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Walter F. Mondale (1928–)

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total vote. Blacks comprised about 35 percent of the population, but no African-American had ever been elected in Mobile. The federal district court upheld the plaintiffs' claim of unconstitutional vote dilution. According to Justice Stewart, the district court "based its conclusion of unconstitutionality primarily on the fact that no Negro had ever been elected to the City Commission, apparently because of the pervasiveness of racially polarized voting in Mobile. The trial court also found that city officials had not been as responsive to the interests of Negroes as to those of white persons. On the basis of these findings, the court concluded that the political processes in Mobile were not equally open to Negroes."

The Supreme Court, however, rejected the district court's position, which had been upheld in the court of appeals. Justice Stewart argued that the features of the Mobile system, such as the majority vote requirement, "tend naturally to disadvantage any voting minority . . . [t]hey are far from proof that the at large electoral scheme represents purposeful discrimination against Negro voters." He maintained that "[t]he Fifteenth Amendment does not entail the right to have Negro candidates elected." Since "there were no inhibitions against Negroes becoming candidates, and that in fact Negroes had registered and voted without hindrance," Justice Stewart found no constitutional violation (446 U.S. 55.71).

The Court issued several separate opinions. Most notably, Justice Byron White, who had written several of the previous vote dilution cases, dissented. He argued that "the absence of official obstacles to registration, voting and running for office heretofore has never been deemed to insulate an electoral system from attack under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments." He suggested that discriminatory purpose can be inferred from the totality of the relevant facts. To Justice White, the totality of the facts relied upon by the district court in *Bolden* were even more compelling than those in *White v. Regester*. He concluded that lower courts would now have little guidance as how to proceed in evaluating factors that might demonstrate purposeful discrimination.

See also: Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Extensions, *White v. Regester*

H. W. Perry, Jr.

Raymond C. Moley (1886–1975)

Central member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Brains Trust." Born in Berea, Ohio, and educated at Baldwin-Wallace College, Raymond Charles Moley took his Ph.D. at Columbia University and by the late 1920s had become an influential professor of government at Columbia. He assisted in Roosevelt's 1928 campaign for governor of New York and then served in Roosevelt's state administration. Following a suggestion of Roosevelt adviser Samuel I. Rosenman, Moley in 1932 organized the so-called "Brains Trust," which also included Columbia professors Rexford G. Tugwell and Adolf A. Berle, Jr., to advise presidential candidate Roosevelt on the Depression and governmental responses to the economic crisis. The Brains Trust helped shape FDR's 1932 campaign (a Moley memorandum of May 1932 first used the term "New Deal") and helped plan early New Deal relief, reform, and recovery programs.

After Moley's key roles in the campaign and interregnum, Roosevelt named him an Assistant Secretary of State, though in fact Moley was a special presidential assistant with a charter that ran to both domestic and foreign economic policies. But his conflicts with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and FDR's seeming repudiation of him at the London Economic Conference of 1933 led Moley to leave the government in September 1933. Increasingly unhappy about what he considered the New Deal's radical and antibusiness directions, Moley became an outspoken and influential critic of the Roosevelt administration by the late 1930s and eventually aligned himself with the conservative wing of the Republican Party.

See also: Election of 1932, New Deal, Franklin D. Roosevelt

John W. Jeffries

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Walter F. Mondale (1928–)

Democratic Senator from Minnesota, Vice President, and presidential candidate. Throughout his political career, observers often wondered whether Walter Frederick Mondale—

the intellectual son of a Methodist minister—had the combination of ruthless cunning and telegenic affability that a successful late-twentieth-century politician needed. Mondale rose to political prominence, it seemed, by having public office handed to him, not by struggling to gain victories in hard-fought electoral competition. When Mondale did fight for an election, he battled from the position of an incumbent. As a result of his formative political experiences, this psychological argument goes, Mondale did not have the existential, psychic resources to be a good candidate for the presidency as the Democratic Party's nominee in 1984. His own personal limits thus contributed to his crushing defeat at the hands of President Ronald Reagan. Mondale himself has contributed to this conclusion: he said that he would not run for the presidency in 1976 because he did not have the kind of drive that it took to fight for the highest office. And he did indeed seem to fit comfortably into the role of Jimmy Carter's Vice President between 1976 and 1980, an indication to the critical observer that Mondale lacked ambition.

While this interpretation of Mondale's political psychology may have some merit, understanding Mondale's career from a different perspective is also instructive. Mondale's rise to political prominence was in many ways a reward for unswerving loyalty to the larger needs of a cohesive, social-democratic political formation, the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. Within the DFL Party in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, decisions about the right one to promote for public office were often made collectively in discussions involving politicians and farm and trade union leaders. Governor Orville Freeman's appointment of Mondale in 1960 to the position of Attorney General of Minnesota when the incumbent abruptly resigned and Governor Karl Rolvaag's appointment of Mondale in 1964 to the United States Senate to fill out the term of Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey (after Humphrey was elected Vice President in 1964) were rewards for creative service to the DFL Party. Mondale was a skilled campaign operative who both won elections and worked well in the year-round party organization. He repaid these appointments through hustling to gain voter approval; in 1960 he put together a highly successful campaign for state Attorney General in six months, winning the first of three reelections. Similarly, Mondale held on to his Senate seat first in 1966 and again in 1972.

Mondale's career would be perfectly understandable in the context of European or Canadian social-democratic politics. Indeed, few other American politicians could have gained the AFL-CIO's preconvention endorsement in 1984.

His limits as a presidential candidate stood out in part because American presidential politics turned, in the 1960s and 1970s, into a freewheeling, "candidate-centered" politics heavily dependent on business support. As trade unions rapidly weakened in these decades, they came truly to resemble the "special interest" that Senator Gary Hart of Colorado claimed them to be during the primary season in 1984. Mondale's campaign in the general election was an effort to reconcile an old and familiar social-democratic politics with the new realities of heightened business involvement in presidential elections. Unfortunately for his reputation as a politician, Mondale's 1984 effort to put together a business-labor coalition based on both lowering the budget deficit and defending the welfare programs of the Great Society proved a spectacular failure.

See also: AFL-CIO COPE, Jimmy Carter, Democratic Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, Hubert Humphrey
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James Monroe (1758–1831)

Fifth President of the United States. James Monroe was the last member of the "Virginia Dynasty" to occupy the White House. As a staunch supporter of Republican orthodoxy, his presidency was chiefly devoted to the defense of old values and traditional Jeffersonian views of government and society. Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, he entered the College of William and Mary at age 16, leaving college in 1776 to fight in the Revolutionary War. After a distinguished military career, he resigned from the Army in 1780 to study law under Thomas Jefferson.

Two years later Monroe was elected to the Virginia assembly. Then (1783–1786) he served as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Fearing an overcentralized government, he opposed ratification of the Constitution in the Virginia convention of 1788. Monroe accepted the Federalists' victory, but he joined the opposition in 1790 and won election to the United States Senate. There he helped lead the Jeffersonian opposition to Hamilton's fiscal