

-- Time and again we sought modest amounts of foreign economic or military aid, only to be thwarted by so many Congressional restrictions and limitations that it became impossible for aid to arrive in significant quantity, on time, and effectively. Some of these Congressional requirements are merited; but too many are simply a legacy of Vietnam-era fears of runaway US involvement and, ironically, the temptation to tell other countries how to run their affairs.

It is past time when we should understand the real importance to our nation -- political, economic, and moral -- of a strong foreign aid commitment. And it is time that the President should be appropriated a sizeable contingency fund for foreign economic and military aid for which he should be fully accountable to Congress, but which he can spend to meet unforeseen needs and opportunities. Measured in terms of relative amount, no monies appropriated by Congress are likely to make a more direct and decisive impact in advancing our national security interests. And economic aid takes advantage of our strength in an area in which the Soviets really can't compete -- and where we, not they, represent the future for hundreds of millions of the world's people.

US defense strength and effective relations with Allies and other friendly nations are all fundamental to our future. But it is also obvious that a strong America is vitally dependent on a strong economy.

So the third principle of American strength is that we must have a powerful and internationally competitive economic base.

How to strengthen our economy is the most important and controversial issue facing the nation today. This is not the occasion for me to go into detail on how this should be done. But I do want to make a few specific points that relate directly to American strength in the world.

Most important, economic recovery and social justice must go hand in hand. If the effect of strong measures to renew the economy is to turn Americans against one another, we will not be strengthened. If the effect is to divide us by region, we will not be strengthened. If the result is hopelessness for the poor and disadvantaged, hostility between economic groups and races and greater political extremism and apathy, America will not be strengthened in the world even if we increase our military might.

In no economic area is our security more threatened than in energy. We have become vulnerable to interruptions in the flow of oil from abroad. We have become hostage to oil prices dictated by others which fuel inflation and damage our productivity and balance of payments. Four years ago, this nation began a comprehensive effort -- in conservation and production, old sources of energy and new -- to reduce our growing dependence on foreign energy imports, and to create the basis for containing energy prices in the future. The program is working. The first effects are evident. US imports of oil the day we left office were one-quarter below what they were only four years earlier -- the first time the upward trend has been reversed.

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It would be tragic for our security if these efforts were now reduced or dismantled. The effects would be felt not only in the corrosion of greater inflation. A renewed increase in American vulnerability to oil cut-offs would tempt political intimidation of the United States and its allies. Curtailing the battle on energy independence would undermine allied solidarity in both energy and foreign policy. It would challenge our credibility, both as a guardian of peace in the Middle East and in our efforts to keep our European allies from becoming too dependent on energy from the Soviet Union.

I believe in a free market economy. But it cannot always alone safeguard our nation's security. In the field of energy independence, Government action will be required if our national security interests are to be protected.

This is also true as we seek to revitalize our basic industries and increase productivity. There are those who depreciate the importance of the heavy industrial sector of the American economy. But heavy industry is vital to creating military power. And the blunt truth is that our country is declining in the economic capacity required to support our defense effort.

Each year as we sat in the Cabinet Room and discussed the production of major weapons systems, we found that increased costs, bottlenecks, and delays were often due to a decline in basic industrial capacity. There is now only one foundry left in the entire nation which can make the large castings required for our new main battle tank. The hull of the most advanced strategic nuclear submarine in the world -- our Trident submarine -- is fashioned with a steel press made at the time of the First World War.

Failure to reverse our industrial decline will squander a vital national security resource -- the experienced men and women of our machine shops and production lines who too often are now unemployed or are drifting into other lines of work when they can find work. This is not a regional issue, or one only of social justice, or even of our overall economic health -- it is a matter of basic national security. It is the responsibility of government, not just the marketplace, to ensure that if ever again the world turns to America as the arsenal of democracy, the arsenal has not become an abandoned industrial plant.

In addition, we must do all we can to make U.S. industry more competitive abroad.

Two decades ago, foreign trade was not as vital to American strength. For most U.S. businesses, foreign sales were regarded largely as a bonus to be added to the huge U.S. market.

Today this has changed. The percentage of our gross national product tied up in foreign trade has more than doubled, and we face huge demands for foreign earnings because of our energy imports -- earnings that can come only from increased exports.

Meanwhile, however, U.S. businesses abroad are being handicapped in promoting U.S. exports. For example ten years ago, if you visited one of our companies abroad, most of its managers were Americans, who naturally turned first to other American companies to supply their needs. But today, in U.S. companies abroad, you find not Americans, but mostly foreign nationals who often turn first to their own suppliers -- as tax and other burdens placed on Americans doing business overseas drive them out of the market.

There are other examples where tax and other provisions penalize U.S. businessmen living abroad and hamper U.S. companies as they try to compete individually against foreign trading companies which gain strength from concentration of economic power. We must re-examine our laws to ensure they are not denying to us fair competition abroad.

No inventory of the sources of our national strength would be complete without citing the moral purpose of America. No set of principles can guide us through an uncertain future if we have no moral compass or abuse our political process.

The fourth and final principle of American strength must be support for our moral values.

In the realm of national security, there are those who argue that we should play down moral judgments and objectives. They insist that we focus unashamedly on our interests alone.

Others would have us serve moral ends in crusades that might blind us to the practical consequences for our nation's interests and well-being.

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I believe that we must seek to reconcile the two. In fact, it is the determination to do so that is particularly American and a source of our strength. Perhaps more than any other quality, this penchant to blend the practical with principle, to synthesize our interests and moral concerns, has placed us at the forefront of world history.

Safeguarding our interests and values often requires active and creative diplomacy. But we must also recognize that at times it requires the deployment of military power -- as in the case of helping others resist aggression and threats to the peace.

On at least four occasions in the last four years, we helped to contain conflict through the swift but carefully limited use of military power:

-- We airlifted French, Belgian and African troops to Zaire, to oppose the Cuban-sponsored invasions of Shaba province from Angola;

-- We sent significant quantities of military equipment to North Yemen on short notice, to help that country turn back an armed challenge from a Soviet satellite, South Yemen;

-- We provided our modern Airborne warning Aircraft -- AWACs -- to Saudi Arabia to help prevent the spread of the Iran-Iraq war. We used our naval power to keep open the world's key sealane of oil supply, the Strait of Hormuz; and

-- We airlifted a small but symbolically significant amount of military equipment to Thailand last year within hours after Vietnamese attacks. This helped make clear our readiness to meet our long-standing security commitments to Thailand, and so far there has been no further fighting in Thailand.

In each case, the prompt but prudent supply of military assistance protected both our own interests and those of beleaguered states friendly to us in a way that was consistent with our values.

We also sought to advance our values directly and explicitly. We tried to advance human rights -- not as an act of expediency, but because these rights are deeply engrained in our own history and are the essence of the aspirations of mankind. At the Conferences on Security and Cooperation in Europe, we proclaimed to the world the abuses and moral poverty of the Soviet political system. We saw to it that the cry for freedom -- the call of the Orlovs and Shcharanskiy -- was heard at the Belgrade and Madrid Conferences, and we put the full weight of that process behind the principle that the Polish people should be able to work out their path towards liberty by themselves.

In the four corners of the earth, thousands of people are alive today, and millions more have real hope for the future, because the United States, despite strident criticism, did not turn its back on human rights. We recognized that our own strength as a nation can be -- and is -- enhanced by our standing up for the rights of others.

This has not always been easy. There are countries and peoples whose strategic positions are so important to us that we must work together even though we disapprove of their governments' human rights politics. But even where we do so, we must not lose sight of our moral purpose. It is essential to the political consensus supporting our foreign policy.

For example, it was imperative to work with the new government of South Korea after the assassination of President Park. But we also worked long and hard -- and ultimately with success -- to save the life of the Korean dissident, Kim Dae Jung.

The basic lesson of our experience in struggling to promote human rights is that the advance of our own moral concerns for humanity, democracy, freedom and justice is profoundly in our national interest. It is a strategic advantage as we contest for support from the developing world and leadership of our alliances.

It is no accident that we are principally allied with democracies and that our basic adversary is totalitarian. A world of tyranny would threaten our security. A world where pluralism predominates, where human rights are advanced, where there is freedom of religion, where democracy prevails would not be a world without conflict, but it would be a world safer for Americans.

Coupling our military strength with a sense of justice is not a call for intervention, or for use of our might to remake the world in our image. We have too much faith in the diversity of mankind and the universal thirst for human freedom for that. Our power is not imperial. To be sure, it must be used to advance our own security and our own interests; but to be true to ourselves, it must also serve in the struggle against oppression and injustice.

Abandoning our values abroad is but the first step to losing them at home. We have seen enough in this century to know that our greatest strength at home is our love for the values embedded in our Constitution and Bill of Rights and religious beliefs -- and that our greatest attraction abroad is the beacon those values cast into a world darkened by turbulence and oppression.

Our deep commitment to social justice -- a commitment to give opportunity to the poor and disadvantaged, to care for the old, to end discrimination, to safeguard the family -- this is the rock upon which is founded our nation's true security. The inner strength that comes from our dedication to social justice makes the United States an inspiration to other nations.

I had no prouder moment as Vice President than when I met with the leaders of Nigeria -- the most populous and potentially the richest country in Africa -- just after they had adopted a constitution -- a federal constitution closely based on our own. The power of example is the greatest power we have. The real strength of America lies in continuing to stand for what we are.

Let me conclude tonight on a somewhat more personal note. I have described four principles, four basic sources of American strength that can form the core of a new and mature national security consensus. But there is really a fifth: And it is evident right here at Macalester College. If we are going to create a new consensus in America to build our strength and use it wisely, we need good citizens in each new generation. We need young Americans who will become deeply engaged in the political process -- some by running for office, and all by taking an active part in the central issues of the day, if only by casting one precious vote. We need young Americans who care enough to understand what made this country great, and who have the spirit, the dedication, and the vitality to keep America great in the future. And we need institutions like Macalester that nurture and foster such spirit.

I've been to many places in the United States and the world. Everywhere I go, I'm sure to run into a Mac-ite, who is doing something special to make this nation and this world a better place in which to live.

This is the spirit and dedication that will help us all to answer the difficult questions facing us, and that will guarantee always that our military and economic strength are used for moral purposes. Here is where a just society and a just world begin; and here is where America's future lies. I know that future is secure.

I was proud to be one of you a few years ago; and proud to be back with you again.

Thank you.

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WASHINGTON, D.C., Feb. 23--Following are the highlights of the schedule for Walter F. Mondale's February 24-25 trip to Minnesota. Times given below are subject to change and are provided for press guidance only, not for publication.

For further information, call Ann Stock or Mike Hill at 202/395-7300.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1981

12:45 p.m. EST DEPART Washington, D.C. for Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota.

2:10 p.m. CST ARRIVE Minneapolis-St. Paul/International Airport. Immediate departure for Sheraton Ritz Hotel.

2:30 p.m. ARRIVE private time.

5:30 p.m. DEPART hotel for Home of President and Mrs. John Davis, Macalester College.

5:45 p.m. ARRIVE private dinner at Davis home. Closed.

7:30 p.m. DEPART Davis home for Macalester College.

8:00 p.m. ARRIVE Macalester College Convocation. Gymnasium. Open coverage from press area.

ADDRESS BY FORMER VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE.

9:15 p.m. DEPART Macalester for hotel.
(APPROX.)

RON. Sheraton-Ritz Hotel, 315 Nicollet Mall. 612/336-5711.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1981

8:00 a.m. CST DEPART hotel for Macalester College.

8:20 a.m. ARRIVE private breakfast with faculty. Closed.

9:30 a.m. ARRIVE Post-Lecture Question & Answer session with students. Weyerhaeuser Chapel Sanctuary. Open coverage from press area.

10:35 a.m. ARRIVE private time.

11:25 a.m. DEPART Macalester College for Control Data Corporation Normandale Plant.

11:55 a.m. ARRIVE Normandale Plant for private meetings.

1:50 p.m. DEPART Plant for Control Data Corporate Headquarters.

2:05 p.m. ARRIVE Headquarters for private meetings.

4:15 p.m. DEPART Headquarters for airport.

5:00 p.m. DEPART Minneapolis for Washington, D.C.

8:05 p.m. EST ARRIVE Washington, D.C.

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WASHINGTON, D.C., March 2--Following are the highlights of the schedule for Walter F. Mondale's March 2-3 trip to Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota. Times given below are subject to change and are provided for press guidance only, not for publication.

For further information, call Ann Stock at 202/395-7300.

MONDAY, MARCH 2, 1981

12:45 p.m. EST DEPART Washington, D.C. for Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota.

2:10 p.m. CST ARRIVE Minneapolis-St. Paul/International Airport. IMMEDIATE DEPARTURE FOR HOTEL.

3:00 p.m. ARRIVE Sheraton-Ritz Hotel.

6:10 p.m. DEPART hotel for College of St. Thomas, St. Paul.

6:30 p.m. ARRIVE Reception honoring former Vice President Walter Mondale hosted by St. Thomas College President Monsignor Murphy. Murray Hall, third floor. Closed.

7:45 p.m. ARRIVE O'Shaughnessy Educational Center.

8:00 p.m. ARRIVE O'Shaughnessy Educational Center Auditorium. Lecture followed by Q & A with students. Open coverage. Mult.

ADDRESS BY FORMER VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE.

9:15 p.m. DEPART College for hotel .

(APPROX.)

RON. Sheraton-Ritz Hotel, 315 Nicollet Mall. 612/336-5711.

TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1981

9:05 a.m. DEPART hotel for College of St. Thomas.

9:25 a.m. ARRIVE Q & A session with St. Thomas students. O'Shaughnessy Education Center, Room 453. Open coverage.

10:35 a.m. DEPART College for airport.

(APPROX.)

12:05 p.m. DEPART Minneapolis-St. Paul for New York City

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For a Vice President to play an active, useful role in the government, he must first of all have the confidence and trust of the President. But basing my opinion on four years' experience in that office, I think ~~that President Carter and I had~~ ^{there was something} more than personal in my relationship, ~~to President Carter.~~ ✓

There is a set of institutional conditions which a Vice President should be aware of -- for the relationship to succeed. There is a set of rules he should follow -- for him to strengthen the Presidency.

First, advise a President confidentially. The only reasons to state publicly what you have told the President are to take credit for a success, or to escape blame for a failure. And either way there is no quicker way to undermine your relationship with the President and lose your effectiveness in the government.

Second, do not wear a President down. He should be bright enough to catch your meaning the first time. Give your advice once and give it well. You have the right to be heard, not obeyed.

Third, as a spokesman for the Administration, stay on the facts. A President should not want, and the public does not respect, a Vice President who does nothing but deliver fulsome praise of a President. He should want, and people do respect, sound, factual, reasoned arguments in his behalf. This office is important enough not to be demeaned by its occupant delivering obsequious flattery.

Fourth, understand your role as a spokesman. This does not mean that you must defend every idea that comes out of an Administration. A wise President, who values the role of his Vice President, will not make the mistake of forcing the Vice President to speak for something with which he fundamentally disagrees.

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article

Fifth, avoid line authority assignments. If such an assignment is important, it will cut across the responsibilities of one or two Cabinet officers or other agency heads and embroil you in a debilitating bureaucratic fight -- as Henry Wallace found out. If it is meaningless or trivial, it will undermine your reputation and squander your time -- as most Vice Presidents have found out.

Sixth, a Vice President should be ready to assume the Presidency. We all know the story of Harry Truman succeeding to the Presidency on Roosevelt's death with no knowledge of the Manhattan Project, which for a long time had been at work building the atomic bomb. President Carter did not want me to need three or four months of on-the-job training in the Presidency, if the need should have arisen. As he often said, President Carter wanted me to be ready the same moment the nation would need me to be ready. And there was no better way to ensure that I would be prepared than to pursue the course we did.

Finally, not a rule so much as a wish: to strengthen the President, a Vice President should have complementary experience and abilities. There is no magic mix of qualities, but a Vice President can better help the President if his political experience, his background in either legislative or executive government, his attachments to constituencies, his knowledge of foreign affairs -- if in each vital field of experience he complements the President's experience. And as Vice President, you must be able to get along with the President. Your relationship is intensely personal. It is founded on professional need, but it must proceed on personal respect. In my case, President Carter treated me better than any President has treated his Vice President in history. And I will never forget that.

Text

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS

MARCH 2, 1981

GREETINGS AND JOKES

I'D LIKE TO PAY MY RESPECTS TO MY OLD FRIEND, THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS, MSGR. TERRANCE MURPHY; THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE, ARCHBISHOP ROACH; FATHER RICHARD PATES, WHOM I KNEW AS SECRETARY TO THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE, SOON TO BE THE NEW RECTOR OF THE ST. JOHN VIANNEY SEMINARY; FACULTY, STUDENTS AND FRIENDS:

AT THE END OF MY FIRST LECTURE, TWO WEEKS AGO AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, I PUT THE FOLLOWING QUESTION TO THE AUDIENCE: IF EVERYTHING IN OUR ADMINISTRATION HAD GONE AS WELL AS I DESCRIBED IT, WHY DID WE LOSE THE ELECTION? HAVING RUN OUT OF TIME, I POSTPONED MY ANSWER TO A LATER DATE. AND NOW, AT THE COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS, I WISH TO UNBURDEN MYSELF OF A SECRET LOCKED IN MY HEART SINCE NOVEMBER 4TH, 1980, AND TELL YOU WHY IT WAS, IN MY OPINION, THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND I LOST THE ELECTION. MY ANSWER IS, APPARENTLY WE DIDN'T GET ENOUGH VOTES.

~~SPEAKING AT THIS OUTSTANDING COLLEGE, I THOUGHT YOU
WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW ABOUT MY ECUMENICAL BACKGROUND.
MY FATHER WAS A METHODIST MINISTER, AND I MARRIED THE DAUGHTER
OF A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER. (CHANGE RELIGION AND GET A DOG.)~~

~~COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS~~

I AM DELIGHTED TO SPEAK THIS EVENING AT THE COLLEGE OF
ST. THOMAS -- THIS OUTSTANDING INDEPENDENT COLLEGE OF LEARNING.
FOR ALMOST A CENTURY THIS COLLEGE HAS HAD ONE OVERRIDING GOAL --
TO TEACH THE VALUES THAT MAKES GOOD CITIZENS. YOU HAVE TAUGHT
GENERATIONS OF MINNESOTANS AND OTHER AMERICANS TO RESPECT HARD
WORK, TO BELIEVE IN GOD, TO BE USEFUL TO SOCIETY, TO PRAY
FOR PEACE.

BUT THE SECRET TO YOUR STRENGTH IS THAT WHILE THE VALUES
HAVE REMAINED THE SAME, THE METHODS, THE CURRICULA, THE PEOPLE
HAVE ALWAYS KEPT CHANGING. TODAY ST. THOMAS IS JUST AS DEVOTED
AS IT WAS WHEN ARCHBISHOP IRELAND FOUNDED THIS COLLEGE TO
QUALITY EDUCATION -- BUT TODAY THAT EDUCATION STRESSES MANAGEMENT
AS WELL AS CLASSICS. YOU'RE JUST AS DETERMINED TO TRAIN FOR
CAREERS -- BUT TODAY THE CAREERS INCLUDE BUSINESS AND LAW AND
MEDICINE AS WELL AS THE PRIESTHOOD. YOU'RE JUST AS CONCERNED
WITH OPENING THE MINDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE -- BUT IN THE LAST TEN
YEARS YOU'VE OPENED YOUR DOORS TO THE ELDERLY AS WELL. YOU'RE

JUST AS TOUGH ABOUT WHO YOU'LL ADMIT -- BUT IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS THIS HAS BECOME A SCHOOL OF WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN.

HERE IN ST. THOMAS YOUR VALUES ARE ROOTED IN THE TRADITIONS OF THIS CAMPUS, BUT YOUR OUTLOOK IS WIDENED -- AND I BELIEVE THOSE SAME VALUES ARE STRENGTHENED -- BY A VISION OF THE FUTURE.

IN A SENSE, THE CHALLENGE YOU HAVE BEEN MEETING ON THIS CAMPUS EVERY YEAR IS THE ONE THAT CONFRONTS THE PROGRESSIVE COMMUNITY TODAY. WE, TOO, AS PROGRESSIVES, MUST ADAPT TO CHANGING TIMES. WE, TOO, MUST DO SO IN A WAY THAT REMAINS TRUE TO OUR VALUES. AND TONIGHT I WANT TO TALK ABOUT WHERE THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITION COMES FROM, WHAT IT FACES TODAY, AND WHERE WE SHOULD GO FROM HERE. AND THEN I'D LIKE TO HEAR YOUR OPINIONS AND TAKE QUESTIONS.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE PROGRESSIVE

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE PROGRESSIVE?

IT MEANS TO HAVE HOPE -- NOT THE IDLE HOPE OF SHEER OPTIMISM, BUT THE ACTIVE HOPE OF A FREE AND FORTUNATE PEOPLE. IT MEANS TO BELIEVE IN THIS COUNTRY -- NOT JUST BECAUSE IT IS A GOOD COUNTRY; BUT BECAUSE EACH GENERATION HAS MADE IT BETTER. IT MEANS TO HAVE FAITH IN OUR DESTINY -- NOT JUST BECAUSE WE ARE STRONG AND FAIR BUT BECAUSE WE AS A FREE PEOPLE HAVE THE POWER TO MAKE IT STILL STRONGER AND MORE FAIR. MOST OF ALL

IT MEANS TO FIGHT FOR THE DIGNITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF INDIVIDUALS. WHEN DIGNITY IS ASSAILED BY POVERTY OR DISCRIMINATION -- PROGRESSIVES CALL FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE. WHEN INDEPENDENCE IS OVERWHELMED BY POWER, PROGRESSIVES CALL FOR LIBERATION.

THESE ARE BASIC PROGRESSIVE VALUES. THEY ARE UNCHANGING. AT DIFFERENT TIMES THEY SERVE DIFFERENT CAUSES -- DEPENDING ON WHOSE DIGNITY IS THREATENED, AND WHERE THE THREAT IS COMING FROM.

IN THE 1930'S, WHEN THE MODERN PROGRESSIVE TRADITION BEGAN, IT WAS ORDINARY WORKING FAMILIES WHOSE DIGNITY WAS THREATENED -- AND THE THREAT CAME FROM ECONOMIC FORCES LARGER THAN INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES COULD HANDLE. HUBERT HUMPHREY LATER RECALLED THOSE YEARS, WHEN AS A YOUNG MAN IN THE DEPRESSION, HE HELPED HIS FATHER KEEP THE FAMILY DRUGSTORE FROM CLOSING. HE SAID THIS:

"I GREW UP IN A TIME WHEN THE POOR WERE NOT THOSE WHO HAD ALWAYS BEEN POOR. THEY WERE ONCE MEN AND WOMEN OF SUBSTANCE -- AND THEY WERE STRUCK DOWN AS IF THEY HAD BEEN ROLLED OVER BY A MIGHTY TIDAL WAVE.

"I WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO FORGET IT. I KNOW THAT OUT OF THOSE DAYS, EXPERIENCE CAME THAT HELPED SHAPE LEGISLATION LATER ON. I WAS THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR IN THE CONGRESS OF THE JOB CORPS: IT CAME ABOUT BECAUSE I REMEMBERED THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, AND I REMEMBERED THE YOUNG MEN WHO WALKED THE RAILROAD TRACKS IN THE DAYS OF THE DEPRESSION. I REMEMBER THAT MANY OF THEM WERE CONSIDERED TO BE USELESS AND WORTHLESS BY SOME OF THEIR MORE FORTUNATE CONTEMPORARIES, ONLY TO HAVE THEM BECOME GENERALS, AND GOVERNORS, AND BUSINESSMEN, AND LABOR LEADERS, AND PROFESSORS. I HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN."

THERE WERE MILLIONS OF OTHERS WHO NEVER FORGOT. FOR ALL OVER AMERICA PEOPLE LOST THEIR JOBS, THEIR FARMS, THEIR LIFETIME SAVINGS. IN RESPONSE TO THIS LOSS OF BASIC SECURITY, PROGRESSIVES TURNED TO GOVERNMENT TO SHORE UP PEOPLE'S LIVES. AND ON THE FOUNDATIONS OF THOSE NEW DEAL PROGRAMS, MODERN AMERICAN SOCIETY WAS BUILT -- COLLECTIVE BARGAINING, SOCIAL SECURITY, STRONG UNIONS, THE REA, THE TVA, THE CCC, AND THE REST OF THE GLORIOUS ROOSEVELT ALPHABET.

BUT IF MODERN PROGRESSIVE POLITICS WERE BORN IN THE DUSTBOWL DAYS, THEY MATURED IN THE GREAT SOCIETY DAYS. FOR BY THE 1960'S THE ECONOMY WAS PROSPERING, UNIONS WERE STRONG, JOBS WERE INCREASING. IT WAS NOT ORDINARY WORKING FAMILIES

WHOSE RIGHTS STOOD THE GREATEST THREAT, BUT THE VERY POOR -- WHOSE INDEPENDENCE WAS STRIPPED BY POVERTY; THE SICK -- WHOSE HEALTH WAS LOST TO EXPENSIVE COSTS; THE MINORITIES -- WHOSE DIGNITY WAS ROBBED BY DISCRIMINATION; THE VERY YOUNG -- WHOSE FUTURE WAS FORECLOSED BY SUBSTANDARD EDUCATION; AND THE OLD -- WHOSE YEARS OF RETIREMENT WERE TARNISHED BY STRUGGLE.

THESE WERE THE PEOPLE WHOM PROGRESSIVE GOVERNMENT COULD HELP. AND HELP THEM WE DID, DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ALIKE, WITH THE MOST AMBITIOUS AND COMPASSIONATE LEGISLATION IN OUR HISTORY -- MEDICARE AND MEDICAID, MODEL CITIES AND EDA, TITLE 1 FOR OUR SCHOOLS AND HOUSING FOR THE POOR, CIVIL RIGHTS, VOTING RIGHTS, AND THE FAIR HOUSING ACT OF 1968.

I WAS PRIVILEGED TO SERVE MINNESOTA IN THE SENATE DURING THOSE HEADY DAYS. WE WERE ABLE TO CUT TAXES AND INCREASE REVENUES, FUND NEW PROGRAMS AND ADD NEW JOBS -- WITH HARDLY ANY INFLATION AT ALL. FOR IT WAS A TIME OF RAPID ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE WERE ABLE TO FORGE A NATIONAL CONSENSUS BEHIND THIS HISTORIC EFFORT AT SOCIAL PROGRESS. FOR THE PROGRESSIVE CAUSE HAD BIPARTISAN BACKING. TO PARAPHRASE WHAT KING HENRY SAID OF ST. CRISPIN'S DAY AT AGINCOURT -- WE FEW, WE HAPPY FEW WHO WERE THERE, WILL NEVER FORGET WHAT FEATS WE DID THAT DAY.

OUR TROUBLES

BUT, SADLY, ST. CRISPIN'S DAY DID NOT LAST LONG. THREE STAGES OF TWILIGHT FELL, EACH ECLIPSING THE PROGRESSIVE VISION WITH AN OMINOUS SHADOW.

FIRST CAME THE VIETNAM WAR. IT DISTRACTED THE NATION FROM THE PROGRESSIVE AGENDA. IT SET OFF AN INFLATION THAT STUNTED THE ECONOMIC GROWTH SO ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESSIVE GENEROSITY. AND IT DIVIDED THE CONSTITUENCY SO ESSENTIAL TO PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION.

NEXT CAME WATERGATE, IN WHOSE SCANDALS WERE REVEALED GROSS ABUSES OF POWER BY THOSE IN WASHINGTON. A PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT THAT RELIED ON GOVERNMENT ACTION COULD NOT SURVIVE THE SUSPICION **OF** GOVERNMENT WHICH THEN ENSUED. A PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM THAT CALLED FOR BOLD LEADERSHIP COULD NOT FARE WELL WHEN OUR HIGHEST OFFICIALS SAPPED OUR CONFIDENCE IN LEADERSHIP ITSELF. A POOR PERSON, A SICK PERSON, A MISTREATED PERSON WHO TURNED TO WASHINGTON FOR HELP FOUND THAT WASHINGTON WAS FAR BEYOND HELP ITSELF.

THIRD CAME OUR CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. BACK IN THE 1960S WE HAD NO INFLATION TO SPEAK OF, NO ENERGY CRISIS, NO OPEC, NO HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, NO HUGE BUDGET DEFICITS, NO HIGH INTEREST RATES. TODAY WE HAVE ALL OF THESE TROUBLES -- AND THEY ARE ALL CONNECTED. IT'S ONE THING TO SHARE RESOURCES THAT ARE EXPANDING -- AS WE DID IN THE PROGRESSIVE 60s. IT'S ANOTHER TO DIVIDE UP RESOURCES THAT ARE CONSTANT OR CONTRACTING -- AS PROGRESSIVES HAVE HARSHLY LEARNED IN THE 70s.

SOME WOULD LOOK AT THESE THREE CHANGES AND SAY THAT PROGRESSIVES HAVE TAKEN A LICKING. I LOOK AT THEM AND BELIEVE THAT PROGRESSIVES HAVE LEARNED SOME LESSONS. IF OUR CONSTITUENCY WAS SPLIT APART, PROGRESSIVES MUST WORK AT BUILDING NEW COALITIONS. IF PEOPLE SEE GOVERNMENT AS THE PROBLEM, PROGRESSIVES MUST MAKE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE AGAIN. IF ECONOMIC STALEMATE HAS STALLED THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT, THEN PROGRESSIVES MUST CONCENTRATE FIRST OF ALL ON RESTORING GROWTH AND STABILITY TO THE AMERICAN ECONOMY.

TODAY, JUST AS ON SO MANY DAYS IN OUR PAST, WE STAND AT A NEW THRESHHOLD. AND THE TEST OF PROGRESSIVE FAITH WILL NOT BE MET BY TURNING BACKWARDS, BUT BY CROSSING THE THRESHHOLD INTO THE FUTURE. THAT IS THE STRENGTH OF THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITION -- AGAIN AND AGAIN FACING UP TO NEW NEEDS. OURS IS NOT AN OPPORTUNITY TO ABANDON OLD VALUES, BUT TO GIVE THEM NEW LIFE.

~~TEN PRINCIPLES~~

INDEED IT IS ALREADY HAPPENING. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, TRAVELING AROUND THIS COUNTRY, TALKING WITH AMERICANS FROM EVERY WALK IN LIFE, I HAVE LEARNED THAT PROGRESSIVE THINKING PEOPLE ARE ALREADY LOOKING AT PROBLEMS IN WAYS THAT ARE COMPLETELY NEW. LET ME BRIEFLY RUN DOWN THE TEN NEW DIRECTIONS OF PROGRESSIVE THINKING.

ONE: PROGRESSIVES ARE TAKING INFLATION AS SERIOUSLY TODAY AS WE HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN UNEMPLOYMENT.

INFLATION HURTS MOST THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE MARGINS OF SOCIETY ABOUT WHOM PROGRESSIVES HAVE ALWAYS CARED MOST, AND BEYOND THAT, OUR SUPPORT OF CIVILIZED, HUMANE, EFFECTIVE ANTI-INFLATION POLICIES IS THE BEST WAY TO CREATE THE CLIMATE OF GENEROSITY WHICH PROGRESSIVE PROGRAMS NEED TO SURVIVE.

FOR NOTHING CAN MORE SURELY TRANSFORM A DECENT AND COMPASSIONATE PEOPLE INTO A NASTY, ILLIBERAL SOCIETY THAN AN INFLATION RATE THAT DESTROYS SAVINGS, TURNS THE WORK ETHIC UPSIDE DOWN, SOURS THE DREAM OF HOME OWNERSHIP, AND CLOUDS PEOPLE'S HOPES FOR THEIR CHILDREN. WE HAVE SEEN IT

HAPPEN TO ~~OURS~~ other societies; we are determined that it not happen to ours.

TWO: PROGRESSIVES REALIZE THEY HAVE A CRUCIAL STAKE IN THE ENERGY CRISIS.

AN AMERICAN ~~DEPENDENT~~ ON FOREIGN SOURCES OF OIL NOT ONLY SUFFERS INTOLERABLE INFLATION: ITS POLICIES ARE POTENTIALLY VULNERABLE TO INTIMIDATION FROM OTHER NATIONS. NO GENERATION OF AMERICANS HAS EVER PERMITTED OUR NATION TO BUY WHAT WE NEED BY SELLING WHAT WE BELIEVE. THERE IS A LINE THAT CONNECTS THE STRENGTH OF NATO AND OF THE ENTIRE INDUSTRIAL WORLD -- AND TODAY IT IS A THIN LINE OF OIL TANKERS STRETCHED AROUND THE GLOBE. IT HAS TAKEN SOME HEARTACHE, AND MUCH EDUCATION, TO SEE THAT, BUT TODAY PROGRESSIVES ARE SUPPORTING THE PROGRAMS WE NEED TO BREAK THE GRIP OF ENERGY DEPENDENCE.

THREE: PROGRESSIVES HAVE EARNED THEIR CREDENTIALS IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY DEBATE.

IN OUR PAST, IT WAS THE PROGRESSIVES ABOVE ALL OTHERS WHO STOOD UP AGAINST TOTALITARIAN THREATS TO OUR SECURITY. INTERVENTIONS WHERE OUR INTERESTS WERE NOT AT STAKE, AND INTELLIGENCE ABUSES WHERE OUR CONSTITUTION WAS JEOPARDIZED, WERE EVENTS OF THE PAST WE OPPOSED ON MORAL, ECONOMIC, AND STRATEGIC GROUNDS. BUT WE STAND SECOND TO NO GROUP IN AMERICA IN INSISTING UPON AN INVIOABLE NATIONAL SECURITY. AND TO MAINTAIN THAT STRENGTH, WE SHOULD DEPEND ON THE SUPERIOR TECHNOLOGY OF AMERICAN WEAPONS.

FOUR: PROGRESSIVES HAVE LEARNED THE LESSON OF VIETNAM.

NO ONE SUFFERED MORE THAN PROGRESSIVES DURING THAT TRAGIC ERA. AND TODAY NO ONE HAS A GREATER RESPONSIBILITY THAN PROGRESSIVES TO DRAW THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE LEGITIMATE USE OF POWER TO PROTECT LEGITIMATE AMERICAN INTERESTS, AND THE INDECENT USE OF INTERVENTION IN CONTRADICTION OF AMERICAN VALUES. TODAY WE HAVE RETIRED THE IDEA THAT PROGRESSIVES ARE INNOCENTS INCAPABLE OF RECOGNIZING -- OR CONFRONTING -- A BARBARIAN.

FIVE: PROGRESSIVES ARE NOW WORRYING AS MUCH ABOUT IMPLEMENTING PROGRAMS AS THEY ARE ABOUT PASSING THEM.

FROM OUR HEARINGS, FROM OUR MAIL, FROM OUR PERSONAL EXPERIENCE -- WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THERE IS NOTHING INTRINSICALLY HEARTLESS ABOUT THE PUBLIC'S DEMAND TO GET THEIR MONEY'S WORTH FROM SOCIAL PROGRAMS. THERE IS NOTHING INHERENTLY BOORISH ABOUT THE TAXPAYERS' FEELING THAT THEY ARE PAYING MORE AND GETTING LESS. COMPLAINTS ABOUT WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY ARE NOT ALL OF THEM THINLY DISGUISED ASSAULTS ON PROGRESSIVE VALUES. HORROR STORIES ABOUT RED TAPE, PAPERWORK, REGULATION, AND BUREAUCRATIC MEDDLING ARE NOT ALL OF THEM CRAFTY ATTEMPTS TO ELUDE THE REACH OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. PROGRESSIVES UNDERSTAND THAT IF THEY FAIL TO MAKE PROGRAMS EFFECTIVE TODAY, THEY COULD FAIL TO MAKE PROGRAMS AT ALL.

SIX: PROGRESSIVES HAVE REDISCOVERED THE WORLD BEYOND WASHINGTON.

HUBERT HUMPHREY GOT HIS START AS A MAYOR: THOSE WHO INHERIT HIS TRADITION HAVE ALSO INHERITED HIS BACKGROUND. WE HAVE A FEDERAL SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT: AND WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED OUR BELIEF IN IT BY BUILDING OUR PROGRAMS ON ALL OF ITS LEVELS. WE HAVE A PRIVATE COMPETITIVE ECONOMIC SYSTEM: AND WE HAVE PROVED OUR CONFIDENCE IN IT BY ENLARGING ITS CAPACITY TO CREATE PERMANENT JOBS. WE HAVE A PLURALISTIC AND DIVERSE SOCIETY: AND WE HAVE SHOWED OUR RESPECT FOR IT BY TREASURING ALL THE VOLUNTARY AND CIVIC AND PHILANTHROPIC AND NON-PROFIT COMMOTION THAT HAS ENLIVENED OUR NATION SINCE THE START.

SEVEN: PROGRESSIVES HAVE SHAKEN THE MYTHOLOGY OF WELFARE-STATE DEPENDENCY.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE "WORTHY" AND THE "UNWORTHY" POOR IS AS OLD AS IT IS PERNICIOUS. IT IS THE ORIGIN OF SUCH ILLIBERAL CARICATURES AS THE FREELOADER ON UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, THE WELFARE QUEEN, AND THE T-BONE STEAK PURCHASED WITH FOOD STAMPS. AND IN ILLIBERAL HANDS, THE IMAGES BECOME THE BLUNDERBUSS WITH WHICH THE WHOLE EDIFICE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS ATTACKED.

BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO DEPLORE THE MYTHOLOGY: IT MUST BE PUNCTURED, AND THAT IS WHAT WE HAVE DONE.

IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS I HAVE BEEN ALL AROUND THE COUNTRY ARGUING THAT THE PURPOSE OF SOCIAL PROGRAMS IS NOT TO FOSTER DEPENDENCY -- IT IS TO GIVE PEOPLE THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND ASSISTANCE TO HELP THEM BECOME INDEPENDENT OF GOVERNMENT. OUR PURPOSE IS INDEPENDENCE -- NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND PERSONAL INDEPENDENCE. AND EVERYWHERE I'VE BEEN, PEOPLE HAVE RESPONDED TO THAT IDEA.

WE ARE A WORK-ORIENTED, SAVINGS-ORIENTED, AND ACHIEVEMENT-ORIENTED SOCIETY. TODAY, IF A GOOD PROGRAM DESIGNED TO PROMOTE WORK AND INDEPENDENCE ACQUIRES A RECORD OF CREATING DEPENDENCE, IT IS THE TASK OF THAT PROGRAM'S FRIENDS TO FIX IT -- BEFORE ITS ENEMIES DESTROY IT.

EIGHT: PROGRESSIVES HAVE BECOME MORE PRAGMATIC ABOUT THEIR GOALS, MORE FRANK ABOUT THEIR FAILURES -- AND BETTER ADVOCATES FOR THEIR SUCCESSES.

NOTHING IS MORE APPEALING TO REACTIONARIES THAN THE IDEA THAT NO PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM HAS EVER WORKED -- BECAUSE IT IS A QUICK HOP FROM THE FAILURE OF ALL PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION TO THE DISMANTLING OF THE WHOLE ENTERPRISE. THE FACT IS THAT THE RECORD IS, AT WORST, A MIXED ONE. BECAUSE PROGRESSIVES HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, WE HAVE GAINED GROUND, NOT LOST IT.

WE HAVE LEARNED TO SET MORE REALISTIC GOALS FOR OUR PROGRAMS. WE HAVE LEARNED TO PROTECT THE GOOD PROGRAMS BY FIXING OR PRUNING BACK THE BAD ONES. AND AT LAST WE ARE BEGINNING TO PROCLAIM OUR PROGRAMS' SUCCESSES WITH THE SAME ZEST WE MARSHALLED TO ENACT THEM IN THE FIRST PLACE.

IT HAPPENS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS ARE MAKING AN ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE IN STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT. HEAD START, TITLE I, UPWARD BOUND, VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, STUDENT AID: THEY'RE ALL WORKING, WHETHER THE MEASURE IS BASIC SKILLS TEST SCORES, MINORITY ENROLLMENTS, OR JOB PLACEMENT. SO LONG AS THAT STORY REMAINS VEILED, THOSE PROGRAMS REMAIN VULNERABLE.

NINE: PROGRESSIVES ARE WORRYING MORE AND MORE ABOUT QUALITY.

WE HAVE TWO GENERATIONS OF CONCERN FOR ACCESS AND EQUITY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO OUR CREDIT. THAT STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IS NOT OVER -- NOT FOR MINORITIES, NOT FOR WOMEN, NOT FOR THE POOR OR THE HANDICAPPED OR THE ELDERLY. BUT PROGRESSIVES NOW UNDERSTAND THEY HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE FROM MAKING COMMON CAUSE WITH EXCELLENCE -- AND EVERYTHING TO GAIN.

WHEN YOU EMPHASIZE ACCESS, AS WE MUST, EVERYONE BENEFITS -- BECAUSE YOU BROADEN THE POOL OF TALENT THAT CAN SERVE THE NATION. WHEN YOU EMPHASIZE EXCELLENCE, AS WE MUST, EVERYONE BENEFITS -- BECAUSE THE BEST IS NOT THE ENEMY, BUT THE AMBITION, OF THE GOOD.

EVERY TIME I'VE TALKED ABOUT EXCELLENCE AROUND THE COUNTRY, I SENSE THAT I'VE TOUCHED DEEP CORDS -- AND NOWHERE MORE SO THAN ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES. IT IS FROM FIRST-RATE LABORATORIES THAT THE INDUSTRY AND JOBS OF THE '80s AND '90s WILL ARISE. IT IS FROM RESEARCH AT THE FRONTIERS OF KNOWLEDGE THAT THE DEFENSES OF THE NEXT CENTURY WILL BE FASHIONED. IT IS SCHOLARSHIP AND ART OF UNCOMPROMISING DISTINCTION THAT WILL CAPTURE OUR IDEALS AND SELF-IMAGES FOR GENERATIONS TO COME.

TEN: PROGRESSIVES ARE BECOMING REACQUAINTED WITH THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

TWO GENERATIONS OF PROGRESSIVE EFFORTS HAVE ALTERED THE AMERICAN LANDSCAPE. MILLIONS HAVE BEEN PULLED ABOVE THE POVERTY LINE. MILLIONS WHO ONCE KNEW ONLY DRUDGERY NOW ENJOY SOME OF THE REWARDS OF AMERICAN LIFE -- A DECENT INCOME, A MEASURE OF LEISURE, A SENSE OF SECURITY.

PEOPLE DO NOT CEASE TO COUNT ONCE THEY LEAVE THE SHADOWS OF DISADVANTAGE AND INJUSTICE. IT IS NOT ILLIBERAL FOR A MIDDLE-INCOME FAMILY TO WANT HELP WITH SENDING A CHILD TO COLLEGE, OR RELIEF FROM CONFISCATORY TAXES; IT IS NOT INAPPROPRIATE FOR PROGRESSIVES TO ADVOCATE PROGRAMS TO HELP THEM. WE PROGRESSIVES ARE REBUILDING OUR COALITIONS -- AND WE ARE REFLECTING CHANGES IN OUR CONSTITUENCY BY EVOLUTION IN OUR AGENDA.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE TRADITION IS NOT COMPLETE -- AND ITS RENEWAL IS FAR FROM PERFECT. BUT OUR TRADITION IS STRONGER TODAY THAN IT HAS BEEN IN A LONG WHILE BECAUSE IT HAS TAKEN A LEAF FROM ITS OWN BOOK: WE OURSELVES HAVE ADAPTED TO CHANGED TIMES -- WITH THE SAME VIGOR WE HAVE URGED THOSE TIMES TO CHANGE.

THAT UNIQUE PROGRESSIVE QUALITY -- OF ALWAYS STANDING READY TO ADAPT AND CHANGE AND CARRY OUR VALUES INTO THE FUTURE -- IS WHAT EQUIPS PROGRESSIVES TO LEAD THIS NATION. THE FUTURE IS HERE -- WITH ALL ITS URGENT NEW NEEDS, AND THE DECISION PROGRESSIVES MUST MAKE IS WHETHER WE WILL FACE IT AND LEAD -- OR LEAVE THE LEADING TO OTHERS.

AS WE FIND OUR WAY THROUGH THE THICKET OF THE 80s --
WRESTLING WITH ENERGY, FIGHTING INFLATION, MAKING GOVERNMENT
RESPONSIVE, REBUILDING COALITIONS, AND ALL THE REST -- LET
US REMEMBER WHY IT WAS WE SET OUT ON THE JOURNEY IN THE
FIRST PLACE. HUBERT HUMPHREY PUT IT THIS WAY:

"THE ANSWER IS REFLECTED BY THE BROKEN GLASS OF
OUR CITIES. IT IS GLISTENING IN THE TEARS OF A HUNGRY
CHILD. IT IS STANDING IN THE STILLNESS OF THE
UNEMPLOYMENT LINE. IT IS WHISPERED BY THE DYING MAN
WHOSE DISEASE WE COULD HAVE CURED. IT IS ECHOED BY
THE FAMILY WHOSE HOME WE COULD HAVE SAVED. IT IS
RUNNING IN THE REFUSE IN OUR LAKES AND STREAMS AND
CARRIED IN THE AIR AROUND US. IT IS WAITING WHEREVER
BIGOTRY OR INJUSTICE STILL SURVIVE, AND WHEREVER A MAN
OR WOMAN IS PREVENTED FROM BECOMING THE BEST THAT IS
IN THEM TO BE."

THAT'S HOW WE GOT STARTED. THAT'S WHY WE MUST GO ON.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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