

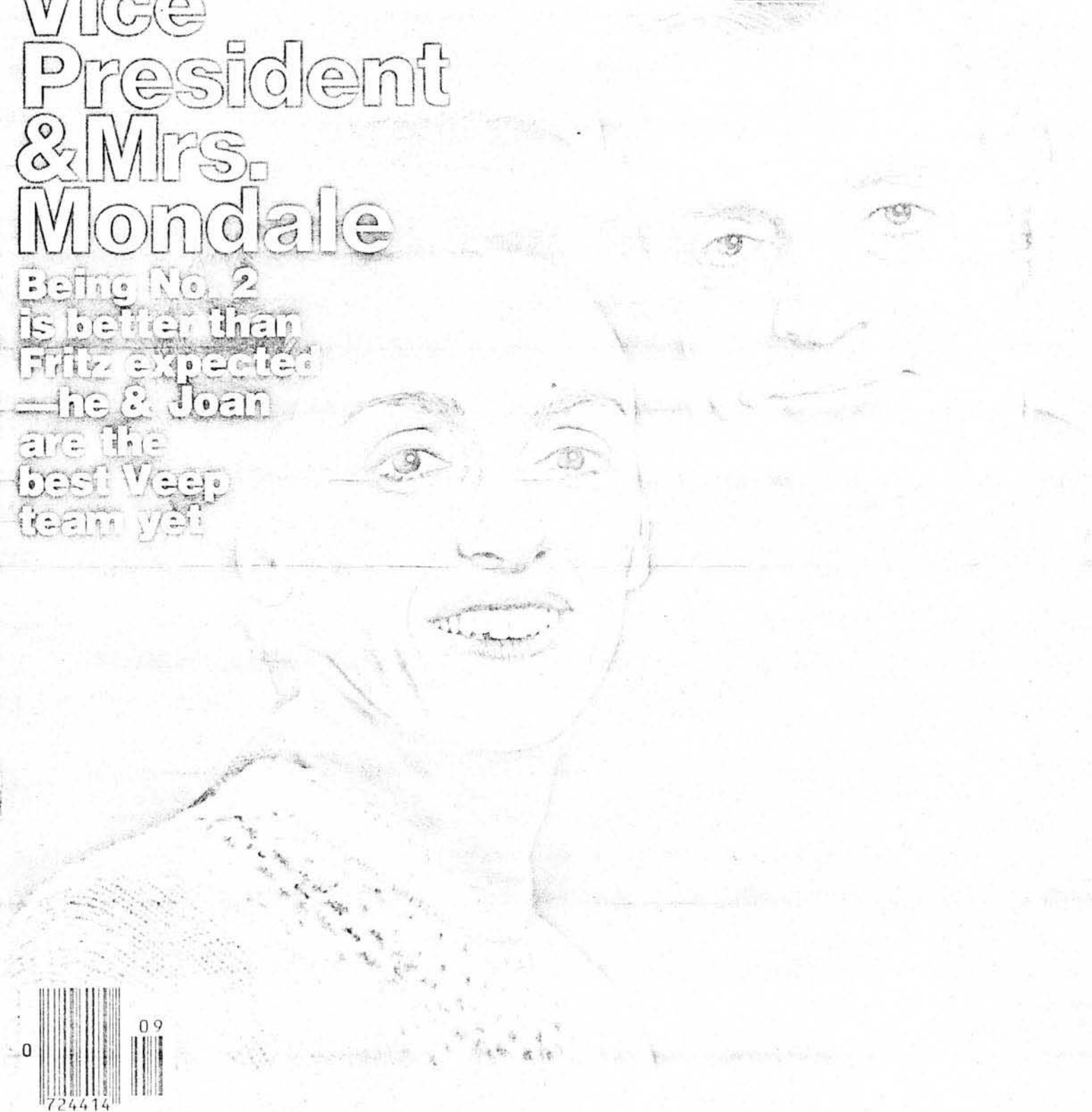
The Love Boat
lucky skipper
An expert says
adulthood is
so great for kids
Are the Jagers
Spitville bound?

People

weekly

Vice President & Mrs. Mondale

Being No. 2
is better than
Fritz expected
—he & Joan
are the
best Veep
team yet



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UP FRONT

FRITZ MONDALE IS A CAPITAL ODDITY—A VICE-PRESIDENT WHO IS NOT UNEMPLOYED



Fritz and Jimmy get along famously, but Mondale has vowed to speak out should they disagree on serious issues.

With Vail official Bill Brown, the Mondales head for the Colorado hills, where she skis faster and he falls more often.



It is an axiom of American politics that no man can be happy and Vice-President at the same time. But in Walter Frederick Mondale, the 42nd in a long—and often long-suffering—line of seconds-in-command, a Washington precedent may be set. After 13 months in office Fritz Mondale is still looking, talking and acting like a man who enjoys his work.

The excitement of the campaign has long since faded, of course. And, yes, he concedes, at times he does feel confined by his role. "We have to determine the President's schedule before we make up our own," he says. "It's not like the Senate, where I could decide what I would pursue that day. There I was about as independent as a person could be."

The Vice-Presidency has its compensations—better salary (Mondale earns \$75,000, versus a senator's

\$57,000), plenty of status and deluxe travel and a Victorian mansion on 25 acres of prime real estate. "I can't say I chafe regularly under the schedule," Mondale says with a grin. "Now I get home for dinner more often."

Far more important, he has avoided the fate of many of his 41 predecessors, for whom the Vice-Presidency was a polite form of political burial. His working relationship with Jimmy Carter, perhaps the closest ever forged between a Vice-President and his President, is a wellspring that clearly sustains Mondale. His visibility increases daily.

The ground rules of this relationship were established when candidate Carter was sounding out prospective running mates in the summer of 1976. With Fritz and Jimmy, Mondale remembers, it was instant compatibility. "I told him I wasn't interested in a ceremonial

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post," Mondale says. To a degree that has confounded Washington cynics, President Carter has fulfilled his covenant to provide Mondale with useful employment. "He's the President's point man," a top White House aide says of Mondale. "He's into everything from human rights to problems with the Western governors to foreign policy. He's smart, he knows how to deal with Congress, and he's not superficial. He understands the political as well as the intellectual implications of government programs."

Administration critics (and even some friends) complain that Carter's Georgians, self-styled outsiders who have yet to feel at home in the capital, would be tilting vainly with Washington bureaucrats were it not for Mondale's astute hand. Though such criticism is doubtless exaggerated, the Vice-President's familiarity with the habits and quirks of the capital are invaluable. "He's worth 10 votes to the President in the Senate," says Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the voluble New York Democrat. "He knows the place in a way no one else in the Administration does." Arizona's Barry Goldwater adds an approving Republican nod. "Mondale was a fortunate choice, one of the few the President has made. He's not one to sit by meekly and not be heard."

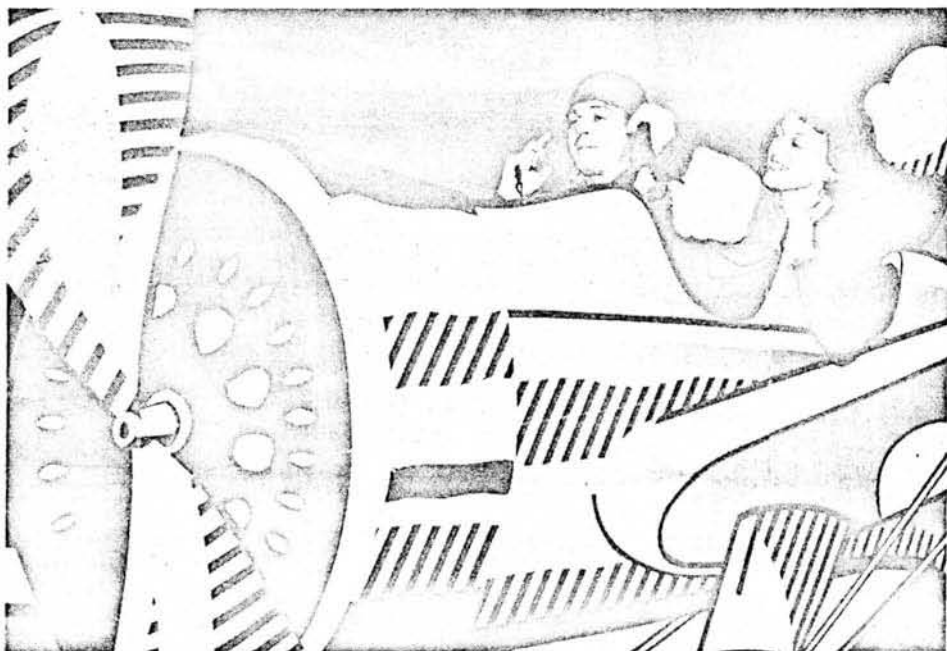
For Mondale's voice to be heard in the Oval Office, he need only raise it. His own White House offices are just down the corridor, and vice-pres-

idential staffers claim he has spent as much as 50 hours a week with the President. That seems hyperbolic, but Washington clearly understands, as a Senate aide puts it, "If you want to get a message to the President, send it through Mondale." Though he cannot bring himself to address his boss as "Jimmy" ("It has to do with the office"), the Vice-President says he has "never been anything but frank with the President. He's starving for candor and doesn't like sycophants. But it's amazing," Mondale adds. "I've watched how old pros—good friends of mine—have changed. They take a different tack when they meet with the President." (Some of them treat him differently too, Mondale says.)

He has sensed some of the isolation that goes with high office, and the death of Hubert Humphrey, his mentor and confidant, left him a lonelier man. When Humphrey was dying, his family asked Mondale to help persuade the senator to go home, one last time, to Minnesota. "I think Hubert was afraid that if he left Washington he would never return," the Vice-President says. "He was like a father to me, but toward the end our friendship turned into something more. We talked on the phone almost every day, and his death had a tremendous personal impact."

In other respects, Mondale insists he has changed very little. The unpampered son of a Methodist minister in rural Minnesota, he almost instinctively

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Joan works at her potter's wheel two mornings a week, signs all her creations and presents some to friends.

On a New York theater visit, Mrs. Mondale clowns with actor Donald Sanders in a fanciful Roy Lichtenstein stage prop.

shuns the flamboyant. He smokes maybe three cigars a day and drinks Scotch-and-water and wine. He buys his clothes off the rack at J.C. Penney and was astounded recently to be named to a best-dressed list for the first time in his life. "What's going on back there?" asked Humphrey from Minnesota. "It's not me," protested the Vice-President. "It's my position. I still keep a suit until it wears out."

For Joan Mondale, 47, life as Second Lady has opened new vistas. An avid potter, she has become the Administration's spokesman for the arts. She persuaded the National Park Service to replace imported knick-knacks in its shops with native American crafts. She has lobbied tirelessly for increases in the budget of the National Endowment for the Arts. "The Harris Poll shows that people want art," she declares. "They may not go into a museum more than once or twice a year, but they want to know it's there. They want to go to the theater. And they want well-run symphony orchestras." In other respects, Joan Mondale has tried to keep her family's life on an even keel. She may have Filipino Navy men to clean her house and cook, but the Mondales still have dinner at 6:30 sharp. "I don't know another soul in Washington who eats that early," comments a friend.

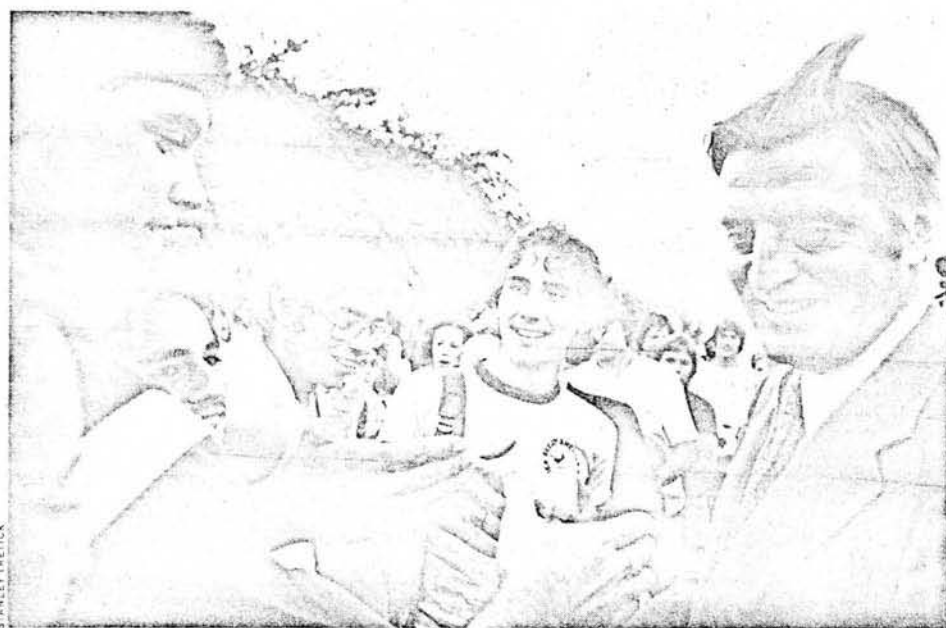
Aware that the Vice-Presidency will not last forever, the Mondales are mildly concerned about its impact on their three children, but seem confident that good sense will prevail. Teddy, 20, lives with his parents and is more interested in dirt-track motorcycle racing than in college. ("I know he'll go when he's ready," his father says optimistically.) Eleanor, 18, is a senior at a boarding school near Baltimore, and William, 15, is a three-sport athlete at a private school in Washington. A budding linguist, he recently accompanied his parents to Mexico as his father's interpreter.

Inevitably, Fritz Mondale's political future has become the object of intense speculation. An effective speaker whose self-deprecating wit leavens his earnest delivery, he has been dispatched on frequent fence-mending trips for his party, and has accumulated impressive political IOUs. At age 50, it is noted, he has time to make his move, whether Jimmy Carter serves one term or two. "You won't believe this," Mondale protests, "but I just don't think about it." He's right. Nobody on Cap-



Party lines are forgotten when old friends Mrs. Howard Baker, Joan and Mrs. Ernest Hollings unite for Red Cross work.

"He's like any politician," says a Mondale aide. "He seems to come alive when he gets close to the people."



An untucked and bone-weary Mondale (at right) relaxes aboard Air Force Two during a cross-country fence-mending trip.

itol Hill does believe him. "He plays second fiddle better than any man I know," says a former Senate aide. "He's ambitious, but smart enough to keep it under wraps."

If there is any strong reservation about Mondale among his fellow Democrats, it is a lingering sense that he has not had to work very hard for what he has gotten. Before being named as the President's running mate, he was appointed Minnesota's attorney general in 1960 and to the Senate in 1964. (When Mondale ran semiseriously for the White House in 1974, Washington joked cruelly: "Fritz would make a wonderful President if he could only get appointed.") "He's never had to sweat for anything," says one watchful fellow

pol, "and I don't know how he'd react when put to the test." It is a suggestion the Vice-President has heard before; it never fails to annoy him. "It's true I've been fortunate," Mondale says. "But I've tried to work hard and keep a good standard of ethics and be responsible. Not only because it's the best politics but on the theory that any job could be the last public office you're going to have and you'd better do it properly. But even with all of that," he says with a trace of reluctance, "I have to admit that I've been lucky so far."

GARRY CLIFFORD

Kennedy: is he or isn't he running?

Mondale, in the middle, is taking Teddy at his word

WASHINGTON—President Carter and his top political advisers are said to be "genuinely puzzled" over the barrage of criticism the administration is getting from fellow Democrat Edward M. Kennedy. "The President really likes Sen. Kennedy and respects him very much," a top White House official told me yesterday. "He (Carter) can't understand why Kennedy is taking pot shots at us so often."

Kennedy, who has been critical of Carter on three major issues—national health insurance, energy policy and budget cutbacks—says his criticisms are not aimed at Carter personally, but at his policy. "The fact is that there are no more than four or five senators who had supported this administration more on votes than I have," Kennedy said. "This is not a personal thing. What we are talking about is important issues."

The President and his advisers do not take at face value Kennedy's criticisms of Carter's so-called "austerity budget," particularly since the Massachusetts senator says he agrees with the President's decision to hold the federal deficit next year to below \$30 billion. "If he accepts the \$30 billion deficit limit, where does he think the cuts should come from?" the senior administration official asks.

Kennedy has blasted the budget cuts in health training, health research, jobs, housing and aid to the

JAMES WIEGHART



cities programs, contending that Carter has put the burden of his anti-inflation fight on the backs of the poor, the elderly, the blacks and the unemployed. Kennedy has suggested that the cuts should have come in defense spending, which was increased by 10% (actually 12%, counting a supplemental defense spending request), and from reductions in programs and tax breaks benefiting business and the wealthy. But administration officials discount this as "political rhetoric." They say that in view of the enormous Soviet military buildup, Carter has no option but to increase U.S. defense spending.

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"When John F. Kennedy was confronted with Soviet belligerence, he did the same thing Carter is doing—he increased defense spending," one high administration official said. "I know Ted Kennedy well enough to know that if he were President today, he would be doing the same thing Carter is."

Kennedy disputes this, declaring that enough billions could be cut out of the \$125 billion defense budget to restore the most vital reductions in social services without weakening national security. "There is \$1.6 billion for the new carrier, \$1 billion for the MX (mobile) missile, there is from \$8 billion to \$12 billion in unspent appropriations from previous years," Kennedy said, ticking off a series of defense cuts he would make. "There would be \$1.3 billion alone in added revenues if we got the three-martini lunch bill passed."

Most of the President's closest advisers have concluded that Kennedy is positioning himself to the left of Carter so he can challenge him as a liberal alternative in 1980, if the President appears vulnerable. Even though they feel that Carter's current image as a fiscal conservative is more politically appealing to the broad mass of voters, they concede that Kennedy's liberal posture is probably more popular with Democrats.

The one Carter adviser who knows best—Vice President Walter Mondale—does not share this assessment. Mondale accepts Kennedy's declaration of non-candidacy at face value. He also believes Kennedy's budget criticisms are sincerely intended, pointing out that most of them fall in the field of Kennedy's deepest interest—health and welfare. "I don't think Ted will run against President Carter, he is too much a party loyalist to risk dividing the party and losing the White House," Mondale said.

Mondale won't discuss what his own recommendations were on the various budget options before Carter made his final decision. But other administration officials have said that Mondale opposed the \$30 billion deficit ceiling and the increase in defense spending in an effort to minimize the cut in domestic programs.

While strongly supporting the President's austerity approach, Mondale feels that enough adjustments can and will be made by Congress in the President's proposed budget to take the edge off most of the liberal complaints. Because of this, Mondale believes that friction between Kennedy and the administration will ease off in the months ahead, and thus a confrontation leading to a Kennedy challenge of Carter in the 1980 Democratic primaries will be avoided.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Fenny -

Pictures for Merchant
Marine trophy presentation
have been requested (?)
a should be. Fly check
with Anna Stock. Ceremony
date was Feb 1.

These are needed for
a front cover story of a
trade publication.

→ Can Capt. Paul House
(201) 341-3600 to adv. status
when to expect same.
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George McCullough

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Jerry Miller.

1/6/22

Walter Mondale's Vice Presidency

A Man and an Institution Are Changed by the Changing Times

By Don Campbell

Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — Vice President Walter Mondale says he believes the responsibilities he's been given by President Carter have fundamentally changed the vice presidency as an institution.

Mondale also says that the circumstances which allowed him and other liberals to push social welfare programs in the 1960s have changed; that firsthand knowledge of the economic problems crowding in on the president have given him a "sobering" appreciation of the complexities of the highest office in the land.

As for his own future, Mondale says his political ego is not so large that he has to occupy the top spot in order to satisfy it.

The vice president made these and other observations in a lengthy interview with Gannett News Service. Excerpts follow:

Question: I recall hearing or reading that you drafted a rather lengthy memo to the president during the transition period (after Carter's election) in which you laid out your ideas about what you should be doing as vice president. How has it panned out, if you can recall what you told him then?

Answer: Almost exactly. As a matter of fact, the president has been more forthcoming than my memo had requested. I sit on all issue-advisory bodies. I have virtually unlimited access to the president. I have

been given foreign policy functions to perform, as well as domestic, which I wanted. I have performed the role of general adviser rather than assuming actual functions of government, which other agencies perform in any event.

I've avoided one of the problems, I think, of past presidencies...which is to become overwhelmed with minutiae to keep busy. I haven't done that. I've been able to just work on the central issues. For example, now we're working on the budget. I'm chairman of the committee that's preparing the agenda for next year's legislative and regulatory activities and the rest. So I would say it's worked out exactly as I hoped it would.

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Q: Do you think that you have institutionalized this office to any extent that might be followed after you leave here?

A: I believe so. I think, for example — I'm almost certain — all future vice presidents will be housed in the White House. Now that may seem like a minor matter, but it's very important to you. If you're across town or across the street during crucial decision-making times, that's too far away. Secondly, I think the example is there to future presidents that vice presidents do not threaten them, but can help them in a whole range of ways.

When the vice president is perceived as being in the loop, so to speak, I think he's more valuable to the president in foreign policy. I think that... domestic po-



litical, governmental, business and union leaders are more apt to deal with such a person than one who they think is out of the loop. And because of that you can do more for your president. I think a president needs eyes and ears watching this mass of government and a vice president can help a lot. I suspect that future presidents and vice presidents will at least begin with a similar institutional approach.

Now of course, the relationship between a president and a vice president is intensely personal. And it'll involve that variable as well. If they can't get along, if they don't trust each other, that'll be another thing. Fortunately, that has not been the case with us.

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Q: Is there anything you'd like to be spending more time on, with reflection on two years?

A: That's a good question. The fact of it is that you tend to get, I wouldn't say overwhelmed, but the pressure of events drives your schedule. There's no way of getting around the crucial problems of the budget. You just have to figure that this year, when we have to have such a tight budget, and my role in developing the (president's) agenda takes a tremendous amount of time right now. And then, you see, we'll be getting into the congressional period, the State of the Union message, we'll be getting the Congress started, which will take a lot of my time as presiding officer and working with my friends on (Capitol) Hill. Those things tend to drive one's schedule.

So I would say that I am content with what we're doing, partly because I think I'm where the action is, and that's where I should be.

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Q: I don't know how real the debate in the media now about the struggle for the heart and soul of the Democratic Party (over domestic spending) is, but we all write about it. How serious do you think it is, and what do you see as your role in it and what effect will it have on the budget decisions as far as you're concerned?

A: You get some problems that this generation of public leaders have to face that won't go away. I don't care who you are, you have to deal with reality. And the reality is we've got an energy problem that we didn't have in the '60s. We've got an inflation problem that is very, very serious. We've got an institutional problem — we've got the American people who are skeptical of these federal programs now. And this president, more than any Democratic president, has to deal with that. Whether we articulated those problems, and have done as good a job as we should explaining to our traditional constituents what we're up to, I'm not sure. But I am sure that our record, given the difficulties that we faced, is a good one...

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Q: You had a reputation, from all I can find out, of being one who was able as a senator to sort of relax and go off and forget about things, sort of, and hunt and fish. You didn't seem to have, by reputation, the same kind of temperament as Carter, who very seldom, it seems, really lets down, even when he goes off on vacation. Has this office changed you in any sense, in your temperament?

A: I don't get as much hunting and fishing as I'd like. That was true when I was a senator. You know, I love the out-of-doors, I love the woods. You know, the Senate had recesses that were scheduled, when you'd go home and do your work for four or five days and then maybe take a few days off fishing. I get to do less of that, because it is inherent in the duties that we have here...I am pinned down a lot more than I want to be. But I work hard and I find these public duties meaningful and important.

I try to weigh in on the tough questions when I feel strongly about something, which is often...I don't just go around here pretending I'm president, because I don't think that that's what anybody wants me to do. But when I see a fundamental issue that I feel deeply about, that's when I wade in. And I don't do it publicly and I don't try to put a scorecard out because I don't believe that's the way I should behave, and if I were the president I would resent it; I'm just not going to do that. But I feel strongly about these issues.

But I'm also — I think one of the biggest problems we've got, one of the biggest, most important functions we have to perform, is to keep our perspective. And sometimes a couple of days off in the woods will get your head straighter than two more days grinding away. It's question of timing, taste, but that's how I like to do it.

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Q: Has your concept of the presidency itself changed much from this vantage? And — I know you probably don't want to talk about this, but let me ask you this anyway — I was looking last night and there's only been one incumbent vice president in this century who was elected president, and I think only about three in history. So running as vice president for the presidency is a very rare thing in this country, as far as success is concerned. Do you think this is a good place to be if you should decide to run in '84?

A: Let me take the first question first. I watched the White House of course from the Senate for about 12 years, and I had my ideas about how it worked. As a matter of fact, one reason I wanted to be vice president was to find out how this mysterious monster operates. And several things impress me. First of all, no one remotely appreciates, unless they've been around

here, the range of problems that close in on a president, their complexity, the way they fiendishly interrelate — it's unbelievable. And the pressure seems to mount and there is no major problem in the United States or in the world that doesn't sooner or later — and usually sooner — end right on the fellow's desk.

And that's true in all the tough political problems within his own government, they tend to rise even above the Cabinet level and land on his desk, because he is responsible.

Secondly, because we're a democracy, a president is expected to be unbelievably accessible to everybody, every congressman, every senator, every Cabinet officer, every party leader, every governor, every mayor and county board member, every business leader, every union leader, every women's leader, every Hispanic leader, every black leader, every Indian leader, everybody, all his neighbors, all his friends, all his relatives, all leaders around the world, and their sub-leaders, are expected to have access to this man. And the president has to have an unbelievable range (of knowledge) on such matters, plus some privacy, so that the time pressure building up on a president is incredible. And I don't see how a person can handle it without working unbelievably hard.

Also, I believe that our generation of elected leaders have a kind of a tough platter to work off of. And I'm not sure about some of the — I consider myself a progressive Democrat, but I think some of my friends sort of wishfully fantasize some of those problems away. If they had a simple answer to energy I want to hear it. If they've got a quick answer to inflation, I want to hear it. These are grinding, complex, persistent, intractable. I used the word fiendish before, but sometimes it's just unbelievable how difficult it is just to — you know, we might make a little progress here on inflation and then OPEC pops up 14.5 percent. Well, maybe somebody's got an answer to that, but I haven't heard it.

And we have to deal with those things and, as I said in my speech (at the Memphis Democratic mini-convention), it's true, those (the '60s) were good times for liberals because you could raise revenues, fund new programs, reduce tax rates, increase employment, have a more stable dollar, enact legislation when people expected that what was proclaimed would be effortlessly achieved. We now know that all those circumstances have changed. Now we're raising rates and lowering services, sometimes. For example, it's a lot easier in Social Security to increase benefits, but we now have to pay for the benefits that are increased. And so on. It is a tough platter of issues, and there's no president that's going to come into this White House that isn't going to have to deal with it.

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Q: So, does it look more appealing to you, more attractive, now that you know it so well?

A: It, uh, is more sobering. I mean, it's more important in a strange way, because as the issues become more difficult, the quality of leadership is more essential. In a sense, you know, the president — our president — is very appropriate, because that's the kind of guy he is: He's a highly detailed, complex, highly disciplined problem-solver, and that's the only way we're going to pick these problems apart.

Now, on my future: I took this job knowing that it would probably be my last public job. I want to give it everything that I have. I'm going to try to be as good a vice president as I know how to be. I'm going to try to take as many burdens off the president as I can. I'm going to try to contribute to the values that I believe in, toward this effort to restore trust and faith in the public process that's so badly shattered, and toward the objective of a humane government, an efficient government. And I'll just do my best.

And I consider if this is the last office, if I do it right, I do it in a way that doesn't humiliate my friends, I think that's not an insignificant thing — that's not an insignificant opportunity for a man in public life. And I don't look on it as anything but demanding my full talents.

And I'm not — I don't know how well you know me — I don't think I'm driven by a powerful and explosive political ego. I got an ego, I know that. But I don't have to be No. 1. This is not the way I'm put together. I think that's wrong.

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Q: Do you consider yourself a very religious person?

A: I am, you know, I consider myself religious but I don't talk about it, it's private. I feel strongly about public ethics and our role in — I don't mean this in a sanctimonious way, but I just think there are some fundamental rules about how you behave in public life. It's important for public trust.

Secondly, I believe very strongly that this system cannot be based alone on the concept of finding good people. The institution itself has to have accountability built into it, so that people have to be accountable for their acts, and thus, I'm for separation of powers, I'm for the surveillance bills, I'm for charters, I'm for cleaning up the ways in which we finance our campaigns.

The more I've been in public life, the more I've seen procedural justice and openness as an objective which is almost more important than a position on a single issue, because if the processes of democracy work, we'll solve the issue, always...But if you crack the procedure of democracy, if you undermine it, shatter that brilliant constitutional structure of ours, that's the one thing that will destroy this country...I don't think those issues get much public attention, but I see them as being very fundamental.

A Mondale Fantasy Arises Amid the Draft-Kennedy Push

The latest initiative from the draft Kennedy forces coincides with the sudden surfacing of talk about Vice President Mondale as an alternative to Carter.

The fund-raising letter being sent out to 20,000 ordinary citizens who are being asked to contribute up to \$1,000 apiece to keep the pressure on Kennedy is the work of Craver, Matthews and Smith, a direct-mail firm, which, up to this time, at least, has worked for the Democratic National Committee.

The letter is an unusual example of its kind in that it is restrained about Kennedy's strengths and candid about his weaknesses.

A paragraph on page three of the four-page pitch begins:

"Yet we cannot gloss over the difficulties in his potential candidacy."

Follows the list: the danger of assassination that stalks a third Kennedy; the "questions about his wife who is having personal difficulties and who lives apart"; "the question of Chappaquiddick and what it means 10 years later."

It is probably because of that daunting array that Democrats have begun to talk of another less encumbered liberal. The yearning for Kennedy is not abated. He is the first choice of an overwhelming number of Democrats and at each new dis-

play of Carterian ineptitude, Kennedy feels more heat.

The Practical Problem

Last week, when Democrats who had been complaining that Carter does not know how to make a speech discovered that he doesn't even know how to cancel one, Kennedy got a record number of calls.

But the most fervent activists are encountering the practical problem of running a campaign for a candidate who may never say yes. When they weigh the baggage he carries, they sympathize. Their occasional warnings that they will never forgive him if he lets them down in the end are not taken seriously by either side.

But many Democrats, including some sponsors of the "National Call for Kennedy" letter, look favorably upon Mondale and regard him as an alternative to both Kennedy and Carter.

Says Vic Kamber of the AFL-CIO Building Trades Union, a founder of the organization, "I would not be unhappy. Mondale would be a good candidate. He has a history of involvement in the issues. I would be thrilled with him once he was his own man."

The vice president, who has been kindly treated by Carter, can do

Mary McGrory

nothing to advance his burgeoning cause.

He has been not been asked to do any dirty business since he was dispatched to the Senate to stamp out a Democratic filibuster against the decontrol of oil.

Presently, he is booked far and wide to speak on SALT, one of the few issues on which Carter and the liberals are agreed.

The Ferocious Critic

William Winpisinger, the outspoken labor leader, is the only name on the fund-raising letter. He is Carter's most ferocious critic. At the ADA convention on June 22, he listed every Democratic senator up for re-election as preferable to Carter.

But he did not mention Mondale.

Asked if he could support the vice president, Winpisinger says "only if we can't get Ted."

He adds gruffly, "He parrots the line so much I think he is tainted."

But it is a reflex growl. Mondale is still regarded as a friend in labor circles. It was one of the factors that made his presence on the 1976 ticket the price of the liberals' acceptance of Carter.

Eugene McCarthy made the most caustic judgment of his fellow-Minnesotan at the time: "He has the soul of a vice president."

Mondale promised during the campaign that if he ever disagreed with President Carter, he would speak out. So far, he has not opened his mouth in dissent. That could mean he is in agreement with Carter policies which have antagonized Congress, split the party and brought him to the pits in the polls.

Or it could mean that Mondale, like every other vice president in history, has discovered that discretion is the only quality that really counts in his job.

The Mondale Fantasies

The Mondale fantasies that are floating around political circles are

predicated on the idea that Kennedy will, finally, bow out.

One goes like this: In the coldest February in history, New Hampshire, either freezing to death or facing bankruptcy from the high price of heating oil, divides its ballots between the Kennedy write-in and Gov. Jerry Brown. The president comes in third.

Carter follows the example of Lyndon Johnson. He announces he is stepping aside. He is anointing the vice president as his successor.

The other scenario has Kennedy marching into the Oval Office, possibly in the company of other influential Democrats, and telling Carter there will be no Kennedy candidacy — and no Carter candidacy, either. In this script, Kennedy informs Carter that he must step down in favor of Mondale.

It is hard to imagine the proud, stubborn Georgian accepting a Kennedy ultimatum. And in fact, once he heard that Kennedy was out, he would be born-again, Kennedy being the cause of all his woes, he thinks.

That could lead to the formation of a Draft-Mondale Committee. The possibilities for mischief in this summer of Democratic dismay are endless.

In this space last Friday it was inaccurately reported that White House press secretary Jody Powell gets his gasoline from pumps in the White House garage. Actually, the White House pumps dispense gasoline only to official government vehicles on official business. The writer regrets the error.

The Nation

Protesters Burn

Klan's Flag in N.C.

CHINA GROVE, N.C. — A group of protesters, most of them black, burned a Confederate flag yesterday in a community building. A Klux Klan members met to watch the film "Birth of a Nation," the early days of the Klan.

Saturday night caused an estimated \$118,000 damage to plumbing and wiring. In 74 of the wing's 100 four-man cells, inmates ripped toilets and sinks off the walls and used the fixtures to batter through a concrete wall into a utility tunnel.

No injuries were reported, and no inmates escaped.

Prison officials hoped the cells would be repaired and the institu-

FAA Expected to End Grounding of DC-10s

New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — The Federal Aviation Administration is expected to announce today or tomorrow the lifting of its June 6 order that grounded the nation's 138-plane fleet of DC-10 jumbo jets.

That would mean the planes could


Since then, agency sources said, questions about the operation of the flaps, called slats, on the leading edge of the aircraft's wings also have been resolved.

Bond said Friday that the carriers could start the planes

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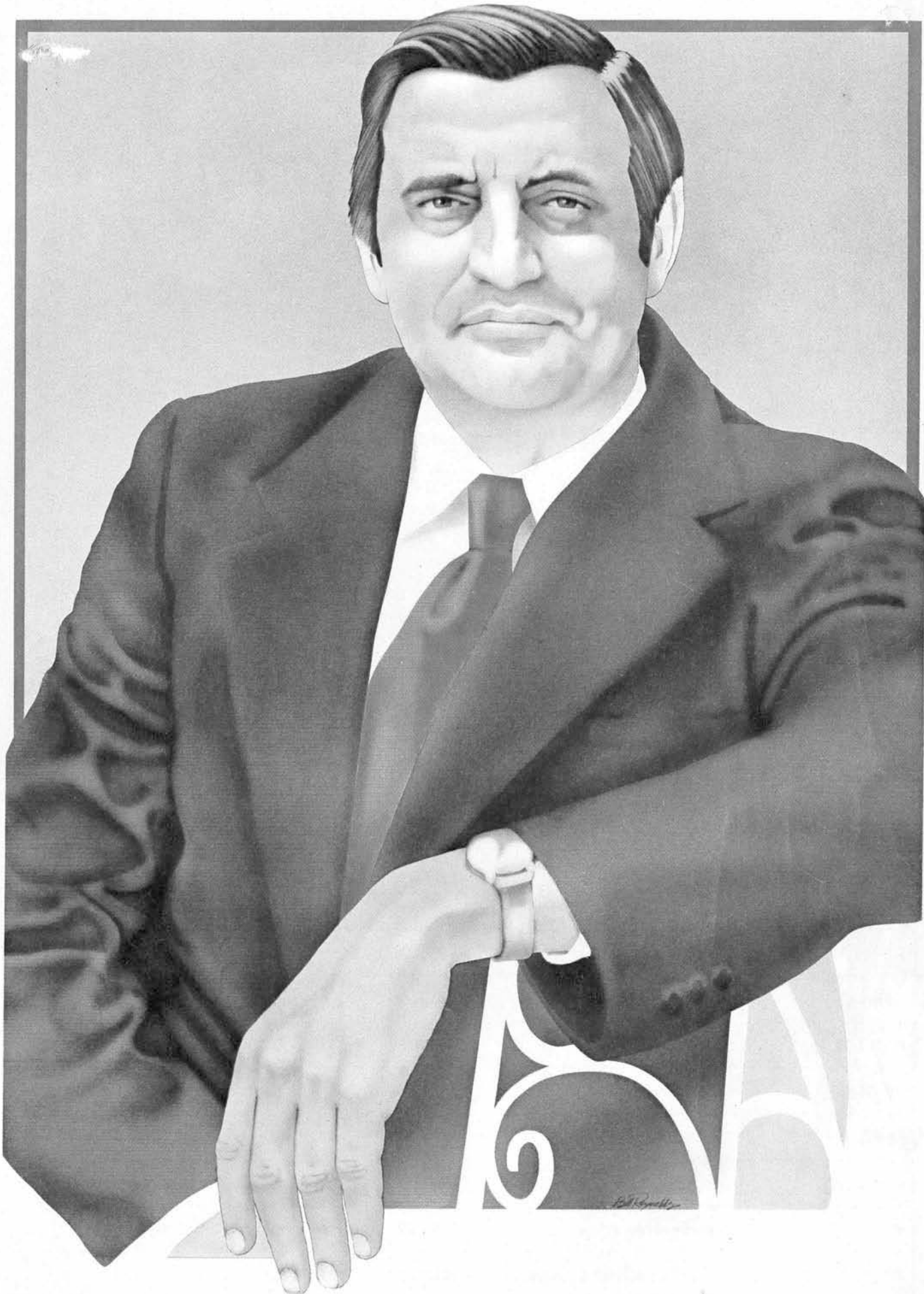
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No Regrets

When Walter Mondale left the Senate, insiders thought he was bound for obscurity. But Carter and Mondale had another idea—a different kind of vice presidency. And it's working.

One day last fall when a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt appeared imminent, President Jimmy Carter welcomed the foreign ministers of the two Mideast nations to Washington in elaborate ceremonies in the East Room of the White House. The room glittered with television lights and Very Important People. After Carter finished his remarks, the audience responded with polite applause. Suddenly a lone figure rose in their midst, clapping vigorously, and triggered a standing ovation for the President of the United States.

That one-man clique was Walter F. Mondale, carrying on that great tradition of American vice presidents: cheerleading.

It is an awkward office. Its first occupant, John Adams, described the vice presidency as "the most insignificant office ever contrived by the mind of man." Thomas Riley Marshall, who served under Woodrow Wilson, said a vice president "is like a man in a cataleptic state. He cannot speak; he cannot move; he suffers no pain; and yet he is perfectly conscious of everything that is going on about him." John

by Curtis Wilkie

Nance Garner, who held the office during the New Deal, told Lyndon Johnson in 1960 that the "job ain't worth a pitcher of warm spit"—or so goes a sanitized version of the quote.

In 1976 Hubert H. Humphrey warned his protégé, Fritz Mondale, about the frustrations of the job. Yet when Carter offered him the spot as running mate, Mondale accepted with alacrity, and now, more than two years into their term, Mondale has no regrets. He enjoys the job, and judging from all accounts around the White House, his role is far greater than that of any of his predecessors. He still serves as political hit man, personal stand-in and administration booster—the chores that have been dutifully handled with blandness by Alben Barkley and flamboyance by Spiro Agnew. But under Carter, the vice president is carrying heavy baggage instead of garbage.

Mondale has emerged as the president's confidante, a trusted adviser and strategist. He was a key figure

in the Mideast negotiations and was quietly summoned to Camp David to assist Carter when it seemed that the talks might fall apart. He reinforced Carter's decisions to veto a popular public works bill and defense authorization legislation on the grounds that they were wasteful. Recently he has been an inside advocate for some of the social programs endangered by Carter budget cuts.

Some White House aides suggest that Mondale has taken over a position once held by Charles Kirbo, Carter's old friend from Atlanta. Carter, who has been surrounded for years by relatively youthful lieutenants such as Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, often sought the counsel of the more mature Kirbo during his Georgia years. In a White House still dominated by youth, Mondale at 51 is something of a peer to Carter and an authority figure to the staff.

"When Ham and I want to make a point with the president, we ask Mondale for help, kind of like we used to do with Kirbo," Jody Powell said.

If Mondale occupies a unique vice



presidency, it is because of the unique presidency of Jimmy Carter.

Mondale was, at first, the administration's linchpin to Washington. He had 12 years' experience in the city; Carter had none. He was well acquainted with organized labor, the liberal community and the professional Democrats; Carter barely knew them. He knew the art of compromise, the value of stroking members of Congress; Carter once wrote, "I don't know how to compromise on any principle I believe is right," and acknowledged that his stubbornness was a political "fault."

Despite his lack of Washington experience, Carter had a strong concept of what he wanted for a vice president. Before he chose Mondale he said he was determined to give strong responsibilities to the office, to bring his vice president into the decision-making at the White House. And Carter went through a laborious process to select his running mate, subjecting various politicians to personal interviews, written questionnaires and medical checks.

Fritz Mondale was a long shot when he went to Plains, Ga., to be interrogated by Carter in the summer of 1976. But it was obvious after their first meeting that a compatible chemistry was working between the two men. Carter, above all, appreciates someone who does his homework, and Mondale had come prepared. The Minnesota senator had checked with his colleague, Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, to learn which questions Carter had asked of Muskie at a similar meeting earlier in the summer. As a result, Mondale had carefully thought-out

answers on the role of the vice presidency when Carter broached the subject. He had also read Carter's modest memoirs, *Why Not the Best*, and Mondale referred to it as "one of the greatest books ever written" at a press conference before he left Plains. Jimmy Carter laughed at that line.

Humor is one measure of Mondale's comfortable relationship with Carter, who is sometimes sensitive about being the butt of jokes. Few of the president's associates dare do it, but Mondale will occasionally poke fun at Carter. At one Washington gathering, after Mondale had led off with a couple of jibes at Carter, the president went to the lectern and said that he had enjoyed listening to "former Vice President Mondale."

For all of Carter's innate conservatism and Mondale's liberalism, there are many similarities between the two men. They come from small towns and their families have strong religious backgrounds. They both profess belief in old-fashioned American verities such as hard work; they hold—and their own success is proof—to a quaint Horatio Alger theory that any personal achievement is possible if these verities are followed long enough. Their wives have been active partners in their careers. Rosalynn Carter has been busy in the field of mental health while Joan Mondale has carved out her own niche in the arts.

"Cautious" is a word that has often been used to describe both men. Carter is an engineer and a careful planner. "Mondale," said an old friend, "is a pretty cautious guy. He's never been a guy who charges out on an issue. His decisions are always made in a careful, reasoned, lawyerlike manner."

The compatibility between Carter and Mondale extends to their staffs. Unlike previous White House operations where the vice president's staff, as well as the vice president himself, have been frozen out of things by the president's inner cir-

cle, there seems to be an uninhibited flow between the Georgians and "the Mondale people."

Mondale's office is one of three that shares the western side of the White House, looking out on the gothic old Executive Office Building. Hamilton Jordan occupies the southwest corner, just down the hall from the Oval Office. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser, has the northwest corner. Mondale is in the middle.

The West Wing, the business side of the White House, is not as big as one might think. It is really a fairly intimate, informal place where ranking officials wander back and forth freely between each other's offices.

It was in Mondale's suite that he discussed his role as vice president with a visitor one day this winter. Small, split logs were burning in his fireplace, and he occasionally stoked the fire himself during the course of the interview. He sounded relaxed and secure in his job.

Mondale was well aware of the criticism from liberals that the administration was turning its back on many of the social programs that the Democratic Party has sponsored through the years.

"If you look at these first two years, at what we've done, it's a progressive record, I think, beyond dispute," Mondale said. "I've been part of it. I'm proud of it."

During the budget process this winter he said he had taken the initiative to press the president for continued aid in housing, jobs, health and education, areas targeted for cutbacks in the new, austere Carter budget.

Mondale has a regular Monday luncheon with Carter where he has a structured opportunity to discuss policy with the president. The two men sit across from one another at a small table in the Oval Office. "I work up every week some things I want to talk to him about and he will often have some things he wants to discuss, and sometimes we won't have any agenda, we'll just talk about politics. I try to discuss strate-

gic issues, economic policy, key international issues, the Middle East, SALT, the recent PRC (People's Republic of China) matter, the relations with the Hill, that sort of thing. It's the time during the week when I can better understand where he's going and what his objectives are," Mondale said.

There are many other meetings with him during the week—Cabinet meetings, budget meetings, national security meetings—and sometimes Mondale will try to alter administration objectives.

"If I disagree with a course I think we're on, I will usually save my fire until I'm alone with him. At meetings where he's not present, if I speak up it tends to chill the discussion. They think they're getting a signal. I've seen that happen. When I'm with him, I try to make points, particularly where I feel strongly about something. I do it with no holds barred.

"I've done that on the budget, I did it once on the Mideast, on negotiating strategy. I did it on what I thought was happening on the Bakke brief and I think we came out of that all right." (Civil rights groups originally feared that the administration position in the Bakke case would undermine affirmative action. The administration brief, however, finally argued that race should be considered in weighing applications for medical school.)

"It didn't take much persuading," Mondale continued, "but I did it on the defense veto, the public works veto.

"I've done it on a couple of occasions already on the budget. I've been pushing housing, health, direct jobs, education, Head Start and student assistance, Title I, bilingual and Indian education.

"I don't think I can be an effective adviser to the president if I go out and give the public a report card every day about what I win and the president loses and so on. The fact of it is, that during these first two years the president's policies, perhaps without my advice, would be essentially the way they were. But

I think I have been a progressive influence in this administration, along with some others, and I think we can justify what we've done to the progressive community of this country."

On Mondale's wall there is a handsome Chippewa pipe, carved from Minnesota pipestone, hanging over a table filled with family photographs. Across the wall is a big color photograph of Carter and Mondale together in the Rose Garden.

Mondale says he always calls Carter "Mr. President."

To the criticism that he has subordinated his liberal beliefs to serve Carter, Mondale responded, "I'm loyal to my president. When I disagree on these minor things, I go in and argue a case. I don't run to all of my old friends and say, 'Look, this is what I'm trying to do for our position.' I just don't feel that's an appropriate way for a vice president to behave. And if I were the president, I wouldn't want my vice president to behave that way."

His former colleague from Minnesota, Eugene McCarthy, once said Mondale "has the soul of a vice president."

"That shook me personally," Mondale said, his voice heavy with sarcasm, when asked about the remark, "because that's the first personally critical comment I've ever heard him make about anybody. I don't know what he's talking about. You'd have to ask him. I always thought if McCarthy were elected he would have refused to serve."

On the subject of Gene McCarthy, that was the old, combative Mondale, rarely seen these days.

Over the years he has developed into a relatively strong stump speaker. His high-pitched voice, his gestures as he turns from one side to the other, are reminiscent of another Minnesota senator. "There's undeniably a Humphrey influence," said Mondale's longtime aide and current chief of staff, Richard Moe.

"He used to have trouble giving a stump speech, but when he went on the road in 1974 in that phantom run for the presidency he gained a lot of self-confidence."

Mondale was thrown into battle last fall, traveling from state to state on behalf of Democratic candidates. For all his efforts—he prevailed upon Carter to come to Minnesota to campaign twice—he was unable to avert the Democratic Farmer Labor disaster in his home state, a multiple defeat that ranks as one of the low points of his term.

Another low point occurred in connection with his constitutional role as president of the Senate, when he used a parliamentary device to torpedo a filibuster, angering some of his old liberal friends in the Senate. Mondale aides blame the situation on "crossed signals" and maintain that there is no residual ill will on Capitol Hill over the incident.

Mondale, who serves as the administration's most formidable lobbyist in the Senate, where he spent 12 years, said he expects to spend a lot of time this year trying to obtain ratification of a SALT agreement.

Once, in a press conference early in the administration, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy unwittingly referred to Mondale as "senator." Mondale, who was present, began applauding. He was new to his job then, and might have been a little homesick for the Senate.

Now there seems to be no question that he has settled in as vice president and is no longer a liberal dreamer.

"It's everything he hoped it would be," said Dick Moe. "He knew he was taking a risk because of what happened to Humphrey and Rockefeller. He is happy. He's not fatalistic. He realizes how many things are beyond the reach of anyone, even a president, and he realizes that you have to be stoic about them." □

Curtis Wilkie is the White House correspondent for the Boston Globe.



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