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*Special File*

Rural/urban balance for St. Cloud/ September 28, Saturday

A few months ago, at a national symposium devoted to the relationship between the problems of rural America and the cities, a man named Jim Rouse, who developed the New Town of Columbia Maryland, had this to say about the American condition:

"The prevailing mood...in America today, although one of urgency and yearning to move ahead, is really one of disbelief--  
disbelief that anything is really going to happen.

"This is the most devastating fact about American today. That people have come to look upon problems... however they are identified, as battles to be fought rather than victories to be won.

"We talk in terms of 'the need for' not 'how to do it.' And there is missing from the American...spirit the conviction that we have the capacity, the resources, and the determination to do it -- and that we will -- not in a hundred years or fifty years... but in a decade.

"Yet there is absolutely no question that we have to capacity. Absolutely no question at all."

~~Maybe~~ <sup>feel this way.</sup> Maybe some of you here today feel this way. Certainly I sense this feeling, in travels around the State and the country. I often hear words to the effect that the problems we face are so big...the pace of change so rapid... the solutions so expensive...  
no longer  
that mortal man ~~is~~ has ~~lost~~ control over his own destiny.

~~And because many feel this way, some lash out; some look for easy, inexpensive and simplistic solutions...peace at the end of a nightstick...harmony from a gun barrel....unity through the suppression of those who disagree with us.~~

~~And so~~ there is apathy in America, and there is hate, and neither moves us any nearer a solution of the problems that ~~boast~~ us.

But there is hope also. I am encouraged when young men *like* ~~of~~ Buford Johnson come before the people; discuss the issues; carry on a dialogue ~~and~~ with the public for their solution. He is a man who believes that there are answers, there is hope, and he is not afraid to place these issues before the voters. We need more men like Buford Johnson in the Congress; men who are for something, rather than against; men who have a concern for the future; rather than a blind obedience to the past; ~~dynamic~~ ~~men who will be a positive,~~ men who will be a positive, rather than a negative force ~~for~~ for their district in Washington.

This kind of man is ~~a~~ a rare commodity, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> never before in our history have we needed ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> as badly.

A moment ago I spoke of the future. Dennis Gabor once said, "We cannot predict the future, but we can invent it." And it seems to me that of all the things we need in this country, regaining control over our own future ~~stands~~ stands at the top of the list.

For we are not so much affecting events now as being affected by them. Let me give you just one example:

- 7 -

Don't think for a moment that just because these programs are on the books they're there for all time. They don't have to be repealed to be killed. A hostile President, backed by a hostile Congress, can simply choke off the funds ~~and~~ and turn substance into shadow. ~~With a President who doesn't care~~ With a President who doesn't care the Nation can very easily slip into the kind of recessions which dogged our economy throughout the fifties, leading to the highest unemployment rate of any advanced industrial nation and <sup>losing</sup> literally billions of dollars ~~forever~~ ~~forever~~ ~~blew out~~ the economy ~~and lost~~ forever.

~~When it comes to a program like this, the responsibility of financing it is not on the government but on the people. The government is only a servant of the people.~~

It's happened before and it can happen again.-- but it doesn't have to happen. If we have a President in the White ~~h~~ House who cares... and if we back him with the right kind Congress ~~we can control our own future; we can~~ we can control our own future; we can build the kind of America that we all want. This is why I ~~have~~ have come to St. Cloud to speak in behalf of Buford Johnson and Hubert Humphrey.

Thank you.



Five weeks are left before the country elects a new President and you elect -- I hope -- a new Congressman. Five weeks is a long time ~~long enough~~ <sup>to enable</sup> ~~the candidates~~ <sup>to discuss</sup> ~~the issues~~


time-- long enough for all the candidates to discuss the issues.

Hubert Humphrey and Buford Johnson have been discussing them, in specific terms and not generalities.

If I were a farmer, I think that I'd ask Mr. Nixon what specifically he intended to do when all of our federal farm programs expire <sup>about</sup> a year from ~~now~~ now. Does he intend to continue them and adequately fund them, as Mr. Humphrey is on record for doing? Or does he intend to dismantle them, as the last Republican Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, almost succeeded in doing?

If ~~I~~ I were ~~the~~ the father of a family, I think I'd ~~ask~~ ask Mr. Nixon what he intends on doing with the aid to ~~education~~ education programs that have been enacted over the past few years, <sup>which</sup> ~~are~~ are right now <sup>helping</sup> ~~building~~ building thousands of classrooms and helping ~~hundreds~~ hundreds of thousands of young people attend college.

If I were over 65, I think I'd ask Mr. Nixon if he were ~~now~~ now in favor of Medicare, ~~or~~ or if he still opposes it, as he did throughout his entire political career, as a Congressman, Senator and Vice President.

If I lived in a town the size of St. Cloud, I think I'd ask my Congressman  and my Presidential candidates how they stand on Head Start...on providing money for mental health and housing for the aged...on providing Farmers Home Administration grants and loans to build community facilities, all programs we didn't have eight years ago and do have now, *thanks to Democratic Presidents and Congresses.*

DRAFT PRESS RELEASE

FROM THE OFFICE OF  
SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE  
Tel: 202-225-5641

FOR PM's  
Saturday, September 28, 1968

Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) in remarks prepared for delivery tonight at Johnson-For-Congress rally in St. Cloud ~~████~~ challenged Republican candidate Richard Nixon to speak in specifics rather than generalities, saying, "it isn't enough just to say, as Nixon has been saying, that you're for high farm income and against low farm income; or that you're in favor of peace and against war; or that you feel education is a good thing and everybody ought to have some.

"Generalities may be good politics but it isn't leveling with the American people."

Specifically, he asked voters to question the GOP candidate on "what he intended to do when ... federal farm programs expire<sup>1</sup> about a year from now. Does he intend to continue them and fund them adequately, as Mr. Humphrey is on record for doing? Or does he intend to dismantle them, as the Republican Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson, almost succeeded in doing?"

Listing programs enacted during the Kennedy-Johnson years, including Medicare, Head Start, and Aid to Education, among others, Mondale said "don't think for a moment that just because these programs are on the books they're there for all time. They don't have to be repealed to be killed. A hostile President, backed by a hostile Congress, can simply choke off funds and turn substance into shadow."

He characterized J. Buford Johnson, Democratic Congressional candidate, as one who "Is not afraid to place these issues before the voters," and said that he would "be a positive, rather than a negative, force in<sup>1</sup> the Congress."



In the two decades that have passed since the end of World War II this country ~~has~~ has undergone the greatest ~~mass~~ mass migration of any country in history. In a short span of 20 years, some 18 million Americans left rural America and settled in the cities.

The ~~m~~ migrants uprooted their families for a variety of ~~individual~~ individual reasons. Many were pulled by the lure of greater opportunity, and found it; <sup>but</sup> many other millions were literally pushed off the land and, rather than opportunity, found only despair in one or another urban ghetto.

And the strange thing is, this migration went almost unnoticed, ~~and~~ as did its effect on almost every one of the urban problems that confront us today.

Now, 20 years ~~after~~ after it began, ~~70~~ 70 percent of all Americans live on just over one percent of our land. Over half ~~us~~ us are crowded into the 224 great metropolitan areas, every one of which is <sup>plagued</sup> ~~plagued~~ to one degree or another, by common problems of unemployment in the ghetto, racial unrest, pollution, snarled transportation and and endless catalogue of woes precipitated by too many people <sup>crowded into</sup> ~~in~~ too little space.

In parts of <sup>the</sup> Chicago ~~ghetto~~ <sup>ghetto</sup> people live 170,000 to the square mile, a population density <sup>at</sup> ~~which~~ which ~~could contain~~ the entire population of the United States, 200 million <sup>could be contained</sup> ~~in~~ the six boroughs of New York City.

~~The people of the United States are now~~

~~in~~ rural America, where a third of our population now lives on about 98 percent of our land, is ~~is~~ afflicted with a double-share of the Nation's poverty, more than its share of

Final draft  
and approved  
press release.

Speech file

Remarks of SENATOR WALTER F. MONDALE  
Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association  
Minneapolis, Minnesota  
April 25, 1968

It is a real pleasure to be here tonight with members of the Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association.

One of the reasons is that there is so much knowledge and ability in this room. I like to hope that I can absorb some of it from the atmosphere, since I demonstrated a long time ago that I ~~sank~~ can't collect much of it in the classroom.

But another reason is that this Association represents one of the exciting things that ~~is~~ are happening in education in Minnesota. This group has a great many more members than it had five years ago when I was Attorney General and had the opportunity to help frame the brief law which expanded the system and provided a statewide structure for it.

There has been a tremendous effort since then--some frustrations as we have all faced in trying to serve the needs of our people, but real progress. New campuses are sprouting, more locations are being identified, and thousands of young people and adults are taking advantage of the convenient opportunities for education that this mushrooming system is providing.

And many of you are also examples of what this new movement has brought to us. New opportunities to teach have mushroomed along with the system. No doubt there are some teachers here tonight who never really thought they would be doing what they are doing. I know there is a Senator here tonight who never really thought he would be doing what ~~he's~~ he's doing, and I'm certain there are some people around who still don't think much of the idea. Opportunity is something we have all come to know and accept.

I want to talk to you tonight about opportunity.

Opportunity has been the great promise of America for all time, but it is a broken promise for many Americans in our time.



The absence of opportunity, the ~~President's~~ President's Commission on Civil Disorders tells us, is today keeping some boys from becoming men.

Not so long ago, one kind of opportunity was a chance to learn a skill and a way of life by working alongside a master tradesman.

More recently, opportunity has meant a chance to finish high school--"free public education up to grade 12."

Tonight, we meet here as part of a young and vigorous movement that recognizes the need for educational opportunity beyond high school for everyone. We are on the verge of declaring such education to be the right of every young American.

But there are young people in America for whom there is no such assumption, and indeed no consciousness of an opportunity for education beyond high school. There are young people in America for whom "free public education up to Grade 12" is a mockery that borders on scandal. There are young people in America who have no master tradesman to teach them a skill and a way of life.

America has boys who have had to find their manhood in the mountains and jungles of Vietnam because it was not available to them along the roads and streets of America.

They are poor, as many of us have been poor.

= They are hungry, as some of us have been hungry.

But their heritage has been despair, where ours has been hope. ~~Their~~ Their despair has turned to bitterness while our hope has turned to bitterness.

Some of them are white. But it is rare in America to be poor, hungry, ~~bitter~~ despairing, and bitter if you are white.

Most of them are black. And it is common in America to be poor, hungry, despairing and bitter if you are black.

That is what opportunity and promise are like in America.

I mention them tonight because they are on the minds of all of us in this country, all the time. But I mention them especially here tonight because I believe that you who are making a new assumption about education are in a special position to do something about them.

What we have before us is a demand to reverse what the Kerner Commission describes as a trend toward two separate and unequal societies--one generally white, affluent, and hopeful; the other generally black, poor, and bitter. Your ~~js~~ junior college movement is new enough to be truly experimental, young enough to be truly vigorous, fresh enough to deal with real problems--if it wants to.

Schools have always been a selective mechanism of opportunity in America. But today they also serve as a selective mechanism of separation. They certify those who are to succeed in the system, and they select out those who are to fail.

There have always been students who received the judgment of failure in the education mechanism. But sadly, the judgment cannot be appealed so easily in another court as it once could.

Apprenticeships are no longer a regular route to success.

Unskilled jobs in ample supply are no longer available to provide some promise of a better future. The alternative to education is unemployment, and our schools help select out those who are to be unemployed.

From early childhood it is almost predictable who they will be. From families and neighborhoods of hope and aspiration come those who will succeed. From families and ghettos of despair and bitterness come those who will be selected out.

It is as though our educational system were there to affirm a condition rather than to provide an opportunity to change one.

The cry has already begun in some communities for control of —?



In despair and bitterness over the mechanism that helps to separate them, they demand a chance for a positive community force. "If we must be separate and unequal," they say, "let us at least find a unifying force within our separation and ~~inferiority~~ inferiority."

I do not need to tell you of the further selectiveness of higher education in our tradition. Their function, too, is selection out. But with rising admission standards, their doors are not open to many of the needy in the first place. If they have any relevance at all to those who have been selected out, they represent only another form of social and economic exclusion.

But what this society really needs to reverse its trend toward ~~division~~ division is a mechanism that is dedicated select people in instead of out, to change conditions rather than affirm them. ~~Maybe~~ I believe a part of the answer may lie with our junior colleges.

First, they can represent an attainable goal for those who are now trapped in a school system that mocks them or those who were selected out ~~long~~ long ago.

Second, they can be flexible enough to develop educational programs for people instead of ~~seeking~~ seeking people for educational ~~programs~~ programs. They need not abandon an academic ideal for some of their students, but they can find other opportunities for those who need them and those who need time to reach some minimum academic levels.

Third, they can be responsive to their community, rural, urban, or suburban, or a mixture of the three. They can look for special missions in post-high school or adult education and training. They can seek to be a means of community coherence as well as a bridge to other communities.



Becoming an ~~opportunity~~ "opportunity college," it seems to me, requires deliberate seeking out of students who might not enter your doors--or any others without some help. It means a real information effort anywhere such students might be. It means appeals to adults as well as to children~~y~~, and it means reaching them before they have accepted the judgment that they cannot succeed. It means convincing them that judgments already passed can be appealed. And it means proving that.

One of the promising programs of the U.S. Office of Education, called "Project Talent Search" as it is carried out in northwestern Minnesota and eastern North and South Dakota, has shown real signs of success in this kind of work. Even though funds are now limited, it is one effort that is expected to expand rapidly. It seems to me that it is beautifully suited to the kind of junior college effort I would like to see.

Because of its convenient location and generally low cost, a junior college now offers considerable inducement for rural and urban young people who are trying to find an opportunity. But the flexibility encouraged in the junior colleges can go much further.

They can offer education to adults as well as 18-year-olds--real education that is relevant. Their libraries and classrooms can be community libraries and classrooms as well as school resources. They can serve part-time students as well as full-time students, at night as well as during the day. They can feed students to universities and trained workers to community businesses and institutions.

This marvelous flexibility which is possible and partly realized in nearly every junior college in this state is limited only by the imagination and effort that goes into teaching and planning. The more diverse a community, the more diversity there must be in the student body and college program.

I believe this can be a special kind of education, one that ~~includes people in instead of~~ selects people in instead of out. And this kind of education must attract a special kind of teacher--one who sees his responsibility to reach out to people instead of pushing them away. It is a tribute to our ability to respond that such schools invariably find the kind of people they want, once that is made clear.

As a matter of fact, this kind of teaching seems much more in tune with the new concern on our campuses today than the traditional approaches to professorships and research assignments in our other colleges. These new, committed young people who are flocking to the political scene in one way or another these days might well become the ~~major~~ major force in education of the kind ~~we're~~ we're talking about tonight. Perhaps some of them are here at this meeting tonight. They should be, for the junior college is potentially the kind of institution that can help them do their thing.

And the ways in which junior colleges can truly be community resources are far too many to list--if the faculties will see a responsibility in this direction?

Why shouldn't community colleges become centers of community action--organizations that concern themselves with transportation, housing, and employment problems and provide a forum for relevant discussion?

Why shouldn't community colleges analyze the roles and needs of governments in their ~~urban~~ towns, their suburbs, and their slums? These governments have something to do with opportunity and the divided society as well.

Why shouldn't community colleges offer continuing education for adults--aimed at improving the international community, aimed at

improving the home and neighborhood



Why shouldn't community colleges become a resource for citizens, young and old, who need to learn how to buy and borrow and get along with their families and neighbors and governments?

Why shouldn't community colleges become the places where the solution is finally found to the ~~and~~ needs of racial balance in the metropolitan community.

Why shouldn't community colleges become the places where the two societies meet--in a better environment than policemen and firetrucks and soldiers provide?

*not clear*  
The ~~same~~ structure of the junior college system in Minnesota and elsewhere provides an optimistic alternative to the demands of the separated society that they control their schools. It makes it possible for junior colleges to say "Let us use our schools together." And it provides a central management system at the same time.

The advantages of central management may receive a big boost if Congress accepts the Networks for Knowledge grant program in the Higher Education Act this year. It is intended to assist institutions in sharing the resources of faculty, computers, closed-circuit television, and libraries. It can greatly enhance the resources of the individual small college--and in the right kind of small college, it can provide an opportunity to put those resources to work in the community. It will be limited only by imagination and effort.

The federal government is showing other increased interest in assisting junior colleges to expand their horizons as well.

Although federal funding for college construction and library aid is being cut this year, junior colleges will continue to receive about 25 per cent of all money appropriated for construction of higher education facilities.



at the present level those programs which directly affect people-- financial aid for students through scholarships, loans, and work-study programs, and teacher ~~education~~ education programs at all levels.

One of the promising developments of this session of Congress has been the Education Professions Development Act of 1967, which reorganized a number of efforts in the U.S. Office of Education and included new authority for training both professional and subprofessional education personnel.

The appropriation for the current fiscal year is \$48.5 million dollars. As it continues, and it seems likely ~~to~~ to do so, it will provide graduate ~~scholarship~~ fellowships for work below the doctoral level, for summer institutes, and assistance for in-service training. Junior college teachers are specifically included in this legislation.

I believe that all of the money we spend on educational institutions is a good investment in our future, and I am hopeful that we will soon end the reallocation of funds ~~to~~ from higher education to meet other needs.

But I am sure that the priorities for educational assistance in this country will continue to go to those places where disadvantage is greatest--and to programs which are designed to fight the separate and unequal society we now must frankly admit we have. A junior college-community college effort, aimed at selecting in students instead of selecting them out, aimed at providing relevant experiences for those who study there, aimed at the development of the community as well as the development of the individual, will be the strongest ~~candidate~~ kind of candidate for support.

What you as faculty members do for the students and communities of Minnesota--and I am proud of the fine reputation our young effort has--can serve as a model for states where problems are more massive. Creative answers can be developed in the worst problem areas or in the most progressive systems. In ~~some~~ once case they develop out--?

~~happens~~ the hope of development.

I believe the real potential of junior college education can be found in Minnesota. Whether you find it or not will depend on ~~what~~ what you assume your task to be.

If you seek to be a pale ~~max~~ imitation of the traditional institutions of higher education, that is what you will become. If you seek to ape your big sisters in selecting out, you will contribute, as they do, to the separation and alienation.

But ~~it's~~ worse than that, you will lose an opportunity for opportunity. You will lose your chance to fight despair and bitterness. You will lose your chance to try to help move our divided society together .

What you have is the opportunity to change conditions instead of ~~af~~ simply affirming them. If I can paraphrase a now-famous ~~statement~~ statement of Pope Paul on world development last July:

~~If the name for opportunity is peace~~

If the word for peace is opportunity, who would not labor for it with all of his powers?



*Jeau - not yet approved*

# Proposed Junior College Speech Press Release

MINNEAPOLIS--Senator Walter F. Mondale told Minnesota junior college faculty members ~~THUR~~ Thursday night that the flexibility of junior college education could be a key weapon in the battle to reverse the trend toward a divided society in America.

The mushrooming junior college movement, Mondale said, is "new enough to be experimental, young enough to be vigorous, and fresh enough to respond to the real problems of American communities." He asked his teacher audience to work to create "schools of opportunity" that respond to the needs of all the people in their communities.

Mondale said education has always been considered a means of opportunity in American life. "But from public school through the university," he said, "it is too often a mechanism <sup>Today</sup> for selecting people out of opportunity instead of including them in."

The "judgment of failure" which is passed on young people who do not fit the traditional character of the education system today "cannot be appealed in another court of opportunity" as it once could, Mondale said. Unskilled labor no longer holds the promise it once did, and "there are young people in America who have no master tradesmen to teach them a skill and a way of life."

All too often, Mondale said, it is perfectly predictable who will be "certified for success and who will be selected out to fail. From families and neighborhoods of hope and aspiration come those who will succeed. From families and ghettos of despair and bitterness come those who will be selected out."

"It is as though our schools were there to affirm a condition rather than provide an opportunity to change it," he said.

Community-oriented junior colleges, Mondale said, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XX~~ can "seek out those students nobody else is looking for," Mondale said, "and select people in instead of out" by providing ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ "educational programs for people instead of people for educational programs."

He said they could seek students of all ages, backgrounds, and needs; provide education that is relevant to them instead of some academic ideal; and furnish resources that belong to the community <sup>as well as</sup> ~~instead of~~ the school



"Why shouldn't junior colleges become centers of community action?" Mondale asked. "Why shouldn't they analyze and serve the needs of people and governments in their towns, their suburbs, and their slums? Why shouldn't they offer continuing education for adults who need to learn how to buy and borrow and get along with their families and neighbors and governments? Why shouldn't their classrooms and shops and libraries be ~~xxxxxx~~ meeting places for everyone who wants a chance?"

If junior colleges seek only ~~xxxxxx~~ "to ape their big sister ~~xxxxxx~~ institutions" in the traditional selection process, Mondale said, "they can never be more than pale imitations of a system that helps to divide the society."

"But worse than that," he said, "they will lose an opportunity for opportunity. ~~xxxxxx~~ They will lose a chance to fight despair and bitterness and move ~~xxxxxx~~ our divided society together again."

Mondale spoke at the annual meeting of the Minnesota Junior College Faculty Association ~~in~~ at the Holiday Inn Central in Minneapolis.

*file* Junior colleges

ANOKA-RAMSEY COMMENCEMENT DRAFT - 6/9/67

Dean Wilken, distinguished members of the faculty, students, and friends of Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College.

I am proud to be here tonight at the first commencement exercises at this college. Those of you who are graduating tonight after two years of study, and those of you who have contributed the buildings of your school district to this new college, and those of you who have built curriculums and courses, those of you who have encouraged your sons and daughters, and those of you whose support of this new college has come in many other ways -- you are all part of a great new experiment. What goes on here tonight is the first fruit of an exciting thrust in education, for Minnesota and for the nation.

Four short years ago, while I was Attorney General of the State of Minnesota, the Minnesota Legislature passed a brief law which carried the seed for a revolution in junior college education in this state. The law began: "Not to exceed fifteen state junior colleges are hereby established under the management, jurisdiction, and control of a state junior college board which is hereby created."

The State had previously been economically involved with Minnesota's junior colleges through special state aid formulas. But the passage of that law affirmed the dedication of the people of Minnesota to a statewide program of opportunity for young people. To the local effort that had previously brought eleven junior colleges into operation since 1915, the state now added its broad economic and administrative powers. Except for Fergus Falls in 1960 and Willmar in 1962, no new junior colleges had been established in the state since 1940. Since 1965, colleges have developed at International Falls, Thief River Falls, and here in the Twin Cities Metropolitan area. More are on the way.

I certainly do not need to tell most of you what a tremendous effort it has taken to establish this college and the other new junior colleges and to move the existing colleges under a central administration. The cooperation of the legislature has been consistent with its 1963 authorization. The State Junior College Board has demanded and received tremendous efforts from its appointed members and its staff, and a fine record of planning and development has been established.

Of course, there have been frustrations. Of course the temporary facilities have sometimes been



inadequate. Of course there has been a scramble for staff.

But here you are, the 1967 graduating class of Anoka-Ramsey State Junior College, and over west there on the Mississippi a permanent home is being completed for occupancy next fall. This event tonight is a mark of the success that can be obtained when dedicated individuals, organized local communities, and a forward-looking state government combine their efforts in a common cause.

It is important to consider that cause and these forces very briefly, for what is happening in Minnesota in the state junior college program can be -- I hope it will be -- the first stages of a truly different kind of institution.

There is an opportunity here -- and throughout the United States where various experiments with two-year colleges are taking place -- for community colleges which truly serve their communities. That will not happen unless someone tries to make it happen -- but it is possible.

A number of opportunities are built into the structure of the Minnesota state junior college system. First of all, an attempt has been made to preserve the unique local responsiveness of the former junior colleges.

Although they have the advantages of central management procedures, each college is relatively autonomous. The law which created these schools provided for local advisory boards. These will eventually be as effective as the local community and the school administration want them to be, but the possibilities are there.

This means that a community college can truly be a community resource.

It can offer education to adults as well as to 18-year-olds. It can offer non-academic programs as well as academic programs. Its library can be a community library as well as a college library. It can serve part-time students as well as full-time students. It can feed students to universities and technicians to local businesses and institutions.

There is a marvelous flexibility which is possible and partly realized in nearly every junior college in this state. It is limited only by the imagination and effort which is present in its staff, among its advisors and planners, and in its students, who are potentially the entire community.

Another special possibility for the community college arises from the conception that there should be



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