



Tuesday/September 11/1979

Mondale lauds oil-tax plan at convention



Staff Photo by Bruce Bisping

Vice President Walter Mondale greeted workers during a visit to the Honeywell plant in Golden Valley, above, Monday afternoon. He received a briefing on energy conservation systems while

at the plant before other workers waved good-bye to him, below left. Earlier yesterday, Mondale, below right, addressed the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention at the downtown Radisson Hotel.



Staff Photo by Bruce Bisping

By Josephine Marcotty
Staff Writer

Vice President Walter Mondale crusaded for President Carter's windfall-profit tax on oil before the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention Monday, lauding it as an answer to unemployment and the safeguard of American freedom.

Speaking before union delegates in the downtown Radisson Hotel, Mondale said the tax is needed to finance the search for alternative energy sources because big oil companies, made richer through no effort of their own, have not taken the initiative.

"Oil companies are not building the facilities we need," Mondale said. "No one should profit at the expense of the American people."

Delegates greeted the vice president warmly, but there were signs that their appreciation was a welcome for a native Minnesotan that did not extend to the White House.

Many delegates said they did not approve of Carter, his energy plan or his record on union issues. During the four-day convention, delegates are expected to consider a resolution to find and endorse a candidate to compete against Carter in the 1980 presidential election.

But Mondale praised Carter's energy plan as a method for providing thousands of new jobs. New energy

industries, including gasohol, synthetic fuels and solar energy, would create up to 340,000 jobs by the late 1980s and another 50,000 jobs in related industries, Mondale said.

"But nothing will happen without the windfall profits tax," he warned.

Mondale also argued for Carter's proposed Energy Security Corporation because, he said, it would provide the necessary structure for fast, efficient decision-making.

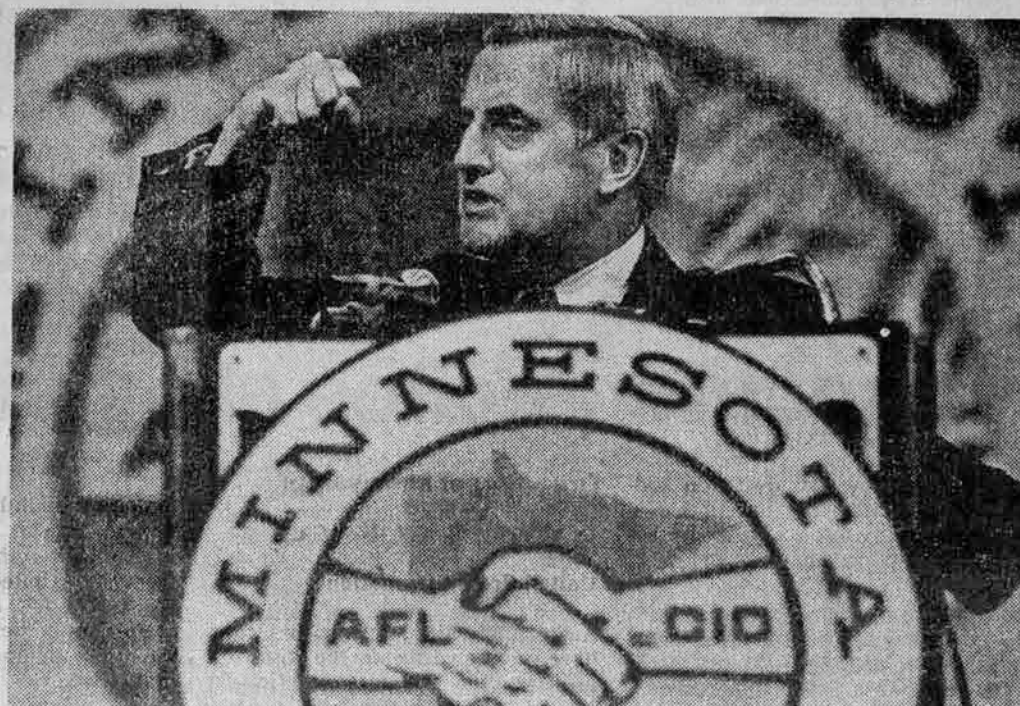
"We have to have a structure that can make a decision so we can develop energy independence," he said. "Let us never get into a position where the independence of this country is threatened by a dependence on foreign oil."

Later in the day Mondale toured the Golden Valley plant of Honeywell Inc. for a briefing on energy conservation systems. He returned to Washington after the tour.

The 800 union delegates applauded loudly at points, and laughed enthusiastically at Mondale's jokes. But after his speech, several delegates expressed disappointment that he did not address issues closer to labor's heart, particularly Carter's wage and price guidelines.

"I was really disappointed," said one delegate. "He's really got a lot

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Staff Photo by Kent Kobersteen

Mondale

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to defend about the Carter administration."

Another delegate called Mondale a jingo because he strongly attacked the Vietnamese government's treatment of refugees and continuously praised the United States as the strongest nation on earth.

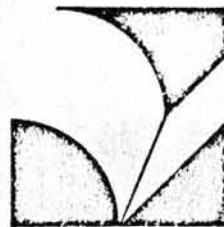
Another said Carter's proposed energy policies are only halfway measures.

"That's the trouble with Democrats," said Bob Tibbetts, a representative of Local 2640 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. "They think like Republicans on big issues."

Tibbetts said he believes that Carter should solve the energy crisis by nationalizing the oil industry.

"But that's too big for them," he said.

However, it is apparently not too big for the state AFL-CIO. During the convention it will consider and vote on a resolution urging Carter to try nationalizing the oil companies. But another resolution recommends that the AFL-CIO support the windfall profit tax.



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Mondale impact unique in modern politics

First of two articles.

By Finlay Lewis
Staff Correspondent

Washington, D. C.

A greatly oversimplified scorecard on Walter Mondale's recent performance as vice president might show the following:

Decontrol of domestic oil prices — a loss.

Retaining economic sanctions over Rhodesia — a win.

Resisting attempts to cut dairy price supports — a win.

Crafting a federal budget to finance both more guns and more butter — sort of a draw.

Mondale's impact on the Carter presidency is far more complex and affects a much broader range of problems than could be suggested by a statisti-

cal index of victories and defeats on specific issues. Even so, the mere fact that it is possible to compile such a list shows that the former Minnesota senator continues to enjoy a working relationship with Carter that is unprecedented in the history of the modern vice presidency.

That, in itself, is a development couched in pluses and minuses for Mondale, although the evidence seems clear that he is deriving greater personal satisfactions than discomfort

from this phase of his varied political career. Of course, it does mean that Mondale's political fate is inextricably tied to Carter's for the time being — an occasionally unnerving fact as the president's popularity drops.

Further, Mondale finds himself obliged to serve both as an architect and spokesman for fiscally conservative policies that inherently rub against the liberal grain of his political soul. As he candidly acknowledges, national politics isn't as much fun as it

used to be in the expansive 1960s — the age of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society when there was both public and budgetary support for sweeping social-improvement initiatives.

Mondale himself expresses the dilemma in terms of a pain-pleasure dialectic:

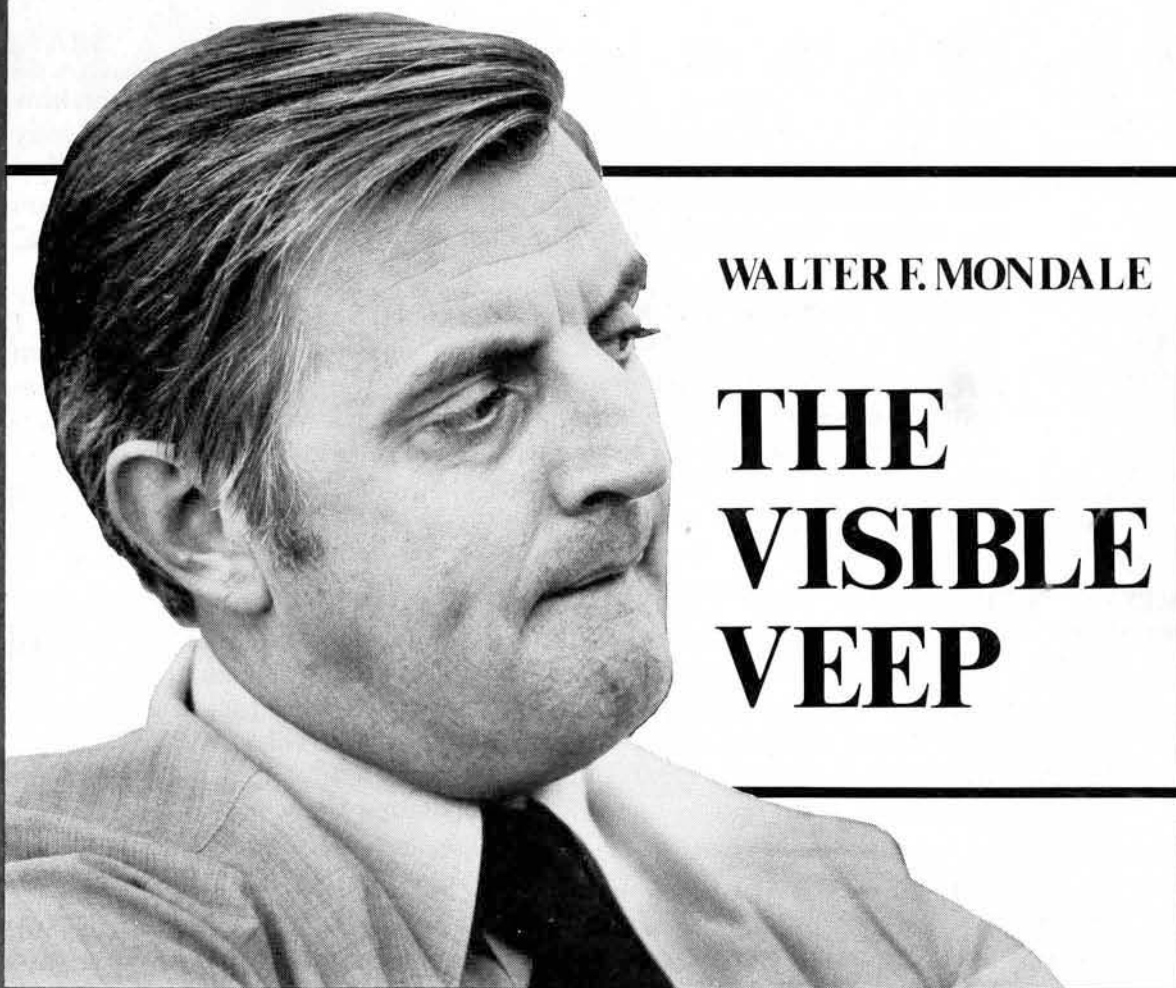
"Most of the tough problems we have got involve solutions that inevitably

Mondale continued on page 4A

National Journal

*Panama Straddlers
Ralph Nader Talks Back*

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT MARCH 11, 1978/NO. 10



WALTER F. MONDALE

**THE
VISIBLE
VEEP**

National Journal

THE WEEKLY ON POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

WHITE HOUSE

By Dom Bonafede

MONDALE: MAKING THE OFFICE SIGNIFICANT

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Soon after he took office as the first Vice President of the United States, John Adams bemoaned his fate in a letter to an acquaintance. "My country," Adams wrote, "has in its wisdom contrived for me the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." Walter F. Mondale would not agree. By gift of President Carter, Mondale has become the most active and visible Vice President of modern times, a member of the White House inner circle and an intimate adviser to the President. Whether this particular presidential-vice presidential relationship will last after Carter and Mondale leave office is another question. The precedent has been established, but no one can predict whether future Presidents will adhere to it.

INTERNATIONAL

By William J. Lanouette

THE PANAMA TREATIES' 'DOUBTFUL DOZEN'

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About a dozen Senators remain undecided, or at least undeclared, on how they will vote on the pending Panama Canal treaties. The dilemma may best be summed up in the lament of Sen. Jennings Randolph, D-W.Va., who faces a difficult reelection campaign and has not made up his mind on the treaties: "No matter what I do, I'll make some enemies of my friends."

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

By Linda E. Demkovich

RALPH NADER TALKS BACK TO HIS CRITICS

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It's been a tough year for Ralph Nader, but he isn't letting defeat slow him down. Nader has been blamed for contributing to the defeat of the consumer protection agency bill in the House, but in a *National Journal* interview, he says it wasn't his stinging attack on certain House Members that helped defeat it but the fact that the House is in the hip pocket of big business.

CONGRESS

By Richard E. Cohen

REASONS FOR THOSE CONGRESSIONAL RETIREMENTS

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Congressional retirements seem to be coming faster than ever this year and may top the 59 of the 94th Congress. There's no one particular reason, but interviews with a number of House Members who say they won't be back next year reveal increasing frustration with the job. They cite the growing complexity of issues, greater demands on their time and reduced public respect for Congress as factors that persuaded them to quit.

ECONOMY

By Robert J. Samuelson

COMING PROBLEMS FOR BOB STRAUSS

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Washington reporters seem to love Texans, and that's helped Robert S. Strauss earn an almost larger-than-life reputation during his first year as President Carter's Special Trade Representative. But Strauss has yet to prove he can produce an acceptable treaty out of the long multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva.

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By Rochelle L. Stanfield

THE 'NEUTRAL' INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT

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Administration officials say they designed the proposed enlargement of the investment tax credit so that it would have a neutral impact on investment in the center cities. But some independent tax analysts say the recommended changes would spur the exodus of industry from declining cities.

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Playing politics with the office of the U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia has gotten the Carter Administration into hot water. Ironically, Attorney General Griffin B. Bell's failure to act politically by moving swiftly to fill the vacancy has added to the Administration's woes.

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BREATHING SPACE FOR WELFARE REFORM

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The timetable for House action on President Carter's welfare reform bill has been altered because the agenda of the Ways and Means Committee is too crowded for the measure to be taken up as planned. But the delay may give Congress and the Administration time to clarify some of the disputed issues.

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Vice President Mondale— Carter's Partner with Portfolio

Walter F. Mondale is stepping out of the mold of Vice Presidents of the recent past, but what institutional impact this will have remains to be seen.

BY DOM BONAFEDE

Walter F. Mondale, aided and abetted by Jimmy Carter, is defying a tradition cherished by comics and political skeptics. Mondale's apparent compatibility with an institution that the astute political observer, Mr. Dooley, referred to as "kind iv a disgrace . . . like writin' anonymous letters," threatens to devalue the standard humor and caustic witticisms about the vice presidency that have become enshrined in American folklore, thanks in no small measure to contributions from many who have served in the office.

Maligned and scorned ever since it was created as an afterthought at the Constitutional Convention in 1791, the vice presidency has become a political purgatory from which one can either ascend to glory or fall into oblivion, depending on fate.

Hence, in their joint attempt to achieve a historic breakthrough by shaping the vice presidency into a useful appendage of the presidency, Carter and Mondale are as much hindered by popular perception—discolored by denigrations of the office—as they are by constitutional and political inhibitions.

However, the vice presidency is no laughing matter—and has not been for several decades, as attested to by the fact that four of the seven postwar Presidents occupied the office and a fifth, John F. Kennedy, once actively sought it.

Without question, Mondale, the former Senator from Minnesota whose open, guileless manner reflects his midwestern background, is the most active and most visible Vice President of modern times; he has direct access to Carter and, from all accounts, has the President's trust and confidence as well. He enjoys an easy camaraderie with senior Carter aides and it is not uncommon to

see him, dressed in shirt sleeves, hurrying to White House meetings. Occasionally, he darts into presidential assistant Hamilton Jordan's outer office and takes a piece of licorice from a glass jar sitting on the desk of Eleanor Connors, Jordan's secretary.

It's clear that the informality of the Carter White House suits his style.

But while Mondale is a member of the White House inner circle, with a mandate presumably broader and deeper than any of his predecessors and with access to most of the information and intelligence available to Carter, the boundaries of his authority rest solely on his personal relationship with the President. It has become a Washington cliché to refer to him as the most powerful Vice President in recent history. However, such qualitative judgments are subject to presidential fancy and the ever-shifting political tides, particularly in the case of a public personality who has neither a political base nor a natural constituency to support him.

Also, in the highly charged White House atmosphere, where imagery often is confused with reality, visibility is not necessarily influence and activity is not always involvement.

Mondale's main White House role is that of an eminent adviser to the President. One of several voices to which Carter listens, Mondale is a private catalytic agent rather than a public power broker.

Nonetheless, Carter and Mondale have added a new dimension to a generically tense governmental relationship that historically has ended in disillusionment, to the mutual regret of both parties. Perhaps never before have a President and his Vice President worked on such a harmonious note.

Less certain is whether the example set by Carter and Mondale and the participa-

tion of the Vice President in substantive policy matters will lead to a fundamental change in the institution of the vice presidency. Mondale is convinced that a precedent is being set that will guide succeeding Administrations. Others, including some of the most illustrious students of government in the country, suggest that the Carter-Mondale relationship is a temporary aberration that is unlikely to reoccur in future Administrations. (*For the views of other scholars, see box, p. 381.*)

During an interview in his White House office, Mondale mused on the nature of his role. Acknowledging that it was dependent on his personal association with the President, he said: "I am not a substitute or a deputy President. I understand that. I don't have that kind of separate institutional independence and I understand that. It's one of the aspects of the vice presidency. The President's name is Carter, not Mondale; I understand that."

"But, in a different way, I may have more influence in government than I ever had in the Senate because of my role with the President. In other words, I can be heard on all these issues; I know what the information is; I'm able to be heard on any matter I want to be heard on. And that is a different form of influence and independence from being a totally independent political person like a Senator." (*For more of that interview, see box, p. 379.*)

A HYBRID OFFICE

The dilemma faced by most Vice Presidents is that they rarely know what their institutional role is supposed to be and almost never are certain of their relationship with the President. In this, they are seldom helped by sitting Presidents, who traditionally are jealous of their prerogatives and feel threatened

by their understudy. Neither are Vice Presidents helped by the Constitution, which only vaguely defines their duties and leaves unclear whether they are members of the legislative or executive branch.

Consequently, the Vice President's role is determined by the President according to his political needs, philosophical concepts or personal whims.

As noted by Donald Young, history and political science editor of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, "The Vice President is an orphan in the Washington storm." Little wonder that in 1973, after having served one term as Vice President,

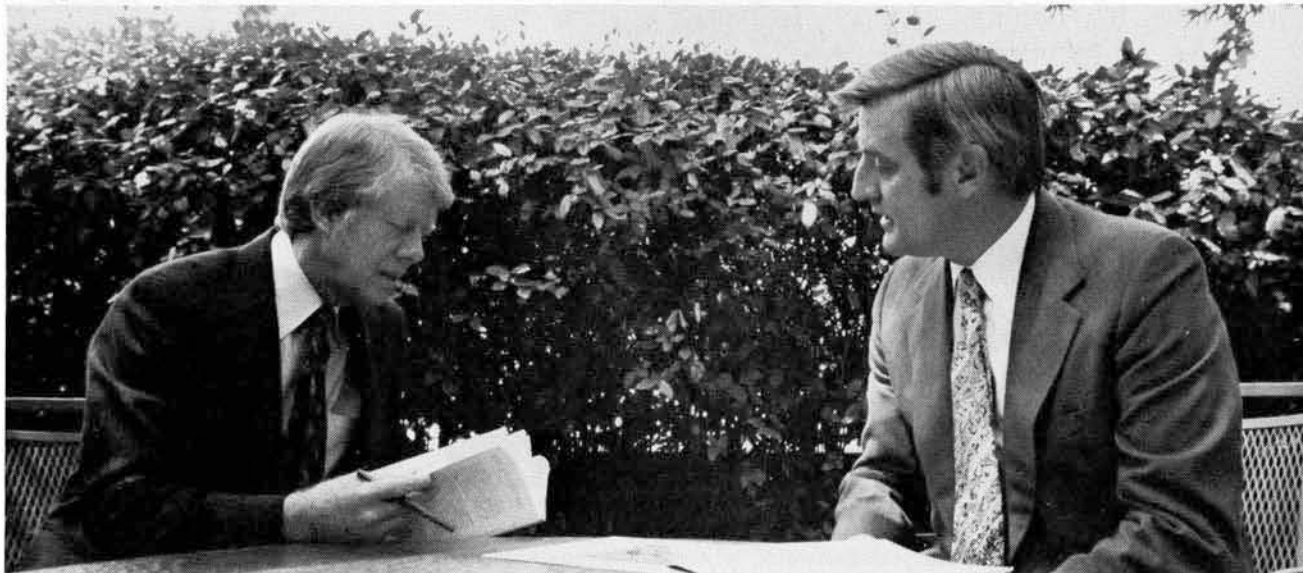
legislative branch and the other in the executive. . . . He belongs both to the President and to the Congress."

The duality is reinforced by the fact the Vice President is paid from the Senate budget and has a separate legislative staff but is usually handpicked by the President, runs as a national candidate with him and serves as his surrogate. The Vice President further has offices in both the Old Executive Office Building—and the White House, in Mondale's case—and the Capitol.

These subtle institutional divisions were generally unappreciated by Nelson A. Rockefeller during his term as Vice

Writing in the 1974 fall edition of *Political Science Quarterly*, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. noted that most Vice Presidents, accepting the Jeffersonian doctrine of separation, were convinced that they were "constitutionally confined to legislative functions." Harry S. Truman maintained that the Vice President "is not an officer of the executive branch." And Dwight D. Eisenhower contended that the Vice President "is not legally a part of the executive branch and is not subject to direction by the President."

But now, as historian James MacGregor Burns has observed, "The vice presidency has been tucked securely



Spiro T. Agnew lamented, "I don't know exactly what I'll be doing, it's up to the President to define it."

The Vice President's meager constitutional function is to preside over the Senate and to break tie votes in that body—and to succeed to the presidency in the event of the chief executive's death, resignation or removal from office. The 25th Amendment further provides that should the President be disabled, the Vice President shall assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Because of the Constitution's parsimonious delineation of the authority, the Vice President invariably feels like a political emigre, seeking shelter in the legislative or executive branch and not being particularly welcomed in either.

This anomaly was brought home to Vice President Gerald R. Ford when he was first presented to the Senate by then-Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., who said, "Here, presiding officers are to be seen and not heard, unlike the House where the Speaker's gavel is like a thunderclap."

While serving in the office, Ford described the Vice President as "a constitutional hybrid . . . with one foot in the

President. The former New York governor envisioned himself as an assistant President; he persuaded President Ford to give him operational responsibilities as overseer of the White House Domestic Council; he had his aides appointed to White House posts and he even promoted legislation, notably an ill-fated \$100 billion energy plan, in his own name. By so doing, Rockefeller crossed the thin line that Vice Presidents must tread.

His intrusion into the executive area was destined to fail since the Constitution specifically states that the executive power shall be invested in one man only—the President.

Like most of his predecessors, Rockefeller paid scant attention to his Senate duties. When he left, it was said he spoke only four times to the Senate: once to introduce himself, once to say farewell and twice to apologize to Democratic Members.

His decision to cast his lot with the executive should not have been too surprising, given the ambiguities of the office and the historical trend that has seen Vice Presidents become more closely aligned with the White House.

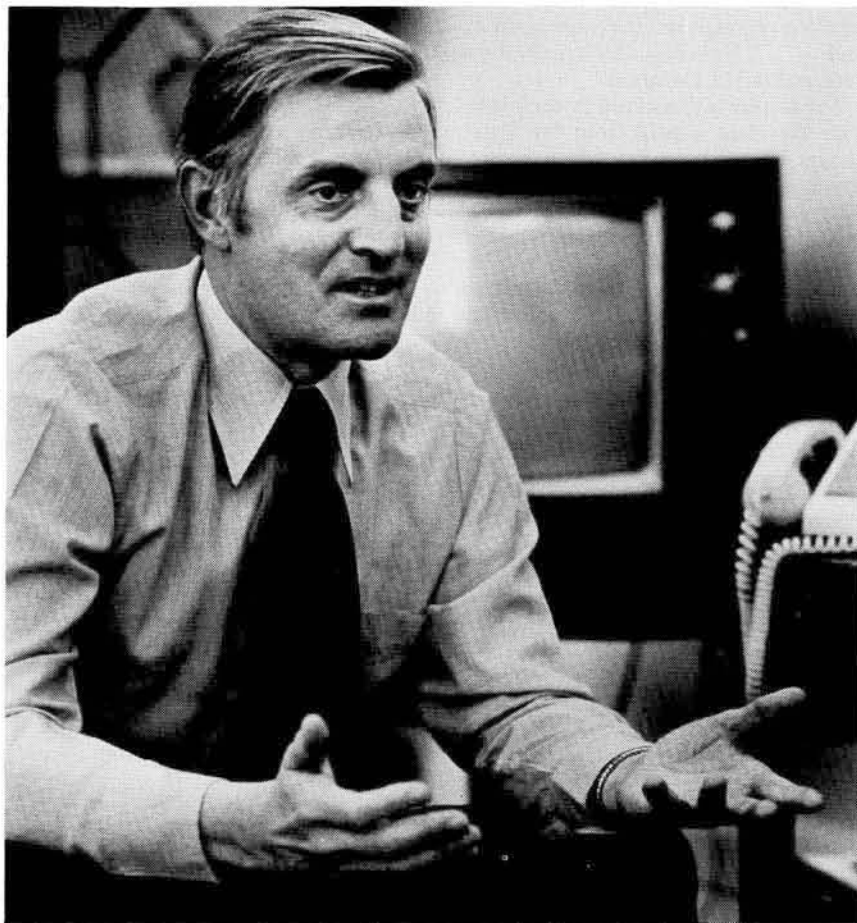
This is a relatively new development.

Mondale at his weekly meeting with the President. "We can see virtually everything that goes in and out of the Oval Office," says an aide to the Vice President.

into the executive establishment."

Among the reasons for the tilt: the two-term presidential limit provided in the 22nd Amendment and the appointment succession clauses of the 25th Amendment; the objective recognition of the mortality rate of Presidents and the chance that Vice Presidents will succeed to the office—what Donald Young calls "American roulette"; the statutory responsibilities assigned Vice Presidents, such as membership on the National Security Council; and the increasing need for a presidential representative in foreign affairs and travels abroad.

Symbolizing the movement towards the executive is the establishment of vice presidential offices within the presidential complex. President Kennedy provided Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson with an office next door to the White House in the Old Executive Office Building. Currently, Mondale occupies an office only a few feet from the



"I think in the past, Vice Presidents have often taken on minor functions in order to make it appear that their role was significant when, if they were President, they wouldn't touch them at all. I decided to stay away from that."

President's Oval Office, making him the first Vice President to have working quarters in the White House.

Mondale said that having a White House office "made a big difference" in his functional role by offering him constant proximity to Carter and the presidential staff and assuring him of being what is bureaucratically labeled, "in the loop"—a reference to the paper and people routed through the White House.

Mondale's close association with the President and his stature in White House affairs clearly place the Office of the Vice President on the side of the executive branch, for all practical and political purposes.

Mondale, nonetheless, seeks to make a fine distinction by stressing that he is not doing less in the Senate than previous Vice Presidents—it is just that he is doing more on the executive side than did his predecessors.

CARVING A CONCEPT

Few, if any, Vice Presidents have

entered office more thoroughly prepared than Mondale. He and Carter agreed that he would not become ensconced in operational or managerial functions nor be required to attend an inordinate number of ceremonial events, such as state funerals, which was one of Rockefeller's main assignments. Rather, Mondale would be allowed to devote his time and talent to substantive issues of short duration, giving him considerable flexibility.

Mondale also consulted with Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., his longtime friend and political patron, who had served as Vice President under President Johnson, and with Rockefeller.

"They each said two things," Mondale related. "First, they said the personal relationship with the President was everything. Secondly, they warned me there'd be no way of getting along with the White House staff. But we haven't had a bit of trouble. That's what's really unique here. I think Carter has brought that about. And being here in the White House has also helped."

Mondale's concept of the office was spelled out in a memo to Carter, dated Dec. 9, 1976. In it, he proposed that he serve as an adviser on a wide range of issues, as the President's troubleshooter, as his representative in some foreign

policy matters and as the Administration's political advocate.

Recalling those formative days, Richard P. Moe, the Vice President's chief of staff, said:

"We entered into this with a lot of apprehension. It's hard to think back on relationships between the President and Vice President that worked well. The pattern has been to cut off the Vice President and isolate him from the center of activity. Fortunately, Carter had given it a lot of thought and was committed to a meaningful relationship. Not until after the election did they get down to specifics as to what Mondale would be doing. It was decided that he was positioned to weigh in on any issue across the board and would be a general adviser to the President.

"In order for the relationship to work, it was agreed that Mondale would have access to all the information the President had, including that of a highly critical nature, he would have complete access to the President and he would be unencumbered by fixed institutional duties."

At Carter's suggestion, Mondale was allowed to take his pick of a White House office. He chose the one in the West Wing formerly occupied by Robert T. Hartmann, counselor to President Ford, between Hamilton Jordan and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's assistant for national security affairs.

"Things have worked out almost exactly as hoped and have even exceeded expectations," Moe said.

Shortly before his inauguration, however, Carter created a flurry of confusion by announcing that Mondale would be "my chief staff person." This was construed to mean that the Vice President would be the White House chief of staff, an unprecedented and probably unworkable arrangement in view of the long and personal association between Carter and his aides. Press secretary Jody Powell promptly attempted to clarify Carter's statement by explaining that the President simply meant to imply that Mondale would be involved actively in White House affairs and that the staff would recognize him as the nation's second highest elected official.

About the same time, in another puzzling statement, Carter said that Mondale would work alongside him as an "equal partner." In no sense, however, can the presidency be shared. Article II of the Constitution stipulates, "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." Neither by law nor custom can the President delegate final executive responsibility. Powell, again coming to the rescue, amended Carter's words to read "almost as a co-equal."

The Veep Looks at His Different Roles

Following is a partial transcript of an interview with Vice President Walter F. Mondale, conducted on Feb. 24 in his White House office:

Q: What is your concept of the vice presidency?

A: You begin with the constitutional phenomenon of the vice presidency. It's the only office that breaches the separation of powers; you're both an executive and legislative officer. I believe we've broken new institutional grounds in this Administration on the role of the Vice President. It does not involve a diminution of the legislative function. I'm presiding as much as any Vice President whom I've observed in the years I've been here. What dictates my exercise of the presiding function is the meaningfulness of the moment and the possibility of crucial parliamentary rulings or the possibility of casting a tie vote on a substantive issue. I see no reason for a Vice President to be presiding other than that.

Q: Could you tell me more about your Senate role?

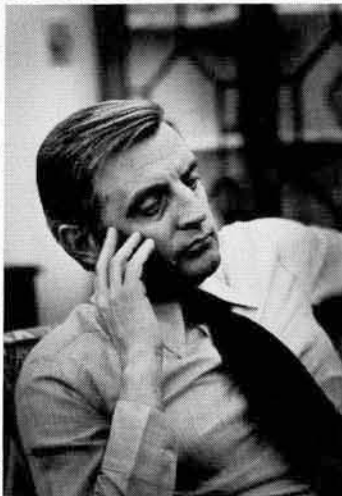
A: Because of the peculiar relationship that a Vice President has between the executive and legislative branches, while I do discuss issues with Senators, I try to avoid any role that would create doubts as to my impartiality as a presiding officer and that would appear to be inappropriate for my office. The second and most crucial element of the vice presidency is the role I play in aiding the President. In that area, we've made our most innovative and, I think, our most decisive institutional change. It has direct bearing on the succession issue in the sense that one is better prepared because one has been more deeply involved. This role has many different aspects, but I don't think any Vice President has been privy to more information, participated more directly with the President, had more involvement in a broader range of issues, both domestic and foreign, than President Carter has permitted me to participate in. I hope it would be the standard in the future.

Q: How do you perceive your White House role as a preeminent adviser or, as Carter once mentioned, as chief staff person? It doesn't seem to have worked as the latter.

A: It really wasn't what he intended either. I see my role as general adviser on almost any issue, as a troubleshooter, as a representative of the President in some foreign affairs matters and as a political advocate of the Administration.

Q: But you don't have any operational responsibilities, do you?

A: I decided to recommend to the President that I not be assigned any line functions as such, for several reasons. First, most of the functions would, if they are significant, be already assigned to some Cabinet or key executive officer and why should I handle them? Or, if they weren't significant, they would trivialize the vice presidency. I think, in the past, Vice Presidents have often taken on minor functions in order to make it appear that their role was significant when, if they



Carter said, "I want you ready."

were President, they wouldn't touch them at all. I decided to stay away from that. Also, by staying away from direct line functions, I think you avoid the jealousies and competition that might otherwise develop and affect your role as adviser. Secondly, I don't have the staff to run a major line function. Nor should I. It takes a lot of time away from your advisory role. The way it is now, I don't have to defend a bureaucratic office. And that's good. I can spend my time elsewhere. . . . I can, more or less, be where the President needs me most, with not having the continuing responsibility of a staff nature, which is really a misuse of my time.

Q: Many academics approve of your visibility and activeness and so forth. But they question whether this really changes the institution of the vice presidency.

A: What is different is that we now have precedent. And I think precedence is an important factor in government. In the past, the precedent has been that the staffs don't get along together, that Vice Presidents have no room to act, are on the outside looking in. I think we've demonstrated that those barriers are removable, that a Vice President can be helpful in a hundred ways. And I believe that this precedent that we've established is not only enduring in this Administration but is deepening and broadening every day. The acceptability and the routineness of the role is improving. By routine, I mean there are all kinds of decision making flying around the White House. I'm automatically included in what is called "being in the loop." I'm automatically included in things, invited to things. That was not the case in the beginning, but now we've got that institutional experience. . . . The next Vice President is going to say, "Well, I should be in the White House. I think I can help you and we've got precedent for that."

Q: Your friend, Gene McCarthy, thinks a Vice President loses his political independence and removes himself from effective political activity because he essentially has no power base or constituency. Do you believe that?

A: My political influence is of a different nature. It's personal to the President. I am not a substitute or a deputy President. I understand that. I don't have that kind of separate institutional independence and I understand that. It's one of the aspects of the vice presidency. The President's name is Carter, not Mondale; I understand that. But, in a different way, I may have more influence in government than I ever had in the Senate because of my role with the President. In other words, I can be heard on all these issues; I know what the information is; I'm able to be heard on any matter I want to be heard on. And that is a different form of influence and independence from being a totally independent political person like a Senator.

Q: But can you be your own man?

A: Oh, yes, I can be.

Q: Traditionally, Presidents feel uncomfortable in the presence of the Vice President. Do you sense any evidence of that?

A: None whatsoever. . . . He [Carter] said it was his impression that a lot of Vice Presidents remind Presidents of their mortality or they feel that a Vice President is some sort of a threat to their constitutional powers. He said he didn't have any such concerns, and he doesn't. He's a very strong person in terms of personal and mental health. He said, "No one can take my powers away from me. First, I want your help and you can't help me unless you're with me. Secondly, if I'm not here, I don't want you to spend six weeks training to be President. I want you ready."

More than anything, the two incidents underline Carter's determination to enhance the Vice President's role.

James A. Johnson, executive assistant to Mondale, said the most significant change in the traditional President-Vice President relationship is Mondale's access to White House papers. "We can see virtually everything that goes in and out of the Oval Office," Johnson said. "We have an opportunity to see the President's views and to make our own comments. Much of it is done informally; if we catch something, Mondale may go direct to the White House staffer involved and alert him. He is in the flow on everything."

Mondale also has *carte blanche* privileges to sit in on any presidential meeting and often spends two to five hours daily in such sessions.

Among the Vice President's regularly scheduled meetings are a Monday luncheon with Carter, weekly Cabinet and congressional leadership sessions, twice-a-week intelligence conferences with Brzezinski, Jordan and CIA director Stansfield Turner and a Friday foreign policy breakfast with Carter, Brzezinski, Jordan and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance.

To a large degree, Mondale's schedule is drafted to conform with the President's, which is drawn up in two-week cycles. Johnson estimated that Mondale spends less than 5 per cent of his time on ceremonial functions, which is considerably less than his predecessors did.

Mondale has no less than four offices—in the White House, the Old Executive Office Building, the Capitol and the Dirksen Senate Office Building. By far, most of his time is spent at the White House. He also has an official home in a residential section of Washington, a few miles from the White House.

A FUNCTIONAL ROLE

Notwithstanding the exposure given Mondale's functional responsibilities, he is not the first Vice President to be given serious work. Henry A. Wallace was made chairman of the Economic Defense Board, the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board and the Board of Economic Warfare by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Truman (mindful that he was not informed of the atom bomb project while serving as Vice President) sponsored legislation making the Vice President a member of the National Security Council. Vice President Richard M. Nixon was made chairman of the Commission on Government Contracts and the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability. Johnson served as chairman of the Committee on Equal Employment

Opportunities, as well as chairman of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council. Humphrey was made chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council. In addition to his Domestic Council role, Rockefeller was chairman of the Committee on the Right to Privacy, the Commission on Productivity and Work Quality and the Federal Compensation Commission.

For the most part, with the exception of Wallace's responsibilities, these have



been part-time, marginal assignments, involving interagency or liaison duties. Ford, for example, had been assigned as White House liaison for Indian affairs but subsequently asked to be relieved of the chore.

They were exactly the kind of make-work projects, contributing to the Throttlebottom image, that Mondale wanted to avoid, and has, so far.

Mondale suggested to Carter that he be deployed to work on continuing issues that would not directly fall within the jurisdictions of other Administration officials and would not "trivialize the vice presidency." In an interview, he said: "I think in the past, Vice Presidents have often taken on minor functions in order to make it appear that their role was significant when, if they were President, they wouldn't touch them at all. I decided to stay away from that. Also, by staying away from direct line functions, I think you avoid the jealousies and competition that might otherwise develop and affect your role as adviser."

"Secondly, I don't have the staff to run a major line function. Nor should I. It takes a lot of time away from your advisory role. The way it is now, I don't have to defend a bureaucratic office. And that's good. I can spend my time elsewhere."

Among the major domestic issues in which Mondale has been involved are the selection of some Cabinet members and other high Administration officials (he is credited with promoting the appointment of Agriculture Secretary Bob Bergland and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr.); the reorganization of the national intelligence community; the search for a successor to Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur F. Burns (along with

Mondale at a meeting with the congressional leadership. As a presiding officer of the Senate, he says he tries "to avoid any role that would create doubts as to my impartiality. . . ."

Jordan, Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and Charles L. Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers); District of Columbia governmental affairs; the proposed establishment of a separate Department of Education; expansion of the government's foster child and child welfare services programs; and electoral reform proposals.

Through his wife Joan, he has sought to revive interest in the arts. He was an early advocate of human rights initiatives and spoke at an affair honoring two prominent Soviet dissidents, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Scharansky, at a time when there was speculation that the Administration was weakening its commitment in the area.

As a political surrogate, he campaigned for New York Mayor Edward I. Koch and New Jersey Gov Brendan T. Byrne and made a seven-state tour in January to assure westerners that the Administration would protect their water rights, a crucial issue in a region where Carter's political standing is low.

The Carter-Mondale Relationship: A Precedent?

Spokesmen for Walter F. Mondale contend that the working relationship between the Vice President and President Carter may well set a precedent for succeeding Administrations and fundamentally alter the institution of the vice presidency.

"This could create a pattern," predicted Richard P. Moe, the Vice President's chief of staff. "Carter has proved it could work. Any future President who doesn't do this will be put on the defensive."

However, while several scholars and former presidential aides surveyed by *National Journal* endorsed Mondale's active White House role, none foresaw any significant change in the institution of the office. Almost all attributed the Vice President's enhanced stature to his personal relationship with Carter rather than to any institutional reforms.

Among their comments:

Jonathan Moore, director of the Institute of Politics, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University: "No question it is an encouraging development. Carter and Mondale seem temperamentally suited to each other. But nothing really is established. It is very hard to structurally or constitutionally change the role of the Vice President. It still depends on the President, who can turn it off or on at will—but I'm not saying that is bad."

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., historian and former Kennedy aide: "Undoubtedly Carter is making a more serious effort to use [Mondale] than any President since Andrew Jackson. But I would guess his influence varies in reverse ratio to the extent that the Carter team doesn't know the Washington terrain. When they feel they have things in hand, Mondale is forced to retreat; when they get in trouble, he gets a new lease on life. But invariably, they will become Washingtonians and will need him less. . . . I don't see any precedent being set. Franklin Roosevelt gave Henry Wallace an important job, and that didn't create any precedent."

George E. Reedy, distinguished Nieman professor, Marquette University, and former press secretary to President Johnson: "You can't divide the executive power of the presidency, not just because of the Constitution but because it literally can't be done. . . . The thing about the Vice President is that he has almost no power base and if you don't have that under the American political system, you have nothing. He has derivative power, what the President allows him to

have. Mondale may have the ear of the President, but that doesn't change the office itself."

James E. Connor, First Boston Corp., former Cabinet secretary and staff administrator in the Ford White House: "I'm puzzled as to what Mondale is doing. It seems like he has access to the extent he can be helpful as a kibbitzer and take on special projects, but that is not new. He and Carter appear to have a good relationship, and that is to be encouraged. But there may be less there than meets the eye; the institutional problems remain."

Thomas E. Cronin, University of Delaware professor of government and politics: "Mondale has ties with Congress and the Democratic Party—elements which Carter denigrated during the campaign. One of the things that made him acceptable was Mondale on the ticket. Carter needed him and has intelligently made use of him. After Carter learns his way around Washington, we'll see if he still needs him. . . . The healthy relationship between the two is good for now but may not last or have an effect in succeeding Administrations."

Fred I. Greenstein, Henry Luce professor of law, politics and society, Princeton University: "It seems to me I've heard this song before. . . . I'm a little skeptical about how overwhelmingly influential Mondale is. First, it seems singularly difficult to determine whom Carter listens to. Second, there is no reason to believe the relationship between the two is going to set a precedent. A lot of it has to do with Carter's fascination with organization, and this is clearly a balancing act with an experienced Washington hand."

Stephen Hess, senior fellow, Brookings Institution: "The odds are it won't have a lasting effect. There is no infrastructure; the whole thing rises or falls on two people. Their relationship depends on irreplaceable things and can't be reproduced in a test tube. Carter had the campaign sewed up and had time to find Mondale, their ages are duplicable, Mondale is young enough to wait patiently and Carter is young enough so he needn't question his mortality. . . . Also, Mondale was useful in the campaign and during the transition; this relates to their insider-outsider relationship. Carter needs Mondale more than most Presidents need their Vice Presidents. . . . Another factor is Mondale's tranquil personality; he is less of a threat than most Vice Presidents."

In his role as Administration spokesman, he has plugged labor law reform, voting rights for District of Columbia residents and an \$11.4 billion jobs program.

Not unexpectedly, Mondale's remarks at times have had a public relations ring. In July, while speaking before a group of teachers, he gave the Administration credit for a proposed \$1 billion in aid to education, even though the White House earlier had opposed the measure. And in December, while defending the Administration's legislative record for its first year, he maintained that it would have been better had the White House not overloaded Congress with too many proposals. Actually, the Administration's legislative output was no greater than some of its predecessors during their first

year in office, and less than some others.

Such diversions are hardly considered major transgressions in the political community, however.

On Capitol Hill, Mondale, presumably profiting from the mistakes of others who have gone before him, has been highly respectful of the separation of powers doctrine. He has not tried to pull a political end run as Vice President Johnson did when he sought to exercise control over the Senate Democratic Caucus, only to be firmly rebuffed by Majority Leader Mansfield.

"I try to avoid any role that would create doubts as to my impartiality as a presiding officer and that would appear to be inappropriate for my office," Mondale said. He works in step with Frank B. Moore, assistant to the President for con-

gressional relations, on legislative strategy and frequently meets with Members of Congress to discuss specific issues. After the Camp David talks between Carter and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Mondale met with 16 Senators in the office of Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., to brief them on the developments. He then did the same with a group of House leaders.

While Mondale does not lobby blatantly on behalf of Administration policy on Capitol Hill, he capitalizes on old friendships, as one might expect, and is frequently on the phone pushing such White House proposals as the Panama Canal treaties and Carter's energy bill. He also was instrumental in the confirmation of Paul C. Warnke as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The Staff Behind the Vice President

Vice President Walter F. Mondale's staff consists largely of experienced Washington hands, almost all of whom have been associated with him for several years and are acquainted with his working habits and professional requirements.

For the most part, they project an easy-mannered assurance and an uninhibited awareness of the traditional competitiveness of the presidential and vice presidential staffs.

"In effect, we are another arm of the President's staff," remarked one of Mondale's aides.

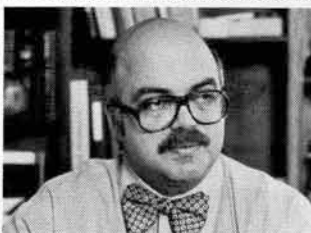
Among the Vice President's senior assistants are:

Richard P. Moe, chief of staff—Holder of a title that President Carter eschews for his White House staff, signifying in a small way Mondale's somewhat flexible role, Moe is a graduate of Williams College and the University of Minnesota law school. A native of Duluth, Minn., he entered politics at an early age, becoming state chairman of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in 1969. He became a Senate aide to Mondale in 1972 and has been with him ever since. He has been credited with establishing the working relationship between the Carter and Mondale staffs.



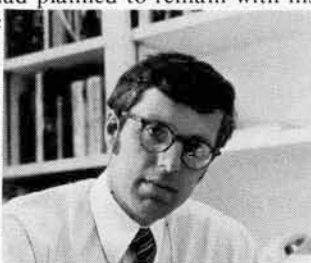
Moe

Michael S. Berman, counsel and deputy chief of staff—A lawyer and political operative, he has been called Mondale's "legal guru." Also from Duluth and a graduate of the University of Minnesota law school, Berman worked in state campaigns for Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey and Mondale. Formerly an administrative assistant to Mondale, Berman has been with him off and on since 1964. He had planned to remain with his Minneapolis law firm but was chosen as Carter's running mate. Berman, the son of a tailor, has a picture in his office that shows him sewing a button on one of the Vice President's shirt cuffs.



Berman

James A. Johnson, executive assistant—Son of a former Speaker of the Minnesota House, he grew up in politics and has been politically associated with former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, D-Minn., and Sens. George McGovern, D-S.D., and Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine. A University of Minnesota graduate, he earned a master's degree from Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Before joining the Vice President's staff, he had been a business executive with the Dayton-Hudson Corp. in Minneapolis. He serves as general adviser and major domo of Mondale's schedule.



Johnson

Gail Harrison, issues director for domestic affairs—A native of Danbury, Conn., and a graduate of Cornell University, she began working in Mondale's Senate office as a clerk-typist in 1969, eventually becoming one of his legislative

assistants. Among her special interests were environmental issues. During Mondale's vice presidential campaign, she served as speechwriter and issues coordinator. She now oversees the Vice President's domestic affairs projects and works closely with Stuart E. Eizenstat, assistant to the President for domestic policy.



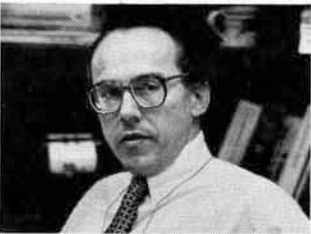
Harrison

William Smith, assistant for congressional relations—A veteran Capitol Hill operative, Smith worked for several of Mondale's senatorial committees and served as associate general counsel to then-Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont. In his present post, Smith keeps Mondale informed of what is going on in the Senate and coordinates activities with Frank B. Moore, assistant to Carter for congressional affairs. He is a graduate of Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania law school.



Smith

Albert A. Eisele, press secretary—Formerly a Washington correspondent for the *St. Paul Dispatch & Pioneer Press*, he joined the Mondale staff in December 1976 after having covered him for several years in the Senate. Although in his current position a relatively short time, Eisele already has gained a reputation as an able and cooperative press spokesman. He was born in Blue Earth, Minn., near Mondale's birthplace of Ceylon, and was graduated from St. John's University in Minnesota before attending the University of Minnesota for two years. After an Army tour, he played professional baseball in the Cleveland Indians' farm system from 1959-62. He began his journalistic career with the *Mankato (Minn.) Free Press* and is the author of *Almost to the Presidency* (Piper Co.), a 1972 biography of Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy.



Eisele

A. Denis Clift, assistant for national security affairs—A former Navy officer and member of the National Security Council (NSC) during the Nixon-Ford years, he is the only senior staffer who had not previously known or been identified with Mondale prior to his election as Vice President. Mondale invited him to join his staff after he helped arrange his first overseas trip to Europe and Japan in January 1977. Clift provides Mondale with daily foreign affairs briefings and supervises his activities as a formal member of the NSC. A native of New York City, he is a graduate of Stanford University and the London School of Economics and Political Science and has written a book on the Antarctic.



Clift

The record shows that during the 178 days Congress met in 1977, Mondale presided in the Senate for 19 days, for a total of 18 hours. That is about average for Vice Presidents, most of whom quickly perceive that there is little reason for them to be on hand except when there is the possibility of a close vote or when a crucial Administration measure is being taken up.

Furthermore, there is a serious question of whether a Vice President's Senate function is not an anachronistic custom, of little use to the Members and the presiding officer. "It's ridiculous," declared George E. Reedy, a former Johnson aide. "The Vice President doesn't have the powers of the House Speaker. He can't even send out the sergeant-at-arms to round up Members without the approval of the Senate."

In the foreign affairs area, Mondale is regularly included in all policy and decision-making sessions at the White House and receives the same briefings and intelligence communications as Carter. He has been given special jurisdiction over U.S. policy in Africa. And during his first year in office, he made four foreign trips: to West Europe and Japan to reinforce U.S. commitments to its allies; to Spain, Portugal and Austria, during which he met with South African Prime Minister John Vorster to emphasize the U.S. policy of racial justice; and to Mexico and Canada. In April he will go on a mission to New Zealand, Australia, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines to discuss mutual security and economic issues.

Mondale maintains that these are business trips and not simply ceremonial affairs. Similarly, Carter has said that foreign leaders know that Mondale is his personal emissary and that the agenda for the Vice President's trips is the same as if the President were making the journey.

Mondale also meets in his White House office with foreign government officials and often fills in for Carter when foreign opposition leaders come to Washington.

Mondale's most important line responsibility probably is his chairmanship of the White House executive committee, established in July under Carter's reorganization of the Executive Office of the President. Besides the Vice President, the group is composed of eight senior White House aides, plus Moe, Schultze, Tim Kraft, special assistant to the President for appointments, and James T. McIntyre Jr., acting director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Essentially, the purpose of the committee is to propose priorities, flag problems in their early stages, prepare long-term agendas and set time schedules

Modestly Mondale

In a material way, the vice presidency has been a modest boon to Walter F. Mondale. One of the least affluent Members of the Senate, he and his wife declared a joint income of \$64,021 for 1976. His Senate salary at the time was \$44,476. As Vice President, he receives an annual salary of \$75,000 plus \$10,000 for expenses, free use of the vice presidential mansion as well as \$61,000 to maintain the residence, the use of Navy stewards and groundskeepers, a limousine and driver paid by the Senate and the use of Air Force planes for traveling.

Nonetheless, his aides report he still buys his suits off the rack.

for Administration initiatives—to bring a sense of order out of the maze of issues that find their way to the White House.

"We take a look across the board as to what we're prepared to do in foreign and domestic areas, whether it is consistent with policy, whether the timing is right and whether it is a high priority goal," said Gail Harrison, the Vice President's issues director for domestic affairs.

In a sense, the committee performs some of the functions of a chief of staff.

The full committee is expected to meet only about four times a year, but its members periodically meet in small groups to deal with specialized issues.

In the main, Mondale has been allowed to pick his issues and move in and out of problem areas at will and not get bogged down in bureaucratic quicksand. So far, the Vice President has received high marks from Carter. But, understandably, his performance has not been without flaws.

Early last year, he campaigned in his home state of Minnesota for Mike Sullivan, a former aide seeking the House seat vacated by Agriculture Secretary Bergland. The voters, apparently taking into consideration the fact that Sullivan hadn't lived in the district for several years, gave the seat to a Republican. They also may have been unimpressed by Mondale's boast that he could "get him [Sullivan] in to see the President anytime he wants to."

Shortly afterward, when Mondale reportedly charged that criticism of Carter's policies by former President Ford was "unseemly and unfair" he was, in turn, criticized for overreacting to a minor political incident. (Not one to forget, Ford later blasted Mondale's espousal of black majority rule in South Africa as a hindrance to getting that country's assistance on a Rhodesian settlement.)

In October, in his role as the Senate's presiding officer, Mondale was portrayed widely as acting as a puppet for Majority Leader Byrd in a parliamentary maneuver that killed a filibuster against natural gas price deregulation. Mondale, normally a popular figure among his former colleagues, embittered several Senators by his action. According to a White House aide, "There doesn't seem to be any aftereffects, but that's not to say they don't exist."

THE CHEMISTRY FACTOR

When speaking of the relationship between Carter and Mondale, their aides invariably mention the "personal chemistry" that seems to bring them together.

They recall that Carter, on returning to Washington on Jan. 6 after a seven-nation tour, was met by a delegation led by Mondale. In his welcoming remarks, the Vice President said, "When you left, Mr. President, you asked those of us who stayed behind to take care of things. These have been nine successful days in the history of our country. And we are proud of it. We have avoided war. We have continued government services with no increase in taxes. The Congress [then in recess] has not turned down a single suggestion during these past nine days. I have aged a year since you left [Mondale turned 50 on Jan. 5] and Amy [the President's daughter] is now an accomplished skier."

Responding, Carter said, "Maybe I should have stayed gone longer."

The light-hearted exchange illustrates the comfortable rapport between the two. It is difficult to imagine a comparable scenario played by Agnew and Nixon or by Rockefeller and Ford.

Associates suggest that similarities in their backgrounds and personalities are likely to enable Carter and Mondale to endure the strains that normally provoke a break between Presidents and Vice Presidents. Both are in their early fifties, come from small towns and were brought up in religious environments, Carter, a Southern Baptist, in Plains, Ga., and Mondale, the son of a Methodist minister, in Ceylon, Minn.

One theory often heard is that Mondale is accorded exalted rank in the Carter White House mainly because the Georgians need his political expertise and knowledge about Washington. Remarkd Thomas E. Cronin, a student of the presidency, "After Carter learns his way around Washington, we'll see if he still needs him [Mondale]." And Schlesinger suggested that Mondale's influence "varies in reverse ratio to the extent that the Carter team doesn't know the Washington terrain."

A view from the White House was offered by a presidential aide who often works with Mondale: "In an Administration which is perceived as being one of outsiders, the Vice President plays a vital role in providing a link between the President and Congress. . . . It has been said that the President himself should cultivate friendships and relationships on the Hill; whether true or not, the Vice President serves as a catalyst. He also serves as an adviser to us all."

Carter's concern about any hint of public depreciation of Mondale's status was manifested in September when he telephoned two newspaper bureau chiefs in Washington to scotch reports that the Vice President was losing prestige within the White House. Carter praised Mondale for his advisory role in domestic and foreign affairs, citing his contributions in preparing the government's brief in the Bakke reverse discrimination case and the strategic arms limitation talks.

All in all, it was unusual action for a President, and many are unsure whether it was a public relations ploy or a sincere gesture in support of a friend and associate.

Actually, Mondale enjoys an extremely good press. He personally knows many journalists and gets along with them so well that Albert A. Eisele, his press aide, says he doesn't really need a press secretary. At least in some measure, Mondale's relationship with the Washington press corps comes through in many of the articles about him. A recent spate of stories about the Mondales and their three children make them seem like the Partridge Family of American politics. And while Carter has been soundly criticized by the news media for a rather disappointing first year in the White House, little of it has rubbed off on Mondale, despite his involvement.

MONDALE'S STAFF

Commensurate with the Vice President's dual role are his two staffs and two budgets.

Michael S. Berman, counsel and deputy chief of staff to the Vice President, said that Mondale has a staff of 55, eight of whom work out of the Senate offices. Most of the others are located in the Old Executive Office Building. Of the senior aides, only Johnson is assigned to the White House since, as executive assistant to Mondale, he is in charge of scheduling and appointments.

Berman estimated the Vice President's total budget at \$2 million, of which \$1.325 million is carried on the executive side. That is twice as much as the Vice President's executive budget totaled in 1971.

Although members of the Vice

President's staff are well aware of who their boss is, there has been an unprecedented attempt to coordinate it with the White House staff. After the Democratic National Convention in the summer of 1976, Mondale staffers were sent to Carter's Atlanta headquarters to get acquainted with his aides and make a beginning at meshing the activities of the two camps.

"Jordan insisted that we be plugged in," Moe said. "Now, the two staffs are almost indistinguishable. We have the same goals and we serve the same President. . . ."

"Previously, Presidents and presidential staffs felt threatened. That's not true in this case. Carter made it clear at the beginning what role he wanted the Vice President to play. Also, the top White House people have a longtime, established relationship with the President and are not likely to feel threatened. There is a total lack of intrigue and back-biting here. For one thing, Carter wouldn't stand for it."

Mondale and Jordan particularly seem to hit it off well together and enjoy puncturing each other's pride. Jordan has been heard to greet Mondale in an exaggerated, mocking tone as "The Vice President of the United States." And when there were reports that Jordan might quit the White House, Mondale told him he was sure he could get the unanimous consent of Congress to give him a pension—on the condition that he leave Washington.

Generally, the operational pattern between the two staffs simply calls for members of one staff to communicate with their counterparts on the other. For example, Moe deals with Jordan, Berman with Robert Lipshutz, counsel to the President, Gail Harrison with Stuart E. Eizenstat, assistant to the President for domestic policy, Eisele with Powell and so on down the line. (*For profiles of Mondale's principal aides, see box, p. 382.*)

It's obvious from discussions with members of Mondale's staff that they harbor deep respect and affection for him. However, several touched on aspects of his personality other than his projected public image as an easy-mannered, smiling figure with a self-deprecating wit.

Said one veteran staff aide, "He's not a hail-fellow, well-met kind of guy. He's not a back-slapper; he can be a very quiet man. He feels his private time is his private time. He's not overly sociable; he avoids the aggressive Washington party life. . . . He reads a lot of Shakespeare. One day he came in and said, 'You ought to read about Garibaldi.'"

Another aide noted that Mondale's father became a minister after a half-

brother experienced a religious reawakening. "There's a deep, contemplative side to him, sort of a Norwegian mysticism, a transcendental view of life."

POLITICAL PROSPECTS

Joel K. Goldstein, a Rhodes scholar and author of a study of the vice presidency, has noted, "Vice Presidents in this century invariably are considered presidential timber." So far, 13 Vice Presidents have become President—one-third of all who have served in that office.

Adhering to tradition, Mondale makes all the obligatory gestures to imply that he is not looking beyond the vice presidency. A professional politician never tips his hand prematurely. Yet, he surely has many of the attributes and is making most of the right moves, while retaining national visibility.

His biggest handicap may be that his political career has been built on offices bestowed rather than earned: he was appointed to his first public office as attorney general in Minnesota in 1960, and appointed to the Senate in 1964 to fill the unexpired term of Sen. Humphrey, who became Johnson's Vice President. And, it might be said, Mondale was appointed to his present position.

He is saddled with the reputation of being the beneficiary of the ideological crusaders who created Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and of not possessing the visceral drive to make the supreme effort. Critics are unlikely to forget, or to let Mondale forget, that after taking himself out of the presidential campaign in 1974, he announced, "I do not have the overwhelming desire to be President which is essential for the kind of campaign that is required."

The vice presidency, however, easily can infect the occupant of the office with the necessary desire and the drive for the No. 1 job.

Meanwhile, both Carter and Mondale maintain that the office ideally prepares the Vice President for the presidency. This is a matter of dispute. Truman wrote, "No Vice President is ever properly prepared to take over the presidency because of the nature of our presidential, or executive office." And Charles H. Kirbo, the President's friend and confidant who was involved in Carter's search for a running mate, declared in a study conducted by the American Bar Association, "The vice presidency is not on-the-job training."

Mondale, however, insists that by "looking at the world's problems from the vantage point of the President, or the disadvantage of the President," he has gained a perspective he could never have gotten as a Senator. □



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