

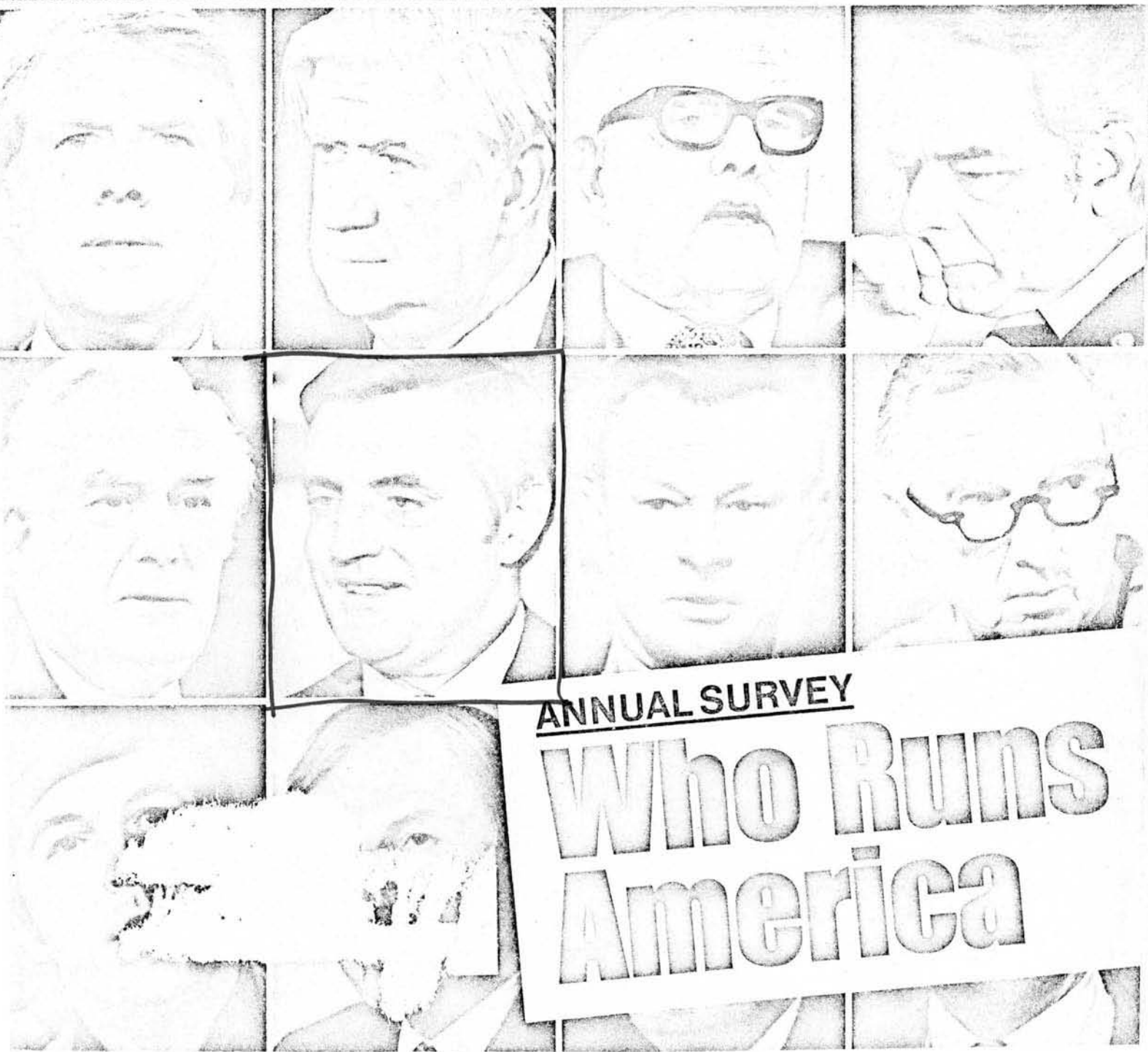
U.S. NEWS

& WORLD REPORT

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ANNUAL SURVEY

Who Runs America

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Who Runs America

Again, distinguished citizens across the U.S. have named those they see as top wielders of national power. Unlike 1976 and 1977, however, their comments reveal prevalent doubt on leadership's quality.

Influential Americans have taken a fresh look at U.S. leadership—and their verdict is largely unfavorable.

Evident among the 1,200 responses to the fifth annual nationwide survey conducted by *U.S. News & World Report* was a lack of enthusiasm for America's decision makers, in marked contrast with the hope that appeared in 1976 and 1977 when Americans were putting the recession and Watergate behind them.

In this year's survey, Jimmy Carter far outdistanced all others as the No. 1 wielder of power—as Presidents have done since the survey began. Yet widespread disillusionment was apparent when respondents were asked to assess Carter's performance in light of their expectations last year. Two thirds of them saw his performance as "somewhat worse" or "much worse" than expected.

Congress, too, received few bouquets to match last year's expectations of the quality of its leadership, although respondents rated House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd more powerful than their immediate predecessors.

White House still No. 1. Among institutions, as in the past, respondents continued to rate the White House as the most powerful—but big business moved up to second place from fifth, surpassing TV, labor unions and the Supreme Court.

Despite misgivings about quality of government, those who replied to the survey still seem convinced of its power. Of the top 30 Americans that respondents named, 24 are in public office—or, like Gerald R. Ford and Arthur F. Burns, had long service in government.

Of the four who moved into the top 10 this year, only one—banker David Rockefeller, who ranked No. 10—comes from the private sector. The others are Vice President Walter F. Mondale, sixth; Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Zbigniew Brzezinski, seventh, and Presidential Assistant Hamilton Jordan, ninth.

To complete the top 10 were such holdovers as AFL-CIO President George Meany, Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and television newsman Walter Cronkite.

Washington Post Publisher Katharine Graham was the only woman to make the list, but her rating was not as high as in the past. Even more than they have done so before, 1978's respondents seemed to choose white-male leaders with conventional occupations. The top black was United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, who ranked No. 30.



Jimmy Carter
"It's the President who sets the nation's priorities and goals."



Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr.
"Savvy politician" and "the man who gets things done."



Zbigniew Brzezinski
"The silent Henry Kissinger of this administration."



Walter Cronkite
"Most watched, best known, most trusted" TV journalist.

Public-interest activist Ralph Nader, who had ranked as high as fourth in the past, this year was No. 25.

Noticeable in many of the replies was a clear preoccupation with the way power in America is being exercised. Such terms as "naïve," "vacillating" and "inept" were used frequently in the comments on decision making at the nation's highest level.

A typical view was that of Robert M. White II, editor of the Mexico, Mo., *Ledger*: "These are days asking for greatness in leadership, the kind of greatness that rallies a people to show their strength of character and good sense. But today, so much of our leadership is asking little and expecting less. And getting it."

Asked to select the Americans who—from position, power, ability or wealth—influence the nation's destiny most clearly in 1978—respondents made their choices and comments freely. Following are the 10 people they named most often, and what was said about these choices:

1. Jimmy Carter, 53, President of the United States

Without question, leading Americans still deem President Carter the most influential person in the country—just as they did in 1977. Still, enthusiasm for him is down



George Meany
"Commands respect" as chief of the "most powerful lobby."



Robert C. Byrd
"Head of the class in the new leadership in Congress."



Warren E. Burger
Symbol of "the strong role of the judiciary in public policy."



Walter Mondale
"Using the Vice Presidency to its fullest potential."



Hamilton Jordan
"Unique power and influence" as the President's top aide.



David Rockefeller
Foremost figure when "money is the name of the game."

markedly. To many, the high expectations raised in the 1976 campaign now seem overblown.

"The idea of a populist President seemed appealing: new ideas, fresh thinking, an end of rampant cronyism," observed an advertising-agency executive. "What we got was the Georgia mafia—a very mediocre group."

Carter's personal staff received much of the blame. A congressman cited Carter's "very provincial kitchen cabinet." A farm-association executive said the administration is characterized by "particularly poor management ability of subcabinet-level appointees."

The president of a major university, however, remarked: "In the final analysis, it is the President who sets the nation's priorities and goals. Unhappily, Mr. Carter has tried to achieve too much with too little thought and effort."

An uninspiring Presidency. Elly M. Peterson, a Republican Party official from Michigan and national cochairman of ERAmerica, a group pressing for passage of the equal-rights amendment, said: "By the very nature of the Presidency, Carter must be declared No. 1. But he has not exercised the power of leadership to the fullest and does not inspire confidence."

Madeline H. McWhinney, former president of a New

The Most Influential Americans: a Look at The Voting

Leaders in a wide range of pursuits, from every section of the country, were asked to name "the five Americans you think exercise—through position, power, ability or wealth—the most influence in national decision making." Points were awarded on a descending scale—from 5 points for first place to 1 point for fifth. The results, with the number of first-place votes in parentheses for those with the highest ratings:

| Top 10 | Points |
|--------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Jimmy Carter (858) | 4,605 |
| 2. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (18) | 1,312 |
| 3. George Meany (14) | 846 |
| 4. Robert C. Byrd (9) | 775 |
| 5. Warren E. Burger (9) | 686 |
| 6. Walter F. Mondale (7) | 490 |
| 7. Zbigniew Brzezinski (7) | 439 |
| 8. Walter Cronkite (11) | 420 |
| 9. Hamilton Jordan (9) | 402 |
| 10. David Rockefeller (12) | 346 |

Second 10

11. Joseph A. Califano, Jr.; 12. Cyrus R. Vance; 13. G. William Miller; 14. Arthur F. Burns; 15. W. Michael Blumenthal; 16. Edward M. Kennedy; 17. Robert S. Strauss; 18. (tie) Griffin B. Bell and Harold Brown; 20. Katharine Graham.

Third 10

21. Al Ullman; 22. James R. Schlesinger; 23. Russell B. Long; 24. Ronald Reagan; 25. Ralph Nader; 26. (tie) Stuart E. Eizenstat and Gerald R. Ford; 28. Irving S. Shapiro; 29. Howard H. Baker, Jr.; 30. Andrew Young.

York City bank, comments: "Perhaps it was naïveté, perhaps wishful thinking to suppose Carter could cure some of our bureaucratic ills. But I guess we have now all learned that an amateur cannot do a job in Washington."

On the other hand, some respondents argued that events have been against the President. Several predicted that he would recover in the coming year. Norman Bradley, editor of the *Chattanooga Times*, replied: "I think he has the ability to go along with the power of his position—intelligence, integrity, determination." And James A. Mattox (D-Tex.), a first-term member of Congress, believes that more time will be needed to judge the President's performance. "Carter has taken upon himself an immense workload. His proposals will take time, and I wouldn't measure him by his results in one year, but by the quality of his ideas."

2. Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill, Jr., 65, House Speaker

In his first year as Speaker, O'Neill clearly has fulfilled the high expectations that many Americans held for him. His second-place showing far outran those ranking below him. Some replies compared him with such past titans in Congress as Sam Rayburn and Joseph Cannon.

G. Dennis O'Brien, president of Bucknell University in Lewisburg, Pa., noted that "in the relative unsurety of presidential direction, O'Neill appears to be the man in Washington who gets things done."

Ruth Clusen, president of the League of Women Voters, said that O'Neill can "make or break executive-branch initiatives," while Leo T. McCarthy, Speaker of the California Assembly, credits O'Neill with making the House "for the first time in American history function like a cohesive, policymaking legislative body."

Many praised O'Neill's political acumen. John P. Murry, chairman of the Catholic Bishops Advisory Council, calls him "a savvy politician who exerts much control and influence over the House and the President. He is a highly visible man who has a great deal of credibility among the American people."

A civil-rights and antipoverty worker for Spanish-speaking Americans said that O'Neill is "more influential than his predecessors, makes news easily because of his style, and seems to be in better contact with congressmen than any Speaker since Sam Rayburn."

3. George Meany, 83, President, AFL-CIO

For the fifth year in a row, Meany scored solidly as a man of great influence, the only person to rank among the top five leaders in each of the magazine's annual surveys.

The reason? "He stands at the head of the single most-powerful lobbying and political-influence-wielding organization in the country," declared a U.S. senator—a sentiment that was echoed by many in business and politics.

John P. Warwick, a New York advertising-agency president, said: "Meany has press coverage whenever he speaks out. He's direct and 'gutsy' and somewhat intimidating to the executive branch. People don't want to stir George's ire. He's relentlessly pro-labor—as he should be—and sometimes unfairly antimanagerial. But he's a real patriot."

A noted scholar called Meany "an exemplary warhorse," and a college administrator observes that the AFL-CIO head "exerts great influence with the mass of people who are the lifeblood of this country—the workers."

George E. Reedy, professor of journalism at Marquette University and former press secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson, cast his vote for Meany because "he commands respect in a large and influential segment of our society. He has a genuine following—something that is rare in an era in which most leaders have achieved their positions because they were not as bad as their competition."

4. Robert C. Byrd, 60, Senate Majority Leader

Quiet, resourceful and acknowledged among his Senate colleagues as the best vote counter in Washington, Byrd has emerged with a pivotal role in congressional affairs.

"Senator Byrd has demonstrated an awareness of the workings of the U.S. Senate that rivals many of his predecessors," according to Richard A. Viguerie, head of a Virginia-based direct-mail marketing firm for conservative political causes. Lee Loevinger, a Washington, D.C., attorney, commented that although Byrd is not widely known to the public, he "seems to have the greatest influence among the select group of 100" that he leads.

Many acknowledged the Senate Majority Leader's political prowess. A television executive and fellow West Virginian said that Byrd's secret is his "understanding of human nature—and his grit." A lawyer and foreign-relations specialist speaks of "the man's grim persistence."

5. Warren E. Burger, 70, Chief Justice of the U.S.

In his ninth year on the nation's highest judicial body, Burger symbolizes for most Americans the power of the courts over their lives and livelihoods. Many survey respondents noted that the rise in adversary proceedings has heightened the judicial system's impact on U.S. life.

Irving S. Shapiro, chairman of the Du Pont Company, pointed out that "the strong role of the judiciary in making public policy gives a Chief Justice who works at it a large voice in national affairs."

Sandra DeMent, director of the National Consumer Center for Legal Services, believes "it would be wrong to attribute to the Chief Justice responsibility for all the Court's decisions, but there is no denying his influence. Moreover, he is taking an increasingly active role in the justice system's administrative aspects."

Similarly, James Hitchcock, a professor at St. Louis University, observed that "although Chief Justice Burger is not a truly distinguished jurist, his position is an extremely important one. He symbolizes the power of the judiciary."

In naming the Chief Justice, many in the survey also lamented the increasing trend toward legal action to resolve many American social and economic issues.

Sidney P. Marland, Jr., president of the College Entrance Examination Board, gave this opinion: "More and more, the Supreme Court is becoming a fulcrum for broad public-policy determination. Social progress, issues of environmental tradeoff, equal opportunity, discipline on impetuous or ill-considered legislation—these and many other large issues will regrettably find their resolution in the courts rather than the seasoned public forums."

6. Walter F. Mondale, 50, Vice President of the U.S.

"Vice Presidents usually have little influence, but this one is different. Carter has let Mondale use his considerable knowledge, wisdom and judgment."

That view from Millard H. Ruud, executive director of the American Association of Law Schools, is a typical assessment of Mondale's brightening image in the Carter administration. Many added that they feel comfortable with him as a "potential President." Said Frank X. Viggiano, president of the National Student Association: "He's using the Vice Presidency to its fullest potential and is communicating with all kinds of groups and people."

Jason Boe, president of the Oregon State Senate and president-elect of the National Conference of State Legislatures, told why he singled out Mondale: "For the first time a Veep is being allowed to contribute significantly to the executive decision-making processes. He is doing this in a quiet but determined manner, and I am impressed."

A number of those polled regard Mondale as a "comer"

5 in Government Who Are Rising in Influence

Washington "insiders" continue to rank at the top in the magazine's annual leadership survey. These key officials hold broad sway in policy decisions.



Trade negotiator Robert Strauss has become a chief Carter lobbyist, political strategist and troubleshooter.



Two strong-willed and persuasive men, House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, are regarded as most influential in Congress and essential to legislative action.

New Federal Reserve Chairman G. William Miller is beginning to make his mark in economic policy.



HEW Secretary Joseph Califano has leverage on priorities for social legislation and spending, and presides over biggest part of the federal budget.



4 Outside Government Who Have Muscle

They don't hold federal office, but these public figures are recognized as molders of official opinion who help shape national policy by what they say and do, often behind the scenes.



What Walter Cronkite includes in his nightly television newscast sways the thinking of millions across the nation.

Businessman Irving Shapiro, Du Pont's chairman, holds a reputation for social concern and wide accessibility.



Highly influential in both education and religion, Notre Dame President Theodore Hesburgh is consulted by many in government.

David Rockefeller, head of Chase Manhattan Bank, is seen as an innovative force in many domestic and international enterprises.



in national politics. Thomas C. Todd, South Dakota superintendent of elementary and secondary education, said that Mondale's "ceremonial office is now second only to the President in leadership opportunities." He added, "In Walter Mondale we have a man of exceptional ability."

Robert W. Meserve, a Boston lawyer, pointed out Mondale's effectiveness in both legislative and executive areas and remarked: "If liberals have a future, this man is it."

7. Zbigniew Brzezinski, 50, National Security Chief

Coming from a highly respected academic career at Columbia University, Brzezinski has rapidly become a key White House adviser. In this poll, many Americans clearly saw him as the President's chief source of advice on the conduct of international and security affairs.

A psychiatrist, for example, termed Brzezinski "the silent Kissinger of this administration," referring to the dominant

For Carter: Low Marks in Performance



Why are most persons in the survey conducted by *U.S. News & World Report* disappointed by the job the President is doing? Some comments, both critical and complimentary—

E. Bruce Heilman, president, University of Richmond (Va.): "Carter, like others before him, has found that the pressures are too great or the dilemmas too foreboding to allow him to lead as he perceived he could."

Don C. Frisbee, chairman, Pacific Power & Light Company, Portland, Oreg.: "He's trying very hard, but he just doesn't seem to have the background, the political know-how and the leadership to do a good job."

Rabbi Israel Klavan, executive vice president, Rabbinical Council of America: "Carter brought great determination and drive to his office, but he is discovering they are not enough. The maze of our bureaucracy and public media require greater experience as well as humility."

Irving S. Shapiro, chairman, Du Pont: "Too many self-inflicted wounds, but a courageous attempt to deal with major issues which had accumulated over the years."

Frederick S. Humphries, president, Tennessee State University: "I

had thought that Mr. Carter would pursue more aggressively the status improvement of minorities."

Norman B. Hartnett, national service director, Disabled American Veterans: "He has displayed ineptness. He has alienated business, farmers, labor, minorities, women and veterans' groups."

Dr. William R. Roy, Topeka, Kans., former Democratic congressman: "He does not have adequate assistance from those closest to him or enough central coordination of the many initiatives undertaken."

William H. Wynn, president, Retail Clerks International Association: "Presidential leadership has been low-key. Relations with Congress have not adequately improved."

Jerry Hammond, city councilman, Columbus, Ohio: "I have been very disappointed with his attitude toward blacks, especially those of us out here in the hinterlands."

Jeanne M. Holm, retired Air Force major general: "The President does not seem to be in control of his administration or on top of the issues."

The Most Rev. James S. Rausch, Catholic bishop of Phoenix, Ariz.: "Carter is a strong President and in addition to exercising the preroga-

tives of his office, he is setting a tone in the nation."

Francis G. Dunn, South Dakota's chief justice: "President Carter took over an office that was in ill repute and has elevated it to a position where the general public has confidence in the Presidency."

Marjorie Bell Chambers, president, Colorado Women's College: "He and his staff are engaged in long-range reform, but while they study, analyze, consider alternatives and finally recommend change, no one is minding successfully the day-to-day immediate business."

W. Thomas York, chief operating officer, AMF, Inc.: "He has proposed more programs than the Congress or the country can digest. Priorities are not clear."

A. J. Ashe, senior vice president, B. F. Goodrich: "Essentially no progress has been made in developing a much needed energy policy, reduction in federal bureaucracy and government spending, inflation or other critical issues."

The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, University of Notre Dame: "Every first year is difficult. New staff takes time to shake down."

Robert E. L. Strider, president, Colby College: "He is not afraid to stick his neck out. His openness and candor are refreshing."

Daniel Bell, Harvard sociologist: "He has been out of his depth."

Sandra DeMent, lawyer for consumer and labor interests: "We expected the switch to a Democratic administration to produce more dramatic and tangible results."

Wilbur H. Lewis, superintendent of public schools, Tucson, Ariz.: "He was naïve about the job to be done and his capacity to do it. I give him credit for tackling important issues which are unpopular—energy, tax loopholes, civil-service reform, to name a few."

Cardinal John J. Krol, Philadelphia: "Carter lacks courage to keep campaign promises."

Stephen Horn, president, California State University at Long Beach: "The handling of the Marston case was a deep disappointment."

role that Henry Kissinger played in foreign policy during the Nixon and Ford years.

Richard V. LaCourse, editor of the *Yakima National Review*, an American Indian newspaper based in Toppenish, Wash., observed that foreign policy dominated the Carter administration's first year. He added that Brzezinski played a "cardinal role—outclassing both Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, and dwarfing most critical domestic considerations."

8. Walter Cronkite, 61, Television Newscaster.

Once again, one of television's most recognizable personages scored high among the nation's influence wielders. Respected and trusted by millions, Cronkite is to many the embodiment of the ubiquitous presence of TV in America.

"He is believable. Enough said," is how one congressman characterized Cronkite's appeal. W. J. Thom, mayor of Ana-

Leaders Rank Their Peers in 14 Fields

One question in the U.S. News & World Report poll asked individuals to list the persons they considered the most influential in the respondent's own particular occupation. Three points were given to the first person named, 2 to the second and 1 to the third. The results:

Senate



1. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), majority leader
2. Russell B. Long (D-La.), chairman, Finance Committee
3. Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tenn.), minority leader
4. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

House



1. Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D-Mass.), Speaker
2. Al Ullman (D-Oreg.), chairman, Ways and Means Committee
3. James C. Wright, Jr. (D-Tex.), majority leader
4. John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.), minority leader

Labor



1. George Meany, president, AFL-CIO
2. Douglas A. Fraser, president, United Auto Workers
3. Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO
4. F. Ray Marshall, Secretary of Labor
5. Thomas R. Donahue, executive assistant to the president, AFL-CIO

Agriculture



1. Robert Bergland, Secretary of Agriculture
2. Allan Grant, president, American Farm Bureau Federation
3. Herman E. Talmadge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture
4. (tie) Carol Foreman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture
- Earl Butz, former Secretary of Agriculture

Education



1. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
2. Ernest L. Boyer, U.S. Commissioner of Education
3. The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, University of Notre Dame
4. Clark Kerr, chairman, Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education
5. Derek Bok, president, Harvard University

Advertising



1. Edward N. Ney, president, Young & Rubicam International
2. David M. Ogilvy, director, Ogilvy & Mather International
3. William Bernbach, chief executive officer, Doyle Dane Bernbach
4. John Elliott, Jr., chairman, Ogilvy & Mather International
5. (tie) Paul C. Harper, Jr., chairman, Needham, Harper & Steers
- Paul Foley, chairman, Interpublic Group of Companies

Industry



1. Irving S. Shapiro, chairman, the Du Pont Company
2. Reginald H. Jones, chairman, General Electric Company
3. Thomas A. Murphy, chairman, General Motors Corporation
4. John D. deButts, chairman, American Telephone & Telegraph Company
5. Henry Ford II, chairman, Ford Motor Company

Finance



1. Walter B. Wriston, chairman, Citibank
2. A. W. Clausen, president, BankAmerica Corporation
3. G. William Miller, chairman, Federal Reserve Board
4. Arthur F. Burns, former chairman, Federal Reserve Board
5. David Rockefeller, chairman, Chase Manhattan Bank

Governors



1. William G. Milliken (Rep.), Michigan
2. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. (Dem.), California
3. Reubin O'D. Askew (Dem.), Florida
4. (tie) John D. Rockefeller IV (Dem.), West Virginia
- James R. Thompson (Rep.), Illinois
- Hugh L. Carey (Dem.), New York
- Michael S. Dukakis (Dem.), Massachusetts

Law



1. Warren E. Burger, Chief Justice of the United States
2. Griffin B. Bell, Attorney General of the United States
3. William B. Spann, Jr., president, American Bar Association
4. (tie) William H. Rehnquist, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court
- Leon Jaworski, Houston lawyer and special counsel for House Ethics Committee

Health



1. Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary, Health, Education, Welfare
2. Edward M. Kennedy, Senate health subcommittee chairman
3. Dr. James H. Sammons, executive vice president, American Medical Association
4. Paul G. Rogers, chairman, House Subcommittee on Health and Environment
5. Dr. John A. D. Cooper, president, Association of American Medical Colleges

Religion



1. The Rev. Billy Graham, evangelist
2. The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president, University of Notre Dame
3. (tie) Cardinal Terence J. Cooke, Roman Catholic archbishop, New York
- Joseph L. Bernardin, Roman Catholic archbishop, Cincinnati
- William P. Thompson, president, National Council of Churches

Publishing



1. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, publisher, New York Times
2. Katharine Graham, publisher, Washington Post
3. (tie) Benjamin C. Bradlee, editor, Washington Post
- A. M. Rosenthal, executive editor, New York Times
5. James Reston, columnist, New York Times

Broadcasting



1. Walter Cronkite, correspondent, CBS News
2. Boone A. Arledge, president, ABC News and ABC Sports
3. Fred Silverman, former president, ABC Entertainment, who becomes president of NBC in June
4. William S. Paley, chairman, CBS, Inc.
5. Richard S. Salant, president, CBS News

heim, Calif., supported his choice of the newsman "by reason of Cronkite's almost daily exposure to the nation via the TV media and because his charming personality is injected into national news that affects decision making."

Some comments were double-edged. Edwin O. Guthman, editor of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, asserted that Cronkite's nightly newscasts "have more influence than perhaps they would if there were not such a vacuum in influential leadership."

In a more positive vein, Robert Teeter, a Detroit political pollster and marketing consultant, observed that "Cronkite

is the most watched, best known and most trusted of the TV journalists." Vine Deloria, Jr., a U.S. Indian scholar and writer, believes that Cronkite "still represents American values, has credibility, gives a sense of sanity and defines the sense of decency that Americans *think* they still have."

9. Hamilton Jordan, 33, Assistant to the President

Despite reports of Jordan's casual approach to White House organization and his unorthodox personal behavior, few doubt that he remains close to Jimmy Carter.

A lobbyist for a national teacher's union described Jordan's influence this way: "His recognition of issues and their political ramifications are the blessing or death wish for any federal policy." A woman representing a trade association in government gave this grudging endorsement: "Like him or not, Jordan's relationship to the President is one of unique power and influence."

Some questioned Jordan's suitability for his sensitive position. Michael Novak, a philosopher and religious writer, contends that Jordan "exerts disproportionate influence at Carter's right hand, is too callous and inexperienced, and is the chief symbol of the most inadequate staff ever assembled in the White House."

And Dr. Estelle Ramey, professor of physiology at Georgetown University, said: "History won't make much of Jordan in the books, but he won't be the first adviser to subtly alter the course of history."

10. David Rockefeller, 62, Chase Manhattan Bank

Operating in a world often closed to public view, this internationally recognized banking executive quietly pursues transactions that indirectly affect lives of individuals in virtually every nation on earth.

"In my 12 years on Capitol Hill," remarked Paul M. Weyrich, director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress in Washington, D.C., "I have found the fine hand of this man behind the major watershed decisions."

Carl B. Hall of Charleston, W.Va., president of the American Academy of Family Physicians, said: "Money is the name of the game, and the game is *big*. Control and management of money seem to be the bottom line."

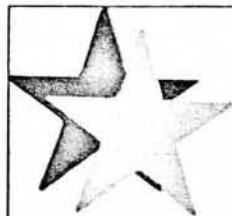
Another source of Rockefeller's ability to shape policies was suggested by Dr. Jack E. White, director of the Cancer Diagnostic Center at Howard University: "His family has been constructively involved for decades in public life. Banker David is probably the bellwether of the family."

Out of the comments made in the survey, a broad conclusion emerges: Many influential Americans would like to see a more pragmatic type of leadership, oriented toward solving the complexities of large and difficult problems that have been taking shape in the U.S. One explanation comes from Rabbi Wolfe Kelman of the Rabbinical Assembly in New York City: "Our present situation is not a hospitable one for charismatic leadership. It is suspicious of centralized authority and hierarchical personalities. We are in a period of 'decharismatization' and accountability, a time in which institutions rather than personalities dominate."

While most survey respondents recognize the high degree of power held by government leaders, they point out the decline of leadership qualities in the private sector.

"Business and the professions have exhibited a preoccupation with their own interests that neglects the U.S. as a whole," said David Cohen, president of Common Cause, the public-interest lobby. "Their lack of balance and inability to take a broader view distorts the political system."

The respondents see more frustration ahead, but few of them are ready to give in to despair. George Reedy noted that leadership requires active "followership"—a charac-



Institutions That Wield The Most Power

Survey participants were asked to judge the importance of each of 29 major institutions "according to the amount of influence it has on decisions affecting the nation as a whole." Using a rating scale from 5 down to 1, here are the results:

The Most Powerful

| | Average Rating |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. White House | 4.53 |
| 2. Large business | 4.12 |
| 3. Supreme Court | 4.09 |
| 4. Television | 4.07 |
| 5. Labor unions | 4.06 |
| 6. U.S. Senate | 4.04 |
| 7. U.S. House | 3.89 |
| 8. Federal bureaucracy | 3.85 |
| 9. Banks | 3.72 |
| 10. Lobby and pressure groups | 3.66 |

Other Rankings

| | |
|--|------|
| 11. Newspapers | 3.44 |
| 12. Wall Street | 3.35 |
| 13. Cabinet | 3.26 |
| 14. Democratic Party | 3.11 |
| 15. Advertising | 3.06 |
| 16. Radio | 2.87 |
| 17. (tie) State and local government | 2.86 |
| 17. (tie) Public-opinion polls | 2.86 |
| 17. (tie) Legal profession | 2.86 |
| 20. Magazines | 2.82 |
| 21. Educational institutions | 2.79 |
| 22. (tie) Civil-rights groups | 2.71 |
| 22. (tie) Military | 2.71 |
| 24. Family | 2.57 |
| 25. Medical profession | 2.36 |
| 26. Organized religion | 2.27 |
| 27. (tie) Small business | 2.09 |
| 27. (tie) Cinema | 2.09 |
| 27. (tie) Republican Party | 2.09 |

Major changes from the 1977 survey: Large business and the Supreme Court moved up from fifth and fourth places, respectively. Lobby and pressure groups replaced newspapers in the top 10. Major gains were made by advertising, radio, state and local governments, and magazines. But educational institutions and the family dropped six and seven positions, respectively.

teristic he said has been lacking in American life for too long. He remarked: "Political leadership is a social symbiotic process that requires strong leaders and cohesive groups willing to follow them. The cohesive forces in our society have been weakened, and it is doubtful whether truly 'strong' leadership is possible. It is probable that political leaders will operate under conditions of frustration for a number of years to come."

But an optimistic prognostication for the future of America is given by J. Richard Nokes, editor of the *Portland Oregonian*: "America always has had the ability to muddle through. We can count on only a few fingers the great leaders in the last century, and maybe that is a good thing in a participatory government. It forces all of us to think and act more than we likely would under constantly dynamic leadership." □

How Congress Is Rated

Many influential Americans are convinced Capitol Hill now has its strongest leaders in years—but the performance of Congress still is seen as inadequate.

U.S. News & World Report's survey of American leaders shows 46.3 percent of the participants rate the quality of leadership by Congress as fair. Another 30.6 percent consider it poor. Only 21.5 percent rate it good and 1.6 percent excellent.

"Few in Congress seem concerned with anything that does not require the federal government to become bigger, more oppressive and more expensive to the taxpayers," comments Lewis C. Murphy, the mayor of Tucson, Ariz.

A university president describes the members of Congress as "genuine mediocrities." A state chief justice calls this "the worst Congress ever."

Many leaders fault Congress for failing to enact an energy program. Several term its handling of the energy problem a "debacle." Don Shoemaker, senior editor of the *Miami Herald*, calls it a "national disaster."

"It seems they are afraid to face important issues face-to-face," says John J. Harrington of Flint, Mich., president of the Fraternal Order of Police. "They look like they hope they [the issues] will go away."

Others, though, are reluctant to place too much blame on Congress. "Perhaps they have done as well as is possible with inept leadership in the White House," says Robert A. Goldwin, a political-research scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

"President Carter's lack of leadership has created a vacuum which is being filled by Congress," says North Dakota Attorney General Allen I. Olson. "The inherent nature of Congress, however, is such that it cannot



The three most influential senators: Baker, Long and Robert Byrd.

provide leadership." Bert Seidman, an AFL-CIO official in Washington, D.C., notes: "It has become exceedingly complex and difficult to get anything done in Congress. On the other hand, some congressional leaders have sought to fill gaps in leadership resulting from the President's weakness."

"Greatest Speaker." Many of those surveyed describe Congress's leaders as the strongest in years. Representative Charles H. Wilson (D-Calif.) says Carter is indebted to Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., because he "has bailed the President out of so many stupid decisions."

"If the administration gets any kind of a program through the House, it's because of the leadership exerted by the Speaker, the greatest Speaker since the late Sam Rayburn," says Claude J. Desautels, a public-relations executive from Washington, D.C.

William E. Pollard, civil-rights director of the AFL-CIO, says Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd's "power and influence transcend the Congress, and his cooperation with the President is essential."

Senate Minority Leader Howard H. Baker, Jr., is pictured as a skillful opponent of the administration. Ann Jennings, an environmental leader from Columbia, S.C., describes Baker

as "an articulate, believable devil's advocate, a much needed element in policy formation."

Dr. Jack E. White, director of Howard University's cancer-research center, terms Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) "the best-informed person in the Congress on almost all issues." White says Kennedy possesses "strong leadership qualities and genuine concern for the ordinary citizen."

One congressman says Senate Finance Committee Chairman Russell B. Long holds "the single most powerful voice on tax and energy policy."

David Cohen, president of Common Cause, the public-interest lobbying group, says no one commands more power in Congress than Long. Cohen says the Louisiana senator's influence is "so great that the President must negotiate with him almost as if he were a foreign power."

George Reedy, former press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, suggests that the public expects too much from its senators and representatives. "Congress reflects political realities in our society," says Reedy, now a journalism professor at Marquette University. "As we are living in a rather confused society, there are limitations to what Congress can do. Within those limitations, I believe it has performed well."

MONDALE: Role is important, but often frustrating

Continued from page 1A

frontload pain and backload pleasure," he said in an interview last week.

"So if we are successful...in significantly reducing inflation, the pleasure of that success will come substantially after the pain of the remedies required to get there.

"The same way with energy. The painful part of it needs no description."

Other factors seem to have contributed to the pain of the vice presidency: The disappointment of last fall's election results in Minnesota, the attacks on the administration by individuals and groups long associated with Mondale, and the lack of national press attention to presidential assignments he deemed substantive.

A particular sore point was the coverage of his recent trip to Scandinavia. The press played it as a roots-revisited trip to his ancestral home in Mondal, Norway, while ignoring his execution of an important assignment from Carter: That Mondale play an emissary's role in winning support from northern NATO allies for SALT II and other administration foreign policy initiatives.

For whatever reason, and probably including an imprecise mix of all the above, Mondale's mood throughout much of the late winter and spring has been glum. The vice president scoffs at questions suggesting that he has been unusually grumpy recently, although others—not on his staff but nonetheless with regular access as high executive branch aides—say he has been dispirited for much of the year and that it took a late-May fishing trip to rescue him from the doldrums.

There are, however, solid and enduring reasons for Mondale to feel good about his vice presidency. One can be appreciated by dialing the telephone number for Carter's unofficial reelection campaign headquarters and hearing a voice answer, "Carter-

Mondale Presidential Committee."

It is rare and perhaps unprecedented for a president to link a vice president's name to his own in the quest for a second term. That Carter would choose to do so now belies speculation that Mondale is in danger of being replaced on the ticket by a candidate with more immediately tangible political assets, such as a Roman Catholic from a major northeastern state. It also is additional evidence of the president's oft-expressed high regard for Mondale's performance.

In an interview for a forthcoming biography of Mondale, Carter said, "It's hard to delineate particular contributions because Fritz is involved in every issue that faces me... Fritz doesn't waste his own influence. Fritz does excellent background study and his staff is superb... Almost invariably, when Fritz is present, when I'm approaching the time for a decision, I turn to him last and say, 'Mr. vice president, what is your assessment...?'"

"And it's really kind of a rare thing for me not to go along with his position because Fritz tries to put himself in the role of a president... When he does speak on an issue, everybody gets quiet, everybody listens to him, because they know that he's approaching the point of making the judgment from the same perspective as if he were president."

Ultimately, Carter's last assertion may represent the most significant achievement of Mondale's vice presidency. That is so because the vice president's sole constitutional responsibility, aside from the purely ceremonial duties of presiding over the U.S. Senate, is to be ready to assume power in case the presidency becomes vacant. In preparing himself for the vice president's job, Mondale did not have to search the historical record to know what he wanted to avoid:

There were the examples of Harry Truman assuming the presidency in April 1945 ignorant of the atomic

bomb and of President Roosevelt's wartime diplomacy; of President Eisenhower asking for a week to think of one contribution his vice president, Richard Nixon, had made to the administration; of the petty humiliations visited on Hubert Humphrey when he had the audacity, as Lyndon Johnson's vice president, to dissent vocally—but privately—from the administration's plans in early 1965 to heavily bomb military targets in North Vietnam.

Carter and Mondale confronted those discouraging precedents for the first time after the 1976 election during a quiet evening alone together about six weeks before the inauguration. From that conversation stemmed an understanding that Mondale would have a degree of presidential access and advisory influence that would inoculate Mondale from the plight of Thomas Marshall, who compared serving as Woodrow Wilson's vice president with "a man in a cataleptic fit: He cannot speak, he cannot move, he suffers no pain, he is perfectly conscious of all that goes on, but has no part of it."

The Carter-Mondale relationship has been strengthened in a number of ways. Mondale became the first vice president to be assigned an office in the White House's West Wing; his vice presidential staff was functionally integrated with Carter's; he was given the responsibility for planning where Carter could best direct his energies.

But access remains the key factor. Carter, for example, has established a general policy that entitles Mondale to join virtually any presidential meeting in progress and routes all important presidential documents across Mondale's desk.

All of which seems to bolster an assertion by Carter early in the administration that Mondale, having been so well prepped, could step in on a moment's notice and complete the then-unfinished SALT II negotiations. But while the institutional arrangement linking the presidential and

vice presidential offices guarantees that Mondale can argue a point of view while administration policy is being shaped, it guarantees nothing beyond that.

As an economic conservative, Carter early in his term made it clear that he was determined to curb inflation and balance the budget by reelection time. Those commitments alone were certain to diminish Mondale's clout as an advocate of liberal programs. Mondale fought internally to salvage the \$50 tax rebate as the centerpiece of Carter's economic stimulus package in early 1977, and lost. He fought for a higher minimum wage, and lost. He fought for higher farm price supports, and lost.

On the other hand, Mondale has worked behind the scenes from the administration's earliest days to moderate what he thought were either mistaken or dangerously ambiguous policies toward the Middle East. In general, those were policies, now shelved, that infuriated American Jewish groups and made Israel feel less secure. He was also instrumental in persuading Carter to insist that the Justice Department take a stronger stand in favor of civil rights when the Bakke reverse discrimination case was before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Although Mondale has made it a firm policy to work from a low crouch within the administration, enough information about his role has leaked out to cut his personal political losses with key interest groups who have supported him—American Jewish groups, organized labor, farm organizations, blacks—even while the president's standing with all those groups has dramatically dropped.

On the other hand, Mondale has his critics, some of whom wonder how hard he has fought to protect programs he advocated as a senator. One example involves funding cuts and reorganization proposals affecting child development programs. Others wonder why Mondale, as one of the few experienced Washington

hands in the White House, has not been able to save Carter from the administration's generally stormy relationship with a Democratic Congress.

Indeed, in chartering his course within the administration, Mondale has relied on the same pragmatic and cautious instincts that guided him from his early days as a DFL precinct worker in Minnesota to the state Attorney General's Office, the U.S. Senate, and, ultimately, the vice presidency.

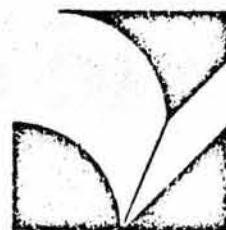
He remains a politician who avoids making enemies unnecessarily and who picks his fights carefully, while remaining alert to the possibilities of compromise.

Late last fall, Mondale found himself in a particularly uncomfortable position when Carter was putting the finishing touches on a budget that would reduce the federal deficit to \$30 billion by restraining spending on social service programs, while increasing defense spending in real terms.

While Mondale appreciated the political necessity of the administration's attack on inflation and its budget proposal for the Pentagon, he also felt that a Democratic president could not afford to be seen as callously turning his back on the aged, the needy, the powerless and the sick. Having carried his misgivings to Carter personally, Mondale won a restoration of \$2 billion in social spending, strictly a marginal victory but still, from Mondale's standpoint, an improvement.

More recently, he argued unsuccessfully that Carter should couple an increase in the price ceilings on domestic oil with a windfall profits tax. Carter ultimately proposed gradual but total decontrol. While the president also urged Congress to adopt a windfall tax, he did not say that decontrol should be made contingent on adopting the levy.

Monday: Mondale's role in foreign affairs.



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Walter Mondale has become a shaper of the Carter administration's foreign policy.

Mondale plays significant role in shaping Carter's foreign policy

Second of two articles

By Finlay Lewis
Staff Correspondent

Washington, D.C.

Flushed with unexpected success, Menachem Begin and Cyrus Vance were sharing a final quiet moment together in Laurel Lodge at Camp David an hour or so before the world would be told of a historic breakthrough in Middle East diplomacy.

In a reflective mood, Begin recalled that one man and one event deserved considerable credit for bringing his country, Israel, and its Biblical rival, Egypt, to the brink of peace. The man was Walter Mondale and the event was a visit by Mondale to Israel 2½ months earlier to help celebrate its 30th anniversary of nationhood.

A day or so later, the Israeli prime minister reiterated the point in an interview with Wolf Blitzer, Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem Post. Mondale's visit, after more than a

year of stormy, almost hostile, exchanges between the Israeli government and the new Carter administration, had been a turning point — a moment of reassurance about the underlying strength of the special relationship binding the two countries.

Mondale's visit had been symbolically significant. Overriding State Department objections, Mondale visited the Wailing Wall in east Jerusalem, part of the Holy City that was seized by the Israelis in the 1967 war. It was regarded by the American government as occupied territory and therefore off-limits to official U.S. representatives, if accompanied by an Israeli host. After listening to the arguments, Mondale said he would go to the wall anyway — because he wanted to. It would be a personal visit, not indicative of a shift in American policy. And so he went, accompanied by Jerusalem's mayor, Teddy Kollek.

Mondale also came bearing messages of substance. He made a major speech to parliament, saying the United States would support Israel in

opposing establishment of an independent Palestinian state on Israel's border, a question that was shrouded in ambiguity during the earlier days of the Carter administration. Perhaps more important was a private, hour-long talk Mondale had with Begin shortly before leaving for a meeting with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

"I made a very strong plea that he trust Carter ... I tried to interpret Carter to him," Mondale recalled in an interview last week. "I believe I made an impact on him because I think he was beginning to doubt us in our commitment to Israel."

Returning to Washington, Mondale wrote a memo to Carter, saying the moment was ripe for progress toward peace in the Middle East, but that it would somehow be necessary to bring Sadat and Begin together in an environment shielded from outside pressures. Contacts between the parties at lower official levels would not be sufficient.

Mondale continued on page 4A

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As a liberal politician who had emerged from the ranks of the DFL party to become Minnesota's attorney general and later U.S. senator, Mondale's interests had always been sharply focused on domestic issues. However, Carter soon put him to work as a mover and shaper of his administration's foreign policy.

Indeed, the temporary grandstands lining the January 1977 inaugural parade route had barely been removed when Carter dispatched Mondale to introduce the new administration to America's most important allies.

A tougher assignment soon followed.

On the afternoon of May 19, 1977, Mondale found himself seated opposite John Vorster, the aging but still tough prime minister of South Africa, in a small, spare room with a single bronze chandelier, tucked away in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna. Outside, a team of majestic Lippizaner show horses was prancing in a dusty courtyard, the clop-clop-clop of their flashing hooves echoing dully through the room's open window.

One reason for the meeting involved the incredibly explosive problem of assuring a bloodless transition to black majority rule in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa. But what angered Vorster and the bulldog-visaged aides flanking him was Mondale's veiled warning that the United States would not come to South Africa's aid if persistent adherence to racially separatist policies were to trigger a black-white civil war among Vorster's countrymen.

At a press conference after the meeting, Mondale carried his message one step farther. Asked by a South African journalist whether he saw any compromise short of the one-man, one-vote principle that the South Africans viewed as unconditional surrender to an overwhelmingly nonwhite population, Mondale replied, "No, no. It's the same thing. Every citizen should have the right to vote and every vote should be equally weighted."

Mondale's inexperience and liberal commitments had carried him into dangerous political territory. Reaction was swift, causing American diplomats to work overtime to assure the South Africans that the United States was not about to dictate a specific solution to their racial troubles. Finally, Mondale disavowed his own words. In an October interview with the Rand Daily Mail, one of South Africa's leading newspapers, Mon-

dale said, "I believe that the crucial step is to begin the dialogue among all segments of society."

"If there is one central suggestion that I made, it was that the leaders of the South African government meet with the legitimate nonwhite leaders of South Africa and develop with them the reforms which made sense to all South Africans."

Mondale's role in helping bend history's course in the Middle East began soon after he took office and involved a tense, unpublicized bureaucratic struggle pitting Mondale against national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and, to a lesser extent, Secretary of State Vance.

Carter's earliest proposals for stabilizing the Middle East reflected recommendations contained in an earlier study by the Brookings Institution. Brzezinski had been a leading participant in that study.

Thus, the president urged reconvening a Geneva conference first constituted under the joint chairmanship of the United States and the Soviet Union after the 1967 Mideast War. The idea was to seek a comprehensive settlement differentiating Carter diplomacy from Henry Kissinger's step-by-step approach. The idea made the Israelis—and Sadat—nervous because of the envisioned Soviet role. An additional problem was the high likelihood that such a conference would be dominated—and ultimately disrupted—by the Palestinian homeland issue. Such a development, the Israelis felt, could only serve to heighten prospects of another war.

Mondale privately agreed with those concerns. He also sympathized with Jewish consternation over various statements by Carter during the spring of 1977 that did not clearly rule out possible administration support for or acquiescence in the establishment of a Palestinian state.

Competition over shaping the American position continued up to the eve of the Camp David summit in September 1978 and beyond.

One of the proposals forwarded during early negotiating at Camp David called for substantial Israeli withdrawal from West Bank lands captured during the 1967 war. Mondale killed the proposal by going directly to Carter and arguing that trying to dictate such a solution to the Israelis would doom the summit. In effect, Mondale told Carter, the administration had to come to the negotiating table with a clean slate and let the

solution evolve from face-to-face bargaining between Israel and Egypt.

Later in the summit, talks hit a serious snag over Israel's settlements in the Sinai. Drawing on the rapport he established earlier with Begin, Mondale pleaded with the Israeli prime minister to give ground, to realize that the settlements lacked historic and strategic value to his country. Although others on the U.S. team were making the same argument, Carter counted on Mondale because of the respect he enjoyed among the Israelis.

Later that month, Mondale saw an advance text of a speech Vance was to deliver to the United Nations. Again, the troubling issues of the Palestinians and the West Bank were raised in a way that was certain to cause the administration problems with the Israelis. Mondale argued fruitlessly with Vance and Brzezinski

for more moderate language.

Then he took his case to Carter, calling him away from an evening movie in the White House theater with a group of guests.

Recalling the incident in an interview for a biography on Mondale to be published early next year, Carter said, "I left the theater and went up to my study and reread the text to look at Fritz's comments and I agreed with Fritz. I called Vance in New York and told him to modify the text."

Mondale's visibility in the coming months on foreign policy issues—and their domestic political ramifications—is likely to be greater than ever.

Repeating an assignment he executed with some success in presenting the administration's case for Senate ratification of the Panama Canal

treaties, Mondale will be shouldering a major burden in trying to win support for the SALT II treaty.

In the meantime, Mondale will travel to China later this summer.

Mondale's involvement in helping shape Carter's foreign and domestic policies stems from an agreement arrived at between the two before they took office. Anxious to avoid the dead-end jobs that had been the fate of most of his predecessors, Mondale sought assurances that his tenure at least would be different. The record to date indicates that Mondale's hopes have been largely satisfied.

As Carter put it, "The leaders of other nations... recognize that Fritz indeed speaks for me."

"I doubt that this has ever been the case in the history of our nation with another vice president."



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