

Election years, as we all know, can be pretty rough and tough. But I didn't realize how rough it was until I heard my son William end his prayers the other night.

He was saying:

th "Bless Mom and Dan, and Teddy and Eleanor Jane...
And now...Goodbye, God. We're heading into
the campaign."

I'm going to spare you today the kind of campaigning William had in mind. But I do want to tell you about some of the work I've done in the Senate...why I felt it was important ...and what I stand for as a candidate for reelection.

As I look back on my political career, it seems clear to me now that one of the strongest influences were the values I learned in my childhood.

It has been said -- sometimes more in criticism than in praise -- that I've been concerned to represent the interests of poor people and minorities. And I have never denied that concern.

For where I grew up...in the family of a Methodist minister in Elmore, Minnesota...to care about poverty and inequality was a lesson burned deep in my memory.

I don't suppose my boyhood was very different from any other in thousands of small American towns in the thirties and forties. Though there were hard times, my family was never cold or hungry. So I remember vividly my own puzzlement at seeing poor people when I went with my father on his ministerial rounds. I couldn't understand why some children in America didn't have shoes or enough to eat while others were healthy and happy.

And I still don't.

But there was never any question in my family about our responsibility to those people less fortunate. And that responsibility was no abstract theory to a Methodist minister like my dad. He drilled into us over breakfast, lunch and dinner, and weekends to boot.

Social concern, after all, was at the heart of our religious faith. As my father never tired of reminding his sons, all mankind were "the children of God."

But it was also a part of what I learned as a boy about the greatness and goodness of America. My parents taught me too that I was born in a very special place -- a country where at last there was the equal chance, the justice, ~~and~~ the decency that men had dreamed of for centuries. And that was no

theory either. I could see the promise of this country coming true all around me as I grew up:

--for the farmers who fled taxes and prejudice in the Ukraine or Scandinavia, and found a new life on the rich soil of Southern Minnesota,

--for the workingmen in the towns who escaped the social straight-jackets of Europe to be free laborers and thus free men,

--for the merchants who knew their success in America was bounded not by birth or class, but only by their own work and ability.

And later, I saw this climate of freedom open my own life beyond my dreams...toward college and law school and finally the United States Senate.

So I believe deeply in rights of all Americans to share that promise. And one of the main areas of my legislative work in the Senate has been to assure equal opportunity and equal justice under the law.

Let me give you two examples of what that commitment has meant:

For the last decade we finally recognized that millions of our ~~xxxxxxx~~ poor citizens were trapped in urban slums by discriminatory housing laws. And inside that trap grew despair and rage that came to threaten not only the survival of our cities, but ultimately the fabric of our society.

That's why I worked long and hard with Senator Brooks of Massachusetts to pass two bi-partisan bills -- the Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the 1968 Housing Law -- to abolish unjust restrictions and clear the way for millions of new housing units for low and moderate-income citizens. We are still too much a nation divided by race, class and the opportunity to live in a decent home. But our legislation was a start toward lifting that curse.

I was also a principal sponsor last year of similar bi-partisan legislation...to create an Independent Legal Services Corporation.

Every year millions of poor Americans are denied equal justice because they can't afford the legal help to protect their rights against big Government or big corporations.

Our Legal Services bill was drafted to meet that need, to ensure enforcement of the law for all...and to do it ~~in~~ with a program of ~~wide~~ independence and integrity amid the inevitable political pressures from all sides.

Tragically, that legislation was vetoed. Legal Services for the poor remains a political hostage.

Yet justice, like liberty, is indivisible. People deprived of redress in the courts may seek it in the streets. Then we are all the losers. Until we open justice to those who are poor, we diminish it for the rest of us.

But I learned early in my public career that it is not only the poor or minorities whose rights may need protection.

All Americans may be the victim of injustice when we allow impure or dangerous products in the marketplace. And all of us are denied the promise of this country when our water and air are befouled. So a second major area of my concern has been consumer protection and preservation of the environment.

That's why as Attorney General of Minnesota I established the first Consumer Protection Unit in state government. And why I fought through the Senate the Auto Safety Act and the Meat Inspection Act of 1967.

And that's why I count among my proudest accomplishments in public service the environmental bills I sponsored:

- the creation of the Voyageurs National Park,
- the Clean Lakes Act,
- the preservation of the Upper and Lower St. Croix.

But protection of the consumer and environment only begins with legislation. The laws must be justly enforced and the programs well administered. Despite our progress in the last few years, in these areas, as in the quest for equal opportunity, we have only begun. And these will be continuing concerns for me in the Senate.

No problem disturbs me more, however, than a set of issues I encountered only gradually -- and painfully -- in my Washington experience. I'm talking about the curse of waste and self-perpetuating bureaucracies in the Federal Government. A third major area of my work in the Senate has been to fight that injustice ~~in~~ to the taxpayer in every way possible.

I think most Minnesotans know my stand on the two most expensive examples of wasteful spending and misplaced priorities:

--the \$30 billion space shuttle...a space extravaganza without a real scientific purpose...designed chiefly to keep NASA in business as a bureaucracy.

--and the first billion dollar ship...the Nuclear Aircraft Carrier...a fight in which I opposed giving the Pentagon a blank check for a 15-carrier fleet that was simply not necessary to our security.

One of our greatest weaknesses in the Congress has been our readiness to accept these massive programs without a critical independent investigation...to accept the requests of the 'experts,' who often turn out to be bureaucrats more concerned with feathering their own nest than spending tax money sensibly. I'm going to continue a close examination of every large spending program...and to oppose the bad ones, regardless of the special interests or big money.

I believe we can have a scientifically useful space program for a fraction of the present cost. And I'm convinced we can build all the muscle we need for national defense without the cost overruns, the planes that don't fly, the enormous fat in the Pentagon budget that we've had.

And this, too, is a matter of justice to all of us.
The cost of uncontrolled bureaucracies, of misspent resources,
of senseless over-kill...high.

One of our real authorities on national security put it
this way:

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched,
every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a
theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who
are cold and are not clothed.

"The world in arms is not spending money alone.

"It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the
genius of its scientists, and the hopes of its children..."

Those are the words of President Dwight Eisenhower
in 1953.

And there truly is a waste more awful than squandering
money.

The waste of our children.

"The most deadly of all possible sins," said the philosopher
Erik Erikson, "is the mutilation of a child's spirit."

It's been a heartbreaking lesson for me to discover over
the last several years that we are committing that sin with

children every day all over America...to children rich and poor, black, red or white. Probably the largest single part of my work in the Senate has been devoted to that problem.

The ten million children living in poverty or the untold millions scarred by prejudice are only the most obvious victims of our national neglect.

--our infant mortality, for rich and poor, is higher than a dozen other nations,

--though we know 50% of a person's intellectual development takes place before the age of 5, only one child in ten, rich and poor, is reached by pre-school development programs,

--of the 17 million school age children identified as "educationally deprived" by HEW, less than a third come from poor families.

And the tragic figures go on. They add up to the harsh fact that we are daily consigning millions of children to the scrap heap. And the price is not only the shameful injustice ~~to~~ to the child, the broken promise of a decent America...but also a cost for the rest of us.

Every child consigned to the scrap heap of neglect is a useful life lost to our nation...and quite probably a

lifetime of costs to the taxpayers in welfare, crime, prison or ~~xxxxxx~~ other expense.

To help prevent those tragedies and that cost, I've tried to do all I could in the field of education and child care.

--My child development legislation, passed, the vetoed, now repassed by the Senate, would help families give ~~and~~ children pre=school education and health services ~~xxxxxx~~ that can make the difference between success and failure in school and life;

--My bill for Indian Education was designed to meet the special and long overlooked needs of Indian children;

--And I've worked to pass other measures
.assistance to educationally disadvantaged students, for bilingual education and to expand Head Start programs,
.new assistance for vocational education,
.and grants to our hard-pressed colleges and universities.

But here, too, we have only begun. And my commitment to solving the problems of our children will be at the center of my future work in the Senate.

I can conceive of no investment more valuable...and no problem more urgent or shameful.

Until we provide justice for our children, we are failing everything we believe in as a people.

So those are the values I've stood for as a public official --

- .Equal rights for all,
- .Protection for consumers and for our land,
- .Opposition to wasteful spending,
- .And most of all, justice for our children.

And those are the commitments for which I stand in this election.

Certainly, I've made my share of mistakes along the way.

And the worst of those mistakes was standing so long silent in the face of this terrible war in Southeast Asia. I was never more wrong.

But I pray now that we are coming to the end of that ordeal at last. The President certainly has my strong support in the critical negotiations ahead.

And I believe that we can heal the wounds of that war.

I believe we can have again a government trusted at home and admired abroad.

If only we turn now here at home to make peace with ourselves...to help those in need and build a just future for all Americans.

For I believe, as my father believed, that America is at heart a decent society...a community of people who care...who have faith in themselves and in one another.

I think my father would have admired very much the words Bob Kennedy spoke the night Martin Luther King was assassinated.

Those words capture what I stand for in the Senate.

That night, Bob Kennedy said:

"What we need in the United States is not division, what we need in the United States is not hatred, what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness, but love and wisdom and compassion toward one another, and a feeling of justice toward those who still suffer within our country, whether they be white or whether they be black..."

"Let us dedicate ourselves to what the Greeks wrote so many years ago: to tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of this world. Let us dedicate ourselves to that, and say a prayer for our country and our people."



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