

Walter Mondale

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THREE HUNGRY DEMOCRATS

The 1976 Democratic nomination for President is up for grabs. The field is getting crowded. This month *The Atlantic* profiles three early hopefuls—Senators Mondale and Bentsen and Congressman Udall. Examinations of other aspiring tenants of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue will follow in subsequent issues.

I. WALTER MONDALE

Has he ever been tested?

by Albert Eisele

About an hour after Senator Edward Kennedy took himself out of the race for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination on September 23, a reporter asked Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota what he thought Kennedy's action would mean for himself and others who might seek the nomination.

Mondale, sitting in his office around the corner from Kennedy's on the fourth floor of the Russell Senate Office Building and puffing intently on a cigar, answered by recalling something the late Stewart Alsop had written about Kennedy. "He once wrote a column comparing Ted to a shade tree that is so big and effective that no other trees could grow around it," said Mondale. "Well, I think maybe we'll see some of the sunlight coming through now."

Whether enough of that sunlight will fall on the forty-six-year-old Mondale's sharp-edged profile to transform his senatorial acorn into a presidential oak, only time will tell. But there is no mistaking the feeling of relief that Mondale now displays after ten years of trying without much success to emerge from Kennedy's large shadow. Since coming to the Senate in December, 1964, as Vice President-elect Hubert Humphrey's handpicked successor, the former Minnesota attorney general and son of a poor country preacher has learned to accept the fact that as long as a Kennedy was

available, few Democrats would focus on him in the search for new presidential timber. Now, with Kennedy's withdrawal, Mondale has emerged as the leading candidate of the perpetually restless, and fickle, liberal wing of the Democratic party.

Minnesota's contribution to 1976 presidential politics and the people around him are realistic enough to understand that Kennedy's action merely removed the biggest of many big obstacles between Mondale and the Democratic nomination. "Mondale's not going to inherit anything from Kennedy automatically," Richard Moe, Mondale's administrative assistant, said after Kennedy's withdrawal. "He's going to have to show people he's got something before they'll go for him." But Moe, a dedicated professional politician of thirty-eight who was attracted to politics by the example of John F. Kennedy, notes with irrefutable logic that "the odds on us are no longer than they are on anybody else now. Certainly, they're good enough to warrant making the effort."

Some people think Mondale has been contemplating that effort almost from the day he arrived in the Senate as the latest export of Minnesota's robust and progressive Democratic-Farmer-Labor party. Unlike his political mentor Humphrey, who arrived in the Senate sixteen years earlier like a rowdy

lumberjack barging in on an old folks' picnic, Mondale prudently avoided offending senior senators, and concentrated on learning about the levers of legislative power. Carefully heeding Humphrey's advice that in the Senate, it's often not as important *what* one says as *how* one says it, Mondale began an uninterrupted climb to a certain kind of national prominence.

He was one of a dozen young, liberal Democrats who came to the Senate in the 1960s, one of a new generation of senators who were ideally situated to use that venerable institution as a launching pad for loftier ambitions. Under the egalitarian leadership of Mike Mansfield, who believed that freshmen should be heard as well as seen, Mondale and others—Edward and Robert Kennedy, Birch Bayh of Indiana, Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, George McGovern of South Dakota, Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, Fred Harris of Oklahoma, Thomas Eagleton of Missouri, Alan Cranston of California, and Harold Hughes of Iowa—not only swept away some of the Senate's musty gentility, but also gained the kind of visibility that has long made that body the best breeding ground of presidential dark horses.

Starting with his maiden speech in the Senate, which dealt with the world hunger problem, Mondale identified himself with the politics of human need. In countless legislative battles, he prodded his colleagues about the problems of "the poor, the powerless and those who are without adequate representation in our political system."

Characterizing himself as a "problem-oriented, pragmatic liberal," Mondale constructed a career out of the issues that were the touchstones of New Deal—New Frontier—Great Society liberalism. He was, he told the voters of Minnesota and the nation in 1972, not a radical, but a reformer.

At the same time, Mondale built a reputation as an expert legislator. As one of his colleagues remarked earlier this year, "Fritz Mondale is the best politician in the Senate

next to Robert Byrd, the biggest self-promoter next to Bill Proxmire and Jack Javits, and the toughest s.o.b. next to Scoop Jackson."

Such a senator did not go unnoticed by that mysterious but influential force that New York *Times* columnist Russell Baker once dubbed "the Great Mentioner." Mondale began to be mentioned with increasing frequency as a presidential dark horse. But the Mondale-for-President boom didn't begin in earnest until the night of November 7, 1972, when he won re-election to a second full term by a healthy margin. His victory was greatly magnified by the fact that it flew in the face of George McGovern's disastrous defeat by Richard Nixon, and it was hailed as a political watershed by Humphrey, an expert at running for, if not winning, the presidency.



Walter Mondale

Standing at Mondale's side in the same Minneapolis hotel ballroom where he gamely conceded to Nixon four years earlier, Humphrey anointed his political protégé as the latest in a long line of Minnesotans who have aspired to the White House. "We are seeing the beginning of a truly great national career that can take Fritz Mondale to the office which I long sought," Humphrey declared. Then, with Mondale looking more grim than grateful, Humphrey added, "If it isn't being too sacrilegious, I don't mind being John the Baptist for Walter Mondale."

With that kind of an evangelical send-off, Mondale would seem to be a shoo-in for the nomination. But obviously, he is not. As he approaches the point of no return for an all-out campaign, Mondale re-

mains unknown and unrecognized by 97 percent of the American electorate, according to the Gallup Poll, and with Kennedy out of the race, Gallup still shows Mondale as the preferred nominee of only 2 percent of Democrats, trailing even his ex-colleague, former Senator Eugene McCarthy. Naturally, Mondale likes to quote another pollster, his friend Lou Harris: "It's going to be an unknown in 1976 and it might as well be you." The fact remains that after a year of hard campaigning as an undeclared candidate in more than thirty states, including repeated visits to all the key ones; after taking all the ritual steps required of a serious candidate, including formation of a volunteer campaign committee, beefing up his professional campaign staff to six, traveling to Israel, Bonn, Brussels, London, Paris, and Moscow, and writing a forthcoming book on his view of the presidency, Mondale has yet to strike many sparks.

One reason may be that Mondale just doesn't turn people on. A man of average size, with prominent blue eyes, a slightly beaked nose, and carefully groomed, straight, dark blond hair that he has let grow slightly longer at the urging of his wife, Mondale conveys an image of earnest youthfulness and Boy Scout sincerity. He is a good but not outstanding speaker, and his voice sometimes takes on a whining, sermonizing quality.

Mondale's shortcomings as an orator were demonstrated in Los Angeles last June when he spoke before about 2000 people at a convocation sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. His speech, titled "The Crisis in the Contemporary Presidency," was a thoughtful argument that the presidency must be stripped of some of its regal trappings and made "life size" and "open and accountable" to the people.

"It had all the earmarks of a great speech," recalls a California newspaper editor who was present and wanted to see if Mondale was as good as advertised. "He delivered it well, but he just sort of swallowed the ending. He dribbled it out and

what he said was almost lost in the way he said it. I thought to myself, 'Boy, if you're going to run for President, you've got to do this kind of thing better.' He's been on the scene for a long time now and he should be doing something about this problem."

One who sees this problem in a different perspective is Joseph Rauh, the Washington liberal gadfly who has known Mondale for twenty-five years. "There's nobody in the public life I respect more," says Rauh, who is even willing to forgive Mondale for his slowness in opposing the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policy. "I've never seen him do anything shabby or second-rate and I consider him and (Senator) Phil Hart (of Michigan) to be two of a kind in that they predicate their lives on decency and integrity. I'm lyrical about everything except Mondale's chances and I'd mortgage my house if it would help him. But the fact is Fritz just isn't very good at projecting himself. I was at a party recently with about sixteen people and Fritz walked in and nothing happened. It was like I walked into the room. I said to my wife, if Hubert Humphrey had walked into that room, everybody would immediately know he was there and he'd be the center of attraction in two minutes. I guess Fritz just doesn't have that kind of chemistry."

Another reason Mondale's candidacy has not caught fire may be his inability to dispel nagging doubts about whether he is willing to make the costly personal and political sacrifices that all presidential candidates must make. Those doubts were summed up recently by Gaylord Nelson, one of Mondale's best friends in the Senate, when he said, "Fritz Mondale combines more of the qualities that people look for in a presidential candidate than any young guy in the Senate. He's tremendously intelligent, he's honest, he's tough, he's a good senator and a good liberal and he's personally

attractive. The only question about him is whether he really *wants* to be President."

The most compelling evidence that he doesn't was provided by Mondale himself after he helped Humphrey win the 1968 Democratic nomination and then watched him narrowly lose the presidency to Richard Nixon. "I don't have the stomach for a presidential race," Mondale told an interviewer. "I watched Hubert up close and I don't like the way something like that tears you apart. I like some privacy. I like to see my family once in a while."

There is no question that Mondale, having seen up close the terrible physical and psychological toll running for President has taken of Humphrey, McCarthy, McGovern, Muskie, and above all, the Kennedys, is reluctant to pay that toll himself. He has a genuinely close-knit family life with his wife, Joan, and three children, Teddy, seventeen, Eleanor Jane, fifteen, and William, thirteen. He and his wife, who is the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, an art critic and author of a book called *Politics in Art*, and an accomplished political campaigner in her own right, prefer a night at home in their large, old-fashioned house in Washington's Cleveland Park neighborhood, by themselves or with friends, rather than circulating among the Georgetown social set.

Mondale, whose obsession with things political leaves him little leisure time, relaxes by playing tennis regularly with several Cleveland Park neighbors, taking an annual family skiing vacation in Vail, Colorado, and going deer hunting and fishing in northern Minnesota and Canada at least twice a year with friends from Minnesota. "The skiing and hunting and fishing trips are the only times he really relaxes and gets his batteries recharged," says an aide, who confides that Mondale is an "airport caller" who, rather than sit idle five minutes waiting for a plane, will call friends and aides "to find out what's happening."

He reads voraciously, usually political books like Theodore White's

The Making of the President series, David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest*, and Tim Crouse's *The Boys on the Bus*, and lately has been reading a great deal about domestic and international economics and trade. When he was in the army, more than twenty years ago, he read books like Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, and the historical works of Arnold Toynbee and Henry Steele Commager, but he has no time for such reading now.

The sense of social responsibility and compassion for the down-trodden that were to become trademarks of Mondale's political career were the legacy of his parents. His father, the Reverend Theodore Sigvaard Mondale, was an itinerant Methodist minister in southern Minnesota for a quarter-century before his death in 1948. A successful farmer and land speculator before going into the ministry, he abandoned the Lutheran faith of his Norwegian immigrant parents because of its rigidity.

By the time his son Walter Frederick, or "Fritz," as he would be called, arrived in January, 1928, the elder Mondale was serving a church in the hamlet of Ceylon, and raising his second family. His first wife died in 1924 after a long illness, leaving him with three sons and an adopted daughter, but not before picking out the young woman she wanted to care for her husband and children after she was gone. The chosen woman, whose name was Claribel Cowan, was a member of the first church the Reverend Mondale served, and sixteen years his junior. After a courtship by mail, during which she completed her music studies at Northwestern, they were married in 1925, and subsequently had three sons, of whom Fritz was the second.

It was a difficult period for the Reverend Mondale. At about the same time his first wife died, he and a local lawyer who were speculating in farmland were wiped out when the postwar economic boom collapsed. To add to his miseries, the

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Methodist hierarchy decided he was not cut out to serve larger, wealthier churches, but was better suited for poor, rural churches. Ironically, in light of his son's later oratorical shortcomings, the major reason for the demotion was that the senior Mondale was unimpressive in the pulpit, a problem that was aggravated by a slight stutter and a lingering Norwegian accent.

The Mondales moved twice when Fritz was growing up, first to Heron Lake in 1932, and then, in 1937, to Elmore, where they stayed until he went away to college. Elmore was a typical Corn Belt village of less than a thousand inhabitants, close to the Iowa border and not far from where Fritz's great-grandfather homesteaded in 1864, after emigrating from Norway.

The future senator's childhood was poor, but not poverty-stricken. Even in the worst years of the Great Depression the Mondales never went hungry, because farmers in the parish brought them meat and produce in lieu of monetary contributions, and the family always kept a large garden. Often, Fritz and his father and brothers drove to the county seat of Blue Earth and hawked surplus corn and cabbages door-to-door for cash, while Mrs. Mondale gave piano lessons to supplement her husband's meager ministerial salary.

While the Reverend Mondale was not an outstanding preacher, he was a respected and well-liked pastor who was devoted to his flock, and they to him, even though few of them shared his enthusiasm for Minnesota's socialistic Farmer-Labor party and its flamboyant governor, Floyd B. Olson, or Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal. Since he couldn't mix politics and religion in the pulpit, the Reverend Mondale did it at the dinner table by preaching the virtues of humanitarian government based on a concern for people's needs; man's obligation to serve as a wise steward of God's material blessings; and above all, the need for individual charity and honesty. His favorite Bible passage was St. Paul's admonition to the Corinthians that without charity

man is nothing, and his cardinal rule of child-rearing, his most famous son remembers, was "you can make mistakes around here but you can't lie."

To the Reverend Mondale, drinking and smoking were serious vices indeed. Once, when the family was returning from one of its frequent camping trips to northern Minnesota, the elder Mondale spotted a drunk passed out in front of a small-town bar. He stopped, went inside, and sarcastically congratulated the bar's owner and patrons on the excellent advertisement for alcohol who was lying outside.

On another occasion, when he caught Fritz smoking a cigarette, he bought two big black cigars and invited his son to join him in a gentlemanly smoke. Ten minutes later, the boy was in the backyard retching while his father urged him to finish the cigar. The boy was in his twenties before he touched tobacco again or took a drink, and although he now smokes cigars occasionally, he is still somewhat prudish about alcohol, never allowing himself more than two scotch-and-sodas throughout an evening. "I must say," Mondale confided to a friend later, "after seeing some of the problems alcohol causes people, I don't think my dad was very far off."

At Elmore High School, Fritz Mondale's accomplishments were not academic—his grades were only average—but athletic and social. He worked at odd jobs and summers to help pay his way through Macalester College in St. Paul and the University of Minnesota.

Mondale's first real political involvement came in 1946 and 1947, when he helped Humphrey and other future stars of the newly formed Democratic-Farmer-Labor party—including Orville Freeman and Eugene McCarthy—wrest control of the party from left-wing elements and Communist sympathizers. In 1948, after helping Humphrey get elected senator, Mondale took a year off to head the student arm of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action in Washington, D.C., and then returned to Minnesota to

finish college, graduating cum laude in political science at the University of Minnesota. He spent two years in the army at Fort Knox, Kentucky, and enrolled in the University of Minnesota law school the day he got home. Mondale made the Law Review, and graduated in the top fourth of his class in 1956, a few months after he married Joan Adams, the sister-in-law of a classmate.

He practiced law for four years, first with the politically active Minneapolis firm that produced Governor, later Agriculture Secretary Freeman and Congressman Fraser; and then on his own with his closest friend, Harry MacLaughlin, now a member of the Minnesota Supreme Court. In May, 1960, Governor Freeman, whose 1958 re-election campaign Mondale managed, named the thirty-two-year-old Mondale attorney general after the incumbent abruptly retired. Mondale, the youngest attorney general in the state's history, proved to be extremely popular in his four and a half years on the job, earning national recognition for his prosecution of charity frauds and price-fixing and his consumer protection efforts.

Then in December, 1964, all the cards came up right for Minnesota Attorney General Mondale. Lyndon Johnson's selection of Humphrey as his vice presidential running mate left a vacancy that the governor, Karl Rolvaag, filled with Mondale.

While Mondale's political luck has been indisputably good—he was appointed to both elective offices he has held, and has never had a tough election opponent—there are those, including some of his biggest boosters, who think it is also responsible for what they consider his greatest weakness as a person and a politician.

Minnesota's senior congressman, John Blatnik, who is retiring this year after twenty-eight years in the House, says, "Fritz has many strengths and I rate him very high all down the line and I think he would make a good President because he has the right instincts and

concern for humanity." Blatnik, who was bitterly disappointed when Mondale, rather than himself, was picked to succeed Humphrey, adds, "But I think he lacks the self-confidence or the guts to stand up and fight when things really get rough. When the wind is blowing hard against him, he likes to wait for a little more favorable tide. We had a lot of tough fights back there, but somehow, Fritz always managed to slip out and disappear."

Blatnik's criticism may be colored by his personal feelings, but Mondale's penchant for political caution and for avoiding controversy is well known in Minnesota, where the news that he had his appendix removed in 1967 caused some Democrats to say they hoped the surgeon had inserted some guts before sewing him up. Another Minnesota Democrat who has been intimately involved in party affairs since the late 1940s and who thinks Mondale has most of the strengths of Humphrey, Freeman, and McCarthy, and few of their weaknesses, echoes Blatnik in kinder but no less damaging words.

"Fritz Mondale's biggest weakness is that political success has come too easy for him and that he's never been tested in a really tough campaign," says the individual, who will not speak for the record because he is in a sensitive government job.

"You've got to give him credit because he has made the most of every opportunity he's had and has never let himself get into a position where he's politically vulnerable. But the fact remains that he hasn't gotten out in front on any hard, tough issues. He's never had to go to a legislature or to the people and recommend a tax increase like Freeman did and he's never had his friends desert him over an issue like they did with Humphrey over Vietnam. With Fritz, I think you have to ask yourself the basic question—what's he going to do when the chips are down?"

Some Mondale-watchers wonder if the man, having never endured political defeat or the kind of personal tragedy that makes a man look deeply into himself, possesses a self-identity strong enough to inure him against the pressures that are brought to bear on a presidential candidate. Far less charitable critics see him as a kind of Scandinavian Sammy Glick, a political opportunist in populist clothing who has all the markings of the great midwestern progressives of the past, but little of their fire and feeling. That judgment was given early expression by Mondale's then senior colleague, Eugene McCarthy, who once described Mondale as "the new brand of Senate liberal. He's like that toothpaste that comes in a plastic

bag with a brush—you get it all at once." A more succinct criticism of Mondale is embodied in the campaign slogan that Republicans are waiting to unveil if Mondale wins the Democratic nomination—"If you liked McGovern, you'll love Mondale." Still other critics of Mondale point to his espousal of what they call "cheap" issues, easy targets like child abuse and drug control, which no human being would be against anyway. "Mondale never puts any real chips on the table," says one such critic, "only funny money."

Mondale undoubtedly will have plenty of opportunity to refute—or reinforce—those criticisms as he heads down the long, lonely, treacherous path toward the presidency in 1976 or some future year. When the going gets rough, as it undoubtedly will, Mondale may well recall what he told a group of reporters in 1970. It is important for liberal senators to stick to their Senate duties, he said, and not listen to the siren song of presidential politics. "The one big problem most liberals have when they get down here is that when they get their first big national news story, they're off and running," said Mondale, who obviously has changed his mind. "I think some of us have got to stay around here and do the work. I do believe liberals are inordinately susceptible to the presidential bug."

Clayton Fritchey

Looking to the '76 Finals: Mondale vs. Jackson

Since all prospective candidates for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination agree that Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts can have it if he wants it, the only unresolved question is who the nominee will be if Kennedy declines to run.

There is a growing consensus that in the finals, so to speak, it will come down to a contest between Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington and Sen. Walter (Fritz) Mondale of Minnesota. That, at least, is what shows up in a sampling (albeit a limited one) of Democratic politicians I have recently talked with around the country.

So far as Mondale is concerned, this impression is fortified by a more extensive survey just reported by Newsweek, in which a cross-section of Democratic governors, state chairmen and national committeemen were polled. Surprisingly, Mondale was the first choice, even leading Kennedy.

Of the 106 Democrat leaders who responded, 24 per cent made Mondale their first choice. Kennedy and Jackson were tied for second with 19 per cent. A similar poll last October, also conducted by Martin Hanan, former research director of the Democratic National Committee, had Kennedy first with 24 per cent, Sen. Hubert Humphrey second with 23 and Jackson

third with 22.

Obviously, Mondale has come a long way in a short time and seems to be on the rise. These findings, like my own, do not, however, jibe with the ratings given the prospective candidates in most public opinion polls, in which Kennedy still leads the field.

The latest Harris poll, which shows six Democrats getting enough votes to earn a listing, puts Kennedy first with 31 per cent. The other five are Gov. George Wallace, 16 per cent; Sen. Edmund Muskie, 11; Jackson, 9; Sen. George McGovern, 8, and Mondale, 3. The last Gallup Poll also showed Kennedy and Wallace leading the pack.

Public opinion polls, however, are largely based on the so-called "recognition factor," while with the "pols" it is more a question of the "practicalities."

Thus Wallace, famous as he is, is given no practical chance of winning the nomination. McGovern, the 1972 Democratic standard-bearer, and Muskie, who was the party's vice-presidential candidate in 1968, are also extremely well known, but they show no signs of making a serious effort in 1976.

McGovern this year is devoting all his time to getting re-elected to the Senate. Muskie has not ruled himself

out, but he is not likely to make a move unless something resembling a draft develops for him. Humphrey has already taken himself out of the 1976 race, saying he intends to campaign for Mondale.

Few, if any, of the Democratic leaders who can deliver large blocs of delegates are committed to anybody at this stage of the game, including Jackson and Mondale. So the belief that these two senators will probably end up being the finalists rests more on a process of elimination than on choice.

If Kennedy makes up his mind to run, though, all bets are off, since both Mondale and Jackson, as well as others, have conceded that he would probably win the nomination if he plunges in. Kennedy says he will not make a decision before the latter part of 1975, but if Mondale and Jackson continue to make headway in the interval, they might not be so ready to defer to Kennedy a year or 18 months from now.

The Jackson forces hope to make book with Wallace. The senator from Washington has already said he would "welcome" the Alabaman as his running mate. They might very well get together once the national convention starts, but in the preceding presidential primaries Wallace and Jackson will be competing for the conservative

vote in a way that could play into the hands of Mondale, especially if he ends up being the only major liberal in the primaries.

Some unheralded dark horse may, of course, suddenly appear on the scene, but it's less than two years before the primaries begin, which is little time for a new figure to emerge. It happened once in 1940, when Wendell Willkie came from obscurity to capture the GOP presidential nomination. But it's not likely to happen again.

Besides those who had enough popular support to show up on the Harris list, there are several others whose fortunes could take a sudden leap should they win big this fall. One is Sen. Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois. If he breaks all records, as he may, in winning re-election in November, he would become a favorite for Vice President and possibly a serious contender for the No. 1 spot. The same for Gov. John Gilligan of Ohio. A landslide re-election this fall would transform him into a national figure. A big win would also help Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana. As of now, however, the best bets in the winter book seem to be Mondale and Jackson—leaving out Kennedy, of course.

Hamilton

George F. Will

Wash. Post

Friday March 1, 74

Sen. Walter Mondale: So Far He Has the Shoes

Why is the senior senator from Minnesota swiveled away from his desk, squinting intently into one of his shoes? He is trying to read the label. Why? Because an intrepid reporter (yrmst hmbl & ob't sv't) has challenged him to confirm a white-hot rumor: that he wears Thom McAn shoes.

This may not seem to you to be a matter of great pith and moment, but then, you probably are not interested in getting the Democratic Party's nomination for President. Sen. Walter Mondale is interested in that, so recently he spent some time in California "testing the water," as hard-running noncandidates usually put it. At one function a journalist asked a Democrat for an opinion of Mr. Mondale. The Democrat sniffed: "A guy who wears Thom McAn shoes can never make it out here."

Thom McAn shoes are inexpensive, sensible, unpretentious—but not chic or exciting—shoes, much like those worn by most American males. The Democrat disdaining Thom McAn shoes, and Mondale with them, was saying: "Mondale lacks pizzaz. Sure he is earnest, conscientious. But he is a painfully plain Middlewesterner, just not the sort of chap who causes the party's pulse to pound with excitement."

Not full of that old George McGovern pizzaz? Perhaps. Certainly Mondale is in a league with Gerald Ford and Sen. Henry Jackson when it comes to murdering a good speech, or drafting a bad one. But Mondale's shoes (they are plain, and could use a shine) are not really good symbols of the rather salty private man who wears them. And however he is shod, he still has some interesting strengths and weaknesses as a candidate.

He is a fresh face at a moment when the nation is bone-tired of every public figure who has succeeded in becoming well-known. But being a "fresh face" is a fragile achievement. The only other Democratic candidate who is as active as Mondale is Jackson. In the last year Jackson has logged more television time than the Walton family, and may

have gone from being an unknown to being just another old face without ever having been a "fresh face." In its current sour mood the country looks with ill-concealed disgust upon any politician it has to look at twice. Mondale is unknown, and he is not wealthy, so he has to start merchandising himself now. Thus, the first test of his political skill will be in getting known without getting tiresome.

His next test will be to avoid seeming too liberal. Like any sensible man who covets the presidency, he winces when called a liberal. He is one, of course, but he knows there is nothing to be gained in advertising that fact. He has voted against enough weapons systems, and advocated enough economic controls, and generally committed liberalism all over the map. He will have no trouble passing the saliva test that bitter-end McGovernites will apply before conferring the dubious blessing of their endorsement. Unfortunately, Mondale probably needs that endorsement in the early going.

Mondale must energize on his own behalf the intense Democratic left, but he must do so without alienating the mass of Democratic voters. He won't hurt himself on the normal domestic issues. He is an orthodox (if remarkably devout) communicant in the ramshackle New Deal Church.

The single issue that can obliterate Mondale is forced school busing. If that again becomes a hot issue, his candidacy will be cold as a corpse. As he has in the past, he will in the future not only support but defend any busing ordered by the court. He obviously is hoping that the Supreme Court will permanently defuse the issue in the Detroit case by refusing to require the busing of children across county lines.

If the busing issue remains dormant, Mondale can concentrate on what he knows is the Democratic Party's big problem—appealing to the people who made George Wallace the star of the 1972 primaries. Wallace is the very model of a Thom McAn-wearing man. Mondale has the right kind of shoes. Now he needs some issues.

Mondale To Enter 2 Primaries

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 4 (UPI)—Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) says he plans to enter the presidential primaries in New Hampshire and Wisconsin in the spring of 1976.

The New Hampshire primary is the first of 26 pre-convention primaries, and Wisconsin will be a good proving ground because he is familiar with the state, Mondale said.

He said last week he is "99 per cent certain" he will seek the nomination.

Mondale said since Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) dropped out of the race, he has received \$50,000 in pledges for his campaign. He said the fast pace of contributions leads him to believe he has a chance to win the nomination.

Washington Post
Oct. 5, 1974

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Mondale Urges Look At Delegate Quotas

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic Party needs to take "a good, hard look" at the controversial "quota system" before picking delegates to its next national convention, according to Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.).

He said he felt the Republicans were all too successful this year in exploiting the resentments that it caused.

Mondale, who is counted among the "winter book" possibilities for the Democrats' next presidential outing, said he, too, was "troubled" by the way the system worked out this year among some delegations.

Working people, farmers, labor leaders and "regular Democrats" wound up with a very small role in some states, Mondale told interviewer Elizabeth Drew in a program broadcast Thursday night on WETA-TV.

Mondale said he recognized the party's new reform rules calling for the inclusion of women, minorities and young people technically prescribed "not a quota, but an objective."

The system, he added, worked well in the sense that it broke down old patterns and brought into Democratic politics "persons who might have been excluded in subtle ways . . ." In general, he said, the party's new rules are too fundamental and important to be tampered with.

Favors Hard Look

But of the "quota system," he said, "I think we ought to take a good hard, look at that question as we prepare for the (1976) election . . . because the Democratic Party has only succeeded when the average worker and his family, the average farmer, the average citizen identified with us and felt that we had their best interests at heart."

The so-called "quota" guidelines, laid down by a Democratic reform commission initially headed by Sen. George McGovern, require state par-

ties to include women, young people (between the ages of 18 and 30), and minorities such as blacks and Chicanos in their delegations in "reasonable proportion" to their percentage in each state's population. Failure to maintain those percentages constitutes "a prima facie case of discrimination."

Mondale said he had no clearcut solutions to make the system more palatable to other groups who felt unwanted or unneeded, but "something must be done to correct that impression." Mondale called it "a wrong impression," but still perhaps the biggest factor in the "disaster" that McGovern suffered in Tuesday's presidential balloting.

The Minnesota senator also took strong exception to President Nixon's suggestions, in an interview with the Washington Evening Star and Daily News that the nation has had enough of the pampering fostered by expensive new social programs.

Taking educational needs as an example, Mondale said: "One of the most expensive things we do in America is undereducate children . . . and just to say there's some cheap

way of developing human beings, I think, is baloney.

"I wish the President would show the same interest in helping young people who need help as he, say, showed in Lockheed Aircraft or (the) Pennsylvania Railroad," Mondale protested. He said a study by his Equal Education Committee in the Senate showed that for every \$4 the Government spends on education, "there's about a \$7 return to federal, state and local treasuries from the improved learning levels and working capacities of (the) people who are educated."

Mondale said he was all for tougher evaluation of federal programs and efforts to reduce waste and bureaucratic inefficiency. But he said Mr. Nixon seems to be saying "they're all a failure" and that many of them should be completely disbanded.

Would Mean Clash

If that is what the President means, "there's going to be a bitter clash with the Congress," Mondale predicted.

Similarly, Mondale called Mr. Nixon's landslide reelection more of "a negative vote" against Sen. McGovern" than a vote of confidence in the Nixon political philosophy. As evidence, he pointed to Democratic gains in the Senate and in state legislatures such as Minnesota's, which he said went Democratic for the first time in 114 years.

"I think," Mondale said, "that the people of the country, in a strange way, have elected Nixon president, and then decided to surround him, so that he couldn't get away with some of these things he was talking about."

know Mr. Harper before the visit and has not seen or talked to him since."

The department also said The Times story "contains numerous misstatements of fact and false innuendoes."

About a month after the visit, on Jan. 28, President Nixon named Ambrose, 45, a Special Assistant Attorney General and director of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement.

According to the Times, Bureau of Customs officials had begun to investigate Harper in December, 1970, and had intercepted a shipment of merchandise from Hong Kong that the made to Mexico in October, 1971.

The department said the "Hong Kong merchandise" was nothing more than "personal items" that Ambrose's wife had bought and "shipped in bond through the United States to her home in Mexico."

The Times said and the department denied—that Customs officials had strongly advised Ambrose not to visit the ranch.

Ambrose also denied this in the Times interview, saying the purpose of the visit was to attend the annual fiesta at which Harper distributes Christmas gifts to his ranch hands.

"Richmond Harper has a very distinguished reputation" and "has a million friends in the federal service," the Times quoted Ambrose as saying.

The department said last night that the visit was an official one, part of an "inspection of Southwestern border stations," and that it had been arranged by David Ellis and William Magee, Customs aides who accompanied Ambrose to the ranch.

Six months after the visit, Customs officials arrested Harper and eight other men on charges of conspiring to

Mondale would be "the candidate in '76."

Mondale needed no pushing. Like his mentor, Humphrey, Mondale has never been short on ambition. Before the age of 20, he was working in Humphrey's campaign for mayor of Minneapolis, and he went on to become the youngest attorney general in Minnesota history. When Humphrey became Lyndon Johnson's running-mate in 1964, Humphrey's Senate seat went to Mondale by appointment. Two years later, Mondale won it on his own and repeated the victory in 1972.

With that and the send-off from Humphrey, Mondale hit the presidential trail—and got nowhere. His speaking style—low keyed, conversational—left much to be desired, and his television performances ranged from acceptable to disastrous.

"My style was Minnesotan," he said. "It's a conversational style. I've never been a shouter."

But Mondale took lessons. For a while, a University of Wisconsin speech professor, Edward Block, accompanied

the Senator on political trips.

"Mondale would ask, 'How'd I do?' an aide said, "and the professor would say, terrific, sizzling, fantastic, incredible' "

The professor is back in Wisconsin, and Mondale on his own has turned into a arm-waving, occasionally yelling, stump speaker reminiscent of Humphrey. Depending on the audience, his performances range from adequate to moving. At a house party in Phoenix, for instance, he riveted the guests when talking about his favorite topic—children and the importance of the family.

Mondale begins every speech with a series of jokes delivered in a Bob Newhart fashion. He explains his candidacy by saying that the Minnesota Constitution requires someone to run every four years—"and I've heard from Harold Stassen and he's not going to run"

Mondale's message on the stump draws freely from current Democratic orthodoxy—a denunciation of Watergate ethics, an attack on the imperial presidency, an old-fashioned Harry Truman-style attack on President Ford's economic performance, and plenty of criticism for Ford's pardon of former President Nixon.

Mondale then presents his own program. It includes, among other things, higher taxes for middle- and lower-rich individuals and lower class wage earners with families. Mondale makes no mention of his strong support in the Senate for school busing, an issue that his advisers hope will have faded by the 1976 primaries.

"Mondale was Mr. Busing in the Senate," said one supporter of Sen. Jackson.

The retort from the Mondale camp is that the busing issue will help to corral the black vote, which in the wake of the Kennedy announcement many politicians now think is up for grabs. Mondale has no intention of offsetting his civil rights record with hosannas to Gov. Wallace. He would not accept him on the national ticket Mondale says.

With the harsh lessons of the McGovern campaign as a reminder, Mondale is careful to emphasize that his liberal idealism is tempered by a respect for the practical. "I'm a practical Democrat," he says. He wants social programs that work, he insists, and not just those that sound grand.

Like McGovern in 1972, Mondale, too, calls for a reduction in the defense budget. But his tone is not strident, and his way of bring-

ing his point home is disarming. At a labor convention in Green Bay, he asked, "All of you who have been in the service, raise your hands." Arms flew up.

"How many of you think there's waste in the service?" An equal number of arms went up—and the audience broke into laughter.

Right now there's a great deal of laughter around the Mondale camp and the senator himself is in excellent spirits. He paces himself, refuses to take on more than he thinks he can safely handle, won't drink until his day's schedule is completed and eats lightly.

Not long ago Mondale was discouraged because the media attention that he had thought would come to him didn't materialize. And when he got it, with, for example, his June appearance on a Democratic telethon, he bombed coast-to-coast, enhancing his reputation as the insomniac's best friend. As a result, Washington Democrats watching his per-

formance were unimpressed. "Fritz just hasn't lit any matches," said one party chief. "I can't understand it."

Yet, interviews with party leaders in states where Mondale has recently appeared say that most were satisfied—even impressed—with his performance.

"The scuttlebut was that he didn't do well," said William Holtzman, executive director of the California Democratic Party who invited Mondale to speak before party leaders last summer. "We had 200 polls and no little media and he came across bright, fresh, attractive... I was most favorably impressed."

As a result of his relative inability to attract national media attention, Mondale opted for the traditional strategy of going to the local press. Every campaign swing is a procession of press conferences, interviews and television appearances. In Arizona, he stood hatless in a 100 degree sun

while three television reporters took turns at him.

Still, Mondale has barely been able to nudge the public opinion polls, a fix he and his aides dismiss with contempt. The polls, they are sure, will reflect their successes in the early primaries and party caucuses, and they point now to surveys of party leaders in which Mondale already ranks near the top.

Mondale realizes he has a long way to go. He talks now the vastness of the county, of its apparent reluctance to embrace political figures. His opponents "I can't tell you," a Jackson supporter said, how hard it is to make a politician a national political leader. Mondale already knows.

Mondale Presses On, Wooing Kennedy People

This is one in a series of articles on potential 1976 Democratic presidential candidates.

By Richard M. Cohen
Washington Post Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—Ed Jackamons, a two-term Democratic state representative from suburban Waukesha, was impressed—not to mention relieved.

The room was full, the beer was flowing and the tickets were sold—many of them at the last moment, when people suddenly expressed an interest in the guest of honor, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota.

"Quite frankly," said Jackamons, "people didn't pay much attention to Mondale until Kennedy said he wasn't going to run. You could see it happen. People started saying they wanted to see Mondale."

Not that seeing Mondale is any feat. For more than a year now he has been ubiquitous, sallying forth from Washington every weekend in pursuit of the Democratic presidential nomination. He has had breakfast with union leaders, lunched with fat cats, and attended parties with precinct workers. He has spoken anytime—and anywhere—a group could be assembled.

Nothing much had happened. The opinion polls continued to reflect a political pulse so faint that one Mondale supporter quipped, "We peaked at 4 per cent." The senator himself joined in the jokes, telling some audiences of the Washington comedian who said that most people think Mondale is a suburb of Los Angeles.

Advice poured in: Give more Senate speeches, said some. Call news conferences, said others. Have an affair, said Washington television personality Barbara Howar.

But that was all pre-announcement—before Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) took himself out of the race for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination on Sept. 23 and in the process put the mythical suburb of Mondale on the map.

Nothing has been the same since, and Mondale, who was once plagued with doubts, is now saying he's "99 and 44 per cent sure" he'll seek the nomination and just as sure his brand of

liberalism is precisely what the Democratic Party wants.

Mondale spent the day Kennedy made his announcement—and a good deal of time since—calling allies of Kennedy from a list prepared by two Kennedy-clan stalwarts, Bill Geothgen and John Reilly.

The list included persons who had supported any of the three Kennedy brothers—former White House aides Arthur Schlesinger and Theodore Sorensen, for instance. Then Mondale worked his own list—New York Mayor Abraham Beame, Wisconsin Gov. Patrick Lucey, New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne, California Democratic leaders, academics and scores of traditional party contributors who previously had sat on their wallets waiting for Kennedy to make his decision known.

Mondale and his aides say the phone effort was fruitful. More importantly, the Kennedy announcement opened the money spigots.

Until the middle of September the Minnesota-based Mondale Committee, authorized by the senator last January, had raised about \$60,000—small change compared with the campaign chests of Sens. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) or of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

But in the week following the Kennedy announcement, the Mondale Committee raised an additional \$40,000, and Mondale's aides now predict that enough money will be on hand by the first of the year to launch a limited national political operation.

All of which comes as no surprise to Mondale. More than any other Democratic hopeful, he acknowledged, he had the most to lose by a Kennedy candidacy—an the most to gain by Kennedy's withdrawal.

The two have nearly identical voting records, nearly identical ratings from special-interest groups, and similar constituencies within the Democratic Party.

What they didn't have was identical standings in the polls. Neither Mondale, nor most liberal Democrats, had any relish for a contest between them.

"They would say, 'We like what you say—but what's Kennedy going to do?'" Mondale said.

Mondale's political organi-

zation consists of a hard core of politically experienced Minnesotans—James Johnson, a former campaign aide to sens. George McGovern and Edmund Muskie; Richard Moe, the former chairman of Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party and now Mondale's legislative aide; Susan Tannenbaum, a former campaign aide to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, and Michael Berman, a lawyer who ran Mondale's 1972 campaign and is now directing the reelection effort of Minnesota Gov. Wendell Anderson.

Berman already is the unofficial campaign director. He will join the Mondale effort full-time following the Nov. 5 elections.

In addition, Mondale has key supporters in the states tentatively targeted for either an early primary or caucus effort—Arizona, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and New Hampshire.

Not to be excluded, of course, is Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. It was Humphrey who seized the opportunity on election night 1972 to tell a television audience that he hoped

(continued)

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Mondale sees 1976 as 'strong Democratic year'

By Courtney R. Sheldon
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

With Watergate corrosion and skittish prices, 1976 looks to most Democrats on Capitol Hill as their year to bloom.

Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota speaks for many of them when he says, "I think 1976 is going to be a strong Democratic year. We have Watergate. We have an incredibly mismanaged economy."

The Senator himself is more than ever in the lens of his fellow Democrats as they try to focus on new, unmarred timber for a presidential nominee.

In his Senate office, a relaxed Senator Mondale said quietly at end of an interview:

"Can I say something else? My real effort has been in what you might call the field of social justice. I think the average working man and his family have a tougher time than people think today, educating his children and keeping decent health care and paying his expenses.

Plea for fairness

"And I think it is particularly true that despite our wealth and power that there are millions of kids who still don't get a really fair chance. I believe our country has to do far better in that area.

"In a sense it is almost as serious as Watergate. It may not violate any laws. But it is a form of spiritual shortchanging of American life that I find almost as enormous."

His friends feel this son of a Methodist minister has the kind of engaging personality and intellectual attainment which would wear well with the electorate if he were better known.

Does the fact that he is on the lists of all political experts as a potential Democratic nominee mean he has high ambitions?

"I don't want to sound coy, because I don't really feel that way about it. It is so early. I have done some speaking around the country. I have listened to some people who talk to me about it."

Friend of Humphrey

"I am not well known. I have worked hard here, and I have not tried to establish a huge national following which one must if he is interested in the presidency.

"I've watched how hard that is. I have always been a friend of Hubert Humphrey. I know what he has been through. I just don't know yet."

Does he think Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is going to run?

"I don't know. I have not talked to Senator Kennedy about it. My guess is that if he decided to run, and he may well do so, and he may have already [decided], that he will be our nominee. But three years in American politics is a lifetime."

Wearing a shirt with broad yellow stripes, the youthful Senator is unrepresed when he talks of the potential opposition in 1976, Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, for example:

"If he has a strength, it is that he is bona fide right wing, a man who expresses his prejudices with great courage.

Strength questioned

"His weaknesses are impressive. I don't think he has grown a bit in the five years he has been here. I think he is still reading other people's speeches. If he has been a strength in the councils of government, I haven't seen it.

"A strength he has is that he is so far out of it that he wasn't in on the Watergate. I doubt very much that he will be their candidate, because I don't think he is presidential material."

The Senator never gets far away from his favorite theme:

"They [the Nixon administration] cut back social programs ranging from health to poverty to education, mental health. . . . Above it all has been the rhetoric from the White House, that we shouldn't care any more. That programs never work. That they are always ripped off and twisted, that we lack the capacity to deliver the needed services, and that above all if we just take care of ourselves everything is going to work out all right.

"I don't believe that is what our country stands for, and I don't think we can continue on that kind of squinty-eyed approach."

Source of money?

Where is the money going to come from for social programs?

"I believe we need a restrictive budget in the sense that we cannot permit high deficits at this point during serious inflation. But we can both diminish deficits and increase support for needed public services by closing tax loopholes, which would have a salutary effect on the economy, and by reordering priorities."

The Minnesota Senator gave President little quarter in Washington.

"I don't believe there is any way he is going to be crippled ever. I don't think he will be impeached or forced to resign. I was fascinated by Carl Ogden's article suggesting some sort of coalition.

"There is nothing in the Constitution that anticipates that we have no way, even under the circumstances in which incapacity and disability are anticipated, to deal with it. Perhaps some kind of joint presidential coalition would maintain a strong presidency."

But, "You could only do it with the consent of the President, and I can't believe that this President would accept any such thing. I think he might even sooner resign than participate in some dilution of authority."

Dialogue favored

On foreign policy, Senator Mondale is "supportive of his efforts to open a dialogue and to normalize relations with the Soviet Union and China. I also support the objective of the effort to try to put a ceiling on strategic arms, although I am not at all sure that we are pressing as hard to reach a ceiling on qualitative arms as we should."

In his opinion, "We can not be romantic about what is needed in terms of a U.S. buildup of arms in negotiations with the Russians, and I think from time to time we need a bargaining chip. But I think that in the crunch, Nixon tends to err on the side of things that will escalate."

Continuing, the Senator said, "I have some questions about whether we have tried to use what we have, that they want, as forcefully as we should for things that we most need."

Soviets need credits

"If we are going to open up trade with the Soviet Union, we know that they desperately need our credits and technology. The Russian economy is flat. Its technology is a disaster by and large, and they need our agricultural productivity.

"In exchange for that we should try to insist that they put restraint on their own military spending. While I don't believe the United States can direct the domestic affairs of another country, if this detente between the Soviet Union and the United States is going to have any permanence . . . there must be some underlying ability to communicate . . . more than an ephemeral occasional meeting between heads of state."

Mondale: Humphrey's Man for '76

But He Has Problems, Including One Named Kennedy

By Mark R. Arnold

Walter F. "Fritz" Mondale gave a speech about the Presidency last week and attracted the kind of press attention usually reserved for Presidential candidates.

Which is exactly what Fritz Mondale might be.

Fritz who? That's one of Mondale's problems. "I'm not very well known," he conceded the other day, gulping down a large glass of orange juice in the Senate dining room.

Mondale, 45, is the senior Democratic senator from Minnesota, a bright, articulate, and popular lawmaker with a solid liberal legislative record, a fresh face, and some important backing. In

an interview with *The National Observer* last week, Hubert Humphrey (Minnesota's junior senator) called Mondale "my man" for 1976. Humphrey also said he will not seek the nomination himself but will remain an "active leader" within the party.

News Analysis

Conduct Inside the Club
One of seven children born to a Methodist minister and his wife in Ceylon, Minn., Mondale first earned a name for himself by championing consumer causes and setting up the state's first antitrust unit as attorney general of Minnesota in the early 1960s. He was appointed to serve out Hubert Humphrey's Senate term when Humphrey became Lyndon Johnson's Vice President in 1964. He won election and reelection by increasing majorities in 1966 and 1972.

Today he has a reputation around the Senate as a tough, hard-working, "pragmatic liberal." "Fritz fights hard for the things he believes in," says a Senate Republican. "But if he realizes things can't be the way he wants them, he'll take what he can get rather than go down in flames. He also conducts himself extremely well within the [Senate] club structure."

Similar Appeal

But he is distinctly a dark-horse candidate for the Presidency.

One of his biggest problems is Ted Kennedy. With a voting record almost identical to that of the Massachusetts senator but little of Kennedy's dramatic flair, Mondale may be destined to remain in the



Mondale: 'Mention my name.'

political shadows unless Kennedy decides not to seek the nomination.

"The two appeal to the same type of voters," observes a fellow Senate Democrat. "Only everyone knows Kennedy and no one knows Mondale. There's not much Mondale can do to change that if Kennedy wants to run."

Crib-Death Bill

Mondale is doing what he can, nonetheless. He's speaking at state-wide Democratic dinners and other affairs in almost two dozen states this year. In addition to supporting the traditional kind of liberal legislation, he's sponsoring bills dealing with nonpolitical problems such as infant crib deaths. A subcommittee he chairs will hold hearings this week on problems of the American family.

In addition, as a new member of the Senate Finance Committee, which holds jurisdiction over tax and trade matters, he's in a position to develop expertise in

some important policy areas with which Kennedy has only a passing familiarity.

Despite their potential rivalry, the men enjoy good personal relations. Passing each other last week at Senate hearings on campaign reform, they shook hands warmly. Joked Mondale to Kennedy, "Mention my name when you testify, will you?"

Helped Humphrey

Mondale does not believe his liberalism is too extreme for most Americans. "I'm basically an effort-and-ability man," he told this column last week. "People should be able to rise as high as their effort and ability will take them, but that means the rules must be fair to start with."

He says the Nixon Administration has been cutting back on social and education programs designed to give people an equal chance. "This country has had enough selfishness to hold us for a while." By 1976, he thinks, even the splintered Democratic Party will be ready to unite behind a candidate with a forward-looking program.

Humphrey first met Mondale in 1948 when Humphrey, the crusading mayor of Minneapolis, was running for the Senate. Mondale, an eager, 21-year-old campaign worker, was given responsibility for the southern half of Minnesota. Humphrey won and the two men have been close friends ever since.

Post-1974 Decision

"I have no dreams, no hopes or plans for 1976," Humphrey, now 62, said in an interview last week. "But I'm not going to play dead either. If the party comes to me at the convention and says it wants Hubert Humphrey, I won't turn it down."

Meanwhile, he's boosting Fritz Mondale. "There's no question that Fritz has the capacity to be President," Humphrey says. "He still has to decide whether he's prepared to make the sacrifices required to run." Humphrey figures Mondale has until after the 1974 congressional elections to make up his mind.

"Once you decide to run," Humphrey adds, "you have to forget about being a good family man, as Fritz is, about being a conscientious senator, as Fritz is. You have to give yourself to your candidacy as if it were a holy cause."

Mondale is not yet sure he wants to make those sacrifices. But, as Humphrey observes, he has time to decide.

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Sen

Mondale listens to voters

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Los Angeles

Here is a politician who says he is out listening — not to polls, or trends, or party maneuvering — but to people.

Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D) of Minnesota does not deny, however, that he was testing presidential political waters as he cruised up and down California for a week.

His name keeps cropping up on lists of hopefuls in the 1976 U.S. presidential race. And he knows — as do others — that a nonincumbent must win (or at least not lose) California's all-important primary to cop the nomination.

But the primaries are still two years away. And Senator Mondale feels his prime role now is "listening."

In California, he was doing just that. He was listening to poor people and blacks and working people and union members and a lot of others tell a Senate subcommittee on employment, poverty, and labor about their economic plights.

And he was listening to those who said that Watergate had eroded their faith in all politicians.

And he was listening to small-business men who complained about taxes and high costs and other inflationary woes.

Like several other politicians, Minnesota's Sen. Walter F. Mondale is out testing the presidential winds; but unlike some others, he is not listening to the polls or the polls. Instead he is hearing what is on the people's mind.

"Fritz" Mondale admits he does not have any easy solutions to these problems. But he says he will honestly search out alternatives.

He calls himself a "responsible populist" with a desire to solve "people" problems. And he feels he may be just what voters will be looking for next time around.

Liabilities noted

When he is not listening, the former Minnesota Attorney General likes to talk about honesty in government, and the bureaucracy "responding" to the needs of the electorate.

Senator Mondale is aware of his liabilities as a presidential aspirant. He is relatively unknown, his finances are meager to wage an all-out campaign, and his foreign policy experience is limited.

But, on the other hand, he sees himself as a party "unifier" — someone who can bring together traditional Democrats, working people, organized labor, liberals, and youth.

MONDALE TESTING WATERS IN WEST

Says He Is Encouraged by
California Barnstorming
in Bid for '76 Nomination

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

CORONADO, Calif., Feb. 18—
Over breakfast this morning at
the edge of the Pacific surf,
Senator Walter F. Mondale of
Minnesota concluded predictably
that he was "sufficiently
encouraged" by a week of
barnstorming in California to
continue his "exploration" of a
race for the Democratic Presidential
nomination in 1976.

But the hardest part of this
or any other exploration is that
the course is uncharted and
early progress is almost impossible
to measure.

This is the season when visitors
like Mr. Mondale can speak
warmly of four or more Democratic
candidates for the California
Governor's office, and every
faction of the party shows a
friendly face to any would-be
contender for national leadership.

But what does it mean two
years prior to the campaign,
when Mr. Mondale is looking
neither for contributions nor
commitments, much less for
convention delegates or primary
votes?

The conversation this morning
was typical. A reporter asked
Cornell Dutcher, a wealthy
Democratic patron, whether
he was backing Mr. Mondale.
"He's my kind of Democrat,"
Mr. Dutcher replied, "but it's
much too early to talk about
supporting candidates."

"Let the record show," interjected
Representative Lionel Van
Deerlin, the San Diego Democrat
whose fund raising dinner the
night before had Mr. Mondale
as guest speaker—"let the
record show that Mr. Dutcher
passed the sugar every time
Senator Mondale asked for it."

Then Senator Mondale joined
in. "If someone were for me
the first moment he met me,"
he said, smiling at Mr. Dutcher,
"I'd figure he'd be for the
next guy the moment he met
him."

But to Mr. Dutcher and to
other influential Democrats
who met and liked Senator
Mondale last week, the real
question is whether the
Minnesota liberal is in the
Presidential race at all.

"To us it still seems that Ted
Kennedy is the only guy who
could take it away from Scoop
Jackson without busting up
the party," Mr. Dutcher re-
marked later of the undeclared
race between Senator Edward
M. Kennedy of Massachusetts
and Senator Henry M. Jackson
of Washington.

Senator Mondale "has more
salt and pepper than I ex-
pected," Mr. Dutcher said, "but
the real struggle in the party
now and probably for the next
two years is between Scoop
and Teddy, and I can't help
feeling this guy is a little bit
irrelevant."

When Senator George Mc-
Govern was put down as ir-
relevant in the early stages
of the last Presidential cam-
paign, the South Dakota Demo-
crat sharpened his focus on
the Vietnam war as an organ-
izing issue and recruited his
own insurgent cadres within
the party.

Vietnam, of course, is no
longer an organizing issue, but
Senator Mondale does not seem
to have found a substitute, and
insurgency does not seem to
be his style.

All he is looking for, accord-
ing to Richard Moe, his admin-
istrative assistant, is "recep-
tivity" among the symbolic
leaders of the Democratic party,
among businessmen and
union leaders, among blacks,
Chicanos and Jews, among
elected officials and in the
party apparatus—and he is
satisfied so far that "people
have been very warm."

Mr. Mondale's speeches are
built around a familiar litany
of liberal complaints about the
Nixon Administration. A new
recession—or Nixon "slump-
flation" has already started,
he says. Unemployment is up,
while the inflation rate, he
predicts, could be between 9
and 10 per cent this year. The
Administration's central mistake
in the energy crisis he says,
has been the use of free-mar-
ket thinking on a problem of
monopoly: the Arabs have
"rigged" their oil price for
political ends, yet American
producers are allowed to charge
"those same Arab boycott
prices" from their own coun-
trymen.

The standard Mondale
speech gets respectful applause
but does not seem to leave
a clear mark of the man. In
Palo Alto the other night, Barbara
Klein, a housewife in her
30's, watched Mr. Mondale
speaking, arms folded, to a
voter registration fund-raiser.

"In body language that
means he's up tight, uncom-
fortable, protecting himself, un-
certain," Mrs. Klein observed.
"I've heard everything he said
before from other politicians.
He didn't make a very personal
impression."

Yet it is Mr. Mondale's hope
that what some see as the lack
of "cutting edge" will also be
the power to unify his party,
and that the very absence of
spectacular personal quality in
this 46-year-old minister's son
will set a more human model
against what he and Arthur
Schlesinger, the historian, called
the "imperial Presidency" of
Richard Nixon.

NYT
Wed
Feb. 20, 1974
Gen

Mondale's '76 Presidential Campaign Gets Lift From Kennedy Withdrawal

Oct. 10, 1974

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Sen

By R. W. APPLE JR.

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, Oct. 9 — Things are different in the nascent Presidential campaign of Senator Walter F. Mondale, a Minnesota Democrat, since Senator Edward M. Kennedy announced his unavailability.

"They used to say, 'Nice to meet you, Senator, how's Teddy?' " Mr. Mondale commented this week during a three-day campaign swing in Wisconsin and Florida, two of the key early primary states. "Now they're more interested in me."

In the week after Mr. Kennedy dropped out, a Mondale associate reported, the Minnesotan raised \$40,000—compared with \$60,000 in the preceding nine months.

With the new influx of funds, and some private commitments for more, the 46-year-old Minnesotan is well equipped for an intensive campaign effort in 15 states in the next three weeks, which could be a crucial period for his candidacy.

Only three Democrats are running openly for their party's Presidential nomination at the moment—Mr. Mondale, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington (all, curiously enough, come from west of the Mississippi and all are of Scandinavian stock).

Of the three, Mr. Mondale is the only one identified with the party's liberal wing. But when the November elections are over, he may well have company from such others as Gov. John J. Gilligan of Ohio, and he would like to make a strong impression on the professionals before that happens.

So there he was in Wisconsin early this week, more than two years before the Presidential election, touching all the traditional bases: Breakfast with Ray Majerus, the local head of the United Auto Automobile Workers; a speech for a legislative candidate; another to the convention of the state American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; lunch with Gov. Patrick J. Lucey; a quick chat with Mayor Henry Maier of Milwaukee, and a few words for every television film camera that he could find.

Then on to Florida for more of the same, including a speech to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and an appearance at Monday night's Miami Dolphins-New York Jets football game, which seemed to have attracted most of the able-bodied politicians in southern Florida.

No Push for Endorsements

Mr. Mondale is not pressing hard for public endorsements, although he says he has gained private promises of support from both political and financial leaders. It is still the getting-to-know-you phase, still low key, still hard to evaluate in terms of progress, still tentative.

In a way, it is the pleasantest part of the campaign. There are no herds of reporters trailing along, the candidate still has a minute to throw a football around in Green Bay, Wis., and can still stroll unrecognized in Chicago's O'Hare Airport.

Mr. Mondale plans to open a campaign office in Washington late this year and to announce his candidacy, barring a change of mind, shortly thereafter. He has begun assembling a staff, on which three key members will be Richard Moe, a former Minnesota Democratic chairman; James A. Johnson, who worked in Senator Edmund S. Muskie's 1972 campaign, and Michael Berman, who has worked in a number of Minnesota campaigns, including Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's.

Mr. Mondale's formerly somewhat soporific speaking style has brightened considerably, with the addition of gestures, a generous sprinkling of wit ("There is a clause in the Minnesota State Constitution that requires one of us to run every four years."), and punchier lines on the issues.

He was very warmly received by both labor audiences, de-

spite auditoriums vast enough to dishearten many speakers.

In Green Bay, arguing for cuts in defense spending, he caught the audience's attention by asking how many in the group had served in the military, then how many had noticed any waste. He was greeted by a sea of upraised hands and appreciative chuckles.

Attacking the Republican economic record, Mr. Mondale used several times a rhythmic little litaney that went well.

"They've given us two Presidents and three Vice Presidents in two years with only one election. They gave us the first \$200-billion budget and then the first \$300-billion budget. They've given us seven wage controllers, six energy czars, five Treasury Secretaries, two freezes and four phases."

In every speech and in every television interview, he talks inflation, insisting that only thorough tax reform will provide the basis for a solution. Mr. Mondale, the son of a

Methodist populist minister, ridicules Vice President-designate Nelson A. Rockefeller and his wealth, and preaches an only slightly modified soak-the-rich sermon.

Mr. Mondale said in an interview on the flight from Chicago to Miami that "generationally and on the issues I fit my party." His liberalism, he believes, is tempered by his long association with Mr. Humphrey, who has come to be considered a centrist.

"The party very much wants a progressive Democrat," he said, "but not a Don Quixote who cannot be elected."

The Senator said that he considered himself in strong shape in Wisconsin, a state he has visited seven times this year. Most party leaders share his view. He also plans to concentrate on New Hampshire and the early caucus (nonprimary) states of Iowa and Arizona.

But he is still little known to the public, and it will take a lot more campaign trips ("death marches," he calls



United Press International
Senator Walter F. Mondale

them jestingly) to lay even the foundation of a successful effort. And he will soon have more rivals.

"I have as good a chance as anyone," he said. "But there's a peculiar door you have to go through to get one of these things really rolling, and I haven't done it yet."

Dec. 1
N.Y.
Time

Mondale, and Why He Was Unable to Do The 'Required'

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Senator Walter F. Mondale's unannounced campaign for the Presidency, waged through speeches in more than two dozen states for almost a year, had established him as a leader in what he likes to call the progressive wing of the Democratic party.

The Minnesota Democrat was not leading the race but he was at least in it, and his withdrawal on Nov. 21 was surprising not only because it occurred when it did but because of the reasons he gave. He said, "I do not have the overwhelming desire to be President which is essential for the kind of campaign that is required... I admire those with the determination to do what is required to seek the Presidency, but I have found that I am not among them."

That statement implied a great deal, about his judgment of himself and, perhaps, about his judgment of the political system. What did he mean? Senator Mondale discussed his action in an extended interview last week.

Why was he "not among" those who could do what was "required"?

Senator Mondale gave two main reasons:

He said he liked to "ponder issues, sit down with knowledgeable people and talk about them, chew them over, read a book, let them rest a little, then reach a conclusion that I'm comfortable with and go to work. All of that's out the window in a Presidential campaign, and I'd never get a chance to think ideas over."

He also said, "Nationally, it's more theater than the politics I know. I kept getting constant suggestions that I needed to buy different clothes and go to speech instructors and spend two days in Hollywood with a videotape machine. I hated that."

"In my state it's kind of like a family—when I'm back there, I don't have to pose or even make good speeches. All you have to do is talk straight and make a little common sense."

His Senate duties also worried him. He said that he was "afraid if I kept this up I would do both things poorly." He added, apropos of the demands of a Presidential bid, "I think when you do something you're not comfortable with—something that causes ambivalence and guilt in you—it's got to show and maybe it even twists you a little."

He chose to pull out now, Senator Mondale said, because



Senator Walter F. Mondale, Democrat of Minnesota

the time had come to seek commitments—"to ask other politicians to invest a little bit of their careers in me"—and he did not feel that he could. He had had doubts for months, but had been persuaded to stay in the race by aides. In addition, he thought Democratic progressives, with no obvious alternative in the wings, needed time to develop a new candidate.

Mr. Mondale sounded as if he were implicitly criticizing the frenzy of pre-convention Presidential politics, but he said otherwise. Although he favors changes in the nominating system (fewer primary dates, for example), he insisted that anyone who wanted the nomination should have to "survive this ordeal."

He recalled that Theodore C. Sorenson, John F. Kennedy's associate, had concluded while serving in the White House that the pressures and intensity of Presidential decision-making were almost perfectly foreshadowed by the pressures and intensity of the Presidential campaign.

Was Mr. Mondale saying then that, since he was unwilling to face the primary struggle, he probably would not be a good President? No, Senator Mondale replied, he knew that that was the logical conclusion from what he had said, but he still somehow felt he could have handled the Presidency, "though of course now we will never know."

Yet as he talked, the handsome young Minnesotan seemed to be picturing himself as the prototypical Senate man—fonder of reflection than instant decision-making, willing to work hard but not so hard that there is no time for anything else, fonder of a constituency he can know directly than of an abstraction as vast as the people of the United States.

He hoped, he said, that there would emerge from "the fire" of the primaries a progressive like himself. He had no names to suggest, but he said he hoped the electorate, having lived through Watergate, would look carefully at the contenders to weed out those "with bloated egos" and those "whose wings seem strange." For all its flaws, Mr. Mondale said, he was confident that the present system could still do that.

Mondale And Udall

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

17

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, who could undoubtedly muster the most delegates today, is unacceptable to a broad spectrum of Democrats. Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, labor's favorite, is well-heeled and well-organized, but a toothless vote-getter and a hawk only slightly more acceptable than Wallace to the Democratic left. Both these men will swing much weight at the 1976 convention, but neither is likely to be nominated.

The two old war horses, Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund Muskie, are possible contenders, and Mr. Humphrey in particular always seems to be champing at the bit. But he has been to the post too often to be taken really seriously, and Mr. Muskie has confided to close associates that while he'd still like to be in the White House, he doesn't want to campaign for it.

Besides, Mr. Muskie has to run for his own seat in 1976, in a state that just elected an Independent as governor, and he would hardly risk losing his substantial status in the Senate for a dubious shot at the Presidency. As for the 1972 nominee, George McGovern, just re-elected in South Dakota, the taste of it may still be in his mouth a little; but the taste of landslide defeat is what remains in the mouths of most other Democrats. So who's left?

Well, there's Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, for sure, and Senators Birch Bayh of Indiana, John Glenn of Ohio, and Dale Bumpers of Arkansas, maybe former Southern Governors Jimmy Carter and Terry Sanford, probably Gov. Rubin Askew of Florida, probably not, and a pride of other governors and mayors—Carey, Brown, Shapp, White, Walker, Anderson, etc.—sniffing the air.

Morris Udall, a member of the House since 1961, has more government experience than any of it except Hugh Carey, and a more liberal record than any save Gov. Carey. He was in the Johnson administration, he was in the Vietnam war, he is strongly against the war in Vietnam. Still, as a small-state legislator, he believes he can "show the way to the South" and he has a strong base in the Mountain States.

A member of the Interior Committee, Mr. Udall takes strongly progressive positions on energy and the environment. A leader among younger members (he is 52), he has a solid record as a reformer, debater, legislator and campaigner. His staff swears he writes his own newsletters, which are often reprinted and have been collected in a book.

He is the only serious Democratic candidate from the House, and when the new delegate selection rules enable a candidate to concentrate on a few Congressional districts, in each state and still win sizable numbers of delegates. Thus, in their own districts, Mr. Udall's House colleagues can be of much help.

At the moment, he professes not to be too engaged to back out or take a defeat gracefully. He is not planning a huge and costly campaign apparatus, but has mapped out the primaries where he thinks he can run advantageously and is scheduling three days a week on the road and two in Washington.

"I want to keep lean and small and natural," he says—which is fine for now, and about what they all say in the beginning. The real question is what they say when the price of power has to be paid. It's not always too high, but power never comes cheap, as Walter Mondale found out, and Morris Udall inevitably will.

Senator Walter Mondale once confided to a friend that he was not sure he could be elected President because "I don't think there's enough show biz in me." That may only have been another way of saying what he told reporters last week when he withdrew from the 1976 campaign—that he did not want the job enough to do what he'd have to do to win it.

Three cheers, then, for an honest man who said what many know and few concede: that running for the Presidency is a brutal business, sometimes demeaning, often unpleasant, warding mostly as a candidate may crave the plaudits of the crowd. And for Fritz Mondale or any other public man to say that "I don't have to be President" is really to say that power is not everything in this world, especially when its price is as high as that of the Presidency usually is.

But there are always men who believe that what they may be able to do with power will be worth the price they will have to pay. Moving more or less formally into the race, for instance, even as Mr. Mondale moved out, was Representative Morris Udall of Arizona, who said in New Hampshire that he would enter that state's 1976 Presidential primary.

This was almost a symbolic double play, although the two moves were not actually linked. But many of those who supported Mr. Mondale, or at least considered him the most likely to succeed among liberal Democratic candidates, may now have to look at "Mo" Udall more closely. A glance at the lengthy roster of possibilities shows why.

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Sen. Walter Mondale: So Far He Has the Shoes

+15
Sen

Why is the senior senator from Minnesota swiveled away from his desk, squinting intently into one of his shoes? He is trying to read the label. Why? Because an intrepid reporter (yr mst hmbl & ob't sv't) has challenged him to confirm a white-hot rumor: that he wears Thom McAn shoes.

This may not seem to you to be a matter of great pith and moment, but then, you probably are not interested in getting the Democratic Party's nomination for President. Sen. Walter Mondale is interested in that, so recently he spent some time in California: "testing the water," as hard-running noncandidates usually put it. At one function a journalist asked a Democrat for an opinion of Mr. Mondale. The Democrat sniffed: "A guy who wears Thom McAn shoes can never make it out here."

Thom McAn shoes are inexpensive, sensible, unpretentious—but not chic or exciting—shoes, much like those worn by most American males. The Democrat disdaining Thom McAn shoes, and Mondale with them, was saying: "Mondale lacks pizzaz. Sure he is earnest, conscientious. But he is a painfully plain Middlewesterner, just not the sort of chap who causes the party's pulse to pound with excitement."

Not full of that old George McGovern pizzaz? Perhaps. Certainly Mondale is in a league with Gerald Ford and Sen. Henry Jackson when it comes to murdering a good speech, or drafting a bad one. But Mondale's shoes (they are plain, and could use a shine) are not really good symbols of the rather salty private man who wears them. And however he is shod, he still has some interesting strengths and weaknesses as a candidate.

He is a fresh face at a moment when the nation is bone-tired of every public figure who has succeeded in becoming well-known. But being a "fresh face" is a fragile achievement. The only other Democratic candidate who is as active as Mondale is Jackson. In the last year Jackson has logged more television time than the Walton family, and may

have gone from being an unknown to being just another old face without ever having been a "fresh face." In its current sour mood the country looks with ill-concealed disgust upon any politician it has to look at twice. Mondale is unknown, and he is not wealthy, so he has to start merchandising himself now. Thus, the first test of his political skill will be in getting known without getting tiresome.

His next test will be to avoid seeming too liberal. Like any sensible man who covets the presidency, he winces when called a liberal. He is one, of course, but he knows there is nothing to be gained in advertising that fact. He has voted against enough weapons systems, and advocated enough economic controls, and generally committed liberalism all over the map. He will have no trouble passing the saliva test that bitter-end McGovernites will apply before conferring the dubious blessing of their endorsement. Unfortunately, Mondale probably needs that endorsement in the early going.

Mondale must energize on his own behalf the intense Democratic left, but he must do so without alienating the mass of Democratic voters. He won't hurt himself on the normal domestic issues. He is an orthodox (if remarkably devout) communicant in the ramshackle New Deal Church.

The single issue that can obliterate Mondale is forced school busing. If that again becomes a hot issue, his candidacy will be cold as a corpse. As he has in the past, he will in the future not only support but defend any busing ordered by the court. He obviously is hoping that the Supreme Court will permanently defuse the issue in the Detroit case by refusing to require the busing of children across county lines.

If the busing issue remains dormant, Mondale can concentrate on what he knows is the Democratic Party's big problem—appealing to the people who made George Wallace the star of the 1972 primaries. Wallace is the very model of a Thom McAn-wearing man. Mondale has the right kind of man. Now he needs some issues.

Torn Between State, Nation, Mandel Stays With Maryland

It's Time for Party Games Now

By James B. Rowland
Washington Star Staff Writer

ANNAPOLIS — Gov. Marvin Mandel, a wizard at political timing, has rung down the curtain on one guessing game and lifted the lid on another.

Eight hours prior to last night's filing deadline, Mandel, 55, said he was shelving plans to run in the Democratic U.S. Senate primary May 18.

But at the same time he said he'll play a "very active" role in the May 18 presidential preference contest.

An adroit politician and titular state party head, Mandel has been teasing the media and its hunger for political news lately.

And by keeping himself firmly in the political spotlight, he has managed to undercut — at least for the time being — the image of an indicted governor who faces criminal prosecution in May.

MANDEL APPEARS determined to play his political cards one at a time this election year — getting the most out of each play. Indications are, for example, that he will withhold for some time his choice between the front-runners in the Senate primary, former Sen. Joseph B. Tydings and Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes. The Republican incumbent, Sen. J. Glenn Beall Jr., has no primary opponent.

As for the Democratic presidential race, Mandel began making news at the National Governors Conference two weeks ago when he and his aides

talked openly to reporters about anti-Carter sentiment at the conference. Later an aide was instrumental in pointing out to reporters other state leaders who felt the same as Mandel.

Mandel, who then told one reporter he had nothing against Jimmy Carter "as a presidential candidate," soon reversed that, telling reporters Carter was "not qualified" to be president.

Mandel has publicly said he could support Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., or Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., "without any trouble at all." Mandel's first choice is said to be Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, an undeclared candidate. One recent poll found Humphrey to be the most popular Democratic presidential possibility in the state.

MANDEL'S ATTACKS on Carter apparently have had an impact on the former Georgia governor's efforts to round up delegate slates in Maryland's eight congressional districts.

"Some Democrats we know are with us wouldn't go on our slates because of pressure (from Mandel's people)," one Carter aide acknowledged yesterday.

Meanwhile, Wallace aides are hoping Mandel's attacks on Carter will help their man. Mandel is no admirer of the Alabama governor, but his criticism against Wallace has not been as sharp as against Carter.

All told, more than 700 persons had filed for presidential, Senate, con-

See MANDEL, B-5

MANDEL

Continued From B-1

slots by the 9 o'clock deadline last night. Among the largest block are 88 Democratic and 15 Republican candidates for convention delegate seats from the 8th District, covering most of Montgomery County. The withdrawal deadline is April 2.

Maryland Democrats elect four delegates from each of the state's eight congressional districts. Those elected choose another 21 to round out the 53-member delegation.

Republicans elect three from each congressional district and 19 are chosen later to comprise their 43-member delegation.

Aides for Carter, Udall, Wallace, Jackson and former Sen. Fred Harris all said they had filed slates for most — if not all — congressional districts. Exact slates are still undetermined at this time since Maryland law requires each of the White House aspirants to certify their delegates later to the state election board here.

EUGENE McCARTHY'S workers filed what they

said were some 14,000 names to get him on the Nov. 2 presidential ballot as an independent. The minimum required by state law is 51,155 (3 percent of the registered voters as of last Jan. 17), a formula the McCarthy camp said it will challenge in court.

Bruce Bradley of Bethesda said he filed well over the 51,155 minimum names in his bid to get on the Nov. 2 ballot as an independent candidate for the U.S. Senate.

Mandel, speaking briefly to reporters about his Senate decision, which surprised few observers, said that while the indictment against him was a consideration, it was not a deciding factor.

"There are people who are helping me raise money for my defense and I don't think it would be fair to go out and ask the same people to be raising money or helping me to finance a Senate campaign at the same time," Mandel said.

"I think the challenges are here and I think my talents best lie in the direction of continuing in the office of governor," he said.

"I expect to play a very major role," Mandel said of the presidential campaign.

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Washington Post
Oct. 7, 1974

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Ford Blocks a Mondale Move

President Ford was outraged when he learned that Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, a Democratic presidential hopeful, had suddenly pushed through the Senate a \$20 million special aid fund for Israel last Tuesday.

Ignoring the \$350 million aid fund earmarked for Egypt and Syria in the now-dead foreign aid bill, Mondale, never before a leader of the powerful pro-Israeli Senate bloc, tacked the special Israeli fund to a routine resolution permitting the government to continue its spending programs in the absence of new appropriation measures.

Mr. Ford acted fast and with considerable political courage. He telephoned Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee handling the continuing resolution. At worst, he warned, Mondale's discriminatory Israeli fund could risk war; at best, it would torpedo Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's mission to the Mideast this week to move deadlocked peace efforts off dead center.

Indeed, such veteran stars in the Senate's pro-Israeli bloc as Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Abraham Ribicoff (D-Conn.) were surprised when Mondale suddenly emerged with his aid fund for Israel. They spoke and voted for Mondale in the 65-26 Senate tally approving the amendment, but privately one leader of the pro-Israel bloc viewed it as a slap in the face of the Arabs which was too public at too delicate a time.

"There are quiet ways to help Israel," one told us, "and noisy ways. Mondale picked the wrong way."

The President's intercession with McClellan and at least one other senator on the joint Senate-House Conference Committee barely tipped the balance against Mondale. The committee voted, 4 to 3, to kill the special pro-Israeli fund and let both Israel and the Arabs wait until the regular foreign aid bill is taken up again early next year.

Mondale's foreign policy advisers told us that the senator or his staff consulted both the Israeli Embassy and "lower levels" of the State Department and foreign aid bureaucracy before deciding to offer his amendment. There was general approval in all three places.

Moreover, State Department and White House lobbying teams, aware that the amendment had been offered with no similar amendment for Egypt and Syria, did nothing.

But in the Oval Office there was consternation. Egypt and Syria, which have reached limited Israeli withdrawal agreements since the Yom Kippur war a year ago, have been watching the new President carefully for signs of possible change from Richard Nixon's evenhanded (as opposed to pro-Israeli) policy in the Mideast.

With negotiations on dead center since last spring, they want reassurance that Mr. Ford is keeping Nixon-style pressure on Israel for new withdrawals from occupied Arab lands.

The President immediately understood that if the Israeli aid money was attached to the continuing resolution—but the Arab money was not—the evenhanded U.S. policy in the Mideast essential to keep the negotiating doors open would have been shattered.

Indeed, Mr. Ford's private warning to McClellan that "war" could be hastened by any such public show of favoritism was also partly the result of the President's own ill-advised hints 10 days ago that the United States might be compelled to take tough measures against major oil producers, Arab and others, because of the high price of crude oil.

The implicit threat of some kind of new hard-line American counteraction against the oil producers—possibly even military action—was privately ridiculed by the Arab oil states as hot air with no follow-up.

But Mondale's Senate-approved Israeli aid package carried more ominous overtones for the Arabs. If the Ford administration had permitted it to become law without the compensating aid pledged to the Arabs, it would not only have aborted Kissinger's new round of Mideast shuttle diplomacy. It also might have spilled over and undermined continuing American efforts to persuade the oil producers to reduce their crude oil prices.

That, in fact, is why more senators than usual voted against the special aid package for Israel. The Mideast today is too explosive for politics as usual.

Sen. Walter Mondale: The Vandenberg Connection

If nothing else, the presidential peace missions to Russia and the Middle East are bringing to a head a split in the Democratic Party over the question of co-operating with the Nixon administration on foreign policy.

The situation is not unlike the one that prevailed some 25 years ago when former President Harry Truman, also weakened by domestic difficulties and at a low point in the popularity polls, ran into problems when his vulnerable political position tempted the Republicans to carry their partisanship beyond the water's edge.

The opposition was led by the late Robert A. Taft of Ohio, then the Republican Senate leader and a candidate for the GOP presidential nomination. But fortunately, he was challenged by Sen. Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, also a presidential contender, who was against extreme partisanship on foreign policy.

In the showdown, the Vandenberg view prevailed, with the result that the GOP, to its lasting credit, supported most of Mr. Truman's great postwar initiatives, such as the Marshall Plan, NATO and the Atlantic Alliance which rescued Europe from collapse and potential Communist domination.

Today, the Taft role in some degree has been assumed by Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington who like Taft, has presidential ambitions. To an ever-increasing extent, he has been leading the opposition to the Nixon-Kissinger foreign policy, especially with regard to detente and disarmament. And, in all fairness, there is little doubt that, again like Taft, he is motivated by conviction as well as ambition.

As yet, no Democratic Vandenberg has definitely emerged, but another prominent Democratic presidential possibility, Sen. Walter (Fritz) Mondale of Minnesota, seems to be rapidly moving in that direction. So far, his efforts have been unobtrusive, for his immediate objective is apparently to establish bipartisanship as a formal party position rather than merely a Mondale stand. Nevertheless, he is on the move. Just before the President took off for Moscow, Mondale outlined his recommendations in a personal letter to Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic majority leader.

"Regardless of Watergate," Mondale wrote, "regardless of the President's loss of confidence at home, it seems to me that we in the Congress, for the sake of the national interest, must in the present circumstances sustain the constitutional leader in the conduct of foreign policy."

That does not mean, he added, "that we must necessarily agree with him or automatically approve whatever he does. But it does mean that in foreign policy the President should receive the kind of support that will insure that the Soviet Union will in no way be encouraged to exploit what may appear to them as a breakdown in American leadership."

Mondale's thoughts fell on receptive ears, for Mansfield as majority leader has himself consistently shunned harsh partisanship. Moreover, other party leaders, such as Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, the assistant majority leader, and Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts have independently been arriving at conclusions similar to Mondale's.

A few days after the Mondale letter was circulated on Capitol Hill, Sen. Byrd took to the Senate floor to say, "Regardless of what domestic problems may be unresolved at this time, I believe that the American people are generally behind the President in his international dealings.

"While I shall withhold my judgment regarding any commitments the President may make at the summit, he has my support in his desire to prevent the Soviet-American detente from losing momentum."

Until recently, Sen. Jackson seemed to have a majority of Senate Democrats with him in his challenge to detente and his efforts to limit it through legislative restrictions on U.S.-Soviet relations. Now the wind is beginning to blow the other way, even though the summit meeting produced no reliable new successes.

Mondale appears to think bipartisanship is not only good policy but good politics. His associates say that he is convinced that the American people want peace above all else and recognize that this can only be achieved through constructive coexistence with Russia. It could also be that Mondale has a hunch that his is a better campaign position than Jackson's come the next presidential primaries.

In any case, the senior senator from Minnesota is now saying flat out, "The American people have a profound stake in SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks). Attempts to discredit this effort for personal political gain must not be tolerated. Despite our reservations concerning other aspects of the President's behavior, SALT is clearly an area in which he deserves the fullest bipartisan support."

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MONDALE OPPOSES BUDGET PROPOSAL

Criticism Reflects Growing
Unease Over Reform Plan

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 9 — Senator Walter F. Mondale denounced today a plan for an overhaul of the Congressional spending system, contending that it would turn most Senators and Representatives into mere "petitioners" on money matters.

The complaint by the Minnesota Democrat was echoed by Leon Shull, national director of Americans for Democratic Action, who said that the budget reform plan would "place sweeping responsibility for all Federal spending in the hands of an unrepresentative group of legislators."

The criticism of the landmark proposal, which was submitted to Congress last month by the Joint Study Committee on Budget Reform, reflected growing unease among liberals over some key aspects of the reform plan.

Make-up Opposed

Their basic objection is to the proposed make-up of a new budget committee that would be set up in each house to recommend an annual spending ceiling, determine the amounts that should be allocated for each Government function, and suggest tax changes in an attempt to balance revenues with spending.

The joint committee plan calls for two-thirds of the budget committee members to be drawn from the existing, and basically conservative, appropriations and tax committees. The other third would be appointed from among Senate and House members at large.

Thus, Senator Mondale said in testimony this morning before a subcommittee of the Senate Government Operations Committee, "The proposal would bypass existing procedures requiring approval by party caucuses and by the full Senate and House committee memberships."

A.D.A. Rating Cited

Mr. Shull made the point even more directly. Assuming that the members would be selected in terms of seniority, he said, "the dominant two-thirds" of the budget committees would have an average A.D.A. rating of 18.25 on a scale in which 100 represents the most liberal attitude.

Furthermore, Mr. Shull said, the majority would come from Southern and rural areas. "It would seem that urban-oriented social programs would have difficulty surviving in such a committee," he said.

Representative Jamie L. Whitten, co-chairman of the joint study committee, defended the proposal, noting that it had been approved unanimously by the 32 members of the study panel.

Mr. Whitten, a Mississippi Democrat, added that the budget committees would merely recommend spending and taxing actions; that the ultimate decisions still would be made by the full membership of the Senate and House.

"Nothing that this [budget] committee does is worth two votes except as acted on by the Congress," Mr. Whitten told the Senate subcommittee.

Timetable Criticized

Senator Mondale and Mr. Shull also said that the proposal set out a timetable for Congressional action on spending limits, including a maximum of 30 hours of floor debate and restrictions on amendments, that would reduce the ability of most Senators and Representatives to affect the final decisions.

"Just the question of military foreign aid might well deserve 30 hours of debate," Mr. Mondale said.

The Minnesota Senator offered the "bare outlines" of an alternative plan that he said would preserve the rights of all Congressmen to participate in the spending decisions.

He called for selection of budget committee members by party caucuses and floor votes. He said that the committee should merely recommend a spending limit, along with an appropriate budget deficit or surplus, and that cuts should be made across the board, in all programs, if the spending ceiling was exceeded by the accumulated actions of Congress.

Late in the Congressional session, Mr. Mondale said, the budget committee could propose changes in the way spending programs had been reduced to reflect the priorities the committee regarded as desirable.

Mr. Shull urged extensive public debate on the reform plan.

"These changes," he said, "are far too important to be adopted in haste."

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