

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.

## FRITZ'S FIRST ACADEMIC APPEARANCE WAS A DISAPPOINTMENT

If any of the 4000 students, professors and sundry political and establishment figures who almost filled Northrop Auditorium last week to greet former Vice President Mondale expected to hear either a critique of the Carter/Mondale Administration or criticism of the Reagan Administration, they were doomed to disappointment. Likewise for a smaller group that attended a question and answer session in Murphy Hall.

The much-advertised, here-the-celebrity appearance was billed as an academic lecture. Despite the brooding political atmosphere that permeated Northrop, it could be argued that a bland performance with a bit of wit fit the bill. Indeed, Mondale was every inch the well-briefed, perfectly poised, sweetly modulated lawyer. The big Chicago corporate law firm Mondale will serve in Washington will assuredly get its money's worth.

Yet, if Mondale's lecture is to be judged by real academic standards -- which demands insightful dissection of governmental policy -- it was a disappointment. He came across more as an advocate -- often as an apologist -- than as an analyst. Thus, his description of how President Carter endowed him with unprecedented privileges was an unabashed paean to himself.. From his account, one might assume that if the Carter/Mondale Administration was not perfect, at least it was always driven by perfect motives. If the public got a contrary impression, the fault lay not in policy, but in a failure to communicate policy.

Since he was an integral part of the presidential apparatus, Mondale, a possible presidential candidate, couldn't publicly criticize that apparatus even if he wanted to. So his party line approach was understandable, even if it told us nothing we hadn't heard before.

That, however, is not good enough for Mondale in his role as a "distinguished fellow" and campus lecturer. True, it's important to hear again that he helped set a precedent for an enhanced vice presidency. Thanks to Carter and Mondale, it is clear that there's no acceptable alternative to on-the-job training for vice presidents, so that they can, if need be, take over as president without a break in the continuity. But Mondale's catalogue of the opportunities he had to participate in countless meetings threw little light on how the system really worked.

He wasn't an administrator, and didn't want to be. He was often a deputy for Carter abroad, but especially on the political front at home. But he was never, and didn't want to be, anything like an assistant president, and no vice president could be co-equal with the president.

Also, despite Mondale's boast that he served as a link with Congress, Carter had notoriously bad relations with Capitol Hill, which suggests that, institutionally, no vice president can be a successful White House lobbyist.

What, then, was Mondale? Part of the answer is that he functioned as a kind of candid superconsultant. He also seemed to have functioned as a superlawyer, offering not only facts, but advice. If so, what did he do when Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was undercut by National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski? If Mondale was so close to Jimmy, what role did Mondale play when Billy made an ass of himself? How did he get along with the "Georgia Mafia"?

Such questions cry out for answers. They bear on the White House as an institution as well as on the personalities of internal politics. Mondale could deal with the broad institutional implications of such matters without breaching confidences. Perhaps he will, when he talks informally with smaller groups, minus the trappings of a political rally.

That, however, would take considerably more self-examination, systematic thinking and objective analysis than Mondale exhibited in his smooth but defensive show-and-tell performance at Northrop.

Minneapolis STAR editorial

Monday, February 23, 1981

by Austin Wehrwein



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

BIOGRAPHY OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE

Walter Frederick ("Fritz") Mondale, elected the 42nd Vice President of the United States on November 2, 1976, was born in Ceylon, Minnesota on January 5, 1928. His father, Theodore Sigvaard Mondale, was a Methodist minister and his mother, Claribel Cowan Mondale, was a music teacher.

He spent his boyhood in the small towns of southern Minnesota, attending public schools in Ceylon, Heron Lake and Elmore. After two years of study at Macalester College in St. Paul, where he helped manage Hubert H. Humphrey's first successful United States Senate campaign in 1948, Mondale took a year off from school to work in Washington, D.C. He returned to the University of Minnesota, earned his B.A. in political science, and joined the U. S. Army, entering as a private and emerging as a corporal. He received his L.L.B. degree (cum laude) from the University of Minnesota Law School in 1956, having served on the law review and as a law clerk in the Minnesota Supreme Court.

For the next four years, Mondale practiced law in Minneapolis. In 1960, Minnesota Governor Orville Freeman appointed the 32-year-old attorney to the position of State Attorney General. Mondale was elected to the office in 1962 and served until 1964, when Governor Karl Rolvaag appointed him to fill the U. S. Senate vacancy created by Hubert Humphrey's election to the Vice Presidency. He was reelected to the Senate in 1966 and 1972.

During his twelve years in the U. S. Senate, Mondale served on the Committees on Finance, Labor and Public Welfare, and the Budget. He also served on the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, the Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, as well as the Special Committee on Aging. He served as Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, the Intelligence Committee's Domestic Task Force, the Subcommittee on Children and Youth, and the Subcommittee on Social Security Financing.

Mondale is the author of The Accountability of Power: Toward a Responsible Presidency. His hobbies include fishing, skiing, and tennis.

On December 27, 1955, Mr. Mondale married the former Joan Adams of St. Paul. The Mondales have three children: Theodore, born in October, 1957; Eleanor Jane, born in October, 1960; and William, born in February, 1962. The Mondale family is the first Vice Presidential family to occupy the Vice President's Residence, the official residence established by Congress in 1974.

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March 1, 1981

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Kathleen -

Attached is the full version  
of the Mondale speech -

I think it should be distrib-  
uted to a number of Columnists

Phil Gershwin Wash Post

Steven Rosenfeld " "

Meg Greenfield " "

Tony Lewis NY Times

James Norton " "

Tom Wicker " "

Marilyn Kaplan Star

etc

But one change is needed on page  
20 (see clip.) This would be better

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

than reading the transcript  
which is a milk mark.

I suggest you check  
with Sam Johnson to ok the  
effort.

Bill

P.S. It should be  
labeled as a speech  
"prepared for delivery"  
I have also passed this  
message to Bob Hunter.



Raw transcript  
St. Thomas lecture  
Do Not Release

And to this public lecture he has honored the University of Minnesota, Macalester College and St. Thomas College by affiliating himself with these three institutions in a teaching capacity. With each of the three, he is renewing already existing bonds. Fritz Mondale earned his Undergraduate Degree from Macalester College, as did his wife, Joan. He later received his Law Degree from the University of Minnesota; the College of St. Thomas awarded him the Degree of Doctor of Laws \_\_\_\_\_ in 1973. Throughout his career in public service, as Attorney General of the State of Minnesota, as United States Senator, and Vice President of the United States, Walter F. Mondale has consistently exemplified a politics of humaneness through his abiding concern for the poor and the disfranchised. As a United States Senator the same dedication led him into legislative action against poverty and the disadvantages that it generates against nutritional and child care deficiencies which sap the strength of our future citizens and against discrimination that has prevented many of our fellow citizens from becoming equal before the law.

As Vice President he was in the vanguard in stressing the privacy of human rights for all individuals everywhere. In all his public service as well as in his personal life, Fritz Mondale has pursued high ideals of service to his fellow citizens and has conducted himself with rigid standards of personal integrity.

It is a distinct pleasure for me to welcome you back to this particular alma mater of yours, Mr. Vice President, and it is my honor to present you to this audience.

Thank you, my friend Monsignor Murphy, for that very, very kind introduction. Not only is Monsignor one of the ablest presidents of any university or college that I know, he is without a doubt the nicest president of any university or college that I know.

I am sorry that my friend, His Excellency Archbishop Roach, is not with us this evening. We are delighted that Monsignor Hayden is here representing us -- representing him-- but I wish you would tell him this story when you see him; it really signifies the new role that I am playing in American life or the absence thereof. When I was elected I was permitted to pick a friend to deliver the invocation at the Inaugural, and I called John Roach and asked him if he would do it. And for four years wherever I went people would say, "Is John Roach a friend of yours?" Now the other day someone came up to me and said, "Are you a friend of John Roach's?" And I'm trying to be as best I can.

To Jack Rossman representing Macalester College, to Harlan Cleveland, the gifted Director of the Humphrey Institute, to the faculty, the students, the friends, the Board and supporters of this great St. Thomas College --

I called Monsignor Murphy yesterday and said, "I want to change a little bit the way in which I approach tonight's event from the previous two events." I have prepared an absolutely spectacular, academically perfect, and totally exhausting lecture on progressive values in American life, approaching it exactly the same way I did the previous two lectures. That text will be available to anybody who wants to read it. I'm even planning to read it myself. I am not a textual deviate, and you can count on every single word.

But instead I want to speak briefly and then hopefully have a discussion on the topic that I raise or any others that concern you and then tomorrow, for the survivors, we will meet again here at 9:30. If I am not here, you go right ahead and guess the answers -- and we will have a further discussion.

This great college I think is a good place to begin what I want to discuss this evening. And that is the place, the purpose and the strategy for progressive values in American life. This great college is a classic example of progressive values at their best. For nearly a century now, this the largest private college in Minnesota has delivered superb, excellent education across the broad range of the needs of Americans in Minnesota, has taught the values of a deep religious faith, has taught the values of the highest ethical standards, has taught the skills and the knowledge that countless now-generations of Minnesotans and others have learned here at this great school and has served this nation, and continues to serve this nation and this world and humanity in the broadest and the deepest sense of the word.

My association with this campus goes back many, many years. I attended a school down the street here. It is a small school -- but it is a good school, and they are trying. I came to this campus before it was coeducational as well. Many of the young people here at that time as students, young faculty members, and young faculty and others and students at Macalester, and so on, would often get together in those days and years right after World War II and talk about our own lives, talk about what future we wanted for ourselves, and we would talk about this state, and we would talk about our country, and we would talk about the world as students ought to do and as all Americans ought to do. I met a young instructor, I think in Economics here, named Eugene J. McCarthy, a young instructor I believe in history, named Joe Gabler, a young instructor in Economics, Adrienne Winkle. I became a life-long friend of many, many people here: the Haleys, the O'Tooles, the McLaughlins and the rest, and together we more or less informally decided to dedicate our lives to trying to achieve a more just America and a more just world. And because of that I spent the next -- now over 30 years -- in public life.

The voters of Minnesota have been shamelessly kind to me. I served as Attorney General, for 12 years in the United States Senate, and then for four in the second highest office in the land. During all of that time I tried to serve the progressive values that I learned at home and in my faith and from my friends.

Tonight, the voters having given us a chance to look at these issues from the outside for awhile, I would like to just speak briefly about those values and what I think we need to do in America, regardless of party lines, as we face the challenge of achieving and continue to strive for humane values in America.

Just as St. Thomas is going through an evolution, being a far different institution than it was when it was first founded, but still serving the values that they had in mind when it was created. So to those who wish for a humane America must also understand the changes and must also adapt to the needs of our society. The modern progressive tradition we talked about probably started in the Depression in the early '30s, when average Americans, farmers, workers, people of all walks of life, for reasons totally beyond their control would find themselves stripped of their jobs, their farms gone, and the other tragedies in human suffering that we relate and remember in those Depression days.

Hubert Humphrey was a Representative of the experience of those times, and he once 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 of the Job Corps legislation. It came about because I remember the CCC's, 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 later become generals, and governors, and businessmen, and labor leaders, and professors. I have not forgotten."

I think those of us in this room, about my age or thereabouts, could all recite similar experience and insight from those early days. My father was a minister and he told me as a young boy what he thought were the worst ravages of the Depression. And he said it wasn't the loss of income and the tragedy in terms of an economic problem that struck him the most; it was the collapse of the pride and the spirit and the sense of self-worth that came over a person who tried every way he or she could but nevertheless could not find the status, the work that they needed to care for themselves and their families. And the searing impression and impulse from this experience, I think, dominated American political life for many, many years thereafter.

There was adopted under the New Deal a range of modern legislation dealing with collective bargaining, social security, rural electrification, Tennessee Valley Authority, agricultural programs dealing with the CCC programs and all the rest. And then World War II came along and the process stopped. And then in the early 60's, about the time I went to Washington, a new focus, a different focus occurred in Washington and in this nation. We were not looking alone at working families in this country, but we were trying to look at the very poor in American life, whose independence had been stripped by poverty. We were trying to look at the needs of the sick who could not afford to pay the cost of medicine. For the first time in a real sense, Americans looked at the then inexcusable treatment of minorities in American life. We sometimes forget that it was less than twenty years ago when it was rather common in America for laws that deliberately required Americans to be separated based on color and race.

We looked at the young, many of whom were not given minimum decent education, and old whose retirement was tarnished by struggle. ~~77~~ We had to face a range of new problems that were difficult to grapple with -- problems such as growing problems of the environment and act on those problems, we did. We passed Medicare, Medicaide, the Economic Development Administration, a whole range of educational legislation from Headstart to Title I to the handicapped, the bilingual to student assistance, specialized education and the rest. We passed programs to house the poor. We started over those years hearings on hunger in America and I saw too much hunger in those years. We passed legislation there. We passed voting rights legislation and much more. Those were good years for people of my breed to be in public life. We were able to reduce tax rates, increase tax revenues, fund new programs out of growth and add new jobs with virtually no inflation. We were able to do so because we were in a period of rapid non-inflationary economic growth. But then those great days came quickly to an end. And for many, many reasons, one of which I am glad we do not have to live with anymore and that is the war in Vietnam. The students at St. Thomas do not, in this age could not possibly imagine the torture, the heartache, the division, the poisoned dialogue that existed on all the great campuses of America as a result of that war. It literally poisoned the american politically debate and stopped domestic progress in its tracks. Next came watergate, with all the deep profound concerns about integrity in the highest offices of our land. But finally, and perhaps most fundamentality, for our time today and for the future years has been the economic difficulties in which this nation and virtually every industrialized society on earth is suffering in recent years. In the early sixties we had virtually no inflation. There was no energy crisis. We sometimes forget, I think, oil went for about \$1.25 a barrel at that time, and there was unlimited quantities of it. We had little unemployment. There was no price rigging by OPEC. We had no hugh budget deficites -- many times we had surpluses and no high interest rates. We were able in those days not to divide existing resources, but to deal justly with those who had been excluded by taking a modest proportion of increased wealth so that everyone was better off and we were able to take a little bit of that growth and help those who had been excluded. And those days are behind us now. Today we have an economy that is sluggish, that is not growing as rapidly as it should, and we have very very severe problems that has changed the whole nature of the dialogue. During these next few months and years I intend to spend a good deal of my time learning, pondering, considering the implications of these developments. But as I do, I want to make a few points and then I'll want to move into questions. About what I think those of us who believe in a progressive spirit in America, must look at realistically, practically and in a responsible way if we're going to be a progressive nation. First of all, we have to look at today's severe economic problems with realistic eyes. We are in very very difficult times. We have an inflation rate -- and inflation may be the cruelest of all phenomena in american life. Equally cruel is unemployment. It undermines the meaning of savings; it robs each generations of their future for themselves and their children; it is demoralizing; it leads to high interest rates and unemployment and a stalled economy; it embitters the dialogue and the rhetoric in american life and no person who wishes the best for this country; no person who wants a just and humane society, can escape the responsibility together of taking those tough steps that will be needed to restore this nation and its economy to a situation where we can once again have a stable, highly productive, relatively and hopefully completely noninflationary economy in America. That is an absolute essential demand of anyone in this country that wants a just society and we must contribute to that progress. Secondly, and very closely related to it, is that we can no longer avoid the seriousness of the energy crisis. I've talked on that issue the other evening so I won't repeat it tonight. Let me just say this, after spending four years in the White House -- this energy crisis is no joke; it is a threat to our economy; it is one of the key sources of today's inflation, but even more than that, this nation's dependence upon foreign sources of oil is a basic threat to the very independence of this nation. And I've been all over this world and there is subtle and not so subtle, intimidation all over this world being imposed by certain holders of foreign oil seeking to interfere with and undermine the independence and the judgment of the people of independent nations, including the United States of America. We must solve this energy crisis and we must return this nation to the situation where we are in effect independent again by way of producing more energy and saving more energy until we have returned to a point where we are not subject to that intimidation.



Thirdly, we have to deal candidly and realistically with national security matters. I was asked earlier at a dinner preceding tonight's event whether I was concerned about the Russian military buildup. I am very concerned about the Soviet buildup. I don't think there is any rational explanation for what they are doing that can be justified on the basis of the defense needs of the Soviet Union. Their investment in arms today, and it has been for several years, may be 14-15-16 percent of their gross national product. Our is about 5 percent of our gross national produce. They are investing massively and every conceivable kind of weaponry both strategic and conventional. There is not a single weapons system that I am aware of, in either category, in which they are not making massive investments. I wish that were not the case. I wish we were able to move much more swiftly in arms control to head it off. But it takes both nations and several nations to do so. And in the meantime I do not believe, regardless of anyone's point of view, that this nation has any other option except to adequately defend itself and adequately be able to help serve our interests and our obligations to our allies around the world.

Fourth, we must learn the lessons of Vietnam, and this goes clear beyond tonight's subject. That ripped this nation -- Vietnam -- and we must be careful that we have learned the right lessons. One of the lessons I hope we have not learned is to become isolationists. There is no way that America or Americans can isolate themselves or this nation from world affairs. We are the single most influential actor in this world, and how we behave and what we do and how we use our values and our power is a crucial question that goes to the very basis of civilization itself.

On the other hand, I hope we haven't learned from Vietnam that somehow to get rid of our guilt that we should engage and intervene in almost in almost any dispute around the world. One of the things that I think I have learned over my years of experience in the Senate and in the White House is the need for this democracy of ours to understand other cultures, other histories, the history of other societies, and that is one of the great challenges of St. Thomas or any great college, to continue to educate new generations of young people who are sensitive to, respectful of, and who have learned the differences and the languages and the rest that are necessary to the understanding of differences around the world.

Some of that issue comes dramatically to the fore right now in the context of El Salvador. Vietnam I think was a mistake for this nation and it occurred partly because this nation including myself as a United States Senator, if you were frank about it, we were basically ignorant about the history, the traditions, the basic political drives that we were dealing with in Vietnam. We cannot afford this, and in a democracy, in a free society, we are in it together and we rely especially on those students here at St. Thomas and around this nation to help understand and to help all of us understand better how to do it. We need to be much more worried about effective and efficient and respectful implementation of programs than has been the case in the past.

The American people have a right and will insist on getting their money's worth out of these programs. There is nothing boorish about the taxpayer's feeling that they are paying more and getting less. Complaints about waste and inefficiency are not all of them thinly disguised as SALT 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. We need to take great care to assure that these programs are working effectively and efficiently.

We must understand that not all answers in many cases -- not any answers -- are found in certain areas just because they come from Washington. There are state governments and local governments and special governments that too have great validity. We must understand the great power and strength of the private competitive enterprise system in terms of producing well and in terms of helping this nation reach a more socially just society. We must be supportive and respectful of the great private voluntary sector, and I need go no further tonight than mention that this great college is an example, a splendid example of private, voluntary support and what it means to our nation.

Our programs must be directed at independence and not dependence. The American people will not support programs that contribute to dependent Americans. We are work-oriented, savings-oriented, achievement-oriented societies and any programs we support must stand that test of whether or not it produces or does not produce more independence. We must be frank about our failures; we also should be frank about our successes.

And I want to stop here just a minute because it isn't a totally -- I might say that the record is at worst a mixed one. Just a few years ago about a third of the students here tonight would have been ineligible for all federal assistance to go on to college. A few years ago the impoverished children of this country and many parts of this land were getting little or no effective education whatsoever. Much of this has changed in recent years and it is showing up in expanded enrollments; it is showing up in improved basic skills test scores; it is showing up in improved job placement and the rest. Some of the programs have worked, some haven't. But in one area where I am especially proud to defend the role of the federal government in helping local education, both public and private, to provide better education for their children, and for all others.

Finally, the issue of excellence. For the past 20 or 30 years we have been working on access, on equity, but we cannot forget the importance of excellence as well. Access permits more people to have a chance to participate, but this nation, its industries, its colleges, its universities, across the board in research and sciences, the languages, in all aspects of American life, we must insist on increasingly higher standards of discipline and excellence if we are going to compete in the difficult and competitive world in which we find ourselves.

These observations are commonplace, but they also, I think, go to the core of what I've been hearing as I have traveled over our nation about what Americans are saying and what they want by way of response. As we do so, let us remember what it is that drives this progressive tradition in the first place. It is what caused me to go into politics; it is what keeps me in politics; it is what makes it worthwhile. Hubert Humphrey put it this way: "Let us remember," he said, why we set out on this journey. 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 survives, and wherever a man or a woman is prevented from becoming the best that is in them to be. It is that cause of justice that has fueled the great shared objective of social justice in America. That is how we got started and that's why we must go on.

2/27/81 press release - Mondale

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EVER!!

OFFICE OF WALTER F. MONDALE

(Full of Errors)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FEBRUARY 17, 1981

MINNEAPOLIS, FEBRUARY 17, 1981

12:15 O'CLOCK P.M.

FOLLOWING IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF FORMER  
VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE'S  
LECTURE ON THE INSTITUTION OF THE  
VICE PRESIDENCY, DELIVERED AT NORTHROP  
AUDITORIUM ON THE UNIVERSITY OF  
MINNESOTA CAMPUS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF  
THE HUMBERT H. HUMPHREY INSTITUTE OF  
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1 MR. MONDALE: Thank you very much,  
2 President Magrath, for those very, very kind words  
3 and your giving the historical research, and thank  
4 you, Ambassador Cleveland, Dean Stein, Members of  
5 the Board of Regents, faculty, students,  
6 President Davis of Macalester College, Monsignor  
7 Murphy, President of the College of St. Thomas,  
8 Curt Carlson, who has contributed -- I know we all  
9 join together and urge that he contribute so  
10 generously to the University of Minnesota, and to  
11 all the students and friends here today.

12 I'm honored to speak to you today.  
13 I'm honored especially to be back at the University  
14 of Minnesota which has meant so much to me in my  
15 life.

16 I'm honored to have a chance to address  
17 the student bodies of Macalester and St. Thomas  
18 as well, <sup>13</sup> the focus of my first lecture ~~of being~~  
19 ~~under~~ the American Vice Presidency, and I want to  
20 ~~share with you my first speech that I have given~~  
21 ~~since November 4th, and to share with you some of~~  
22 the experiences that I've had these past four years  
23 as the Vice President of our magnificent nation.

24 I know that the question that is on  
25 everyone's mind in this room is this: How many

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1 Vice Presidents have there been? I'm here to  
2 settle that question. There have been 39  
3 Presidents, or actually 38. President Cleveland  
4 was counted twice because the terms ran consecutively.  
5 Of those Presidents, 35 had Vice Presidents, because  
6 four of the men <sup>who</sup> succeeded to the Presidency were  
7 not subsequently elected in their own right and  
8 never had Vice Presidents.

9 Since eight of the 35 had two Vice  
10 Presidents and since one had three Vice Presidents,  
11 there have actually been 44 Presidential/Vice  
12 Presidential teams. However, only 42 positions  
13 have held the office of Vice President, but two of  
14 the 42 each served under two different Presidents,  
15 and I'm glad to have had this chance to clear it up.

16 Secondly, I would like to answer the  
17 next question that is on everyone's mind today and  
18 that is: How do you become a Vice President?  
19 I held a secret locked in my heart now for over  
20 four years as to how I did it, and I have chosen  
21 this occasion to come clean with the American people.

22 Several others competed with me in  
23 wanting to run with Jimmy Carter -- Senator Muskie,  
24 Senator Glenn and Senator Church. I decided,  
25 cleverly, to let them go to Plains first, and it

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1 worked this way: First, Senator Muskie went to  
2 Plains, Georgia, and upon his arrival went up to  
3 Governor Busbee and said he was dying to see the  
4 peanut trees.

5 Then, John Glenn arrived and, siding  
6 up to Rosalynn, whispered that his favorite food  
7 was green-eyed peas. Carter didn't invite  
8 Church down there, so Frank Church called him and  
9 said, among other things, that he had a relative  
10 who has served in the Army in Georgia. When  
11 Carter <sup>asked</sup> ~~heard~~ who that was, he said General Sherman.

12 Then I went down to Plains and when  
13 Carter went up to the plane and met me he says,  
14 "Fritz, if you keep your mouth shut, the job's  
15 yours."

16 (Applause)

17 I said a moment ago how much I appreciated  
18 what this institution, what the public and private  
19 colleges have meant to me all my life. I'll  
20 never forget attending Macalester and then attending  
21 the University and all the help and all the support  
22 and all the opportunity that this meant to me  
23 throughout my life.

24 We are blessed as Minnesotans,  
25 particularly young Minnesotans are blessed. I do

1 not believe there is a state in the nation that  
2 accords their young more opportunity to achieve and  
3 to fulfill their lives than the State of Minnesota,  
4 and I'm proud to be back here to repay some of the  
5 debt, just some of the debt that I owe to  
6 Minnesota, and then coming to the Humphrey Institute  
7 to that man who was one of the most remarkably  
8 gifted and compassionate public servants in the  
9 history of democracy, Hubert Humphrey.

10 I want to talk about the institution  
11 of the Vice Presidency, and in that context some of  
12 the developments over these past four years. I do  
13 believe that we have broken new institutional ground.  
14 I do believe that the example that we have set is  
15 one which has benefited this nation and is one which  
16 I hope will now be followed by all future Presidents  
17 and Vice Presidents, and today I would like to  
18 talk about how we shape that new approach, some of  
19 the experiences that we have had and why I believe  
20 a Vice President can, in a very important way, serve  
21 a President and his nation.

22 It all began in June of 1976 when I  
23 began to ~~find~~ <sup>think about</sup> what my answer would be if Governor  
24 Carter ~~had~~ asked me if I would be his running mate.  
25 I read his book, I analyzed the statements he had

1 made, and I talked, as I always did, with Hubert  
2 Humphrey. I approached my conversation with some  
3 apprehension because I had thought that his four  
4 years as Vice President had been so difficult and  
5 heart-breaking that he would clearly advise me not  
6 to respond affirmatively.

7 His answer surprised me again. in

8 It went -- if it were given to me today  
9 he said something like this: He said, "Fritz, those  
10 four years as Vice President were the most exciting  
11 of my life. I learned more about our country and  
12 our government and about the world than I could in  
13 any other ways. I think I'm a better man because  
14 of it. If you have a chance, take it."

15 Shortly thereafter, I received an  
16 invitation for Joan and me to travel to Plains,  
17 Georgia, a town which <sup>Carter</sup> he felt was small but is  
18 substantially larger than <sup>Ceylon</sup> ~~Atton~~, Minnesota where I  
19 was born. And I went down with a good deal of  
20 mixed feelings. I had been in the Senate for  
21 12 years and I loved it. I had no intention of  
22 substituting a position where I could hope and  
23 participate in all the significant issues of our  
24 day for an office that was purely ceremonial and  
25 hallow; and I was anxious to find out from the..

It would not surprise me --

1 Governor Carter how he viewed the Vice Presidency  
2 and what role I would be permitted to play if we  
3 ran together and if we won.

4 And I was very pleased by what he said.  
5 He said he had read many of the histories of  
6 past <sup>Vice</sup>Presidencies and he was shocked by the way this  
7 office had been under-employed and wasted in the  
8 past. He was shocked by how ill-prepared those  
9 Vice Presidents had been who, on a moment's notice,  
10 had suddenly become President.

11 He said that he thought that many of  
12 the past Presidents had feared <sup>their</sup> Vice Presidents.  
13 <sup>They</sup> He reminded <sup>him</sup> them of ~~their~~ mortality. He seemed to  
14 be a threat to their authority and thus they were  
15 diminished in role and in stature.

16 He told me that he did not share that  
17 view; that the President's authority in the  
18 Constitution was so clear that a Vice President could  
19 not possibly take that authority from him.

#2 20 He told me he wanted to have a Vice  
21 President who would have a substantive role in  
22 both foreign and domestic affairs and who would be  
23 prepared immediately to assume the Presidency should  
24 that be necessary.

25 Now, that sounded just right to me,

1 but I was reminded over the next several weeks  
2 the choice would not be mine to make. It was  
3 Carter's. And, finally, on the last day of our  
4 Democratic Convention, at 8:30 in the morning,  
5 Governor Carter called and asked me if I wanted to  
6 be his running mate. I thought the whole matter  
7 over again for four seconds and said yes.

8 Throughout the campaign that followed,  
9 we didn't have time to discuss the institution of  
10 the Vice Presidency because of the demands of the  
11 campaign, but after the election I immediately went  
12 to work to see if somehow we could shape an approach  
13 for my Vice Presidency that would avoid the problems  
14 that so beleaguered this office for nearly 200 years.

15 Once again, I went back to Hubert,  
16 spent a good deal of time with Rockefeller. I  
17 remembered all the literature that I could find.  
18 I met the staffs of former Vice Presidents clear  
19 back to the age of Harry Truman and finally I had  
20 a constitutional history of the office prepared.

21 In 1976 I sent to President-elect  
22 Carter a memorandum defining the role that I thought  
23 I could best play. It was the product of my work  
24 and it contained within it the elements of what  
25 I thought would be a role both helpful to the

1 President and one which would be one of significance.

2 I read this memo several times in  
3 preparation for today's lecture and I would like to  
4 just briefly define the various elements of my  
5 proposal.

6 First of all, I proposed that my basic  
7 assignment would be as a general adviser to the  
8 President. Beyond this, I proposed the functions,  
9 including trouble-shooting work on the broad range  
10 of domestic issues, work on foreign and diplomatic  
11 representation, work on Congressional relations and  
12 finally the political activities that were to be  
13 expected of me.

14 Finally, I indicated my desire to  
15 devote special time and attention to the State of  
16 Minnesota, and I also indicated Joan's desire to  
17 play a strong part in the Administration's support  
18 for the Arts and Humanities -- and this is not part  
19 of my text, but I think Joan Mondale did a wonderful  
20 job this past four years and I'm proud of her.

21 (Applause.)

22 We had a long discussion and Carter  
23 agreed completely with the memo and he made one  
24 other suggestion which was, I think, the first time  
25 in the history to happen in that he asked the

1 Vice President's Office be in the West Wing of  
2 the White House. That didn't seem too significant  
3 to me at the time, but, as a matter of fact, it  
4 was one of the most important steps that we took.

5 Someone said that nothing propinques  
6 like propinquity and I can say that that is true.  
7 Carter was determined to have a successful Presidency  
8 and I was determined to avoid a meaningless  
9 Vice Presidency.

10 And from that common purpose we built  
11 a solid relationship in the months and years to  
12 come, and that relationship held up under the  
13 unbelievable seering pressure of that place because  
14 we entered our offices understanding perhaps for  
15 the first time in the history of those offices that  
16 each of us could do a better job if we maintained  
17 the trust of the other, and for four years that  
18 trust endured.

19 Of all that we agreed to, perhaps  
20 my most important role was the one I first  
21 mentioned, that of general adviser to the President.  
22 An adviser must be ready to advise. He must have  
23 a capable staff preparing him to do so.

24 The President and I directed our staffs  
25 to work as a team, and, in fact, they did. An



1           adviser must have a grasp of the background and  
2           details of all crucial issues, and for four years  
3           I had access to all the papers, classified and  
4           otherwise, that the President sought.

5                       Now, that might sound like a little  
6           matter, but you cannot possibly imagine the  
7           tremendous volume of paper that flows into and  
8           from the President's personal office.     You cannot  
9           possibly imagine, unless you have been part of it,  
10          the tremendous flow of secret classified information  
11          on defense, on the political situation in nations  
12          around the world and so on, assessments and  
13          appraisals made by our intelligence communities,  
14          and the rest that flow into and from a President.  
15          I think I'm the first Vice President of American  
16          history that was privy to having been there,  
17          including the most highly classified of all documents,  
18          the Morning Presidential Daily Brief.

19                      An adviser must also participate in  
20          those meetings which prepare recommendations for  
21          the President, and I was a member of every single  
22          established and ad hoc group that prepared recom-  
23          mendations to the President.

24                      Secondly, an adviser must have access  
25          to the President.     He must be able to directly



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