

Vice President

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1977

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FILE

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: THE VICE PRESIDENT *W. J. [Signature]*

RE: REVIEW OF MY VICE PRESIDENCY

Last December, shortly after the election, I prepared a memorandum for you outlining the role I hoped to play as your Vice President. In that memorandum, I expressed the belief that the most important contribution I could make would be as an impartial general adviser and troubleshooter. I also discussed several other possible functions and assignments that I felt would allow me to serve you most effectively. Finally, I pledged my commitment to do everything I could to contribute to the success of your administration.

In the spirit of that commitment, I recently asked my staff to analyze my first six months in office to see how I have used my time and to determine the extent to which I have fulfilled the duties and responsibilities that you have given me. I have now had a chance to study that analysis and to reflect on its implications for the performance of my job in the next six to eighteen months, which I would like to share with you in this memorandum.

I want to make it very clear at the outset that I am completely satisfied with the role that you have allowed me to play in your administration. I feel that you have treated me as a full working partner and that we have established a solid foundation for a fruitful personal and political relationship in the years ahead.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING BY *[Signature]*

DATE *7/8/92*

I feel very fortunate that most of the problems that have made the Vice Presidency such a frustrating and ambiguous office in the past have been resolved. My access to you and the critical information of government, my range of involvement in your administration, and my relationship with the White House staff and the Cabinet all have exceeded my expectations.

Whatever contributions I have been able to make in my principal role as a general adviser and troubleshooter have been a direct result of the complete latitude, access and support you have given me, all of which are unprecedented. (If you believe that this role has been valuable to you and your administration, I would like very much to continue it.)

It is difficult for me to assess the effectiveness of other elements of my role, including my involvement in Congressional relations, foreign and domestic policy, Democratic party affairs and the generation of public support for your programs and policies. Naturally I am open to any suggestions you might have as to how I can help further the goals of your administration.

In the seven months that I have been Vice President, I have become much more conscious of the enormous burdens that are placed on a President. This leads me to conclude that one of the ways in which I can be most helpful to you is to relieve you of some of those burdens by concentrating my efforts more intensely in certain areas, as I did in intelligence reorganization and Southern Africa.

With this in mind, I would like to suggest several areas where, by concentrating my attention more intensely, I might be of greater assistance to you and your administration.

A. Foreign and Domestic Policy. In foreign policy and national security matters I very much look forward to continuing my full participation in the work of the NSC system, your talks with foreign leaders and your regular working meetings with Cy, Zbig and Stan Turner. In the coming months I believe that the requirement for consultations with members of the Congress on such issues as SALT and the Panama Canal Treaties will be increasingly important and I am eager to help on these and other issues.

I have consulted with Cy, Warren Christopher and Zbig on what else might be helpful. One suggestion is that I undertake at least one additional overseas mission later this year, perhaps to the Pacific - i.e., Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Trust Territories - or to Eastern Europe - i.e., to Romania, Hungary and Poland - to continue the process of establishing personal contact at the political level with foreign leaders in nations of importance to the U.S. In addition, it might be useful if I were to pay an official working visit to Canada toward the end of the year to build on your talks with Prime Minister Trudeau and to emphasize the importance we attach to the best possible working relationship with Canada, particularly on such issues as energy and pipelines. Finally, I think it would be useful if I were to deliver ~~several~~ ^{a few} major speeches, both at home and at key conferences abroad, to explain and promote Administration policies.

In the domestic area, I would like to use the next six months to concentrate more intensively on certain aspects of the related economic, tax and budget issues, and also education, the crime program, urban policy and citizen involvement in problem solving. By setting aside more work and study time to deal with these issues, I believe that I might be able to make a contribution both in my advice to you and in building public support for your proposals. The following are a few examples of what I have in mind:

1. Economy. I continue to believe, as I know you do, that the long-term performance of the economy is the most important make-or-break issue for the Administration. I have a long-standing interest in economic matters stemming from my service on the Senate Budget and Finance committees, and I think it might be useful if I spent more time working with Charlie, Stu, Bert and Mike on both immediate and longer-term efforts to get the economy moving, to restrain inflation and to achieve our other goals. This is the single most critical issue facing us, and I hope I could be helpful by becoming more heavily involved.

2. Education. As you know, I have long had a strong interest in education policy. A number of major decisions will be coming up within the next six months, including your Administration's plan for education reorganization and proposals for revision of the basic elementary and secondary education law. I would like to continue my close involvement in working with Joe Califano, Bert Lance and Stu on these and other education-related matters.

3. Tax Reform. I appreciate having had the opportunity to be involved in the development of your tax reform package and I would like to continue that involvement. This will clearly be one of your most important initiatives in the next session, and I would like to try to be helpful in working with others to enlist support for it both publicly and on the Hill.

4. Budget. The fiscal 1979 budget is your first opportunity to frame a set of spending priorities from scratch. As this process proceeds, I would not only like to continue my involvement in the review meetings, but also to work with Bert, Stu, and others, in putting together suggestions on how we might dramatize what is fresh and innovative in your proposals, what they reflect in terms of disciplined management and what they demonstrate about your commitment to help people who need and deserve federal help.

5. Crime Message. I would like to work very closely with Griffin, Stu, and the Reorganization Group in developing our anti-crime program. I think you fully appreciate the risks of a major announcement given the cynicism associated with the handling of this issue by the past two administration. I think there is great potential to set ourselves apart from those efforts through our handling of the federal organizational questions as well as the State and local role. I would like to explore these possibilities in greater depth.

6. Urban Policy. There are several ways in which I might be of help in this difficult but critical area. First, I would like to help in the evaluation of policy options. Second, it might be useful over the next several months for me to meet with a number of mayors out in the field, to demonstrate our concern and desire for constructive suggestions. Third, it might be useful in the context of one or more speeches to try to add up all of the ways in which your Administration has given priority to the cities - in education, training, public works, youth employment, and the rest.

7. Citizen Involvement in Problem Solving. You have indicated a strong interest in private activities which contribute so much to our country. There is an effort underway involving Sam Brown, Geno Baroni, Greg Schneiders and others to come up with ways for the government to honor and promote these activities, and I understand they will have a set of recommendations ready in the near future. I will try to keep in close touch with this group and assist them in any way that I can.

B. Democratic Constituencies. I believe that the traditional Democratic constituencies that were so important to our election effort in 1976 are going to be even more critical in 1980. For that reason, I think it is important that I devote more time to strengthening our relationship with those constituencies and persuading them that our interests and theirs are inextricably tied together. This will entail the following elements:

1. Consultation. Regular informal meetings at the White House with the leadership of organized labor, minority groups, farm organizations, women's groups, etc., as well as attendance at conventions and other events to explain Administration initiatives.

2. Entertainment. Dinners and similar events at my residence to honor the Congressional and organizational leadership of these groups. The recent dinner I hosted honoring the Italian-American representatives in Congress and in the Administration was very successful, and I am planning similar events for blacks, Polish-Americans, hispanics, and others. In addition, I plan to have dinners honoring Bob Byrd and Tip O'Neill and members of key Congressional committees.

3. Campaigning. Campaign appearances on a gradually escalating basis through the 1978 elections for Senate and House candidates. I have done a fair amount of this already by attending fund-raisers in Washington and around the country, and I think it has been helpful in cementing our relations with members of Congress and the Democratic Party.

C. Administration Spokesman. I think it would be helpful if I spent more time as a public spokesman explaining and promoting Administration initiatives in both the foreign and domestic areas. I've felt for some time that there is a gap here that needs to be filled, and I'm prepared to try to do it if you agree that there is such a need. I'm afraid that too often, we have simply announced a new proposal or policy and then failed to follow up with a long-range plan to dramatize and publicize it and create the public atmosphere necessary for its acceptance. Also, I think it might be useful to undertake a 7 to 10 day domestic tour later this year to try to determine how we are really doing in certain areas. Basically, it would be a learning and listening tour which might include visits to successful housing, educational and other kinds of projects, meetings with community leaders, tours of depressed urban areas, etc. But it would also be an opportunity to show the flag in some areas, like the West, that currently feel neglected, and to explain our policies in greater detail.

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D. Disaster and Crisis Situations. As we have discussed, I am prepared on short notice to move into a natural disaster or crisis situation where there is a need for a high-level Administration presence. My staff has discussed this with Greg Schneiders and he is eager to work with us.

E. Hill Activities. As you know, I have worked closely with Frank Moore and his staff in both the development of Hill strategy on key bills and the lobbying of members on specific votes. I feel increasingly good about our relations with the Hill, and I think much of the credit for these improved relations should go to Frank. I plan to continue to be heavily involved in our Hill efforts, particularly the Canal Treaty and similar priority items, where you and he think it would be helpful, and also to try to keep useful channels of communication open between the White House and some of the more liberal members.

F. Issues Planning. The reorganization staff states that the purpose of the Executive Committee for Issue Planning is "to build and continually update the President's decision-making agenda, set priorities among issues and deal with the interrelationships among them." As proposed by the Reorganization Task Force, my role as Chairman of this Committee will require a commitment of my time. I believe it has great potential for facilitating both long and short term planning and coordination, and I would like to get your views on how it can be most effective.

G. Joan's Activities. Both Joan and I deeply appreciate your support of her involvement in the arts. It has meant a great deal to her to be able to be a spokesman for the arts both within and without government and to have a voice in the development of Administration policy. While she has no candidate for the Arts Endowment post, she looks forward to working with whomever you select as well as others in the Administration in the furtherance of your goals in this area and to continuing those efforts she has begun.

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I hope that this memo might serve as the framework for a discussion at our lunch next week.



THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1977

Personnel
✓cc
Fritz-
Jim pleased-
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With this in mind, I would like to suggest several areas where, by concentrating my attention more intensely, I might be of greater assistance to you and your administration.

If a change of emphasis is needed, it would be toward the domestic issues & domestic (Congressional) aspects of foreign policy. You might define some of the problems - women, blacks, at the same time help on the urban groups, etc. & Panama, Africa, intelligence

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A series of trips to Panama for Senators would be good to pursue with you going along preparing on our more agenda & financing after Brown, consulting with Sen Hollings, etc -

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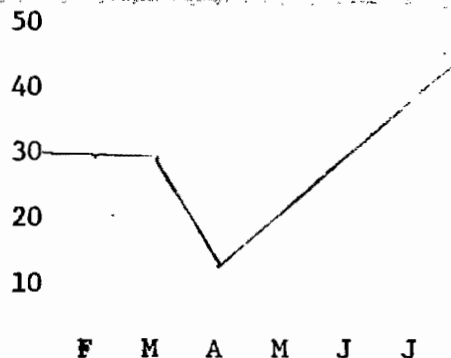
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I hope that this memo might serve as the framework for a discussion at our lunch next week.

Summary analysis of use of Vice President's time through July 31, 1977

1. The principal conclusions of the office time study are as follows:

- a. A considerable portion of each week is spent with the President. The highest percentage to date was in July when 48% of total office hours were with the President. A simple graph of the percentage follows:



- b. A comparatively low percentage of time was spent chairing the Senate, approximately one hour per month. 12% of total office time was spent dealing with members of Congress and related matters not including time spent on the telephone which was considerable.
- c. Total time spent on foreign visitors and foreign policy issues outdistances time spent on domestic issues by a ratio of nearly two to one.

Set out below is a listing of the percentage of office time that has been spent on each of several major categories.

- 31% - Foreign Policy
- 16% - Domestic Policy
- 12% - Congress related (not including telephone time)
- 7% - Miscellaneous meetings and ceremonies
- 5% - Cabinet meetings
- 5% - Private meetings with President, President and senior staff
- 4% - Meetings with V.P. senior staff
- 1% - DNC and other politics
- 14% - Working time including miscellaneous individual staff meetings

The complete office time study by month is attached.

2. The principal findings of the study of your time outside the office are as follows:

- a. Travel outside of Washington, D.C. on official and political trips amounted to the equivalent of 32 full days.

- b. 20 days were committed to two foreign trips encompassing 11 countries. Additionally, this travel required a substantial amount of preparation.
 - c. 12 full equivalent days were spent in domestic travel consuming all or part of 20 days. 19 communities were visited in 15 states.
 - d. There was participation in 39 events in Washington, D.C. outside of the White House complex and 34 events in other cities.
 - e. The great bulk of domestic travel has been related to traditional party and candidate audiences and fundraisers.
 - f. No substantial attention has been paid to such important democratic constituencies as organized labor, the blacks and hispanics, and the Northeast.
 - g. The South has received substantial attention.
 - h. The speaking and travel schedule has not been focused effectively or systematically on gaining public acceptance for major administration initiatives. Only the speeches on the Middle East, government under law (ABA) and energy were timely.
3. The study for August has not been done but a quick survey of appearances shows five events in Washington, outside the complex, and seven events outside of Washington in five cities and five states. This brings to 17 the number of states which have been visited.
4. An examination of the schedule of committed and tentative events for the period September 1 - December 31, 1977 indicates that you will do 13 additional events in Washington, D.C. outside the complex, and 27 events in other parts of the country. Domestic travel will include 17 communities and 13 states of which states you will be visiting eight of them for the first time since taking office. This would bring to 25 the number of states which you have visited this year.

VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE
OFFICE TIME ANALYSIS - February 1 through July 31, 1977

	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUNE	JULY	TOTAL
1. Meetings with President							
a. Private	6.75	5.75	5.25	1.00	4.00	6.25	29.00
b. Pres. Senior staff		.50	1.75	.25	1.15	4.5	8.75
c. Cabinet meetings	7.00	8.00	8.00	1.25	8.00	5.0	37.25
d. Congress Break. and Meetings	5.00	5.25	8.50	7.00	10.75	7.0	43.50
e. Domestic issues	10.25	5.75	6.75	4.00	22.50	6.75	56.00
f. Reps. of other governments	11.75	14.75	15.75	3.75	7.75	2.50	56.25
g. President, Brezezinski, Turner		3.00	2.50	1.00	2.50	2.50	11.50
h. NSC and foreign policy	.50	5.00	6.50	.75	6.50	8.00	27.25
i. Misc. meetings	.20	2.00	.55	.50	1.25	4.5	9.00
2. Foreign policy, Defense and Intell.							
a. Reps. of other governments	7.95	6.75	7.00	.75	6.00	6.5	34.95
b. Foreign policy	13.10	3.00	4.00	2.25	8.25	6.5	37.10
c. Intelligence	.75	8.50	6.75	3.00	6.25	1.75	27.00
d. Defense	.50	2.25			.75	1.50	5.00
e. Briefings for foreign trips	2.25	5.50	15.80	17.75			41.30
f. Jewish Leaders	1.00	1.25	.75		3.00	2.00	8.00
3. Domestic Policy							
a. Labor	1.25	1.25	4.25	.25	.25	1.00	8.25
b. Minorities	2.00	.25			1.25		3.50
c. Economy	.25	4.75	5.25	5.75	1.75	3.00	20.75
d. Miscellaneous	8.50	8.75	7.50	6.00	7.60	2.00	40.35
4. Congress							
a. Members of Congress	5.25	9.75	4.75	2.50	10.00	2.25	34.50
b. Congressional issues	1.25	4.50	2.50	1.75	4.00	4.00	18.00
5. Press	8.50	9.75	9.75	5.00	5.50	3.75	42.25
6. DNC and other political	3.25	1.00	.75	1.00	2.25	2.75	11.50
7. Miscellaneous							
a. Swearing-in ceremonies	1.00	.50	1.00	1.75	1.50	1.50	7.25
b. Miscellaneous	7.25	9.10	8.50	4.50	9.00	3.25	41.60
8. Meetings with V.P. Senior staff	6.00	5.75	9.00	4.25	5.50	5.25	36.25
9. Private working time	19.50	15.50	27.50	21.25	22.75	4.25	109.75
TOTAL	131.00	148.10	170.60	97.25	160.00	98.25	805.80

0 - Organized Crime Strategy Urban Outreach Meetings 6 - ESEA Revision USDA Proposals: Rural Development, Housing, Forests 3 - Signing of Farm Bill First Proposal Basic Education Reorg. Tax Reform Pkg. FY 79 Budget Requests to OMB Carnegie Council Report	10-14 - Possible Speech on Organized Crime 17-21 - OMB Directors Review Process	Pres. Review Sess. on Budget Start	Pres. Review Seminars Cont. Target date for Education Reorg Target date for Crime Message Target Date for Urban Policy
<u>Sign</u> - Panama Treaty - Belgians 6 French - Malaysians Oct. 5 - Yugoslavs	SALT II Intelligence Reform	15 - IRAN Pos. Work Visit: Indonesia Philippines, Pacific Trust Terr	1 - Jamaicans 7-8 - Moroccans Poss. Working Visit to Canada
<u>Speeches/Appearances</u> - Second Circuit Conference - St. Paul AFL-CIO - AFL-CIO, Nat'l Leg. Policy Conference	3 - Am. Col. of Cardiology Hill Dinner/Hesburgh 8 - U/Santa Clara Burnett Award 10 - Chicago/Columbus Day Parade 13 - S.D. Education Assn.	12 - NYC - Italian-American Labor Council	9 or 12 - LA-AFL-CIO Convent 15 - Spirit of City Award, NY
<u>Politics</u> Pensacola DNC Fundraiser - Cong. Alexander Fundraiser (D.C.) - Ohio J-J Dinner - Mattox Fundraiser (D.C.) - Black Caucus Recep. (D.C.)	26 - Roe F/R (D.C.) 28 - DNC Boatride 29 - DNC Dinner at Res. 7 - DNC Event (L.A.) 8 - Panetta F/R (L.A.) Calif. House F/R 9 - Topeka Martha Keys F/R Chicago DNC F/R 13 - Rapid City F/R	12 - NH - Sen McIntyre Eagleton F/R DNC Texas Event (Tent.)	10-11 - Haskell F/R Oregon Democratic Party Wash. Dem. Party
<u>Open Time/R&R</u> - Camp Hoover	1-2 - Camp Hoover 13-16 - Shaver's place		11-14 - Vaill (Tent.)
<u>Press</u> TENT: Steve Neal, Phila. Inquirer - TENT: Day in the Life, Pt. II - TENT: Minn. Press	22 - TENT: Press Lunch 28 - TENT: George Will 5 - TENT: Meet D.C. based California media 25 - TENT: AP manag. Edit. 28 - New Orleans	TENT: Nat'l Press Club Speech (Possible Press Event for Foreign Press)	TENT: Press Dinner-Residence Overseas Writers Group (speech)
<u>Congressional</u> Congress Reconvenes	22 - TENT: Cong. Adjournment		
<u>Entertainment- Events at Residence</u> - Speaker at Residence	Senate Finance Comm. Dinner Black Caucus Dinner		TENT: Press Dinner - Resider

	<u>1st Quarter</u>	<u>2nd Quarter</u>	<u>3rd Quarter</u>	<u>4th Quarter</u>
<u>Domestic</u>	State of the Union Budget Submission			
<u>Foreign</u>	Intelligence Reform _____/			
	SALT II _____/	Possible Scandinavian Trip		
<u>Speeches/Appearances</u>				
<u>Politics</u>	Various Campaign Appearances (Party events, Mid-Term Election Events) _____		Mid-Term Election Campaign	Mid-Term Election Campaign Mid-Term DNC Conference
<u>Prep Time/R&R</u>				
<u>Press</u>				
<u>Congressional</u>	Panama Tax Reform _____/			
	Welfare Reform _____/			
	Other Treaties _____/			
<u>Entertainment - Events at Residence</u>	Dinner for Senator Byrd Polish American Dinner Hispanic Dinner			

Mr. President:

As absurd as it seems, the serious national political reporters are on the verge of writing a series of stories on "Mondale's decline" in the Carter Administration. If these stories are written, they will have a negative impact on Mondale and will make it more difficult for him to be your effective representative with members of Congress, Cabinet officers and foreign leaders. If we are not able to quash them, they will have an effect on Mondale personally.

The reasons for these stories are several:

- lack of visible involvement of Mondale in the Bert Lance situation;
- your public statements in support of Bert that tended to suggest he was your ~~most~~ ^{most} important friend and ~~adviser~~ in government *and you only "across the board" advise;*
- their desire to write "Carter is surrounded by ^{misguided} Georgians who give him bad advice" stories; a prominent Mondale role undermines those stories;

In talking with the press people today who are pursuing this line, I have made several points.

1. That there are three basic criteria which can be used to measure the relationship between the Vice-President and the President:

- Access of the VP to information
- Access of the VP to the President
- The influence of the Vice-President on the President

I said that measured by these criteria, most - if not all - previous Vice-Presidents have failed to have a productive political relationship with the President. I say that it can be proven that the Carter-Mondale relationship meets the first two criteria. I say that the third criteria - influence - ^{on the President} cannot be proven or quantified but does in fact exist and ~~would~~ must be the result of a subjective judgement.

Access to information, In support of this argument, I say that Mondale is the only person in the Administration other than the President who sees everything. He is one of four persons who see the daily intelligence briefing. He sees all domestic information from Stu. ~~The President and Vice-President are the only people who see everything.~~