

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

4:00 EOB VP  
Office

7/26  
Meeting

July 25, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: Denis Clift  
Al Eisele  
Jim Johnson  
Bill Smith ✓  
Gail Harrison

From: Mike Berman *mb*

RE: Six Months Evaluation

Attached please find a proposed draft of a six month appraisal.

I have attempted to summarize the main points of each of the evaluation sections of your memos. It is possible, if not likely, that I have done violence to the ideas of one if not all and obviously any changes can be made.

The complete memoranda which you prepared would also be included in the package.

At the 4:00 p.m. meeting Tuesday, we will first discuss this portion and then go on to discuss the recommendations for the next six months using as a guideline the summary of recommendations which you have received.

Use of the Vice President's Time

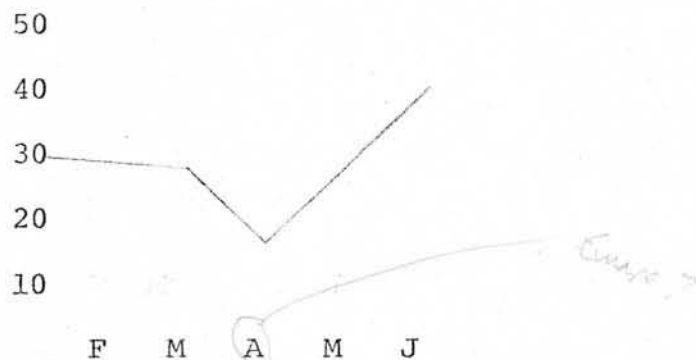
The use of the Vice President's time was influenced (as it should be) by the directions set by the President. All of the major time components can be linked to Presidential decisions. The major components include the following:

1. Two major foreign trips
2. Specialized attention to Southern Africa
3. Congressional Relations
4. Intelligence Reorganization
5. Electronic Surveillance
6. Universal Voter Registration
7. Meetings with Foreign Leaders
8. The Middle East
9. Tax Reform
10. The Warnke Nomination
11. The Stimulus Package
12. Assistance to the Party and Political Allies

The combined media and public perception of these activities has been extremely positive. All indication<sup>s</sup> are that the President is well pleased. The response at political events and the demand for the Vice President's time is extremely strong.

The following general conclusions may be drawn from an analysis of the way the Vice President has spent his time.

1) The Vice President continues to spend a very substantial part of each week with the President. The highest percentage to date was in June. A simple graph of the percentages shows the following:



2) Time chairing the Senate and with members of Congress is a comparatively low percentage. Time in the chair is approximately one hour per month. Time with members of Congress and in meetings with members averages approximately 13 hours per month. (\* The figures included do understate Congressional time because they do not account for telephone calls.)

3) Total time spent on foreign visitors and foreign policy issues outdistances time spent on domestic issues by a ratio of nearly two to one.

4) The great bulk of travel and speeches has been devoted to traditional Democratic party audiences and traditional fund raising events.

- 5) No substantial attention has been paid to such important democratic constituencies as organized labor, the blacks and hispanics, and the Northeast.
- 6) The Vice President's schedule has had no significant "people events" which have proven successful for the President.
- 7) No substantial attention has been paid to the "Mondale constituency" made up of people concerned with the problems of children and youth, and the dispossessed, education and educators, and other related social problem areas.
- 8) The South has received substantial attention.
- 9) The speaking and travel schedule has not been used as a vehicle to associate the Vice President with any specific issue concern over a period of time.

The following sets forth some of the information derived from analysis of the Vice President's office time (See Tab \_) as well as a more gross analysis of non-office time.

- average of 37.5 hours per week is spent in the office (exclusive of days out of town)
- 33% of total office hours (231.50 hours) have been spent with the President (includes all meetings private and otherwise on all subjects)
- 31% of office hours (217 hours) on foreign policy.  
Of this time,
  - 135 hours - Vice President alone
  - 82 hours - Vice President with President

By subject:

- 82 hours with Representatives of other governments

- 49 hours NSC and foreign policy
- 41 hours briefing on Africa
- 25 hours intelligence

- 9% of office hours (66.85) on Domestic issues

\_\_\_\_\_ Budget related

- 12% of office hours (82.75) on Hill-related activity  
(does not account for telephone calls)

\_\_\_\_\_ hours of meetings in White House  
\_\_\_\_\_ hours of meetings on Hill  
\_\_\_\_\_ hours presiding in Senate

- 5% of office hours (38.5) press
- 1% of office hours (8.75) DNC and other political
- 15% of office hours (105.5) private working time

- 27 days of R & R

- 13 days away from the city
- 14 days in D.C.

(This does not include days on which there are any business events but does include days on which there may be personal social events. It is likely that on most of these days the Vice President did preparatory work such as reading, etc.)

- 32 days out of Washington in travel status (not including R & R) (A trip departing at 4:00 p.m. and returning that night would be 1/3 day)

- 12 days domestic
- 20 days foreign

- The following represents the number of evenings (7 day week) when the Vice President has been in D.C. that he has had evening events to attend.

FEB    MAR    APRIL    MAY    JUNE

Evenings Out

Total Evenings

Foreign Policy and National Security Affairs

The Vice President has played an ever-growing role in foreign policy and national security affairs. He has participated fully in the work of the NSC, <sup>and</sup> he has set precedent by his involvement in thw work of the committees of the NSC.

This has been made possible by the way in which the President has included him in on the information flow and consultation process as it relates to foreign policy and defense developments and intelligence. This is characterized by the Vice President's receipt of the same daily intelligence briefing as the President as well as the written reports by the Secretaries of State and Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence as well as special reports which the Vice President receives at his initiative or of one of the departments. It is further demonstrated by the Vice President's participation in the President's regular intelligence meetings with the DCI and Dr. Brzezinski and foreign policy meetings with Secretary Vance and Dr. Brzezinski.

With almost no exceptions, the Vice President has participated in the President's Summit talks with foreign leaders. Through mid-July the Vice President had more than 80 separate meetings with foreign leaders and officials. (See Tab \_).

During this period, the Vice President has undertaken two major substantive overseas missions and he has focused on and played a particularly significant role in a number of foreign policy issues including:

- consultations with principal allies among the industrialized democracies on our common agenda and the steps to be taken for effective cooperation;
- guiding interdepartmental consideration of foreign intelligence issues;
- emphasizing domestically and internationally our commitment to human rights;
- advising on US-USSR relations;
- shaping and implementing U.S. policy toward southern Africa; and
- shaping of U.S. Middle East policy and public explanation of that policy.

Through speeches and background and on the record contacts with the media, the Vice President has advanced the Administration's positions on a variety of the elements of foreign policy and intelligence.

(See Tab \_ for Denis Clift's full comments.)

Domestic Issues

The major domestic achievements of the Vice President over the past six months include his participation in shaping the Administration's tax reform, education budget and child welfare initiatives. In certain instances, i.e. sugar policy, water projects, he has served as a troubleshooter in raising political and other problems, and in helping to minimize the adverse consequences of policy decisions. Through participation in all major economic policy and budget planning discussions, he has had broad exposure to the major issues that will be considered by the President in the Fall and has served as a catalyst in prompting consideration of key new initiatives, e.g. a major Administration statement on organized crime.

One of the primary challenges in dealing with domestic policy issues is the need for selectivity in determining which issues warrant direct, personal involvement, given a wide range of domestic matters on which the Vice President has already established a clear and well established record. This challenge is magnified by the scarcity of budgetary resources to address many of the problems with which the Vice President has been so strongly associated in the past.

Given these circumstances, I believe his choices have been wise and his role handled in a way that has minimized potential for criticism by the press, constituent groups and key departments and agencies within the Administration. Moreover, through direct contacts with OMB officials, the domestic policy staff, and key departmental personnel, the Vice President has developed a resource base upon which to draw as his domestic policy involvement increases.

Over the next six months, as FY 79 budget, legislative and economic policy decisions are made, the Vice President will have an opportunity to play an expanded domestic policy role, on a timetable far more manageable than the pace dictated by the FY 78 Congressional budget and legislative calendar. In this period, I would recommend devoting substantial attention to the Administration's strategy toward the cities and toward children and families, as well as toward already established priorities, i.e. tax reform, education reorganization, etc.

*MM*  
*43*  
*Brooklyn*



## SIX MONTH EVALUATION

Summary of Domestic Policy Issues in which the Vice President has been actively involved.

### Agriculture

-- Participated in decisions affecting dairy price supports, the basic farm program and sugar policy.

### Budget

-- Major involvement in shaping of the February education budget, and extensive participation in the Presidential Spring Budget Reviews.

### Education

-- Memo to the President on Department of Education Issue.

### Energy

-- Involved in preliminary review of National Energy Plan, continuing attention to oil and gas pipeline issues.

### Environment

-- Secured inclusion of Upper Mississippi in Environmental Message as candidate for Wild and Scenic River System. Directed EPA review of methods to revitalize clean lakes program. Provided help in guiding Administration process in aftermath of water projects announcement.

### Economy

-- Involvement in major macroeconomic policy discussions and decisions.

### Children/Families

-- Prompted and announced Administration initiative on foster care and adoptions.

Law Enforcement/Justice

- Helped to stimulate planning for major Administration statement on organized crime.

Transportation

- Took position on Locks and Dam 26. Continuing interest in Trans-Atlantic Route Case.

Trade

- Developed Mondale Option on GSP for Venezuela. Involved to a lesser extent in shoe and cargo preference decisions.

Labor Issues

- Recommendations to the President on minimum wage, and labor law reform.

Tax Reform

- Active participation in tax reform planning, including major role in securing expanded tax credit as part of Treasury Department proposals.

Special Projects

- Chaired opening session of D.C. Task Force. Recommendations this month to be submitted to the President.
- Presidential Agenda Preparation

Congressional Relations

The Vice President's activities on the Hill have been successful and well received throughout the first six months. His appearances before the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses and other groups, including those early this year which were marked by hostility toward the new Administration, have been followed only by compliments. In fact, the Senate Caucus appearance may well have saved the Warnke nomination, for it gave a number of Senators an opportunity to vent their frustrations on him rather than sending a message by voting against Warnke.

Not only is the Vice President trusted and considered "one of ours" by the Members of Congress, an invaluable asset to the White House during the first few months, but also because of his relationship to the President and his unprecedented role as Vice President, the Members of Congress know that he speaks for the President which in turn makes his role in Congressional relations all the more important to them.

The attitude on the Hill toward the new Administration is changing from early suspicion, hostility and uncertainty to cooperation and mutual respect. At the same time, the Vice President's role is changing from that of a trouble shooter to one complimenting Frank Moore's operation as his shop has begun to run smoothly and become well received on the Hill.

Moreover, the Vice President has successfully avoided becoming involved in day-to-day Congressional relations and lobbying, carefully leaving that to Frank Moore, keeping Frank informed of his activities (despite some earlier problems), working with Frank in a team effort, and using his "clout" sparingly.

The only criticism one hears on the Hill is an occasional, usually joking, reference to the small amount of time spent chairing the Senate. This criticism usually comes from the staff. The Members of the Senate seem to understand that this Vice President has important other priorities.

Activities have included:

- Regularly scheduled meetings with the President and members of Congress including the bi-weekly Tuesday leadership breakfasts and the informal meetings with House and Senate democrats.
- Appearances for comment and Q and A before the House and Senate Democratic caucuses, the House Policy and Steering Committee and the House Democratic first and second termers.
- Various meetings related to specific issues such as joining the President for meetings with the Ways and Means, Commerce and Energy Committees and the Vice President's meetings on such items as the Mideast letter, the Warnke nomination and election day registration.
- Individual meetings with congressional leaders including Senators Byrd and Cranston and Representatives O'Neill and Mahon.
- Lobbying on behalf of specific administration proposals, usually by telephone including such items as the Warnke nomination, the \$50 rebate, the consumer agency and voter registration.
- Leading the administration effort in the development of proposals to be sent to the hill including foreign intelligence surveillance, organization of federal intelligence activities and election reform.

- Presiding over the Senate on a limited basis usually at the request of Senator Byrd.
- Congressional entertainment at the residence including breakfasts with the Ways and Means Committee, and the Senate Democratic freshmen and the dinner for Italo-American caucus.

Additionally, there has been a certain amount of time spent in private discussions with the President relative to congressional matters.

See Tab \_ for Bill Smith's full comments.)

Media Coverage

The Vice President has established an exceedingly favorable image during this first six months. Generally the media have portrayed him as a new kind of Vice President -- informed, involved and influential, the net effect of which has been to refute the conventional wisdom that the Vice Presidency is an office of little substance and day-to-day importance in American government. The impression has also been conveyed that Mondale is well-prepared to fulfill whatever responsibilities may come to him.

This positive image has resulted primarily because of the way that President Carter has chosen to use his Vice President and because of the way in which Mondale has handled the responsibilities given to him. Much of the Vice President's success has to do with his personal style which blends his honesty, integrity and intelligence with unpretentiousness and a sense of humor.

While the Vice President has chosen to keep a relatively low profile, his actual involvement in a wide range of domestic, foreign and political issues has left the impression that he is an integral part of the loop and results in natural attention from the media.

He has had an average of six major interviews per month through June which have served him well. (See list at Tab \_\_.) The clear theme of the resulting coverage is that he and the President have a close personal relationship, that the President has made him a major partner and that they share an understanding of the role of the Vice President in this administration.

While there have not been many individual TV/radio interviews, coverage in those media of Mondale's speeches, trips and otherwise newsworthy activities have been regular and positive. The good exposure which he has had in Washington and New York newspapers, the weekly newsmagazines, and the wire services have a positive influence on network coverage.

In summary, Mondale's coverage in the first six months has been as good if not better than he could hope for.

(See Tab \_ for Al Eisele's full accounts.)

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

July 11, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK MOE  
FROM: BILL SMITH *BS*  
SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S  
ROLE IN CONGRESS

The First Six Months

The Vice President's Congressional relations activities during the first six months include the following:

1. Regularly scheduled White House meetings with the President. These meetings include the regular bi-weekly Tuesday Leadership breakfasts and the series of meetings with House Democrats and the Senate breakfast meetings, the latter two being informal sessions with groups of Members without an agenda.
2. Appearance before organized groups on the Hill, including the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses, the House Policy and Steering Committee, and the House Democratic first and second termers.
3. Issue related meetings at the White House or on the Hill. Examples are: the President's meetings with the Ways and Means, Commerce and Energy Committees and the Vice President's meetings on specific projects such as the Mideast letter or the Warnke nomination.
4. One-on-one meetings with Byrd, O'Neill, Cranston and Mahon.



5. V.P. residence functions which thus far have included a Ways and Means Committee breakfast, Senate freshmen Democratic breakfast, the Italian American dinner, and to be scheduled in July, dinners in honor of Senator Byrd and the Speaker.
6. Lobbying on behalf of Administration bills which usually involves splitting a list of phone calls with the President. This has included the Warnke nomination, the \$50 rebate and voter registration.
7. Special legislative projects where the Vice President has taken the lead, including development of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance bill, the organization of federal intelligence activities and the development of the election reform package.
8. Private advice to the President, usually at Monday lunch.
9. Presiding over the Senate.

#### The Next Six Months

I think the above nine categories of activities are all appropriate and should, generally, be continued. In terms of the Vice President's priorities over the next six months, it should be noted that the Congress will be in town and working intensively on Administration sponsored legislation in July, September (after Labor Day) and October. Despite Byrd's desires, adjournment is unlikely before early November. The Vice President should be prepared to spend a substantial amount of time lobbying and chairing the Senate as well as in other Congressional relations activities during these months. The remaining months, August, November and December, will involve little or no Congressional time.

#### Recommendations

1. The Vice President should consider playing an active Congressional role in the President's tax reform efforts. This would not only compliment his present White House role, but his membership on the Finance Committee, good relations with Russell Long and other members of the committee and his past leadership

with Kennedy in tax reform efforts provide a unique opportunity.

2. The Vice President should get to know Eddie Boland. He is about to be Chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, and he is likely to be Mahon's successor as Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.
3. I have not seen the briefing paper which you gave the Vice President at last week's staff luncheon, but I gather that suggests a role in the Senate with respect to various foreign policy initiatives.
4. Working with Frank Moore and the President, map out a way to develop better Congressional liaison with the younger House Democrats. This will be difficult in view of the Speaker's attitude.
5. Chair the Senate more often. About every month the Vice President says he should get up to the Senate more often. That's because when he does come up here he wishes he did it more often, not just because he enjoys his colleagues, but it gives Senators an opportunity which they would otherwise not seek to tell him confidentially what's on their minds and present problems which may have been festering for awhile. He should spend at least an hour a week on the Senate floor and probably will in July, September and October anyway because of the importance of the Administration sponsored legislation being debated.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: GAIL  
JIM  
BILL ✓  
DENIS  
AL

FROM: MIKE

Attached you will find a rough summary of the recommendations which have been forwarded to Dick by each of you as well as a copy of the complete text of each memorandum. Please keep this material in a secure place and do not share it or copy it.

Within a day or two a meeting will be scheduled for a general discussion of the integrated report and recommendations to go to the Vice President, so please go through it carefully as soon as possible.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

### The Next Six Months - Hill

The Congress will be in town and working intensively on Administration-sponsored legislation in July, September (after Labor Day) and October. Adjournment is unlikely before early November. The Vice President should be prepared to spend a substantial amount of time lobbying and chairing the Senate as well as in other Congressional relations activities during these months. The remaining months, August, November and December, will involve little or no Congressional time.

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otherwise not seek to tell him confidentially what's on their minds and present problems which may have been festering for awhile. He should spend at least an hour a week on the Senate floor and probably will in July, September, and October anyway because of the importance of the Administration-sponsored legislation being debated.

#### The Next Six Months - Press

Despite the generally favorable treatment Carter and Mondale have received by the news media so far, I think it is reasonable to assume that they will be subjected to increasingly critical examination in the months ahead. The press is now beginning to measure them against their campaign promises and to question whether there is any substance behind all that symbolism. The Post's coverage of Mondale's NEA speech last week may be an example of that trend.

This is also about the time that the first "whatever happened to the Vice President?" stories start to appear. I don't look for this to be a major problem for Mondale because of his continuing top-level involvement in this administration, but by the same token, the press is going to be watching to see if Mondale can live up to his reputation as the most influential Vice President yet.

#### Recommendations

1. Given the overall success of Mondale's press coverage in the first six months, I don't see the need for any drastic changes in his press strategy. He should continue his regular exposure to reporters through individual and group interviews (the two luncheon sessions he has had with 10-12 reporters have proved to be very effective means of communicating with the press, I believe); consider trying for a little more television exposure, including Meet the Press and the morning news shows as well as specials that take advantage of his family ties (i.e. Barbara Walters); and cultivate a more diverse range of columnists than just Joe Krafts and Scotty Restons. Also, I think he should experiment with different formats for his contacts with the press such as inviting a few reporters over to the house for cocktails and/or dinner.

2. In addition, I think we should try to develop some Mondale byline articles for quality, high circulation magazines such as the Readers' Digest, Smithsonian, etc. on subjects he's specially interested in or identified with. His article on the family in the April 9 issue

of TV Guide Magazine is a good example. And we should make more of an effort to get him exposure, either through interviews or specially prepared articles, in the labor and minority press.

3. Finally, I think we should take advantage of his leisure activities such as hunting, fishing, and skiing for publicity purposes if this can be done without impinging on their primary purpose, which is to give him some rest and relaxation.

4. In order to improve relations with press in the hinterlands, Mondale should begin to learn to expect to do interviews with local political reporters. We also believe that he should take better advantage of his "star quality" and begin to do more people events. We worry about the increasing criticism that his trips are dull, thoroughly and solely political, and generally conducted in isolation from the real people.

#### The Next Six Months - Issues

##### A. Activities which will require substantial time allocation.

1. FY 79 Budget - As budget preparation advances, major policy questions in connection with the Administration's coming year legislative program, and economic policy will be nearing the decision stage. Coordination with Departments and Agencies, with the White House Units and with OMB will be necessary across the board. This process is already beginning with Domestic Council meetings with Planning and Evaluation staff from the agencies.

2. Tax Reform - Consistent with the Vice President's interest in playing an active role in the tax reform decision-making process, this issue will require substantial time allocation over the coming weeks.

3. Welfare Reform - A decision paper will be sent to the President within the next two weeks. It is likely that the Vice President will be required to participate in a number of key issues as they approach a final decision.



4. Education Reorganization - Substantial staff role likely in connection with OMB-HEW study. Given Vice Presidential identification with this issue, and deep congressional and constituent interest, it is important to be sure consultation and study process are carefully designed and carried out.

6. Alaskan Natural Gas Transportation - Within the next month the decision on an Alaskan Natural Gas Transportation System will be made. This is bound, given the complexity of the issues, to require a great deal of staff time, and it is one on which the Vice President will want to be fully briefed.

7. D.C. Task Force - Heavy staff involvement will be required for the remainder of the year. Two rounds of Vice Presidential decisions will be required, the first within the next two weeks.

B. Activities which might be worth a substantial commitment of resources.

8. Urban Strategy - Of prime importance over the long term, and one in which a substantial commitment of resources could be effective, is the development of a coherent Administration policy toward the cities.

9. Children/Family Issues - Marian Edelman has urged creation of an interagency group as well as appointment of a high level HEW liaison for children and family issues. Active staff participation in such a unit would seem a must.

C. Continuing Activities

The foregoing break-out of the first six month's activities suggests the range of issues that in many cases will continue to require attention. To the extent possible, we would hope to rely increasingly on assistance from other White House units, especially the Domestic Council, for staffing on issues other than those in which the Vice President has a particularly strong interest or point of view, and on those in which the Domestic Council has needed expertise.

10. Presidential Agenda - It appears likely that the Reorganization Project will recommend coordination either by the Vice President's Office or the Domestic Council of the Presidential Agenda project. I believe that we ought to give serious thought to the downside of having one of the activities that has been most visibly associated with the Vice President turned over to another office. If we were to decide to keep the project, assistance would still be required from the Domestic Council. I believe we could work that

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out as we did last time, if it were the Vice President's preference. To be useful to the President, the project -- to the extent that it is coordinated by this office -- would require Vice Presidential guidance and time allocation.

#### D. Conclusion

There are obvious trade-offs in terms of quantity and quality of staff and Vice Presidential participation across-the-board in domestic policy issues. However, the degree of impact on a given policy is not necessarily directly related to the commitment of time by principal or staff. Often, it will depend on shape of final options as they emerge in the White House and agency review process. In looking toward the future, the flexibility to range from issue to issue, stepping in where a major problem occurs, must thus be weighed against the time when quality or lead time slips because we are trying to do too many things at the same time.

Those issues singled out for priority for the next six months are those which would seem to require or deserve continuing special attention. Discussion would be useful on the selection, on the level of Vice Presidential interest in the priority list. Once the prime issues are selected, continuing attention involving press and scheduling might be useful in looking for speech "targets of opportunity" to increase the level of benefit per speech and public visibility per unit of Vice Presidential working time.

#### The Next Six Months - Foreign Policy

During the balance of 1977, the Vice President should continue the role he is currently playing within the NSC system and in the U.S. foreign policy/national security decision-making process. The Vice President should continue to stay abreast of each of the principal foreign policy issues in which he has been involved and he can expect, at the President's request, to become involved in additional issues.

During the next six months, and because of his principal role in foreign policy, the Vice President can expect an increase in the number of requests by foreign officials, foreign Ambassadors in Washington, and U.S. foreign policy officials for meetings with him, and care will be required to ensure that low priority requests do not crowd his schedule.

It is possible that the President may ask the Vice President to undertake additional foreign travel in the next six months.

In keeping with his defense and national security responsibilities, the Vice President will probably wish to inspect one or more strategic defense installations and operational elements of the armed services -- e.g., inspection of NORAD in Colorado, an underway inspection of a nuclear attack submarine (which could be done from a port either on the East Coast or the West Coast, possibly in conjunction with other official travel in the U.S.).

### The Next Six Months - Scheduling

Taking the initiative in the scheduling process will prove to be critical in achieving our political objectives. Obviously, there is no shortage of things to do. Yet the first six months illustrate it is possible to work exceedingly hard but still include almost nothing on the schedule for important geographic areas or basic constituencies.

This section is devoted to the consideration of political initiatives we can take through setting reasonable scheduling objectives. Most of the focus is on the next six months. When necessary, the discussion continues into the first six months of 1978.

#### A. Labor

We should now initiate a systematic program to work with the major international unions, state federations from states that are likely to be critical in 1980 and beyond, and the AFL-CIO when appropriate. (The analysis of the first six months illustrates that the schedule included only two or three significant labor events.) The objective of this program is to build a stronger personal and institutional relationship with important parts of the labor movement. To meet this objective, we recommend the following:

1. That members of the Vice President's staff be assigned to be the liaison with major international unions and the AFL-CIO.
2. That the state federation of labor conventions in Illinois and Connecticut be accepted for the fall of 1978.
3. That once per month for the next six months a meaningful event be developed with one of the 5 internationals identified in recommendation number 1 or the AFL-CIO. Possibilities would include meetings with the executive committee, a speech to a convention or legislative conference, or possibly an article for the union publication.

4. That the AFT convention in Boston from August 16-18 be accepted.

B. 1978 Senate Elections

It is possible to predict based on our current information a number of senators who will request and require assistance in their 1978 re-election efforts. In order to gain maximum advantage from assistance given and to maintain maximum flexibility for the 1978 calendar year, we recommend the following:

1. That Senators Hathaway, Haskell, McIntyre and Pell be told now that you are willing to do a major political/fundraising event for them during the next six months.

C. Blacks

No major initiatives have been taken in the past six months to strengthen your relationship with the black community. Several minor meetings have taken place in the White House and the Vice President has been involved with the D.C. Task Force. Yet, no significant addition to the Vice President's strength with the black community has resulted.

Currently black voters make up approximately 25% of the Democratic vote. This percentage is continuing to increase. Although quality black events (defined in terms of the number of people reached) are difficult to find, we must initiate a program of communication. We recommend a two pronged program which includes the following:

1. That the Vice President move in the near future (probably September) to initiate substantial contact with key black political leaders through the invitation of the Congressional Black Caucus and the leaders of the Council of Black Elected Officials to your home for a dinner similar to the Italo-American dinner.

2. That the press office be instructed to develop a plan to communicate more effectively through the black media.

3. That a program of speaking engagements to be developed to important black audiences.



#### D. Hispanics

Even more specialized communication and scheduling is required to reach substantial numbers of Hispanics. The Vice President has consistently been responsive to the leaders of this group and shares a number of substantial issue concerns. They will be a critical ingredient in the 1980 re-election victory. We recommend the following:

1. That in the next six months, one major Hispanic event be accepted which could be the focal point for a demonstration of the Administration's concern for this group and feature the major appointments made.

#### E. The South

In the past six months, the Vice President's schedule has had a substantial focus in the South. Since the inauguration the schedule included Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina. This month a visit to Tennessee is planned and in the near future a campaign event for Henry Howell in Virginia will be arranged.

This first year of the Administration may be the best possible time for the Vice President to complete his "political introduction" into the South. We have all sensed a significant receptivity if not to say fascination. Large party events with an opportunity for a broad exposure to political opinion leaders is the best format. Therefore, we recommend:

1. That major political events be accepted in three of the following five states in the next six months and the remaining be accepted in the first six months of 1978: Louisiana, Texas, Florida, South Carolina, Kentucky.

#### F. Ethnic Whites

Many commentators agree that the most significant problem faced by the Democratic Party, particularly in the North, is maintaining the allegiance of the ethnic white voter. The Carter-Mondale ticket did less well among Catholics and several major ethnic groups including Italians than has the Democratic ticket traditionally.

During the campaign several attempts were made to appeal to this constituency. Large public events and parades

were part of the schedule as well as more traditional political events. Further, the organized Catholic Church was a focus of activity through the hierarchy.

The schedule for the next six months already reflects some commitments in this area. Columbus Day parades in San Francisco and Chicago are on the agenda. The contact at the leadership level with the Italo-Americans and the Poles has been healthy. Yet in addition to what has already been planned we recommend the following:

1. That the possibility of a major focus on preserving urban neighborhoods be considered in the next sixty days. The President will be appointing a Neighborhood Commission passed by the Congress, Barone is considering new initiatives at HUD, and many consider this focus to be by far the most productive politically.
2. That we try to execute a high visibility visit to an ethnic neighborhood to highlight urban rebirth and neighborhood vitality if the initial exploration proves promising.

#### G. Prestige Forums

Several traditional organizational forums and several universities offer opportunities for serious speeches which can enhance the stature of the Vice President. We have a backlog of invitations of this type. We recommend:

1. That at least twice during the next six months speeches be accepted at major forums such as:
  - a. The Council on Foreign Relations, New York or Chicago
  - b. The City Club, Cleveland
  - c. A major Ivy League or Land Grant University
  - d. The Detroit Economic Club

#### H. Pennsylvania

We recommend that as soon as feasible a political strategy be initiated for Pennsylvania. Immediately a quality invitation should be accepted in the Pittsburgh area.

#### I. The DNC

Tab 4 is the proposal from the DNC for the Vice President's activities during the next six months. Acceptance of these proposals should fully satisfy this obligation.

#### J. Marginal States for 1980

Tab 5 is a list of those states which gave the Carter-Mondale ticket from 47-53% of their general election vote.

We recommend that during the next six months, the Vice President plan to visit three of the states listed above.

#### K. Traditional Mondale Constituencies

Very little has been done in the past six months to nurture the major constituencies developed over the period of several years by then Senator Mondale. Groups and individuals concerned with the special problems of the family, children and youth, the poor and dispossessed, and the programs designed to help those groups who have not found their way onto the schedule. The following steps are recommended to remedy this problem:

1. A media plan should be developed including interviews, articles (to be authored), television discussions, and other elements to feature at least one aspect (perhaps the family) of this constituencies' concern over the next six months.
2. At least two major speeches should be accepted which provide the opportunity to give an overview of the Administration's concern and program.
3. A member of the issues staff should be given the responsibility to act as a liaison with key groups in this area (much as the labor liaisons described earlier) to assure that there is regular communication and that the relationship of the Vice President with these groups is maintained and strengthened.

#### L. A People Program

Opportunities should be developed to demonstrate the Vice President's openness to ordinary citizens in the context of the President's people program. The staff should be instructed to suggest on a regular basis appropriate "people events."





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