."

The Kenyon Leader
November 22, 1973

In a speech to the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, Mondale said that big oil companies have been able to drive independents out of business. Mondale called for action to restore competition stating that:

"I want to see those monopolies broken up and I want to see competition in the gas and oil industry of this country."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
November 29, 1973

"The major oil companies rather than expanding production to meet demands have responded by squeezing consumers for higher and higher profits."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
November 29, 1973

"Ford talks compromise, but he's never backed off on his belief that there should be total decontrol. The basis for a compromise will be his willingness to abandon this principle."

The Forum
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota
November 29, 1973

Mondale criticized the Nixon administration for not making the oil industry share the burden of the energy crisis. Noting the requests made on consumers to sacrifice, Mondale added,

"But nowhere in his recent energy message did the President mention the need for restraint on the part of the oil industry in keeping the lid on prices and moderating runaway profits."

Minneapolis Star
November 29, 1973

Mondale charged that the major oil companies engineered the energy crisis in order to achieve more profits.

"The fundamental energy crisis begins with the monopoly crisis," adding that, "It is time to ask some tough questions about monopoly in the oil field."

St. Paul Pioneer Press
November 29, 1973

"We've heard in historical terms about the great train robbery. I think now we're going through the great oil robbery. The profits that are occurring to the major oil companies from these fantastic increases in gasoline and fuel and other energy costs are nothing short of scandalous."

Minneapolis Tribune
January 4, 1974

"Unconscionable rises in prices abroad - prices not set in response to free market forces - are no excuse for equally unconscionable rises in prices of oil here at home."

If prices continue to rise, Mondale said, there should be an excess profit tax on the oil industry, with proceeds going to exploration to find new energy sources."

St. Paul Dispatch
January 4, 1974

"If there's any difference between what the big oil companies want and what this administration is supporting, I haven't seen it. What we need now is action to keep prices in some kind of reasonable line, a system of rationing if we're short to distribute the supplies fairly."

Minneapolis Tribune
January 4, 1974

"Quite simply, there is no reason why unconscionable increases in prices abroad - prices not set in response to free market forces - should be used as the excuse to raise prices on domestic oil production to embargo-induced levels.

"I am therefore introducing legislation today to direct the President to implement an immediate price freeze on all domestic crude petroleum and petroleum products, and within 30 days thereafter, a rollback of such prices to the levels in existence in November 1, 1973."

Congressional Record
January 24, 1974

In remarks to National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, Mondale said:

"The real issue in our present energy dilemma is not supply but price," Mondale asserted.

"We are paying the price for monopoly and we must stop paying it right now."

St. Paul Dispatch
February 12, 1974

Mondale said that the Arabs have "rigged" their oil price for political ends, yet American producers are allowed to charge "those same Arab boycott prices" from their own countrymen.

New York Times
February 20, 1974

On Mobil Oil Company's buying up failing businesses, Mondale said that it is the "best sign yet that the oil industry is engaged in a desperate search for ways to get rid of embarrassingly high profits."

New York Times
June 20, 1974

"As you know well plutonium is one of the most virulent carcinogens known. Many scientists believe it to be as toxic as the most lethal biological warfare agents. Even more significant, plutonium is a material from which atomic bombs are made. Several pounds are enough for a nuclear weapon capable of tremendous destruction."

Mondale then urged not allowing the use of plutonium for commercial use to fuel nuclear reactors.

New York Times
October 28, 1974

"Instead of asking the average American to pay another dime a gallon for gasoline, why don't we pick out some of those profits and bring them back to Americans in the form of what I'd like - a tax credit based on the number of dependents in a family."

New York Times
October 30, 1974

Mondale criticized the Ford plan to cut back on oil consumption, saying that it would be "very dangerous economically" and he challenged William Simon, Secretary of the Treasury, to name a single economist outside the Administration who supported the Ford energy program.

New York Times
February 8, 1975

"They [the Administration] have not told us why the one-million-barrel-per-day cut [in imports] is needed this year with our economy already in deep recession."

New York Times
February 8, 1975

In criticizing the treatment of payments in oil companies to OPEC nations as income taxes rather than royalties (making them eligible for foreign tax credit), Mondale said it had had the following effects:

"Oil exploration and drilling has been encouraged in insecure and unreliable foreign areas rather than here at home;

"The multinational oil companies have been encouraged to transfer other operations - refining, shipping, insurance, et cetera - abroad as well, so

this income, too, can be sheltered by foreign tax credits; and

"The OPEC oil cartel has been allowed to pick the pockets of the U.S. Treasury at the same time it is picking the pockets of U.S. consumers, since every extra dollar going to OPEC in taxes - that is, royalties means \$1 less for the U.S. Treasury."

Congressional Record
March 5, 1975

"I am not one who believes that a Government-dominated oil industry would be any better than the Post Office. I believe in competition and wish we had it in the oil industry. But that industry is a monopoly acting under free enterprise theory and charging what the market will bear. That's intolerable."

Psychology Today
October, 1974

Mondale asked for \$1 million for a study of long term alternatives to Canadian crude oil.

New York Times
November 20, 1975

Mondale introduced a bill ordering the Federal Power Commission to license a natural-gas pipeline to run from Alaska through Canada to the United States. (introduced with sponsorship of 26 senators)

New York Times
February 7, 1976

Mondale, at a news conference, commented that the pipeline plan was "by far the most hopeful means of solving the northern tier crude oil crisis."

New York Times
April 3, 1976

ENVIRONMENT

Mondale's activity in environmental areas has been limited. He has voiced a perfunctory concern for environmental abuse, but has done little to ameliorate the problem. The environment is not one of Mondale's favorite interests.

ENVIRONMENT

"Our ability to pollute our environment has outrun our knowledge of pollution's effects and how to stop it."

St. Paul Dispatch
June 13, 1969

Mondale called for "fundamental changes in our economic habits, social values and national priorities "in order to solve the environmental crises in the U.S.

"We have committed great crimes against man and nature in a culture which seems to value quantity above quality; self interest and expediency above the beauty and mystery of nature."

Mondale called for a massive commitment of resources and stronger regulation and enforcement "to begin to cure the list of environmental horror stories."

St. Paul Dispatch
April 22, 1970

Any definition of environment "must include that awful war, our poverty, our blight, our racism and economic injustice."

Minneapolis Tribune
April 23, 1970