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FOREIGN POLICY

Mondale was an early supporter of the Vietnam War effort, but later evolved into a critic of Richard Nixon's war policies. He has been a staunch defender of Israel, calling a strong Israeli military "the best guarantee against the outbreak of major hostilities."

Mondale has been an advocate of improved relations with the Soviet Union and China. He has supported efforts in strategic arms limitation and has advocated the reform of foreign intelligence operations.

FOREIGN POLICY

"To withdraw from South Vietnam and permit what would obviously be a takeover of that area by the Communist forces is intolerable."

Mankato Free Press  
May 1, 1965

"Despite my deep frustration over Vietnam, my despair over the destruction of war, my concern for the dying - all the dying, I feel deeply that in all of its tragedy, our present course is the best that we have to pursue. And I cannot bring myself to magnify my reservations to the point where they would be seen - incorrectly, but probably enthusiastically - as a fundamental objection to our policy in Vietnam."

Congressional Record  
November 22, 1967

Mondale said that talks with the Soviet Union on the escalation of weapons are probably "the most important foreign policy priority of this year and this generation."

Minneapolis Tribune  
March 2, 1969

"I would hope that we could withdraw troops now on a fair and systematic basis. . . but completely."

"We're caught in this tragic quagmire, and I think we must leave."

Minneapolis Tribune  
June 4, 1969

"I once supported this war. I thought it was right. I thought many things would happen in Vietnam - a popular, noncorrupt, government, land reform, a South Vietnamese army that would fight and many other things. I found out I was wrong. I admit it. And I think it is time for the U.S. government to do the same."

Minneapolis Tribune  
November 23, 1969

Mondale says he hopes, in the coming years, to be able to help move the nation, "along the direction that at least I think it should be moving." He sees the need for "a more rational foreign policy" and a more cautious view about foreign intervention; a greater effort to end "this insane arms race," and a bold effort to commit the nation to the objective of a truly just society in which every American gets a fair chance, which is not the case today."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
January 25, 1970

Mondale and 72 other senators sent a letter to the Nixon Administration asking to send 125 warplanes to Israel.

"We feel that the strengthening of Israel's military posture at this time is the best guarantee against the outbreak of major hostilities,"

Winona Daily News  
June 14, 1970

Mondale introduced legislation that would prohibit American forces from supporting an invasion of North Vietnam without "prior and explicit" authorization.

New York Times  
February 26, 1971

Senator Mondale joined with Senators Muskie, Brooke, and Hatfield in calling on the State Department to disclose "even the most indirect" American involvement in East Pakistan and indicated that they were "deeply disturbed over the recent bloodshed. . ."

"Peace in the Middle East, can best be achieved if the United States adopts a policy of firm, unequivocal, support of Israel."

Minneapolis Tribune  
May 17, 1971

"First, I oppose extension of the draft as long as the war continues. If the administration truly wants to end this war, there will be no immediate military need for the manpower provided by extending the draft at this point.

"Second, if some extension of the draft should pass the Senate, I will support an amendment to prevent any more young men being sent to the war in Southeast Asia unless they volunteer."

Congressional Record  
April 25, 1971

"Our policy, then, has been to block China's economic development - and, indeed, her development as a nation. This policy has been totally unsuccessful. This broader policy of containment, isolation, and military encirclement of China as a basis of our Asian policy has been based on the fundamental assumption that the Communist government which took over China in 1949 was temporary, and could be brought down by a policy of pressure from the outside.

"Such a policy, however, is more likely to be counterproductive - even assuming the wisdom of the basic objective. . ."

Congressional Record  
June 28, 1971

In a speech to the Anti-Defamation League, Mondale said that Arab acceptance of Israel offers the best chance for peace. But he said that the Arabs will never accept Israel as long as "outsiders hold out the prospect of forcing Israeli concessions bit by bit - which is precisely what this administration has been holding out in its formula-seeking over the past 18 months."

Minneapolis Tribune  
August 17, 1971

Mondale praised the announcement of President Nixon's plans to visit China. In a speech at Temple University he said he hoped economic questions would play a major role in the meetings. The newsletter reports that, "He recommended that Mainland China be considered for membership in economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank," action which "would be in the best interests of the world trading community, help ease China out of its isolation, and promote world peace and order."

Mondale Newsletter  
"Report to Minnesota"  
Fall, 1971.

Mondale said, "there is no question that the aid program needs total reform. . . but wholesale abandonment of the program only makes a bad situation worse."

He said such action may cut waste but it also cuts worthwhile programs "such as the \$250 million for Pakistani refugees and our \$15 million contribution to the United Nation's Children's Fund."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
November 1, 1971

"I came to the Senate in 1964 and didn't know much about Asia and Vietnam, like many others here in Washington at that time. I supported the President at first. In all honesty I think I was wrong, and over the past few years, I've said why. I eventually became totally convinced that this country has been terribly hurt by that war. . ."

New Republic  
December 25, 1971

Mondale declared that "if the Soviet Union is as unwilling to compromise as we are in Vietnam, then we are in the midst of a very dangerous and unneeded standown[sic] with the Soviet Union."

New York Times  
May 9, 1972

Mondale indicated he does not agree with Senator McGovern's plan for a total military withdrawal from South Vietnam.

"In my view I would not terminate all aid to the Thieu Government."

Minneapolis Star  
October 15, 1972

Speaking on the Vietnam War, Mondale said:

"This was an American mistake. It was a mistake by the Democratic party, by the Republican party, by Richard Nixon, by Lyndon Johnson, and by Walter Mondale."

New Ulm Daily Journal  
October 24, 1972

In a letter to the editor, Mondale stated:

"We should not rely on the expansion of our arms trade sales to correct our balance-of-payments deficit. It is a cheap way out -- and a dangerous way which will lead to the further impoverishment of the world's poor."

"Our nation is not so morally or economically weak that it must rely on the export of weapons of death to correct our balance-of-payments deficit."

New York Times  
May 22, 1973

Mondale is "supportive of his [Nixon's] efforts to open up a dialogue and to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and China. I also support the objective of the effort to try to put a ceiling on strategic arms, although I am not at all sure that we are pressing as hard to reach a ceiling on qualitative arms as we should."

Christian Science Monitor  
September 2, 1973

"We cannot be romantic about what is needed [in terms of a U.S. buildup of arms] in negotiations with the Russians, and I think from time to time we need a bargaining chip. But I think that in the crunch, Nixon tends to err on the side of things that will escalate."

Christian Science Monitor  
September 2, 1973

"It is the sense of the Senate that the President should take immediate steps to impress upon the Austrian Government the grave concern of the American people that capitulation to terrorists encourages further attempts at blackmail; and it calls upon the Austrian Government to reverse its decision and again permit group travel by Soviet Union emigrants through Austria on their way to freedom and new lives."

Congressional Record  
October 1, 1973

"I hope and pray that the administration has taken whatever steps are necessary to ensure that Israel is promptly resupplied with any equipment she needs to defend herself against this mammoth replenishment of Arab forces by the Soviets."

Congressional Record  
October 11, 1973

"Since Israel must survive in peace as well as in war, it is only right that the United States join in the rehabilitation of Israel's economy, assuring that the social welfare of Israel's citizens need not be sacrificed upon the altar of military necessity."

Minneapolis Tribune  
October 29, 1973

Speaking on the Middle East war, Mondale said, "The Soviets most probably encouraged the Arabs to fight and urged opposition to a cease-fire until the Egyptian III Corps was about to be decimated."

New York Times  
November 18, 1973

Mondale said in expressing his support of emergency financial assistance to Israel, that few people know about the fact that during the past 25 years, the U.S. extended \$309 million in emergency (military) grants to nine Arab countries while Israel was compelled to go deeply into debt to pay for its defense needs.

Minneapolis Tribune  
December 11, 1973

Speaking about SALT II, Mondale said:

"At the same time we will not be pressured. The U.S. will not accept an agreement that fails to account for differences in forces or jeopardizes its security.

"We will take the necessary steps to assure our security whatever the outcome of the negotiations."

Minneapolis Tribune  
April 12, 1974

Mondale proposed increasing economic aid to Israel by \$200-million and converting \$100-million in credit sales to military grants.

New York Times  
October 2, 1974

Mondale called President Ford's statement concerning the rise of the CIA as a protective agency for U.S. newsmen "unbelievable."

"If we are so concerned about the existence of opposition elements and preservation of democracy in Chile, do we now have a program to help support the Democratic politicians and journalists who have now been muzzled, banned or jailed?"

New York Times  
October 18, 1974

Mondale said the Soviets "are only beginning to think of the global economic problems in broad terms" and are "only starting to perceive that they might have responsibility in anything other than a bilateral contest in which they advance their political goal."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
November 20, 1974

"The Administration knows that the \$30 million won't really do anything to prevent ultimate collapse in Vietnam, and it is just trying to shift responsibility for the bankruptcy of its policy to Congress and the Democrats."

New York Times  
January 24, 1975

On the Vietnam pull out, Mondale said:

"It's very important not to signal the Russians and others that we're giving up. The Congress decided against the war in Vietnam. We did not vote to become an isolationist country."

New York Times  
May 9, 1975

Speaking on the report of the Rockefeller Commission on the CIA, Mondale said:

"I approach the Commission report and my responsibilities as a member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Operations with the belief that we need a Central Intelligence Agency. We need a thorough and coordinated intelligence effort so as to provide our Government the soundest possible basis for our diplomacy and our defense. And I believe there may be a role for certain covert actions, particularly if this is necessary to counter the covert actions of our adversaries. . ."

Congressional Record  
June 26, 1975

". . . The General Assembly of the United Nations, in adopting a resolution denouncing Zionism, took a step the New York Times has properly characterized as "offensive, spiteful, and futile, and stupid as well."

"The resolution attempts to equate Zionism with racism. It is as fundamentally false and dishonest in substance as it is transparent in intent."

Congressional Record  
November 13, 1975

Speaking on CIA's assassination attempts against foreign leaders, Mondale said:

"First of all, I think it is a very dangerous tactic for Government leaders to pursue. There is a statement in Macbeth about how inventions return to plague the inventor. We do not know what happened, but when we pursue a strategy of assassinating foreign leaders, I think we ought to concern ourselves with the possibility that foreign leaders might decide that if we are going to play such a game against them they can play it against us."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

Speaking on reorganization of intelligence activities, Mondale said:

"I have therefore concluded that it is a Cabinet officer, be it the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Defense, on whom we must place the primary responsibility for policy review and operational accountability for our



clandestine intelligence activities.

"The clandestine services, the 'operational' part of the CIA, should be made into a separate agency with a primary mission to collect intelligence."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

Speaking on his recommendations for reform in foreign intelligence operations, Mondale said that:

"First, we must devise a better structure of accountability for clandestine activities.

"Second, we must adopt more mature policies governing such intelligence operations.

"Accountability is the most important issue. I am prepared to accept that intelligence activities must be secret. But I am not willing to further concede that they can be unaccountable. I am convinced that if we had an effective system of accountability, the misguided efforts outlined in this report would never have been undertaken."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

On the CIA's covert operations, Mondale said,

". . . it seemed to me that there was never any serious discussion about the overall risk of what we were doing; what happened if the public heard about it, what would be the results in that society, and what would be the fundamental result to the integrity and moral authority of our country in foreign affairs. Today no matter what happens around the world, if Faisal is killed, we did it. If there is trouble in Portugal, we did it. We get blamed for more things we do not do than any country in the world, because we have stuck our nose naively and foolishly into too many people's businesses. And almost always, it does not work. It kicks back on us, and it hurts us more than it can possibly help. But it seems those questions were never asked.

"So I would hope we would look at the system of command and control over covert operations. But I also hope we would look at the question of how much American [sic] can really influence the internal politics of another society in this way."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

Speaking on the report of the Church Committee on Intelligence Activities, Mondale said:

"So I would hope, as we consider this report, we would see how we can strengthen the CIA. Equally important we must consider how we can also make certain that from here on out should there be questions about responsibility for an operation, the record, privately and secretly but clearly, disclose who did it, why, and who is responsible.

"Not only is this required because democracy must have that kind of ultimate accountability but, I think it can help increase the sobriety of those making the decisions. I think there is evidence in the report that many of these steps were taken by people rather loosely and without mature consideration - among other reasons, because they did not think they would be blamed if someone found out.

"So both because our Constitution requires it and, second, because we want to make certain that our Government is very careful when they do covert operations -- I hope we will prohibit much of the sort of thing that is in this report - I think it is important to nail down an accountability system that cannot be avoided."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

"In my opinion, we need a CIA; we need the best intelligence-gathering agency in the world, and we must make certain that we continue to have it.

"To have a CIA, it must operate in secret. This is a very grievous concession for a democracy to make, but one which must be made if it is going to do its work.

"What bothers me about what has been developed in this report is that our intelligence operations are not only secret but they have been unaccountable; as we tried to sort through the facts of these allegations and pin down what happened it came to be like trying to nail jello to the wall."

Congressional Record  
November 20, 1975

Speaking on national security and the intelligence community, Mondale said that for several years the FBI and CIA "refused to talk to each other for silly and personal reasons. There was absolutely no communication."

As a result, Mondale said, "For many years, our counterespionage effort was a shambles. . . [It] was isolated, compartmented and the effectiveness of our efforts declined to the point where America was for too long a time, dangerously exposed to the enemy.

"Indeed, we may not know for many years in the future just how exposed we were."

Minneapolis Tribune  
May 14, 1976

"God forbid, if the Russians were to go flat out on nuclear strategic escalation and were unresponsive to offers for restraints - and, I think they would be insane to

pursue that policy - but if they did, we would be in the very unfortunate position of having to respond."

Los Angeles Times  
July 28, 1976

Mondale declared that U.S. foreign policy should represent "the best of the American people," and that "we will make food, not guns, the major focus of American foreign policy," increasing "the use of food to help humanity wherever people need it."

New York Times  
August 1, 1976

GOVERNMENT

Mondale was a leader in the liberalization of the Senate filibuster rule. He has been an outspoken advocate of measures to protect the confidentiality of news-men's sources.

Mondale has proposed the creation of a Council of Social Advisors and an Office of Congressional Counsel. He has criticized government policies which he feels demonstrate insensitivity to the needs of the family.

Mondale has been concerned with "accountability" calling for an expanded role for Cabinet members and increased legislative oversight of intelligence agencies.

GOVERNMENT

"When badly needed programs, [that] states either can't afford or refuse to undertake, are conducted by the Federal government, I say that's a creative, constructive role the Federal government is playing."

Railway Carmen's Journal  
December 1965

From the Washington Post:

". . .Mondale looked back with anguish on the results of such 'liberal' programs as urban renewal ('it was Negro removal'), public housing ('we stacked people together') and welfare reform.

"The liberal approach was 'too often. . .self-satisfied, Washington-centered, insensitive and conformist,' said Mondale, who came to the Senate in 1965.

"'We thought we knew best, and in so thinking, we robbed people of their pride and their sense of involvement in themselves and their communities. Albeit unwittingly, we have often done as much damage as good.'"

Washington Post  
December 10, 1970

Speaking on a proposal for the Criminal Justice Reform Act, Mondale said:

"There are three essential parts of this bill designed to accomplish meaningful reform. The first is the establishment of broad and flexible standards for reform of each aspect of a state's criminal justice system. The second is the requirement that no state can qualify for this model program unless its plan meets all the standards contained in the bill. And finally, there are the provisions of the bill which specify that the Federal government will pay most of the total costs incurred in making these reforms."

Congressional Record  
January 28, 1971

"A Council of Social Advisors, dedicated to developing indicators of our social problems and progress, could well be a source of enormous savings to the taxpayers as well as of more effective solutions to the problems we face."

Congressional Record  
July 25, 1972

Mondale introduced legislation to protect reporters from being forced to identify confidential news sources unless compelled to do so by a federal court order.

"What is needed is a statute that will recognize the legitimate interests of the government in obtaining certain types of information while at the same time, affording broad protection for newsmen in pursuing sources of news."

Minneapolis Tribune  
September 18, 1972

Mondale told a group of broadcasters in Alexandria, Minnesota, that news leaks constitute an important source of information to reporters.

"We have to know what government is doing, and whether we like it or not, our best information comes from the leak."

Minneapolis Tribune  
September 23, 1972

In response to a proposal to place a ceiling on government expenditures, Mondale said:

"I repeat my support for a reasonable and meaningful limitation on spending that preserves the constitutional responsibilities of the Congress. I voted for just such a ceiling when the Senate passed this bill last week. But I cannot support a ceiling that threatens the separation of powers, amounts to little more than a line item veto, and reduces the Congress to an advisory position in the appropriations process. That is what the ceiling in the conference report before us represents, and that is why I must oppose it."

Congressional Record  
October 17, 1972

Mondale, referring to efforts to establish a binding spending ceiling, said:

"If the President wants to resolve what I regard as the most profound domestic constitutional crisis in the history of this nation, this is the way it should be done."

New York Times  
April 5, 1973

"Any President should be applauded for efforts to bring an essentially unmanageable government under control.

"But no attempt to improve management can be allowed to jeopardize our democracy.

"No rationale of efficiency can be allowed to decrease the accountability of those to whom power is given.

"This President, and any other President, needs a group of advisors who are his own people, who can exist outside the normal agency structure and provide advice directly from a White House Staff.

"But when those people cease giving advice, and begin to usurp power from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare or the Attorney General, we have sacrificed accountability on the altar of expediency."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

"At the present time, Cabinet officers and many agency heads have lost much of their authority to officials within the White House. Only if the Cabinet officials and agency heads are required to defend their actions on the floor of the Senate--in full view of the American people--will we be able to reassert these officials' rightful responsibility."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

"Any reassertion of congressional power will not be without struggle. In fact, Congress may often be forced to go to the courts, as we have done with increasing frequency in recent months, to insure that Presidential and executive branch actions are not above the law.

"Fifth, to aid in this process, we need an Office of Congressional Counsel, similar to the GAO. This office would give Senators and Congressmen an in-house capability to bring suit against illegal executive branch actions. I will shortly introduce legislation to create such an office."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

Senator Mondale is concerned that government insensitivity poses a threat to the American family. "It's not neglect. Neglect assumes you've thought about the question. It's simply mindless."

"We are avoiding the big brother notion that we should assume the responsibility of defining what a family should be. It's none of our business, and I wouldn't want the government to have that power."

New York Times  
February 26, 1974

"I'm hopeful, although I haven't gotten a bill through yet, that it will be possible to set up a Council of Social Advisors similar to the existing Council of Economic Advisors."

Psychology Today  
October 1974

On an attempt to change the Senate Filibuster rule in order to supply aid to the Penn Central Railroad, Mondale said, "The jobs of thousands. . .the welfare of the economy are being held hostage to a minority (of the Senate). . ."

New York Times  
February 25, 1975

On a filibuster reform, Mondale said, "It meant a small minority will still have the opportunity to debate and even to stall, but not the power to paralyze."

New York Times  
March 6, 1975

Mondale testified before a Senate committee in favor of establishing a Congressional legal service as a way of combating illegal actions. The service would represent Congress' individual members, and render legal opinions on executive branch actions. Speaking of Nixon abuses, Mondale said, "But we must be aware that the pattern of those years could be repeated by a different President in different ways but with equally damaging potential."

Minneapolis Tribune  
July 30, 1975

Mondale said, "When we pressed them, neither Helms nor Bissell would say that any President, or anyone representing a President ever gave specific orders to undertake an assassination or develop assassination plans and capabilities."

New York Times  
October 4, 1975

"The main issue that is emerging is that of accountability.

"There is a disturbing pattern of secret agencies unaccountable to the President. There is an even more frightening pattern of Presidents using these agencies to evade accountability to the law, to the Congress, to the Constitution, and to the American people.

"This lack of accountability threatens the very basis of our democratic system. . . Reestablishing this bond of Presidential accountability to the people must be the Select Committee's ultimate task."

Minneapolis Star  
October 9, 1975

"We make an enormous concession in our democratic society to let government agencies operate in secret. Now, I accept that secrecy is sometimes necessary, particularly in the field of intelligence. But we cannot tolerate both secrecy and lack of accountability and expect to survive as a democratic nation."

Minneapolis Star  
October 9, 1975



Mondale, (in a speech at Denison University, Granville, Ohio), suggested consideration of the following steps to reform intelligence activities:

1. "Remove clandestine and covert operations from the Central Intelligence Agency;
2. "Put covert operations under the control of a politically responsible official of the executive branch, such as the Secretary of State, and create a Cabinet-level body, chaired by the secretary, to sign off on all clandestine activities abroad;
3. "Make American ambassadors fully responsible for all intelligence operations going on in those countries where they serve;
4. "Make budgets for clandestine activities come out of State and Defense Department budgets, in order to ensure that intelligence operations are truly essential to defense and diplomacy;
5. "Reduce the size of overseas clandestine services, transferring the slots to the Foreign Service so it can do a better job of political and economic reporting on an open basis;
6. "Strengthen the role of the director of central intelligence, giving him basic managerial responsibility over the intelligence community's budget;
7. "Charge the director with keeping Congress informed of intelligence developments as they unfold;
8. "Restore some version of the Board of National Estimates to make some wise and sober judgments on the significance of our intelligence information;
9. "Spell out clearly rules for the intelligence community by passing stiff laws that will attach tough criminal penalties to violations of their charter or of other laws of the United States--making it clear that all activities are forbidden unless explicitly authorized by Congress;
10. "Establish an effective Congressional oversight mechanism--a joint committee or separate committees of both houses of Congress--to watch over the intelligence community. Membership would rotate so that the committee does not become captive to the intelligence community."

Minneapolis Star  
October 9, 1975

Mondale said that while the FBI was the world's best law enforcement agency, it was also a consistent bungler in the field of political activities.

New York Times  
December 3, 1975

"I believe we must establish a single committee with primary legislative jurisdiction over all national intelligence: the CIA, the FBI, the DIA, the NSA. It should have exclusive authority over the CIA for legislation and annual authorization.

"It should also have the power to authorize appropriations for all national intelligence activities. On this and other legislative matters, there should be concurrent jurisdiction shared with the Committees on the Judiciary, Armed Services, and Foreign Relations. . .What we want to achieve is a centralization of basic legislative authority and oversight balanced against the continuing needs of the standing committees."

Congressional Record  
May 13, 1976

Mondale, in a floor speech, stated that in the intelligence community there had been "extremely important instances in which the intelligence community had failed in its job.

"These failures would not, in my opinion, have taken place if there had been an instrument for effective legislative oversight."

Minneapolis Tribune  
May 14, 1976

On restoring people's trust in government, Mondale said:

"My dream is that will be the most important thing we'll do. . .I saw a poll the other day that 61 percent of the people in the poll said most politicians lie most of the time. . .That is a sick situation that has to be remedied. . .You restore that trust by performance. . ."

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

A Carter-Mondale administration, he said, would do "just a better job of representing the goodness of the American people. . .Government always tries to put the best face on mistakes. . .I would hope our government, when we blew a good one, would just stand up and say, 'Folks, we goofed today,' and just let it stand for what it is. I mean every American who buys a pencil usually wants one with an eraser on it. . .We're going to make mistakes. . ."

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

"Those bastards down there (in Washington) have got to figure out that there are some rules in this society that they're going to live with, along with everyone else. They're going to tell the truth, they're going to obey the law, and they're going to listen to people. . .But the idea that you can defend this nation within the Constitution, under the law, and tell the truth is still considered a sort of childish, feminine position."

Time Magazine  
July 26, 1976

"The feeling that somehow government has gotten away from basic standards and integrity is very deep--and a feeling that there's a double standard for the rich and powerful. People also feel that government doesn't work, and they need someone to make it responsive and make it respectful."

Time Magazine  
July 26, 1976

Q: "Haven't you gone too far with the area of the investigative agencies?"

A: "Take the CIA. I never joined those who wanted to prohibit covert activities. I did say they should be much more limited, put under responsible control and used only in those rare instances where it is essential. And I think that is the proper line to draw. I never attacked the need for the best intelligence apparatus in the world. I never attacked the need for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I attacked the abuse of power."

Newsweek Magazine  
July 26, 1976

Speaking on the murder of John Roselli, who had testified before the Senate Intelligence Committee, Mondale said:

"The clear implication is that there may be some relationship (to the committee investigation). It's another thing whether you can get anybody to testify to it."

"It couldn't be a more fundamental assault on the due process powers of Congress. If people who are testifying or are asked to testify can lose their lives without those responsible being held accountable by the law, then I would think it would have a certain sobering effect on those being asked to testify."

Los Angeles Times  
August 12, 1976

HEALTH

Mondale is a firm believer in a role for the Federal government in the health field. He has proposed a National Health Insurance himself, and has supported Senator Kennedy's projected \$160 billion health program.



HEALTH

"I do not believe it is reasonable or fair to expect health science professionals, alone, to cope with these complex issues affecting the very future of our society. We must arrange for ethicists, lawyers, philosophers, administrators, and humanists to work with scientists and medical practitioners. . .

"The public must also be involved. . .We need public participation if we are to develop consensus as to how society should deal with these profound problems. The proposed commission would provide a vehicle for such broadly based discussion."

Congressional Quarterly  
December 11, 1971

"Sudden infant death syndrome or crib death is the largest killer of infants between age one month and one year. It takes the lives of at least 10,000 innocent children each year in this country. We must find the cause and cure for this disease which brings grief to so many American families."

Mondale News Release  
Washington, D.C.  
May 4, 1972

Mondale said he would work for passage of a bill that "will make comprehensive, prepaid, group medical practice available" to virtually all who wish to enroll in such a plan.

St. Paul Dispatch  
May 6, 1972

"There are compelling health problems in this country which, for some unexplainable reason, are not receiving the kind of attention, either in research or treatment, that is needed. . .Another classic example of the problem is this sudden infant death syndrome which causes over 10,000 deaths a year and yet nothing is being done about it."


Congressional Quarterly  
June 10, 1972

The American public "faces the danger of an inadequate national health insurance program which encases in concrete inefficiency and inequities of the present system."

Winona Daily News  
Winona, Minnesota  
May 22, 1974

"Requiring massive out-of-pocket payments in the form of deductibles and coinsurances assures that costs will continue to deter ordinary families and the poor from access to care."

Winona Daily News  
Winona, Minnesota  
May 22, 1974



HOUSING

Mondale has been critical of the "bureaucratic inertia" in federal housing programs. He is an advocate of measures to insure the stability of the savings and loan industry, and has blamed the current crisis in the construction industry on the monetary policies of the Federal Reserve Board.

HOUSING

In speaking of housing desegregation, Mondale said:

"Part of the tragedy is that the executive and legislative branches of government--from the federal down to the local level--have abdicated their responsibilities and left the court holding the bag.

"Yet the courts are least able to do the job in a sensitive and respectful way. This kind of problem is one where you have to recognize legitimate and conflicting interests. Thus, you have to reconcile such hot issues as the fears of higher taxes, poorer services and racial tipping--that most of all.

"The objection of many suburbanites to large blocks of poor is not groundless, nor is it racist. They are worried about their neighborhoods deteriorating. Those feelings are just as legitimate as those of the ghetto dweller who wants to bust out into the suburbs.

"The courts aren't equipped to balance things like that and that's why the collision is coming on."

National Journal  
November 27, 1971

"Insurance reserves which now total almost \$1.6 billion, are much larger than needed to cover Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) losses in the future, and the FHA itself called \$76 million of its 1971 reserves 'excess.' Instead of continuing to pile up reserves, I propose that the premium be cut."

Minneapolis Tribune  
June 14, 1972

"The bureaucratic inertia is absolutely incredible " with too much confusion, delay, and waste before housing gets to the people, Mondale said.

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
June 18, 1972

"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

In a speech to the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting Association, Mondale said:

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

Mondale laid the blame on the tight money policies of the Federal Reserve Board under Chairman Arthur Burns.

"America prospers when reasonable credit is available at steady and stable rates," Mondale said. "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



LABOR

Mondale is strongly in favor of repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. He believes that strong unions are the "bulwark of our society."

Mondale receives great support from labor and has worked to improve working and living conditions for laborers--particularly the migrant farm workers.

LABOR

"I strongly support repeal of Section 14(b)."

Red Wing Republican Eagle  
Minnesota  
August 20, 1965

"The Congress saw fit in enacting the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 to give states jurisdiction to prohibit or limit union security agreements as a condition of employment. This is the only provision in the National Labor Relations Act as amended which permits individual state policy. Otherwise, there is a uniform national labor policy in all areas governed by the Act. The lack of conformity has resulted, unfortunately, in disruptive competition between the states to attract industry by representation of a legal climate allegedly less conducive to unionism and union wages and working conditions."

Red Wing Republican Eagle  
Minnesota  
August 20, 1965

"I think it would be a mistake to go to the extreme of absolutely outlawing a contract which provided for a union shop requiring all employees to join a union, if that arrangement meets with the approval of the majority of the employees and is embodied in written contract."

Red Wing Republican Eagle  
Minnesota  
August 20, 1965

"No movement has contributed more significantly to the welfare of the American people than the trade union movement. I think its record is a proud one. Free, strong unions bulwark our society. They are essential to our continued growth and development as a nation."

Railway Carmen's Journal  
December 1965

After disguising himself to check on border laxities, Mondale said lax enforcement of immigration and minimum wage laws along the Mexican border threatens to create what he called a permanent depression economy in the area.

Mondale charged that Mexicans are being employed by Americans at below the minimum wage in some border communities, resulting in a lack of jobs for U.S. citizens.

Mondale said he sympathizes with customs officials. describing the Mexican immigration law as administratively poor. But, he said, "as long as they permit free access at locations along the border, they will have a depression economy."

St. Paul Dispatch  
March 25, 1969

Mondale charged that camps for migratory laborers in Texas and Florida were similar to concrete cages in which political prisoners were held in South Vietnam's Conson Prison Island. In a speech prepared for Senate delivery, Mondale said a study "finds the lives of hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens manipulated and managed in such a way as to reduce them to subhuman status. I am shocked and outraged beyond belief."

New York Times  
July 13, 1970

"Our hearings have established beyond a doubt the utterly deplorable condition of the migrant farm worker. Now, the question is whether the country is going to do anything about it."

But, he said, "we have been through this before. The nation was outraged and then forgot it."

St. Paul Dispatch  
July 25, 1970

"We are the only major industrial country in the world that almost totally ignores the social impact of plant closings on the workers and local communities involved. We must begin now to establish some rules about when and whether management can close down a plant and what kind of rights are owed to the people who work there."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
July 25, 1970

Referring to the slow progress of efforts to help migrant workers, Mondale said:

"We've got to realize how difficult it is to make progress in helping a powerless group which is politically, economically and socially unable to help itself."

New York Times  
March 22, 1971

". . .the AFL-CIO was instrumental in the introduction, consideration, and final passage of the comprehensive child development bill last year. Their untiring efforts on behalf of quality day care for the nation's children was an inspiration to all of us."

Congressional Record  
March 14, 1972

Speaking to the Washington State Labor Council convention in Seattle, Mondale said 500,000 individuals have been added to the unemployment roles in the last three months. Mondale said the Ford Administration "says that employment is also up and that new people coming into the work force are pushing the statistics up.

"I don't think that is much of an answer," Mondale said. "And it's not the whole story. According to the Bureau of Labor statistics, in the last three months, employment in manufacturing has not risen. It has fallen by 42,000 jobs. Employment in construction has not risen. It has fallen by 39,000 jobs.

"Where are the new jobs that the Ford Administration talks about?"

United Press International  
August 17, 1976

In a Las Vegas speech to the Plumbers and Pipefitters Union Convention, Mondale promised "that a common-situs picketing bill would be passed and signed into law in a Carter Administration, enabling one union to prevent others from working at a construction site."

Washington Post  
August 17, 1976

POLITICS

Mondale's "politics" is Humphrey-McGovern liberalism. Ralph Nader has said, his activity in the field of social issues is "staggering." Mondale believes his fundamental duty is to the poor and powerless, and has become the embodiment of a social reformer.

Mondale has been most critical of Republican administrations for their "lack of concern" and "insensitivity" to social issues. He has consistently called for a reordering of national priorities.

POLITICS

"One of the most important tasks of the DFL next year will be to regain liberal control of the House of Representatives. The Republican-dominated legislature did nothing to improve Minnesota's anti-trust, charitable trust, and charitable solicitation acts, and neglected many problems of our metropolitan areas which urgently needed consideration and actions."

Minnesota Union Advocate  
August 1, 1963

"There is no sign of a let-up in the activity of right-wing extremists. Indeed, they seem to be growing stronger and more militant, and they seem committed to more and more political action. Unless our friends rally behind us, the right-wingers could succeed in making a huge dent in the present liberal majority in Congress."

Railway Carmen's Journal  
December 1965

Mondale declared that the price of candor in this year's election could mean political defeat but "I would rather come out--and lose--than to compromise on such a venal basis."

Akron Beacon Journal  
October 11, 1968

"This is no environment for liberals. This is no time for liberals to win many arguments, and we're not winning any of them."

Minneapolis Tribune  
November 23, 1969

"Maybe we (Democrats) need to lose some elections until we see new directions." Many of the programs championed by liberals in the last 30 years "have actually backfired" and should be reexamined.

St. Paul Dispatch  
August 31, 1970

"I'm a liberal, and if you can't be a liberal on these things, on social issues, then you might as well get out."

The Forum  
Fargo-Morrhead, North Dakota  
October 4, 1970

Asked if he takes seriously the talk of his being a dark horse candidate for Vice President or President in 1972, Mondale said:

"I don't take it seriously. It is flattering, of course. I always say, I know I can have it (high office) but I don't want it."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
October 4, 1970

"I am concerned with powerlessness. I don't believe the American people really know just how hungry and above all powerless so many of their fellow citizens are. . ."

New Republic  
December 25, 1971

Mondale said he has no glib answers for the problems, but added that "it won't be enough to simply pour dollars into the old problems under new names of slogans."

West Central Daily Tribune  
January 22, 1972

"There is no easy way. . .except to partake in political expression." The Democratic Party is reaching out and beginning to gain strength, especially in regard to youth. "The other party is rejecting that."

The Democratic Party is "open and listening" and the Republican Party is "not open at all."

Mankato Free Press  
February 28, 1972

Mondale called the Democratic organization the "one ready-made instrument we have to make democracy more than a cliché. . .to make responsive government a reality."

"The party is where you and I, if we are only willing to spend the time and energy, can shape the leaders and the policy that governs us."

Mondale said persons either contribute or "become foresakers of the political future."

Mankato Free Press  
February 28, 1972

"There is no excuse for our party not overcoming the curse of money--we have our ITT's, too. I don't think we can be any more smug or self-righteous on this issue than on the issue of war."

Minneapolis Tribune  
April 25, 1972

"Nobody believes me when I say I don't have those kinds of national ambitions. But, I don't. My ambition is to be a good Senator from Minnesota. . .I love the Senate."

Minneapolis Star  
June 14, 1972

"I don't, in any way, apologize for my advocacy for the problems of the working man. I think we've overlooked too many of these needs. . .I think we should be doing more, not less."

Minneapolis Star  
June 14, 1972

"I don't like to be confronted with the kinds of pressure for compromise that national Presidential candidacies require. . .I don't think I'm emotionally suited for it."

Minneapolis Star  
June 14, 1972

"Perhaps because I've been close to both Humphrey and McCarthy, I don't want to undertake the emotional and physical ravaging a Presidential candidacy requires."

Minneapolis Star  
June 14, 1972

Had Humphrey been elected President in 1968, "this country would have been a far greater country today. But we lost that election--the Republicans didn't win--we just lost."

Rochester Post-Bulletin  
July 31, 1972

"I am troubled by the working of the quota system that we have. Now technically, it's not a quota but an objective. In one sense it worked very well, in the sense that it broke down old patterns and made it possible for persons who might have been excluded in subtle ways to participate in a meaningful sense in the party."

Congressional Quarterly  
December 2, 1972

"And I think it is particularly true that despite our wealth and power that there are millions of kids who still don't get a really fair chance. I believe our country has to do far better in that area."

"In a sense it is almost as serious as Watergate. It may not violate any laws, but it is a form of spiritual shortchanging of American life that I find almost as enormous."

Christian Science Monitor  
September 2, 1973





"Congress must press forward to enact legislation creating a prosecutor who will be truly independent."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
October 28, 1973

Mondale was quoted as saying that "American democracy ought to be sort of a steady free-for-all."

"We ought to have you mangy newsmen pickin' away at us, keeping us life-size. We ought to have our opponents snippin' at us. We ought to disclose where we get our money and how we spend it, what our outside entanglements are.

"There ought to be a lot of play in the joints of American democracy. That's the greatest thing about this country, that's our greatest strength, that's our best guarantee of a secure future. Beware of political messiahs who don't have to answer questions."

Minneapolis Star  
May 6, 1974

"I don't want George Wallace to leave the Democratic Party. He does represent a large constituency and they are trying to express some very, very legitimate complaints, and I think that it is up to us, if I am a candidate and the others, to speak for those people in a way that they have confidence in us again."

Issues and Answers  
September 29, 1974

"When you get down to it, the Congress has two powers, constitutionally, that matter. One is the power over money and the other is the power to investigate."

Psychology Today  
October 1974

"The liberal programs haven't been perfect, but the answer there is reform, constant analysis, evaluation. But what I object to is the notion that I hear in some academic circles as well as elsewhere, that overt social programs don't work, that the only thing that does is the invisible hand, that all educators and welfare workers are rip-offs. I don't believe that."

Psychology Today  
October 1974

In 1970, Mondale said:

"It is time for us, as liberals, to face the fact that our approach has too often been self-satisfied, Washington-centered, insensitive and conformist. We thought we knew best, and in so thinking, we robbed people of their pride and their sense of involvement in themselves and in their communities."

Psychology Today  
October 1974

Mondale said that the present system of nominating Presidential candidates "verges on anarchy" with primaries scheduled according to no rational plan.

"The way we do things is destructive of the political dialogue."

New York Times  
December 5, 1975

"I don't think there are many differences" between his own liberal philosophy and Carter's moderate approach. "I'm a progressive Democrat, a pragmatic Democrat."

Associated Press  
July 10, 1976

In his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention, Mondale said the central issue is "the demand of the people of this nation to once more restore honesty and decency and openness to our government."

Associated Press  
July 15, 1976

"Americans now want to know whether politicians have a healthy perspective on the world and on themselves." Mondale wrote in his book, The Accountability of Power, published last year. "I am quite convinced that we must look very closely into a candidate's sense of humor and sense of proportion."

Los Angeles Times  
July 16, 1976

Mondale criticized the eight years of Republican Administration, saying the GOP has made it clear where it wants the country to go.

"They have said it with their vetoes, they have said it with their budgets, they have said it with their appointments, they have said it in what they honor, in what they criticize, and in where they exert their influence.

"They have asked this nation to accept high unemployment, despite the massive costs. They have asked this nation to accept a cruel rate of inflation, despite its ravaging effects. They have asked us to accept drastically higher interest rates, a housing depression and a 40 percent increase in the cost of welfare."

The Oregonian  
July 16, 1976

"Franklin Roosevelt said, 'The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.'

"We don't here those words from the administration. Instead, we hear demands that we further comfort the comfortable. That is what is at issue in 1976. The Republicans are calling for a different America, and we cannot let them succeed. America means human justice and understanding; it means love and helpfulness."

"We pledge to end the deadlock in American democracy that has paralyzed progress in the nation for the past eight years. A progressive Democratic Congress has been able to prevent the worst; but a negative, veto-prone administration has been able to prevent the best. In fact, we haven't had real government, but endless impasse. America must have a government that leads. President Carter will end this costly deadlock of our democracy and, as President Kennedy promised, get this country moving again."

Acceptance Speech  
Washington Post  
July 16, 1976

"I think one of the great changes, maybe the most important of the last 100 years of American life, has been the convergence of Northern and Southern politics, and I think Jimmy Carter is the classic example of that marvelous accomplishment."

Charlotte Observer  
July 16, 1976

In his acceptance speech, Mondale laced the Republicans for "demands that we further comfort the comfortable" and said "they have paralyzed the momentum for human justice in America."

Dallas Morning News  
July 16, 1976

"What I said at the time was that I didn't want to spend most of my life in Holiday Inns, but I've checked and they've all been redecorated. They're marvelous places to stay and I've thought it over and that's where I'd like to be."

Cincinnati Enquirer  
July 16, 1976

Mondale is said to have decided not to formally seek the Presidency because he felt the effort would be too fatiguing and would keep him away from his family too long.

"I just decided it wasn't for me," he said. "Basically, I found I did not have the overwhelming desire to be President which is essential for the kind of campaign that is required. I don't think anyone should be President who is not willing to go through the fire."

Baltimore Sun  
July 16, 1976

"We're going to have a government that cares. Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale are not afraid to use the word love--it's a good word. . .it's not just wealth in America, but what really counts in America is the human spirit."

Washington Post  
July 25, 1976

Q: "Are you afraid that the Republicans will try to defeat Carter by zeroing in on your liberal record?"

A: "Everything is fair game in politics in terms of debate. I believe that my record is that of a pragmatic, progressive Democrat. I think I am part of the mainstream of American life. I believe in free enterprise. I believe in competition. I believe in work. I get different labels, but I think my record will reflect that I am not an ideologue."

Newsweek Magazine  
July 26, 1976

In true Carter fashion, Mondale said, "The people want to return government to people as good as they are. Our administration is unashamed to use the word love."

Baltimore Sun  
July 26, 1976

"But by no means do I think it is certain, and I think we have to fight this feeling that I suspect exists around the country that we are in an overwhelming position because I think we are going to see substantial erosion from those unbelievable polls."

Minneapolis Tribune  
July 28, 1976

Mondale and Carter are going to try something "a little different in national politics. Where we disagree, we'll just say so, instead of having this stitched-together illusory unity on every particular issue as though we were a carbon copy, one of the other."

Minneapolis Tribune  
July 28, 1976

When asked in an interview why he is calling himself progressive rather than liberal, Mondale replied:

"I haven't used the word 'liberal' to describe myself for years because I honestly think it is a term which positively interferes with communication."

Atlanta Constitution  
July 31, 1976

"Watergate should not be kept out of the campaign. The issue of legality, integrity and openness in government may be one of the most important of all issues" this election year.

Washington Post  
August 1, 1976

In Seattle, Mondale labelled GOP keynoters as "basically negative," and went on to say, "Americans, I don't think, are much interested in debating points. They want to know where the country is going and where we are going to take it." Mondale said of the GOP that it is "sort of tired. It's lost its way. It's made up of a small minority who is squabbling over the remains."

Washington Post  
August 18, 1976

"I would be glad to debate Senator Dole at any time."

Mondale said of the proposed Ford-Carter debate that "I was pleased to see that President Ford accepted the position of Jimmy Carter for the debates."

United Press International  
August 21, 1976

Speaking on the Republican platform, Mondale said:

"I don't think it speaks for the desires and interests of the American people. They're not appealing to a broad cross section. In many, many respects, I think they're outside the mainstream of American life."

New York Times  
August 21, 1976

In speaking of Democratic Party unity in '76, Mondale said:

"There's a feeling that all that devastating fighting we had in the past is dumb and you pay a big price for it. All those groups--minorities, big city mayors, unions, farmers, academics, student groups--they've seen that they lost over the last eight years. They've sobered up. They've matured a lot. They know now you just can't demand your description of perfection and win."

Washington Post  
August 23, 1976

PRESIDENCY

Mondale has repeatedly called for a "life-size" Presidency--one that is accountable and responsive to the Legislative Branch. He has spoken for reform of the Executive Branch to prevent future abuses of power.

Speaking of his own bid for the Presidency, Mondale said, "I do not have the overwhelming desire to be President." Mondale dropped his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1974 because he didn't feel he was "emotionally suited" for a national campaign.

1974 R. 700

PRESIDENCY

In announcing plans to try to cut the President's appropriation bill, Mondale said he was trying to make White House officials "more accountable to Congress and the public," adding that "Watergate has shown the danger of excessive power being placed in the hands of a few men in the White House offices who are not subject to Congressional confirmation and who have no ongoing relationship with state and local government officials."

Minneapolis Tribune  
August 22, 1973

"We are in danger," Mondale said, "of a public, confused and disturbed with politics in general, seizing on the overblown sense of Presidential self-importance and condemning not only the excesses but also the essence of the Presidential office."

New York Times  
September 17, 1973

For the long term, Mondale said, a commission should be formed to seek a "working concept of the Presidency which is strong, yet legal; capable of leading but without dictating."

New York Times  
September 17, 1973

Mondale stated that, "we need a life-size Presidency, with its faults recognized, its virtues praised, and its interaction with Congress and the courts one of mutual respect."

New York Times  
September 17, 1973

"The extravagance of the Presidential 'establishment' breeds isolation. And, in the wake of Watergate, this isolation may in turn breed anger on the part of the American people, who may wish to eliminate not only the frills, but also much that is necessary.

"We are in danger of public sentiment confusing travel that is essential with needless pleasure trips to 'Southern' or 'Western' White Houses, and reacting against both equalling strongly."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

Speaking on the subject of reforms to prevent future abuses of power, Mondale said:

". . .we must require confirmation by the Senate of every important officer within the Executive Office of the President.

"Legislation we have passed--but which is not yet law--will help to accomplish that end by requiring confirmation of the head of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and the Council on International Economic Policy.

"However, we also need a systematic review of every other important policy-related position within the Presidential establishment to determine those for which Senate confirmation would be appropriate.

"We must condition confirmation on the pledge that these officials will appear before Congress to testify and will produce appropriate documents which Congress requests.

"And we should consistently stress the important difference between advice--which the President certainly needs from officials in the Executive Office of the President--and the type of illegal operational control which the Office of Management and Budget has exercised."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

"We must accept the challenge of Executive illegality and act effectively to meet it. But over the long term, our efforts should be designed to increase executive-legislative branch cooperation, through a thoughtful study of the institution of the Presidency.

"Therefore, we need a Commission on the Office of the Presidency, to reexamine the institution of the Presidency.

"The commission's overriding purpose should be to examine what has happened to the office, why it has happened, and what can be done to insure that the Presidency remains open and accountable to the American people and Congress.

"This investigation should attempt to bring about a permanent realignment of government. . ."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973



When asked by a reporter why he (Mondale) wants to be President, Mondale answered:

"Well, I haven't answered that yet. But I've been in the Senate for ten years and I've seen how important the Presidency is and particularly in the last few years how power has been abused and deceptive statements have been made to the American people. I guess I want to restore people's pride in America. I love this country and I want to restore what I call some good old Minnesota honesty to our government."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
February 24, 1974

"For too many years, we in the Congress let ourselves be lulled into unthinking compliance with White House wishes whenever it came to staffing for the President."

The authorizing legislation, Mondale said, "will help us reduce the possibility of any White House, now or in the future, attempting to aggrandize power and centralize functions to the detriment of the national interest."

Congressional Quarterly  
July 27, 1974

Mondale, hinting that he expects to be the chief beneficiary of Senator Edward Kennedy's decision not to seek the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination, said he is not "strongly inclined to formally declare his candidacy for President."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
February 24, 1974

"The Minnesota Constitution says that one of us must run for President every four years. Humphrey says he's out of the picture and Stassen has given assurances that he definitely won't go."

Washington Star  
October 16, 1974


When explaining why he withdrew from the Presidential race, Mondale said:

"You have to ask if you want it so bad you will insanely seek the office. I found I did not have the overwhelming desire to be the President which is essential for the kind of campaign that is required."

Newsweek Magazine  
December 2, 1974

"We can live with anything but an unaccountable President. . .this is the most important issue in terms of fundamental, constitutional principles in American history, and it has to be debated. . .the country must face up to the enormity of what has happened."

Newsweek Magazine  
December 2, 1974



In a panel discussion sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Mondale said:

"We must pay much closer attention to one often overlooked item in the massive federal budget--the appropriation for the President."

Mondale felt the establishment of a "massive White House staff" was an important factor in the building of an "imperialistic Presidency."

"We should trim the size of the White House budget," Mondale said. "The worst thing we did was to build a new Executive Office Building and give the White House so much space."

National Journal Reports  
February 8, 1975

"I do not have the overwhelming desire to be President for the kind of campaign that is required. I admire those with the determination to do what is required to seek the Presidency, but I have found that I am not among them."

New York Times  
October 26, 1975

Perhaps the single most important constraints on Presidential power adopted in recent years. . .has been the Congressional budget control process.

In regards to this process, Mondale said in an interview that the budget control process had had "more impact than I expected."

Because the process is giving Congress equal capacity with the President to control the budget, he explained, it means that Congress and the President are sharing accountability for national policy decisions as well.

New York Times  
March 28, 1976

"I love the Senate. Every year, I find I'm able to do more and I'm very reluctant to get back into that sort of national political thing.

"In other words, it's not something I'm thirsting for because I love the job up here. I've looked at the record and there haven't been too many happy Vice Presidents.

"And yet, on the other hand, it would be a challenge. A new challenge, a different challenge to do a job that might be important to this country."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
June 10, 1976

Mondale states, in The Accountability of Power that:

"The task we face is. . .to redefine the role of the Presidency, to acknowledge the importance of Presidential power but to insist on the greater importance of accountable Presidential power."

Associated Press  
July 10, 1976

"I'm not taking this (Vice Presidential spot) with the expectation of becoming President," Mondale said. "I'm taking it with the expectation of working with him (Carter) in his administration."

Denver Post  
July 15, 1976

From his book, The Accountability of Power, Mondale states that:

"I am quite convinced that we must look very closely into a candidate's sense of humor and sense of proportion. I campaigned for over a year seeking the Presidency. The tremendous pressure and incredible schedules and fatigue and everything else that goes into a national campaign must be experienced to be believed. It takes an extraordinary or remarkable person to go through all that is necessary. And yet that very pressure and demanding schedule may be the most crucial test of one's ability to make a good President."

New York Times  
July 16, 1976

In discussing the importance of studying a President's personality, Mondale stated in his book, The Accountability of Power:

"This means studying the past to determine not only a candidate's position on issues but also his concept of the government's role in the lives of Americans. It means probing a candidate's sense of himself as well as his sense of the public's needs; determining whether he seeks the Presidency for fear the nation will fall into ruin without his leadership or whether he maintains a sense of perspective about the ability of the nation to survive without him as Chief Executive."

New York Times  
July 16, 1976

"This year--for the first time since 1848--we will elect a new President of our Country who is a Southerner and who has shown his people and our nation the way back to a truly United States."

The Oregonian  
July 16, 1976

Q: "Why do you want to be Vice President after seeing all that Humphrey went through? Is it because you're tired of the Senate or that it would give you a chance to be President?"

A: "I'm not tired of the Senate. I'm very content there. You know this is not an office I sought. My name was brought up by others. I haven't campaigned for it. But when I was first mentioned seriously, I gave it a good deal of thought and spent a lot of time with Humphrey and others talking about it, and I think I could be helpful to Governor Carter in the election and in governing the country.

"These years that I've spent in the Senate have shown me how crucial executive leadership is to public direction, how important it is not only to have a progressive Congress but Presidential leadership going in the same direction. We've had eight years really of deadlock in our democracy. A good share of our time has been spent trying to block things, and to make progress has been almost impossible. . ."

Charlotte Observer  
July 16, 1976

"It's always been my opinion that both the Congress and the executive branch need to be reorganized and reorganized together. It's a common problem for both-- that is, they were both set up over the years in different times and structures to handle problems and emergencies as perceived 20 years ago, 10 years ago, 50 years ago; that you have to take a fresh look at government to organize for the needs and priorities as they're seen now. In order to do that, you really ideally ought to reorganize the Congress and the Executive Branch together."

Charlotte Observer  
July 16, 1976

Q: "What role do you see for the Vice President in foreign policy?"

A: "I think there are many areas in which a President has an interest, but where he cannot demonstrate (his interest) by appearing personally, where I think a Vice President can travel and make presentations in the name of the President. For example, I don't think either the President or Vice President has ever visited the arms control and disarmament talks. And there are certain areas of the world--Latin America, Africa and so forth--that have not received the attention that I think prudence dictates.

"I think (Hubert) Humphrey was used rather effectively in that area. There may be some coordinating roles that a Vice President could play, for example, the whole trade and international finance areas. . ."

Charlotte Observer  
July 16, 1976

Q: "What kind of Vice President would you expect to be?"

A: "I think the first point is that the Vice President has to understand he operates in an administration of a President, and the parameters of his activities are limited by what the President desires him to do.

"I think there are some obvious areas where a Vice President can be helpful: as a spokesman, as an interpreter of Presidential policies to Congress, as an interpreter of Congressional attitudes to the President.

"For example, I think the Governor (Carter) feels very deeply about governmental reorganization, trying to make government more accountable, effective, responsive. I believe that objective has great public support and is long overdue. I think a Vice President can be very helpful to the President in shaping those programs."

Charlotte Observer  
July 16, 1976

"Roosevelt (Franklin D.) once said the Presidency is a place of moral leadership, but we have just lived through the worst political scandal in American history, and we are now led by a President who pardoned the person who did it."

Pittsburgh Press  
July 16, 1976

In speaking of the role of the President, Mondale stated:

"I think first of all, a Vice President needs access. If I feel deeply about an issue, I would like to go to the President personally. I do not think a Vice President ought to argue his differences out in public. It's important that he be able to go to the President with his difference."

Charlotte Observer  
July 17, 1976

"I'm aware of the frustrations of this office (the Vice Presidency). I had two questions that I had to be satisfied about before I told Mr. Carter I would accept if asked. The first was if his concept of the Vice Presidency had a broad range of activities--I wasn't asking to be an alternate President--and the second was if we were sufficiently compatible."

New York Times  
July 25, 1976

REVENUE SHARING

Mondale was a supporter of efforts to increase the ceiling in federal aid to states under the social services program. He has been effusive in his praise for the revenue sharing program, saying that it has "strengthened our federal structure of government."

REVENUE SHARING

"I urge the Senator from Louisiana and all of the Senate conferees to carefully consider the plight of those states which have made responsible, constructive, and moderate use of the social services program--and which stand to lose so much under the Senate-adopted ceiling."

Congressional Record  
September 12, 1972

"Some states are taking unfair advantage this year of the open-ended provisions of the present social services law. Total national expenditures could reach \$6 to \$8 billion over budget estimates by the next fiscal year. There must be a stop to such irresponsible growth.

"But the pending bill would work severe hardship on states which have made constructive use of the federal program--and which have relied on good faith on its continued life.

"In my own State of Minnesota, social services funds support child care, vocational rehabilitation, foster care, family and marriage counseling, consumer education, drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs, services for disturbed and retarded children, and a host of other important activities.

"Minnesota last year received \$44 million in social services funding--and under the pending bill, Minnesota would receive roughly \$25 million this year for the same purposes. Hennepin County, for example, may suffer a net loss from revenue sharing if the 1.6 billion ceiling is retained.

"Efforts--which I have supported--to increase this ceiling to an appropriate level have failed."

Congressional Record  
September 12, 1972

"There can be no doubt that revenue sharing has been a success in assisting state and local governments to provide much needed programs and services, which otherwise would not have been possible. It has helped to make our nation's over-all tax system more progressive. It has reaffirmed and strengthened our federal structure of government. And it has prevented tax increases by state and local governments that would have slowed the pace of our economic recovery. . . Quick affirmative action will eliminate a source of uncertainty from local budgetary planning and will insure that the federal assistance is put to the best possible use."

Congressional Record  
November 4, 1975

SENIOR CITIZENS/SOCIAL SECURITY

Mondale has been a staunch proponent of increases in social security benefits. He has supported efforts to reduce Medicare premium costs and to provide income supplements for the elderly. He has also advocated a change in the social security system to make the payroll taxes progressive.



## SENIOR CITIZENS/SOCIAL SECURITY

Senator Walter F. Mondale called for a 15 percent increase in social security benefits this year and a 10 percent increase next year.

He said the bill also will call for increasing minimum monthly benefits from \$55 to \$100; tying benefits to the cost of living; raising from \$1,680 to \$2,400 the amount a person may earn each year without losing benefits; and extending medicare coverage to disabled social security recipients.

Minneapolis Tribune  
October 25, 1969

"I propose to reduce the medicare premium costs for part B coverage for professional care; second, I propose removal of the obnoxious requirement that medicare patients pay a blood deductible charge for the first three pints of blood they may require. Finally, Mr. President, I wish to reemphasize the need to expand medicare coverage for out-of-hospital drug costs."

Congressional Record  
March 23, 1971

"Amendments to both acts (Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act) apply to the present programs which permit the administering agencies to pay the child's benefit to the child of deceased or disabled parents after he is 18, if he continues as a full-time student. The bills I propose would alter the present requirements in three ways: first, they would extend eligibility to half-time and three-quarter time students, allowing them reduced benefits; second, they would increase the maximum age at which benefits may be received from the 22nd birthday to the 26th birthday, with benefits terminating in the first month after aged 22 that the student becomes eligible for a baccalaureate degree; and third, they would require the administering agencies to notify persons who are potentially eligible for such benefits no later than their 14th birthday."

Congressional Record  
April 19, 1971

In describing two Senate bills co-sponsored by Senators Mondale, Prouty, and Church, Senator Mondale said:

"Senate bills 1645 and 1384 would provide annual income floors for older Americans--\$1,800 for retired individuals and \$2,400 for retired couples. This legislation would provide supplementary social security payments for all older citizens below the poverty level, and would take more than two million older Americans off welfare rolls."

Congressional Record  
July 20, 1971

"I propose a tax credit of up to \$360 against unusually high property taxes or rent paid on a personal residence. Property taxes are considered unusually high if they exceed a certain percentage of household income. After determining the amount of which is excessive, 75 percent of this excessive part is relieved."

Congressional Record  
August 5, 1971

In a statement delivered on the Senate Floor, Mondale, a member of the Senate Committee on Aging, strongly supported legislation providing income supplements for the elderly through social security. "Poverty among retired Americans is a major part of the unnecessary tragedy of economic disadvantage. These bipartisan proposals by Senators Church and Prouty would help solve that problem by providing annual income floors for older Americans--1,800 for retired individuals, and \$2,400 for retired couples."

Union Advocate  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
August 5, 1971

Contending that the payroll tax on wage-earners for social security and health insurance falls most heavily on those least able to pay, Senators Walter Mondale and Edmund Muskie offered a bill to make it more like the income tax.

Under the Senators' proposal, every family of four with earnings of \$14,500 or less would pay less in payroll taxes. The same would be true of every married couple with earnings of \$13,000 or less, and every single person earning \$12,250 or less.

Minneapolis Tribune  
October 5, 1971

Backed by an endorsement from President Nixon, Mondale introduced, for the third time, a bill to eliminate medicare premiums.

He said the "Part B" premiums which the elderly must pay for doctors' fees and professional services when they first enter the program have nearly doubled in five years.

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
February 5, 1972

"The elderly are caught in a vicious squeeze by rising prices," Mondale said in introducing his proposal. "President Nixon's request for only a five percent across-the-board increase does not go nearly far enough. Five percent hardly covers the rise in the cost of living since the last increase."

Hibbing Tribune  
Minnesota  
April 18, 1972

"I have introduced legislation to implement this recommendation (White House Conference recommendation of a twenty-five percent increase in social security benefits) and to provide a \$100 minimum benefit for all recipients. But, at the very least, the Senate should accept nothing less than twenty percent increase called for in legislation introduced by the Senator from Idaho (Church) and co-sponsored by myself and many other Senators. Anything less than this twenty percent figure will do little to help elderly Americans lead a more secure and dignified life."

Congressional Record  
June 16, 1972

"The ten percent increase in social security benefits recommended recently by the Senate Finance Committee is completely inadequate to meet the real and pressing needs of elderly Americans."

Union Advocate  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
June 29, 1972

"Mr. President, I would like to indicate that I am co-sponsor of the amendment to H.R.1, submitted by my colleague from Montana, Senator Metcalf, who could not be here today. The amendment provides for federal reimbursement for state expenditures on public assistance programs for Indians."

Congressional Record  
October 3, 1972

". . .my amendment also goes further and insures that the twenty percent social security increase which Congress voted to protect the elderly from inflation--to give them needed improved income--will actually go to those social security recipients and not be diverted to public housing rent increases in a sort of peculiar and cruel revenue sharing program."

Congressional Record  
October 5, 1972

Commenting on the proposed budget cuts in Medicare and Medicaid submitted by the President, Mondale said:

"We all agree on the need for economy. But we can spare this additional burden on those least able to pay. There is enough fat in the budget--in Pentagon waste, in extravagant space programs, in continued special tax benefits for powerful interests--to make up the difference many times over."

Congressional Record  
March 26, 1973

"It is clear to me that Congress is overwhelmingly opposed (to an attempt by President Nixon to cut Medicare costs) to increase the burden of medical costs on older Americans. For that reason I have introduced a Congressional Resolution that would declare Congress' opposition to these cutbacks --making it clear-- as firmly and formally as we can--that these proposals have no chance of ever passing the Congress."

Union Advocate  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
April 2, 1973

The National Council of Senior Citizens has given Senator Walter Mondale and Hubert Humphrey high marks for their Congressional voting records last year.

Based on ten key votes affecting the elderly, the organization gave Mondale a one-hundred percent rating, and Humphrey ninety percent.

Rochester Post Bulletin  
August 31, 1974

Mondale called President Ford's proposal to limit cost-of-living increases for social security payments to five percent "indefensible, heartless, and cruel to millions of elderly persons who depend on social security payments."

New York Times  
January 22, 1975

"Senator Humphrey and I and others have already introduced an amendment which would assure that federal SSI payments go up automatically when social security goes up. The bill we are introducing today would also require states to raise their contributions to SSI enough so that no one loses any benefits when social security payments increase and would provide for federal payment of fifty percent of any increased costs to the states."

Congressional Record  
June 5, 1976

TAXES

Mondale has been a constant critic of what he calls "unfair tax breaks for special interests" including the depletion allowance and foreign tax credit for oil companies. He has consistently supported investment credits and other tax breaks for farmers and small businessmen.

Mondale was an early proponent of the minimum tax, although he has conceded it to be a "disappointment." In recent years, he has called for personal income tax credits for dependents.

TAXES

Systematic use of federal taxing and spending powers has sent the United States to "a new plateau of economic achievement," Mondale stated.

International Falls Journal  
August 23, 1965

Mondale and five other senators sponsored legislation which would provide tax incentives for industries to locate in rural areas.

The bill would reward industries that locate in a county where no city has more than 50,000 population and where at least 15% of family incomes are below \$3,000 or employment has declined at a rate of more than 5% over 5 years.

The company would have to employ at least half of its initial work force from within the area and create at least 10 new jobs.

The bill offers qualifying companies added tax incentives for providing job training.

St. Paul Dispatch  
February 5, 1969

Mondale stated that a minimum tax is needed so that all Americans "will pay a share of taxes, no matter how many tax shelters they use to protect themselves."

St. Paul Dispatch  
April 19, 1969

Mondale cosponsored a Senate 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 repeated for investments over \$25,000.

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

The Farimont Daily Sentinel  
Farimont, Minnesota  
July 24, 1969

In a letter to Senator Russell Long, Mondale stated:

The exemption and Social Security increases "are absolutely vital for easing the burden of taxes and inflation upon our senior citizens and upon our middle-income taxpayers. Both increases are long overdue in view of the persisting rise in the cost of living," he said.

"Notwithstanding the objection of the administration," he said, the Senate provisions "are the most effective ways to bring relief to these citizens."

More than enough money to offset the cost could be raised by further tightening of tax loopholes and further trimming of "still-swollen" defense and space expenditures, he said.

Mondale said he did not believe that "we need to be intimidated by the shrill cries of 'fiscal irresponsibility.'"

He specifically urged the tax conferees to raise the proposed new minimum income tax contained in the House and Senate bills. The House provision would raise \$500 million yearly from wealthy individuals who have paid little or no tax in the past because of special treatment accorded them by the law. The Senate provision would raise \$700 million yearly, split about evenly between individuals and previously-favored corporations.

Mondale aides said the senator also favors the House bill's tougher reforms of mineral depletion allowances, especially those given to the oil industry.

Minneapolis Tribune  
December 18, 1969

Mondale accused the Nixon administration of giving tax-exempt status to Southern white academies on the strength of nondiscrimination pledges that are "palpably ridiculous."

Washington Post  
August 13, 1970

Mondale stated that the Treasury Department report shows that American oil companies used the foreign-tax credit to cut their 1971 U.S. taxes by 71%.

"This extraordinary use of the foreign tax credit reinforces the long-standing suspicion that the big multinational oil companies have worked out special deals with the Arab sheiks to jack up their foreign-tax credits."

Minnesota Tribune  
January 28, 1971

In regard to Nixon's depreciation rules, which, it has been estimated, will cut business taxes by \$37 billion over the next decade. Mondale stated:

"At a time when 5 million people are out of work, a large tax cut for business which almost all observers agree will have little or no immediate effect on investment or employment would appear to be a particularly poor choice."

Congressional Record  
May 25, 1971

Mondale introduced legislation that would give persons over 65 a credit against federal income tax for the state and local real property taxes they pay.

Mondale said he was introducing the measure to help older Americans keep their homes.

Hibbing Tribune  
Hibbing, Minnesota  
August 7, 1971

"Adding the investment tax credit -- which I support -- to the other business tax proposals, the President's program provides a \$9 billion or 20 percent tax cut for corporations. Meanwhile, the average taxpayer actually gets a tax increase in 1972."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
September 14, 1971

In regard to the Administration's proposed value added tax (VAT) Mondale stated:

"The value added tax is nothing more than a sales tax in disguise. It will be added to the price of a product, feeding inflation and increasing the tax load on middle and low-income Americans. The way to raise additional revenues is not through this regressive national sales tax but rather through comprehensive tax reform like that outlined in our measure."

West Central Daily Tribune  
February 23, 1972

Mondale called for legislation that would close tax loopholes for the wealthy and corporations and end the "tax bilking of America."

"Our present revenue system has become a mockery of the purposes we claimed for it," he said. "It unfairly burdens the wage-earners and permits massive tax loopholes for the very rich."

"Effective tax reform will be hard to achieve as long as big money commands the power it does over politics and politicians," he added.

Austin Herald  
Austin, Minnesota  
March 24, 1972

In speech at the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention, Mondale said that the time had come to end "unfair tax breaks for special interests, and to close glaring loopholes."

St. Paul Dispatch  
September 25, 1972

Mondale criticized the minimum tax law passed in 1969, stating:

"Congress passed a so-called 'minimum tax' in 1969 to try to end this grand scale avoidance by the rich, but it obviously hasn't worked."

Mondale said the Senate Finance Committee and Congress will need to strengthen the minimum tax law. "We must also attack directly some of the loopholes that allow the very rich to pay little or nothing in taxes."

Pioneer Press  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
April 2, 1973

"The new optional \$200 credit I am proposing (proposed on January 28, 1974), would help make up for this erosion in real family incomes."

"... the \$200 optional tax credit. ... would help to deal with the threat of



recession by pumping \$6.5 billion into the economy over the next year, directed toward those who have been hardest hit by rising prices."

Congressional Record  
January 28, 1974

Mondale said that the 402 Americans that paid no income taxes "were only the tip of the iceberg. Thousands of other wealthy Americans end up - like President Nixon - paying just a few hundred dollars in taxes on their huge incomes. This is enough to keep them off the list of total tax avoiders, but they are still paying a much smaller percentage of their income in taxes than the average worker."

New York Times  
March 3, 1974

"One of the most important factors in this threatened recession, economists say will be a decline in consumer spending. With family budgets squeezed by higher prices for food and fuel, and higher income and social security taxes, consumers will have less real income to spend. Growing fear of unemployment and general economic uncertainty will put a further damper on consumer spending.

"By concentrating 90 percent of the tax relief on those making less than \$15,000 a year, the proposal not only helps those most in need, but also provides the greatest amount of stimulus to our lagging economy."

On January 28, Mondale proposed a \$200 personal income tax credit with the above thoughts in mind.

Congressional Quarterly  
March 9, 1974

"The minimum tax has been a big disappointment." It is long past time to tighten up this law, Mondale added, saying "the rich ought to start paying their fair share in taxes."

Minneapolis Tribune  
April 15, 1974

"Never before in this society have we had a situation of fantastic wealth virtually untaxed side by side with millions of families being tortured by inflation."

"This amendment is a modest step forward, to shift a small part of that burden from corporations that clearly can afford it and bring some modest relief to families that desperately need it. If ever there was a time for equity, it is now."

(This statement was in regard to multinational oil companies.)

Congressional Record  
June 24, 1974

"The major multinational oil companies are the most profitable, the least taxed, the most preferred industry in the United States. What we are trying to do is to get them to pay a little more in taxes and permit them to join the rest of American businesses as a taxpaying citizen."

Congressional Record  
June 25, 1974

"We have these multinational oil companies with the highest profits ever recorded in American history. Their recent tax reports show they pay one per cent, two per cent, three per cent in federal income taxes. Practically a tax-free operation. 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 it back to Americans in the form of what I'd like, a tax credit based on the number of dependents in a family so you can get some real relief and improve purchasing power for moderate and low-income families."

Issues and Answers  
September 29, 1974

In regard to S. 469, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to reduce and to repeal the percentage depletion allowance, Mondale stated:

"... the future is now for repeal of depletion."

"...the oil industry has received incentives beyond the dreams of avarice through price increases alone in the past year. The incentives of percentage depletion is no longer justified."

Congressional Record  
January 28, 1975

Mondale criticized President Ford's proposal for a \$12 billion tax rebate as giving "the most relief to those who need it least and the least relief to those who need it most."

"The Administration argues that these \$1000 benefits to the wealthiest Americans are needed to stimulate the sales of cars and other heavy durable goods. That may be true, but shouldn't we be interested in helping working people buy food or clothes or shoes?"

New York Times  
February 5, 1975

"The foreign tax credit is generally a legitimate device to avoid double taxation. But the multinational oil companies have used it like an enormous tax eraser..."

"The secret of this gargantuan oil industry tax avoidance is the arrangement which allows them to treat their payments to the OPEC oil cartel as income taxes -- which can be credited dollar for dollar against U.S. taxes -- rather than as royalties or excise taxes, which can reduce U.S. taxes by only about half as much."

Congressional Record  
March 5, 1975

Mondale concedes that he has changed his position on one key reform issue. That involves a provision in the law that enables exporters to defer the payment of taxes on half of their foreign trade earnings by setting up Domestic International Sales Corporations (DISC).

In the past Mondale said he has voted to repeal DISC, which the reformers view as a tax subsidy that daily goes into the pocket of exporters without materially helping

the nation's balance of trade.

At the most, he said in an interview, he would support the provision in the House bill that was largely fashioned by Rep. Joseph Karth. The provision would narrow the DISC benefits and thereby raise taxes on exporters by about \$550 million in the first year.

While DISC has recently been one of the most studied tax issues before Congress, Mondale said that he finds the evidence on both sides of the question "speculative." But he said that he has concluded that the provision contains some degree of "incentive" to exporters worth retaining.

Minneapolis Tribune  
May 9, 1976

Mondale has proposed a system of federal income tax credits to aid middle-income families having young people in college, trade or professional schools, or universities.

St. Paul Dispatch  
May 25, 1976

Mondale said, "I led the fight last week to defeat a proposal to withhold income tax on interest and dividends. The savings and loan industry was opposed to this proposal."

Birmingham News  
July 25, 1976

TRADE

Mondale opposes any restrictions on exports to Eastern Europe and has urged the Republican administration to end "foreign restriction on our own exports."

Not only has Mondale been critical of Republican trade policies, but he has admonished the Japanese for manipulating their "textile-industrial complex."

Mondale has called for expanded trade with Eastern Europe and with the rest of the Soviet Union. He favors more open trade with China and supports trade with Cuba.



TRADE

Speaking out against restrictions on exports to Eastern Europe, Mondale said that export controls should only be placed on strategic and military goods.

"These restrictions on peaceful goods hold back economic growth in the U.S., not in Eastern Europe," Mondale said. "They contribute nothing to our national security. They punish nobody except American businessmen."

Duluth News-Tribune  
March 11, 1969

Opponents of increased East-West trade, Mondale said, "have got this all confused with old Joe Stalin. The fact is, Eastern Europe can get these peaceful, non-strategic goods elsewhere."

"It's a self-defeating policy that denies them nothing while punishing our own economy -- and it robs us of an opportunity to become a moderating influence in Eastern Europe."

Minneapolis Tribune  
October 27, 1969

Mondale urged the Nixon administration "to force an end to unfair competition and undue foreign restriction on our own exports."

He warned foreign governments, particularly common market nations to,

"Put your houses in order before the tide of protectionism peaks again, because there may be no stopping it another time."

New York Times  
January 1, 1971

"It is time for the United States to move aggressively to defend its interests in international trade negotiations, we do need to bring pressure to bear upon nations who have lagged behind our lead in the trade liberalizations of the last decade."

New York Times  
January 1, 1971

"Unless trading policies of other nations are turned around -- and I am speaking primarily of the European Economic Community and primarily of their agricultural trade policies -- there will be a worldwide trade war..."

"And my warning must also apply to the Japanese. Those of us in the liberal trade community can hardly continue to admonish only our own Administration for its capitulation to political pressures [on textiles] while the Japanese Government continues to be manipulated by its own 'textile-industrial complex.'"

New York Times  
January 1, 1971

In speaking of expanding trade with China, Mondale stated:

"While Congress has passed legislation to greatly liberalize trade with Eastern Europe; while the Administration releases some of the more obvious injustices encountered in trade between China and American subsidiaries abroad, and while speculation of further liberalization persists, no basic change has occurred in U.S.-Chinese trade. If relations with the most populous and potentially dangerous nation on Earth are ever to be normalized, we must begin with a normalization of social and economic relations."

Congressional Record  
June 28, 1971

Speaking on the trade embargo with China, Mondale stated:

"While China might be somewhat inhibited economically by an inability to engage in normal foreign trade, she is perfectly capable of meeting her basic economic needs from her own resources. What we are promoting, then, is a wholly self-sufficient China--uninhibited by the fear of economic loss due to her actions or attitudes.

"The other response to a policy of isolation might be to become totally reliant upon trade with a single other nation or bloc of nations. Our restrictions on trade with Eastern Europe have had this effect -- adding to, rather than weakening Soviet economic and political hegemony in this area..."

"If we can accept what I believe to be the obvious -- that the United States has little or no influence over internal events in the Chinese Mainland -- and if we can assume that the interest of world and Asian stability are best served by a China dependent upon normal international intercourse, then it would seem that new trade policies with respect to China are in order."

Congressional Record  
June 28, 1971

In pushing for expanded trade with Eastern Europe, Mondale stated:

"At present, the United States is the only NATO country which controls its exports unilaterally to a significantly greater degree than do its allies. There is a multilateral organization called CoCom in which the United States develops with its allies export controls on sensitive items. What we are aiming to do with this act is to do away with unilateral U.S. controls which go way beyond these agreed control levels. There is no question of doing away with export controls altogether - We need some controls to prevent the export of certain goods and equipment which would damage our national security. But we should rely to the maximum extent possible on CoCom Controls which do not put our businessman at a disadvantage."

Congressional Record  
July 31, 1972

Speaking in favor of increased trade with Eastern Europe, Mondale cited the recent

explicit and precise authority to respond to export embargoes against the United States."

Congressional Record  
December 3, 1973

"As the oil embargo shows, we need new international procedures to deal responsibly with the problem of shortages. Since World War II, the international trading system has concentrated on the problem of access to markets. In an era of shortages and rapid inflation, we must update the rules of the international trade system to focus on access to supplies."

Congressional Record  
December 7, 1975

"Our problem is no longer finding foreign buyers for our soybeans and our wheat and our cotton - it is to keep them from buying too much and at the wrong time," Mondale said.

"Our problem is no longer so much access to foreign markets for our products - it is more a problem of getting essential imports, such as oil," he added.

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
February 22, 1974

"We now have to open trade in the rest of the Soviet Union and China and many other areas. I see no real reason not to do so with Cuba."

Issues and Answers  
September 29, 1974

"In the face of this deepening turmoil, there is a growing temptation for nations to turn inward, to seek solutions to problems of inflation, unemployment, and payments deficits by erecting new barriers to trade..."

"Protectionism is no solution to the economic problems we face. A highly industrialized country like the United States would suffer greatly if the doors to international commerce were closed..."

Congressional Record  
December 13, 1974

"Although fears have been voiced that the Trade Reform Act might pose a threat to jobs, the evidence shows that the opposite is true -- that increased trade will result in more jobs and better and more highly paid jobs. Liberalization of trade barriers could permit us to take advantage of the competitive advantage which we enjoy in telecommunications, computer technology, aeronautics, petro-chemicals, and similar industries which are both labor intensive and highly skilled."

Congressional Record  
December 13, 1974

"...And unquestionably the failure to strengthen our trade relationship with the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, as envisioned in the Trade Reform Act, would both undermine progress in detente to date and threaten the prospects for the future."

Congressional Record

December 13, 1974

Mondale introduced an amendment "permitting special preference on tariffs to Communist countries that were parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT), were members of the International Monetary Fund, were eligible for most favored nation (MFN) status and were not dominated or controlled by international communism."

"Mondale said the blanket prohibition on generalized preferences to Communist nations contained in the bill as reported in effect applied only to Yugoslavia and Rumania and that denying preferences to them would adversely affect their economic development and U.S. relations with them."

Congressional Quarterly

December 28, 1974



TRANSPORTATION

Mondale has been active in pushing for better rural transportation. He has been a staunch supporter of the railroad industry and worked steadily to facilitate improved railway service. He is most opposed to the railway abandonment that is taking place around the country.

TRANSPORTATION

". . .we need to develop a balanced approach to meet the Nation's growing transportation needs. To keep the railroads in service and to improve that service to small communities which desperately need rail service may require an entirely new approach. In my judgment, we should stop the abandonments now and start investigations directed at finding some way to keep rail service in communities which need it."

Congressional Record  
April 27, 1972

The proposed Rural Transportation Act, which Mondale plans to introduce this week, is designed, he said, to allow rural communities to keep rail service when "we are unsuccessful in preventing an abandonment."

"I think it can be successful as the Rural Electrification Administration, and I know that it will benefit Minnesota as well as the whole nation."

New Ulm Journal  
New Ulm, Minnesota  
May 22, 1972

In introducing legislation creating a Rural Rail Transportation Administration, Mondale stated:

"I think it is an astronomical irony that railroads continually are trying to get out of the railroad business. They continually ask for more government assistance. But rail service does not improve.

"In my judgment, what is needed is a transportation program similar to the Rural Electrification Administration. The REA has been one of our Nation's truly great rural development successes. Rural electric cooperatives, owned and operated by rural residents and farmers, provide services that big business cannot or will not provide. And REA's pay back every cent that they get from the government."

Congressional Record  
May 23, 1972

Mondale, testifying at an Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) hearing on rail abandonment, said that the Department of Transportation (DOT) and the ICC proposals would facilitate railroad branch line abandonment. Mondale said that the "abandonment of rural rail service is a bad replay of the deterioration of railroad passenger service a few years ago" adding that rail business on branch lines inevitably decreases because of inadequate service and the line is finally abandoned.

Fairmont Sentinel  
Fairmont, Minnesota  
April 24, 1972

In a testimony before the ICC, Mondale said that proposed track abandonments by railroads pose "a substantial threat to the prosperity and stability of rural America."

He noted that railroads are linked with the financial stability of those in grain marketing.

Mondale said the Congress must consider alternatives for keeping branch lines open and viable where there is a genuine need for a railroad. "I think we should consider the possibility of patterning the operation of rural railroad branch lines after the Rural Electrification program."

Fairmont Sentinel  
Fairmont, Minnesota  
April 24, 1972

In speaking of his proposed Rural Transportation Act, which would set up a Rural Transportation Administration (RTA), Mondale stated:

"The RTA would provide grants and loans for the establishment of cooperatives to rebuild and run railroad lines where communities need continued service."

"This legislation does not pretend to represent a total solution to the problem of railroad abandonments. I still feel we should declare a moratorium on all abandonments until we can develop an overall national transportation plan. In the meantime, however, we must do everything possible to provide rural America with the rail lines that are so vital to its existence."

Union Advocate  
St. Paul, Minnesota  
May 25, 1972

"I believe investing in people and entrusting our Nation's resources to organizations run by the people. Rural electric cooperatives have a fine record showing what can be done by such organizations. The Rural Rail Transportation Administration authorized by this legislation would do so also."

"I do not claim that this will completely solve the transportation crisis. As put forth in this bill, I strongly support efforts to declare a moratorium on the abandonment of railroad lines until a national transportation plan can be developed. But the Rural Transportation Administration is needed to help continue rail service in rural communities."

Congressional Record  
May 8, 1973

VETERANS

Mondale has supported efforts to fulfill "our commitment to the Vietnam veteran," including the creation of jobs for veterans.

VETERANS

Speaking on the amendment to S.31 (Bill for Employing Veterans), Mondale stated:

"Mr. President, there are few situations more tragic than that of a man permanently maimed in the service of his country who is unable even to find a job to support himself. This national outrage has continued for too long. Therefore, I am asking that 10 percent of all money appropriated for S.31 be used specifically to create jobs for veterans."

Congressional Record  
March 8, 1971

Too many veterans "can't get the medical care or find the jobs or pay for the education that they need."

"When they turn to their government for help, they're not seeking special treatment. They're seeking what all Americans want--a chance to live productive and satisfying lives, to enjoy self-respect, and the respect of their communities."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
June 26, 1972

"Along with the many other Senators who share a constant interest in our commitment to the Vietnam veteran, I am working hard to insure that the level of benefits finally adopted is as close as possible to the Senate version."

Austin Herald  
August 26, 1972

WATERGATE

Mondale has said repeatedly that Watergate should be an issue in the 1976 campaign. He has been outspoken in his criticism of the pardon, although he has conceded that nobody "wished the former President to go to jail." Mondale has referred to the revelations of burglaries, wiretaps, and opening of mail as "smacking of Nazi gestapo Germany."

WATERGATE

At a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner sponsored by the Michigan Democratic Party in Detroit, Mondale stated:

"This administration approved a series of activities which were labelled as illegal and dangerous, but nevertheless approved.

"They approved burglaries of the homes of American citizens without search warrants, burglaries of foreign embassies in the United States, unlimited wiretaps, unlimited opening of private mail--a full pattern of extra-legal tactics approved at the highest level of American government which I think comes about as close as any document I've ever seen of smacking of Nazi gestapo Germany."

St. Paul Dispatch  
June 11, 1973

Mondale said that if Nixon "fails to reveal the tapes, the American people can conclude only one thing, that he is guilty."

"If the President is right about executive privilege, I would recommend to every criminal in the country that he get a job at the White House because then he couldn't be prosecuted."

New York Times  
July 25, 1973

Mondale stated that the will of the people must be "not to simply prolong Watergate, but to learn from it; not to immobilize the country, but to spur it to action."

New York Times  
September 17, 1973

"In short, Watergate has given us a new resolve both to meet the problems we face as a nation, and to realize that the greatest problem we face is protecting our liberty against a government which would erode, and in the end, destroy it.

"The changes that are required will not come easily. For what we will need are reforms to insure that those who govern can never again, through their power, strip away the freedom which has made our government unique."

Congressional Record  
September 17, 1973

"No one wished the former President to go to jail, but to grant a pardon for unspecified crimes and acts is unprecedented in American history and creates a spectacle of a two track system. . ."

Worthington Daily Globe  
Worthington, Minnesota  
September 9, 1974

Mondale called the Nixon pardon "that ultimate Watergate coverup" because "it will keep the truth about Watergate from the American people, possibly forever."

St. Paul Dispatch  
September 11, 1974

Speaking on the pardon of former President Nixon, Mondale said that it "may have been an act of mercy toward Mr. Nixon. But I would like to suggest that it was an unfair, unfortunate, and unethical act toward the American people and toward our system of justice."

Mondale went on to day of the Watergate scandals:

"To believe that now--after all of this--the American people will settle for anything less than the full truth--complete disclosure of the entirety of Watergate--is a naive and ridiculous underestimation of the intelligence and integrity of the American people."

Congressional Record  
September 11, 1974

Mondale said the pardon would foreclose public access to the truth about Watergate:

"We will not know the truth in order to better legislate remedies to prevent future Watergates.

"We will not know the truth in order to set the historical record straight on the worst political scandal in American history.

"We will not even know what Mr. Ford has pardoned--be it misuse of the CIA and FBI, harassing tax audits, the sale of ambassadorships, the compromise of the antitrust laws, or whatever.

"Contrary to what Mr. Ford must have thought, I do not believe the American people will stand for it. I believe the American people want the full truth. I believe the only really 'national interest' is in full disclosure."

Congressional Record  
September 11, 1974

"We must not ignore the fact that the odious collection of practices called Watergate--the break-ins, the buggings and wiretappings, the forgeries and fraud, and the coverup itself--were, and are, everyday activities of our foreign intelligence operations."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
September 24, 1974



"I don't intend to dwell on it, but I'm not running away from it either. The pardon (of Nixon) did represent in my opinion, almost the classic example of the double standard (in American justice)."

Los Angeles Times  
July 28, 1976

"Watergate should not be kept out of the campaign. The issue of legality, integrity and openness in government may be one of the most important issues this election year."

Washington Post  
August 1, 1976

Mondale said that he would continue to criticize and discuss the Nixon pardon but would not make it a central issue:

"I don't plan to make that the only theme or the dominant theme, but the issue of equal justice is an important issue facing the country."

Associated Press  
August 11, 1976

In speaking of the role of Watergate as a campaign issue, Mondale stated:

"I don't intend to bring up that issue in every speech. But I believe there's nothing more sacred in American life than the notion that everybody is accountable before the law, no matter how rich or powerful they might be."

Associated Press  
August 21, 1976

WELFARE

Mondale said the welfare system "destroys children, breaks up families, perpetuates dependency, robs people of dignity and leaves them in poverty," but he opposes any cut in welfare spending and opposes any tightening of eligibility requirements for welfare recipients.

Mondale has praised the Office of Economic Opportunity for its "cash-effectiveness," and has been instrumental in the formulation of the Legal Services program.

WELFARE

Mondale stated that all must face "the reality" that "a truly effective campaign against poverty" will call for "concentration of resources and social planning on a greater scale than ever before."

Minneapolis Tribune  
February 15, 1964

True conservatives are those who are "trying to save people from a life on welfare."

"The programs (federal aid programs) are evidence that true conservatives of this country are not those who label such people as lazy or shiftless but those who are trying to save people from a life on welfare-- to make them givers to our society rather than perennial takers of handouts."

Duluth News Tribune  
May 9, 1965

"Some 1.3 million mothers receive public aid, but less than one fourth have the skills to be self-supporting."

Another myth is that welfare rolls are full of chiselers and cheaters, Mondale said.

"Every study of the welfare rolls I am aware of shows that less than one percent of the persons receiving welfare aid are actually ineligible."

St. Paul Pioneer Press  
January 27, 1969

Mondale praised the Supreme Court decision striking down the state residency requirements for state welfare programs. Mondale called the decision "a significant step towards a long overdue reform of the system," noting that residency requirements "bar assistance for an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 impoverished persons."

St. Paul Dispatch  
April 22, 1969

Mondale said the welfare system "destroys children, breaks up families, perpetuates dependency, robs people of dignity and leaves them in poverty."

New York Times  
December 10, 1970

Mondale said he was "shocked at reports that the administration was proposing to cut the poverty program... Cutting 23 per cent out of the program next year would remove the last vestiges of credibility in the war on poverty."

New York Times  
December 17, 1970

"Last night in an action which I thought was unbelievable, the Senate passed a bill which would prohibit legal services attorneys from bringing a suit under the Social Security Act, which would mean they could not participate in any of the welfare fields at all. No matter how illegal, no matter how outrageous the violation, they cannot sue on behalf of poor people.

"Mr. President, I would like to have some who voted for that provision go out and tell those poor people about our deep commitment here to law and order and to the Constitution - after we said, in effect, that the courthouse door is slammed shut, bolted, and nailed down as far as their rights are concerned. They better find a rich friend."

Congressional Quarterly  
October 6, 1972

Mondale warned that the tighter eligibility rules (stricter earnings tests and asset requirements) would force many states to "change their whole welfare programs." The revised rules provide "disincentives" to persons to get jobs, because they can get services free if they remain on welfare.

Congressional Quarterly  
May 12, 1973

Speaking on the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Legal Services program, Mondale stated:

"Using any standard, this unique program has been an outstanding success. And perhaps the most significant proof of that success, has been the fact that the organized bar throughout the country has led the fight to preserve an independent and effective Legal Services program...

"Yet the sad truth is that despite the success of the Legal Services program it has been subjected from its inception to attacks from those who believe that lawyers should not be too aggressive - or too effective in defending rights of their clients."

Congressional Record  
July 24, 1973

"I believe this program(The Office of Economic Opportunity) has demonstrated a greater cash-effectiveness than virtually any other program in Government today. It has prevented unlawful reductions in welfare payments, helped extend the Federal school lunch program and participated in many other important efforts to enhance the rights of the Nation's poor. It has attracted dedicated, motivated, able lawyers to its programs in a manner which has strengthened our ability to achieve peaceful change within the American system."

Congressional Record  
July 24, 1973

"I will vote for S 35(legislation for Food Stamp Increase). I will do so in the belief that it is necessary to pass this legislation in order to protect the vitally important food stamp program from the illegal and ill-conceived actions of the executive branch."

Congressional Record  
February 5, 1975

Speaking on the need for federal day care standards, Mondale stated:

"I think we are being asked today not only to stop interfering with State and local government but also to stop any minimal protective requirements entirely, even though we see a profound national need. That is quite a principle. We would have to vote against the Voting Rights Act, we would have to vote against Child Labor Legislation, we would have to vote against minimum wage, and we would have to vote against all environmental legislation if we take the position that never can Congress stand up for a broad, profound national purpose."

Congressional Record  
January 29, 1976

Mondale has talked vaguely of diminishing the gap between rich and poor. But he has said, "I do not believe in some massive programs of dollar redistribution of wealth. I don't think the American people would stand for it, and I think it's folly to spend much time on it."

Washington Post  
July 16, 1976

"We have to tilt the [welfare] incentives so that a person who can work will do better by working than by not working, and we can do this partly through the tax laws by reducing taxes on persons of moderate means..."

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

"...the best thing you can do for someone who is poor is to have an economy that provides plentiful jobs. That's the best anti-poverty program in the world because it provides income, it provides pride and it strengthens the family."

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

"I support the governor's[Carter] position that we should have some kind of minimum welfare standard for people who cannot work, adjusted for the cost of living by regional differences..."

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

MONDALE "ON"

Following are statements which Walter F. Mondale has made about fellow Democrats and other public and political figures.

MONDALE "ON"

Spiro Agnew

In criticizing Agnew's attack of ethnic quotas for college admissions, Mondale said: "I don't think we ever had a Vice-President who every night found someone to attack." He added: "I think the Vice-President...stands condemned for pursuing an unwise, dangerous and indefensible course..."

Minneapolis Tribune  
February 25, 1970

"His weaknesses are impressive. I don't think he has grown a bit in the five years he has been here. I think he is still reading other people's speeches. If he has been a strength in the councils of government, I haven't seen it.

"A strength he has is that he is so far out of it he wasn't in on the Watergate. I doubt very much that he will be their candidate, because I don't think he is Presidential material."

Christian Science Monitor  
September 2, 1973

George Bush

Speaking of the appointment of George Bush to head of the CIA, Mondale stated:

"...Mr. Bush's past political activities should not disqualify him from holding this important post. Assuming he possesses the other qualifications necessary - and I am reserving judgment on that question until the confirmation hearings are over - I would hope his past political activities might even be an asset to him by affording him the caution, restraint and sense of accountability and proportion that a lifetime of politics usually instills.

"But if Mr. Bush's political past presents few concerns regarding his fitness in this office, his possible political future presents a great many..."

"The President has indicated that he regards Mr. Bush as a serious possibility for the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination in 1976, and Mr. Bush himself has indicated since his appointment that he maintains a continuing interest in elective public office.

"It is precisely this possibility that troubles me deeply, and unless it is clarified satisfactorily, I would have serious reservations about supporting Mr. Bush's confirmation."

Congressional Record  
November 18, 1975

"If, indeed, Mr. Bush intends to go from service with the CIA to further national office, I believe that he could not fulfill those functions properly. There would be the inevitable suspicion that his actions and advice, however honorably motivated they might in fact be, were premised on or at least tempered by their possible effect on his political future. Mr. Bush might even be unconscious of the tempering process, but if he maintained political ambition it would surely take place. And even if it did not, many people would never believe it. It would be a classic case of conflict of interest, and as will all such cases, appearance is as important as reality."

Congressional Record  
January 27, 1976

Jimmy Carter

Mondale called Carter an "uncommon man, terribly gifted, committed, skilled, experienced, ready, but above all, a good man."

Oregonian  
July 16, 1976

"Jimmy Carter is the embodiment of the hopes and dreams, not only of Democrats, but of all Americans. He represents the best that this party and country stand for.

"After years of division, he has made it possible for us to be one party with a united purpose; with your help he will make it possible for us to once again to be [sic] one nation with a united purpose."

Washington Post  
July 16, 1976

"There is a surprising similarity...it's amazing how we come from different regions, different backgrounds... I have rarely met a person that I felt I got along with as quickly... We understand each other. "

Washington Post  
July 24, 1976

"He [Carter] is very bright. He has done a lot of work, and I like the way he attacks problems. Most politicians, I regret to say, begin with polls and then back into a solution after they've analyzed what may be popular, and avoid what is unpopular. At least, in our discussions we talked about problems first on their own merit...One thing that appeals to Democrats - he's shown a lot of courage on civil rights. Here's a man who looks honest, looks decent, looks like he can manage, looks like he's not full of himself and looks like he's free. He doesn't have any entangling interests that control him, and he just might be the person to shake up that town [Washington] and make it work the way people want it to work."

Time  
July 26, 1976

"...I've been amazed and very pleased by our compatibility on issues and our compatibility personally. I think my public reputation is a little different than my record and my attitude. That explains some of that. If you read our two books, which were written before we knew each other, it's amazing how we both come down heavy on the ethical issues.



"You know, we're from similar backgrounds. The first town I lived in was smaller than Plains. We grew up both with a close relationship with religion and with strong moral upbringing. We both, I think, have a feel for the poor, because I grew up with a lot of poor people."

Atlanta Constitution  
July 31, 1976

"...After that first interview in Plains, I told Joan: 'There's something about that guy. I get along. Maybe I'm kidding myself, but I get along with him perfectly.' I sense that in him, too, that we really communicate -- both objectively and that subjective feeling you have about a person, and I have it with him. We've had many, many conversations since. I've been over at his home alone with him and Mrs. Carter, and going through these hour-by-hour, in-depth reviews of issues. Every day I become more convinced that this is going to work out. We do have a fundamental ability to get along on a mature basis. He's very direct with me and I'm very direct with him."

Chicago Tribune  
August 9, 1976

"He has seen Washington from the outside -- from the state and local level and as a citizen who hasn't lived here. And it's hard to imagine a person coming into this town in a better position to do what makes sense -- without irrelevant conflicts."

Los Angeles Times  
August 12, 1976

Gerald Ford

Mondale said he would like President Nixon to replace Representative Gerald Ford as Vice President designate with a man of presidential caliber. Mondale said that a man is needed with the "broader dimensions" required of the presidency.

Minneapolis Tribune  
November 7, 1973

"President Ford has crippled himself in the fight against inflation by his incredible bungling of the Nixon pardon."

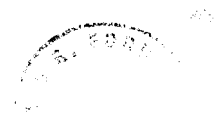
United Press International  
September 16, 1974

"Mr. Ford seems to have something of the same approach. His budget proposes that the States assume a much larger share of the cost of health, social services, medicaid, and other programs that help the poor. And he expresses great concern over the growth of 'income transfer' programs like social security, SSI, food stamps, and medicare."

Congressional Record  
February 11, 1975

"I just don't think he [Ford] is quite bright enough to be a good President."

New York Times  
July 19, 1976



"If Ford is the nominee. I assume there are all kinds of games planned. The Bureau of Labor Statistics will be reporting good news. Interest rates will drop dramatically. Agreements of little significance will be promoted. Just all kinds of games that they can play... But Ford's biggest problem is that I just don't think he is quite bright enough to be a good President. A nice guy, but the nice just doesn't cut well enough."

Time  
July 26, 1976

"If Ford is the nominee, and I suspect he will be, I think you'll find him using every level of the Federal government.

"We'll be trying to reach a SALT agreement with the Soviet Union, whether it'll be good or bad; the Bureau of Labor Statistics will be announcing good economic news every day, whether, in fact, it's good or bad; the Cabinet will be combing the country, the Federal government will be making grants, and they'll be trying to adjust their record to try to make it more popular."

Minneapolis Tribune  
July 28, 1976

"We can't get anywhere with a President who's forgotten how to sign his name."

New York Times  
August 8, 1976

Mondale defended his use of Watergate as a campaign issue as proper because Ford was a "key cheerleader" for the Nixon Administration.

"He was one of his last defenders," he said. "He has been true to the Nixon principle in all the economic and social policies since he became President."

Associated Press  
August 21, 1976

Mondale said the inability of Ford to deal with Congress would be disastrous if he were to continue in office four more years.

"Congress has a role to play," he said, "and the Ford strategy of deadlocked government can only bring more depression and despair to the country."

United Press International  
August 21, 1976

J. Edgar Hoover

Mondale said Hoover "has reached the point where it would be in his best interests and ours to retire. By hanging on so long, he's really detracting from what was initially quite an impressive contribution."

Pioneer Press  
April 8, 1971

"Mr. [Herbert] Hoover did not oppose poor people being helped. He just did not think the Federal Government should be the one to do it. That sort of thing was a "local responsibility."

Congressional Record  
February 11, 1975

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Mondale described Humphrey as "one of the brightest men I ever met...a great mind coupled with a great heart..."

Richmond Post Dispatch  
October 10, 1968

"Hubert Humphrey has served his country with distinction for nearly three decades. Had he won the Presidency in 1968 --and he came so close -- the U.S. would have been the beneficiary of much more than human concern, character and progressive action than we have witnessed in the past three years."

Pioneer Press  
January 11, 1972

"I think the most exciting thing going on is the use of Hubert Humphrey," adding, "I think Hubert Humphrey is coming back very strongly." Mondale also said that HHH "seems to symbolize the best of the Democratic Party."

St. Paul Dispatch  
August 4, 1975

"I went into politics because of Hubert Humphrey."

Baltimore Sun  
July 16, 1976

Clarence Kelly, Director of the F.B.I.

Mondale said that F.B.I. Director Clarence Kelley is "running out of time" in his effort to gain control of the agency. Mondale said he feels that Kelley does not have "control over that shop."

Atlanta Constitution  
August 13, 1976

Walter Mondale

Mondale once told a friend he wasn't sure he could be elected President because "I don't think there's enough show biz in me."

New York Times  
November 24, 1974

Mondale said, "many thought I'd been sort of hostile to a strong defense...What I've been opposed to is waste."

He also said that he is not as liberal as most perceive him to be.

Associated Press  
July 24, 1976

"I don't like big fights. I think that they almost always are counter productive. Now, occasionally, they are necessary. Great principles require great debates; I don't mean to say otherwise.

"But I think many disputes can be resolved if at first everyone understands the facts. Or you can have a vote or a fight, but it can be a rational one with little damage to one's relationship to others.

"I guess in that sense I've been a very careful person. I find that every time I lose my temper I make a fool out of myself, sometimes a big one."

Atlanta Constitution  
July 31, 1976

Mondale said that most of the Carter/Mondale appearances would be made separately, saying [jokingly], that "We're both so impressive there's no sense in wasting us both at the same meeting."

United Press International  
August 5, 1976

When asked if his role in campaign was that of conciliator, Mondale stated:

"I don't think so. I haven't shaved my views at all. I am a conciliator, always have been. I've got some very deeply held views, but it's always been my style, first of all to respect differences, because I've often been found wrong, and second, to look for common ground. I don't get much satisfaction out of a screaming contest."

Chicago Tribune  
August 9, 1976

#### Edmund Muskie

He [Mondale] called Muskie "the federal scholar" of the Senate, perhaps its best-informed member of federal-state-local relationships, a man of "dignity and maturity."

Richmond Post Dispatch  
October 10, 1968

#### Richard Nixon

Mondale characterized Nixon's proposed value added tax as "an inflationary and regressive national federal sales tax that will add a three per cent tax burden on an already over-taxed public."

He further accused the administration of discriminating against rural America. "The

Nixon administration does not have enough money for a rail system for rural America, yet it can afford 40 billion dollars for a space shuttle of no scientific value," he said. "It's time we returned to a realistic system of priorities."

Worthington Globe  
February 7, 1972

Senator Walter F. Mondale accused the Nixon Administration of "a steady pattern of lawlessness...where it comes to enforcement of human rights laws."

Washington Post  
April 20, 1970

Mondale said that President Nixon should resign "because he has undermined his moral credibility to the point that he can no longer effectively lead the country."

New York Times  
January 26, 1974

Speaking on the Nixon Administration's civil rights record, Mondale said:

"My impression is that this administration is pursuing a policy of total political expediency -- it's a policy that is inconsistent, uncertain, and often destructive."

Christian Science Monitor  
August 7, 1970

Mondale said that immunity for former President Nixon would make a "double tragedy of Watergate. There is no blanket forgiveness in the law."

New York Times  
September 11, 1974

"I think the President has undermined his moral credibility to the point that he can no longer effectively lead the country. I don't think we can restore it."

St. Paul Dispatch  
January 25, 1974

### Ronald Reagan

"There's not a hint of human justice, of social justice in his argument at all. And I don't think he is looked on as a symbol of integrity. He's not tainted. But I don't think people feel the same about him in this regard of honesty and integrity and management as they do about Carter...Reagan's an impressive performer, but what he says scared people."

Time  
July 26, 1976

### Nelson Rockefeller

"...Mr. Rockefeller's service to local government, to the State of New York, and to the Nation extends over nearly four decades. He has made important contributions in the field of foreign relations -- particularly inter-America relations; has worked

in the executive branch of the National government; has served as Governor of New York for 15 years; has served in public office at the local and county government level; has been a member of dozens of public and private task forces, commissions, and advisory bodies; and has worked on behalf of many charitable and humanitarian causes."

Congressional Record  
December 10, 1974

Mondale said he hoped that Rockefeller "has learned" something about his gifts and loans. "I sincerely hope that he will not engage in similar conduct in the future. The country cannot stand the consequences and the American public will not stand for it."

Congressional Quarterly  
December 14, 1974

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Mondale said, Roosevelt "succeeded in his programs" and, in looking back at his era, "most historians no longer call him a radical, but are now saying that he was one of the great conservatives in America's history because he wanted to conserve the American way of life."

Minneapolis Tribune  
October 21, 1970

"ON" MONDALE

Following are some of the statements other public and political figures have made about Walter F. Mondale.

"ON" MONDALE

Senator James B. Allen

"I regard him as one of the few senators I get along with best," said James Allen. "We joke back and forth quite a lot," he added, "I see him as a friendly opponent on the Senate floor."

Christian Science Monitor  
July 26, 1976

Jimmy Carter

Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter said that his choice of Senator Walter Mondale, D.-Minn., as a running mate probably will hurt his campaign in some conservative areas.

But he said voters recognize that he heads the ticket and that he expects Mondale will be able to accommodate his liberalism to Carter's more centrist political position.

Associated Press  
July 24, 1976

"I think Senator Mondale has a great feeling of understanding and comprehension and compassion for people who need services of government most. I think he has demonstrated sound judgment in times of difficulty. I think he has the trust of a wide range of Democrats, and to those who have no party preference in our nation. He has a very clear concept of what the Presidency should be..."

U.S. News and World Report  
July 26, 1976

Senator Dick Clark

"He's a good campaigner, smart and can laugh at himself. He's a team player - and that's going to be important."

New York Times  
July 18, 1976

Senator Robert Dole

"He's [Mondale] a very bright, able liberal," says Senator Bob Dole, one of his frequent opponents on Senate Finance. "I don't agree with him often, but he's bright and able -- always seems to be prepared and he knows where he's headed."

Washington Post  
July 16, 1976

Senator Thomas Eagleton

"He's [Mondale] effective, unflappable and gutsy -- and a man of great character."

St. Louis Post Dispatch  
July 16, 1976



Philip Hansen

Mondale's '72 senate opponent, Rev. Philip Hansen, contended Mondale "wants to throw money at every problem," labelling Mondale a "spender."

New Ulm Daily Journal  
October 24, 1972

Senator Edmund Muskie

Muskie said "Fritz Mondale has stood on the frontier of social and economic reform in America. Time and again, the Senate and the country have rushed to catch up with him."

Worthington Daily Globe  
Worthington, Minnesota  
June 7, 1971

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller

Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York says Mondale is known around the Senate as 'a great guy.'

"But he's a man who gets the headlines and no action," Rockefeller jibed.

New Ulm Daily Journal  
New Ulm, Minnesota  
October 24, 1972

Wallace Roberts

"What it comes down to where Walter Mondale finally is standing in the blurr of his political two-step is that he is not, as he claims, for the poor and powerless. He is against them. In fact, he is afraid of them. Mondale has spoken several times in recent months of his fear of the rise of Know-Nothingism, of the possibility that an anti-politician will come along proposing to throw all the rascals out. As he put it to me, "If a guy decides to ride the backs of welfare mothers and other protest groups into office, he's got a right. But we have to ask if that's what we want."

New Times  
January 25, 1973

Charles B. Saunders

"I've always thought Walter Mondale was among the most sensitive members of the Senate when it came to education," said Charles B. Saunders, Jr., director of federal relations at the American Council on Education.

Chronicle of Higher Education  
July 26, 1976

Senator Strom Thurmond

"Mondale is one of the most liberal men in the Senate," Senator Strom Thurmond pointed out. "If he [Carter] is in accord with Mondale's position, we could expect the most liberal administration in the history of the country."

South Carolina State  
July 20, 1976

Andrew Tully

"Ultra-liberals in the Democratic party - and outside it - may feel pangs of disappointment as they follow Senator Walter Mondale's campaign for the Carter-Mondale ticket.

"Mondale is beginning to sound a great deal like Jimmy Carter and even a bit like Gerald Ford. I may be wrong, but he talks like a liberal who has decided to soft-pedal his liberalism in a gesture to the facts of political life."

"It would be foolhardy to suggest this early that Mondale could cost Carter the Southern vote he had assumed was in his pocket. But you can bet Carter has heard about it, because his Atlanta headquarters has caught a lot of flack about his choice. Carter also has heard from some important southern politicians and, as a North Carolina political leader put it, 'Let's just say we folks down here didn't exactly smother Jimmy with congratulations.'"

"It was Mondale, the candidate, not Mondale the liberal, who was speaking when he told reporters that on the issue of welfare and tax reform, 'We have to tilt the [welfare] incentives so that a person who can work will do better by working than by not working and we can do this partly through the tax laws by reducing the taxes on persons of moderate means...'"

Albuquerque Journal  
August 2, 1976

Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP

Roy Wilkins, head of NAACP, said Mondale "knows more about the intricacies of school desegregation than any other man in the Senate."

The Forum  
Fargo-Moorhead, North Dakota  
July 5, 1971