

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK MOE
FROM: AL EISELE *AE*
SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S PRESS COVERAGE

This memorandum is in response to your request to take a look at the Vice President's press coverage during his first six months in office and to make some suggestions about what he should be doing in the next six months in terms of press-related activities, coverage, exposure, etc. It consists of three parts, including an evaluation of the first six months, some suggestions about the next six months, and finally some observations about the operation of the press office. This memo reflects the views and experience of both myself and Maxine, who prepared part III.

I. THE FIRST SIX MONTHS

I think it is fair to say that in his first six months in office, the Vice President has established an exceedingly favorable image--through the news media--in the public mind. From the outset of the administration, beginning with his trip to Europe and Japan, the news media generally has portrayed Mondale as a new kind of Vice President--informed, involved and influential to a degree that no other Vice President has ever been. I believe the net effect of his press coverage so far has been to refute the conventional wisdom that the vice presidency is an office of little substance and less day-to-day importance in American government; it has also helped convey the impression that Mondale is well-prepared to occupy the office of the presidency himself if necessary.

Naturally the press office would like to claim credit for all of this, but most of the credit obviously must go to Carter for the way he has chosen to use his Vice President. The rest of the credit should go to Mondale for the way he has handled his responsibilities so far, which is consistent with his personal history of steady growth in whatever office he has occupied. I think a particularly important factor in all of this is those personal qualities that have served him so well throughout his public life--intelligence, honesty, integrity, unpretentiousness and sense of humor. These have been transmitted through the news media to form a public image that can hardly be improved upon.

(more)

Mondale's personal inclination during the first six months has been to keep a relatively low profile, which is always a prudent thing for a Vice President to do. Still, because of his involvement in a wide range of domestic, foreign and political issues, he has been able to avoid such a low profile that would give the impression he was out of the loop or out of favor.

Mondale's direct exposure to the press, i.e. interviews, have served him well, which speaks well for his ability to handle the press and his good relationship with the press. As you can see from the attached list, he has had what could be called major interviews on an average of about six per month from February through June. The common denominator that has emerged from these interviews is that he and Carter have a genuinely close personal relationship, that Carter has made him a major partner in running the government and that they both have a clear idea of the role of the Vice President in this administration.

A glance at some of the headlines of the past six months indicates that this is the message that has gotten across: "Mondale Believes His Role Is Significant", Wall Street Journal 2/15; "How Mondale Sees His Relationship with Carter", U.S. News 3/28; "Carter-Mondale Relationship Still Thriving", Germond and Witcover 4/18; "Mondale Seen Settling Into Role of Senior Adviser to President", New York Times 4/21; "A Have-Clout, Will-Travel Veep", Time 5/23; "New Look in the Veep's Office", Los Angeles Times 6/19; "Mondale: New Style, New Power", Minneapolis Tribune 7/10.

I think the U.S. News interview in which he defined his relationship with the President and his own role as Vice President was very helpful in terms of suggesting that he and Carter are trying to reverse the grim history of the vice presidency. David Broder's article in the June 12 Washington Post in which he concluded that Mondale's workweek "leaves no doubt there is more substance than ceremony in the schedule of this Vice President" was extremely important in terms of shaping press attitudes.

While I haven't been able to monitor as closely television and radio coverage of Mondale, I believe it has been equally favorable. He has not done many television/radio interviews but coverage of his speeches, trips and other news events generally has been positive and regular. It should be noted that he has had very good exposure in the Washington and New York newspapers, the wire services and the weekly newsmagazines, all of which greatly influence network coverage.

To sum up, I think Mondale's press coverage in the first six months has been as good and probably better than he could hope for. His coverage as Vice President and during the campaign probably are reflected in the recent Harris Survey (May 19) that showed he is the best known member of the Carter team and has the highest favorable rating as well (54 percent positive, 22 percent negative and 24 percent not sure).

(more)

II. THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

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.

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 the 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.

As we look to the next six months and beyond, it might be well to keep in mind Jody's answer when I recently discussed Mondale's press coverage with him. He said that while Mondale obviously doesn't want to get in the position of rushing out and trying to make big headlines on everything that comes along, he should feel free to go ahead and make his contribution on a steady basis and then take the lead on specific things he's interested in. He added that "as far as Jimmy's concerned, Fritz has got nothing to worry about in terms of his press coverage. But you also don't want to burn yourselves out when your first big year in 1984."

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TRIP PLANNING

The system that's been set up to plan for trips, particularly press logistics, works very, very well. Beckie, the advance office and Maxine inform each other immediately about schedules, press arrangements and problems.

We do feel however that, logistics aside, more attention needs to be given to trip planning. [✓]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.

Before a press comments, an editorial board meeting or a "media event" is added to a trip schedule, we'd like to be consulted or at least informed.

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III. Press OFFICE OPERATIONS

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS

In general, despite a spate of recent minor problems, we've been pleased with the access we've had to Mondale and the cooperation we've received from the rest of the staff. Recognizing that everyone in the office seems to agree that we all need to talk to each other more, we are optimistic that internal communication problems will be resolved.

Having said that, we'd like to emphasize the following points:

- We're very much in favor of regular general staff meetings in which people from each section would brief the others on what they're working on--much like the old Senate office meetings. (For example, Gail and Bill could fill us in on what issues are coming up, what Mondale's currently working on etc.) We recognize that this would be somewhat repetitious for the top staff, but still feel it would be helpful.
- Having had one 15-minute session with Mondale, in which he briefed us on a couple of issues, we'd like to continue the practice of weekly meetings with him. A couple of things that came up in the first meeting enabled us to anticipate reporters' questions. That's infinitely better than always being caught by surprise by a reporter's phone call.
- Perhaps most importantly, it is imperative that when Mondale is involved with something concerning the press, this office should be notified immediately... whether it's his agreeing personally to an interview, his offhandedly announcing something to a reporter who happens to be passing by, his calling an editor or reporter about a story, or his agreeing to do a news conference.

SCHEDULING

Although we find the scheduling procedure somewhat cumbersome, we understand the reasons for its unwieldiness and will certainly continue to cooperate however we can.

We'd like to put together a longer-range press schedule with a view toward getting a better mix of all media.

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July 13, 1977

TO: Press Office

FROM: Maxine

RE: WFM Interviews Feb. 22 to date

FEBRUARY

- 14 -- WALL STREET JOURNAL/Al Otten (Article appeared 2/15/77)
- 15 -- NEW YORK TIMES Bureau Luncheon (Article appeared 2/16/77)
- 22 -- The MacNeil/Lehrer Report, PBS
- 23 -- CBC News/Don Newman
- 24 -- LA TIMES bureau breakfast (Article appeared 2/25/77)
- 24 -- WASHINGTON STAR political writers/Germond, Taylor, Barnes
(Article appeared 2/27/77)

MARCH

- 2 -- NBC "A Day in the Life"
 - 3 -- USIA/Edward P. Morgan -- series on WH-Congress relations
 - 4 -- WASHINGTON POST Editorial Board (Article appeared 3/5/77)
 - 10 -- US NEWS & WORLD REPORT/editors (Article appeared 3/28/77)
 - 14 -- Joseph Kraft
- Week of
- 3/20 -- MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE/Finley Lewis (Article appeared 3/26/77)
 - 29 -- LA TIMES/Marlene Cimon (Article appeared 4/12/77)

APRIL

- 1 -- NEW YORK TIMES Magazine/Brock Brower (Article appeared 6/5/77)
- 5 -- NEWSWEEK/Elaine Shannon (Article appeared 4/18/77)
- 7 -- NEW REPUBLIC/John Osborne (Article appeared 4/23/77)
- 12 -- UPI/Mike Feinsilber (Article appeared 4/13/77)
- 13 -- Minnesota press interview (Articles appeared 4/14/77)
- 20 -- ATLANTIC MONTHLY/Sandy Unger, Robert Manning
- 21 -- CHICAGO TRIBUNE/Harry Kelly (Article appeared 4/24/77)
- 21 -- NEW YORKER/Elizabeth Drew
- 27 -- NEW YORK TIMES/Charles Mohr (Article appeared 4/29/77)
- 28 -- Press Lunch -- EOB Office
- 29 -- WCCO Radio/Curt Beckmann
- 29 -- Briefing on Wire Tap Legislation

MAY

4 -- NEW YORK TIMES/James Reston (Article appeared 5/6/77)
7 -- MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE Sunday Magazine/Finlay Lewis at House
(Article appeared 7/10/77)
11 -- TIME Magazine/Bonnie Angelo (Article appeared 5/23-30/77)
26 -- Bob Shogan for book
26 -- CBS Morning News
26 -- Today Show

JUNE

3 -- VOGUE Magazine/Mary Lynn Kotz
6 -- WASHINGTON POST/David Broder-day in the life (Article
appeared 6/12/77)
9 -- NEW YORK TIMES/Hedrick Smith
13 -- ST LOUIS POST DISPATCH/Tom Ottenad & LA TIMES/Bob Donovan
(Article appeared 7/1/77) (Article appeared 6/19/77)
13 -- NEW YORKER/Elizabeth Drew
20 -- CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR/Godfrey Sperling (Editorial
appeared 4/21/77; also ed. 6/27/77)
29 -- Rowland Evans
29 -- RED WING REPUBLICAN EAGLE/Phil Duff courtesy call

JULY

5 -- MINNEAPOLIS STAR-TRIBUNE Editorial Board -- Minneapolis
12 -- Press Lunch/EOB Office

Six Months Evaluation

I. Overview of First Six Months

A. Domestic Policy Development Activities in which Vice President and/or Issues Staff have Taken Part

Agriculture

Dairy Price Supports. Liaison with USDA, Domestic Council. Preparation of Memo from Vice President to President recommending option ultimately approved by President.

Farm Bill. Liaison with Domestic Council, USDA, and EPG. Vice Presidential participation in EPG review. Memo to the President. Follow up meetings, and tracking of legislation on the Hill.

Sugar. Liaison with Domestic Council and USDA. Memorandum to the President on Sugar decision. Recommendation approved by the President.

Ice Cream. Responded to inquiry from Rep. Charles Rose. Liaison with Domestic Council.

Disasters. Participated in White House working group to develop Administration's drought package. Package approved by the President.

Budget

February Budget. Participation in OMB Directors Review meetings. Preparation of memoranda to the Vice President. Active Vice Presidential role in shaping education budget.

Spring Budget Review. Participation in OMB Directors Review Meetings. Scheduling of Vice Presidential review sessions with OMB and Domestic Council Participation. Vice Presidential involvement in President's review sessions.

Civil Rights/Minorities

Civil Rights. Tracking of major court decisions and Administration civil rights activities. Vice Presidential participation in Leadership Conference Meeting. Participation in OMB's civil rights reorganization task force. Liaison with civil rights groups including participation in briefings and meetings with representatives of several organizations and coalitions. Participation in Administrative session on civil rights with Justice Department, OMB and HEW.

Native Americans. Substantial staff time in meeting with Indian representatives. Participation in meetings on resolution of Fishing Rights Dispute in Washington State, including meeting with Congressional Delegation representatives.

Illegal Aliens. Monitoring and assessment of task force activities for the Vice President.

Consumers

Consumer Message. Staff back-up for consumer meeting, review of draft consumer message and preparation of memorandum to the President commenting favorably on key points.

Education

Education Budget. Substantial Vice Presidential and staff involvement as discussed above.

Department of Education. Participated in working group with HEW, Domestic Council and OMB. Joint memo to the President leading to decision in favor of two tiered study. Substantial time investment in joint study, particularly in consultation phase of process.

Energy

National Energy Plan. Participated with Energy Staff and Domestic Council in prior review of proposals. (Secured fertilizer exemption). Vice Presidential involvement in review meetings with the President.

Northern Tier. Continuing tracking of Northern Tier oil pipeline proposals. Liaison with FEA staff.

Alaska Natural Gas. Participation as part of White House Executive Committee to coordinate agency reports, and plan Presidential review/decision schedule.

Environment/Natural Resources

Clean Lakes. Working with EPA on revitalization of Clean Lakes Program.

Upper Mississippi. Secured inclusion of Upper Mississippi Wild and Scenic River designation in President's Environmental Message.

Executive Order on Off-Road Vehicles. Worked with CEQ and Domestic Council staff on question of effect of executive order on snowmobile use.

Clean Air. Worked with Domestic Council staff on preparation of Administration's position on Clean Air.

Water Projects. Worked with Domestic Council, Congressional Liaison, OMB and agency staff on clarification of process following Administration's initial water projects decision.

Economic Policy

Overview. Continuing liaison with EPG, CEA and Domestic Council on Administration's economic policy. Preparation for and Vice Presidential participation in all major Presidential economic policy meetings. Tracking of economic data.

Anti-Inflation Package

Overview

Liaison with CEA, Treasury and Labor representatives on Anti-Inflation Package. Vice President supported an enlarged Council on Wage and Price Stability, which the President supported.

Stimulus Program. Involvement in initial sessions for design of stimulus package. Continued tracking of stimulus package and follow up as needed on implementation. Provided information on \$50 rebate question.

Humphrey-Hawkins. Liaison with CEA, DC and EPG on Administration's position re: Humphrey-Hawkins. Preparation of memoranda for the Vice President. Vice President participated in EPG decision meeting on this issue.

Children/Families

Child Welfare-Foster Care. Extensive role with Domestic Council in preparation of Administration Child Welfare/Foster Care package. Consultation with Congressional office, child advocacy groups, and HEW and OMB in developing proposals. Vice Presidential announcement.

White House Conference on Families. Monitoring of HEW preparation for White House Conference on families.

Transportation

Locks and Dam 26. Coordination with Domestic Council, OMB, COE and DOT during preparation of Administration's position. Preparation of memorandum from the Vice President to the President. Monitoring of activities on Capitol Hill.

Trans-Atlantic Route Case -- International Aviation Issues. Staff preparation and Vice Presidential participation in meetings on the effect of recent international negotiations on ability of Minneapolis/St. Paul to serve as international airport. Worked with Domestic Policy staff on a Presidential letter to the CAB on the issues.

Airline Deregulation. Preparation of memoranda for the Vice President on reduced airline regulation. Vice President addressed the issue in a speech before Business Roundtable in New York City. Speech segment quoted in Washington papers.

International Trade

Overview. Preparation of memoranda for the Vice President on trade issues as they have arisen before the EPG. Vice Presidential shaping of policy option on shoe imports which was eventually accepted by the President.

GSP for OPEC Countries. Preparation of memorandum to the President suggesting Mondale option for Venezuela and other OPEC GSP. Mondale option has become tentative Administration policy, subject to consultation with OPEC members and Congressional leaders. Consultation and coordination with Domestic Council, STR, Treasury, State and NSC.

Labor Issues

Minimum Wage. Preparation of memoranda for the Vice President. Vice Presidential participation in internal administration and labor leader meetings.

Cargo Preference. Preparation of memoranda on cargo preference. Coordination with Domestic Policy staff.

Labor Law Reform. Regular consultation with Domestic Policy staff on labor law reform, memoranda for the Vice President which were submitted to the President. President accepted most recommendations of Domestic Policy staff and the Vice President.

Tax Reform

Overview. Consultation with Domestic Policy, CEA and Treasury staffs and outside experts. Preparation of numerous memoranda on tax reform for the Vice President. Vice Presidential meeting with Treasury staff. Preparation of memo to the President raising concerns about the Treasury's proposals. President later communicated substantially the same concerns to the Treasury. Work on issues relating to the tax treatment of artists, which may result in inclusion of an "artists amendment" in the tax reform package. Preparation of memoranda to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Social Security Financing

Overview. Staff Analysis for the Vice President on Social Security financing. Vice President participated in final meeting with the President on Administration position.

Welfare Reform

Overview. Monitoring of progress toward completion of welfare reform options paper for the President. Attendance at selected interagency meetings chaired by Domestic Council.

Law Enforcement/Justice

Overview. Involvement in initial sessions on Department proposals on expanded role for Magistrates, class actions, general judicial reform. Monitoring and assessment of task force and Department evaluation of LEAA as well as liaison involvement on legislative matters.

Organized Crime. Established Mondale "Gang of Four" to seize control of Justice Department. Consultation in cooperation with Domestic Council, with outside experts and Justice officials involved in federal organized crime effort. Preparation of memorandum for the Vice President.

Grand Jury Reform. Liaison with Lipschutz office and Domestic Council on Administration Grand Jury Reform testimony.

Election Reform. Participated in drafting Administration statement on Congressional Public Campaign Financing sections of Election Reform Message.

Postal Service

Overview. Evaluation of Commission report on postal service and participation in Domestic Council preparation of options paper for President.

Urban Affairs

Overview. Monitoring, assessment and participation in deliberations of Urban Regional Policy Group chaired by HUD Secretary to study impact of Federal program on urban centers and formulate policy options for President.

B. Special Projects

D.C. Task Force. Extensive staff role in developing structure and format for D.C. task force deliberations, leading role in setting agenda for meetings, analyzing recommendations and in preparation for first round of proposals to the President.

Presidential Agenda. Coordinated and prepared second round Presidential Agenda submitted to the President in April.

C. Meetings/Case Work/Constituent Relations

- Preparation for Vice Presidential Meetings with constituent groups and follow up as needed.
- Meetings by staff at request of congressional members and constituent groups where Vice Presidential participation is unnecessary.
- Case work on a variety of projects ranging from saving the Durand Depot, to funding options for MHD.
- Response to Mail/Phone inquiries.

D. Speeches/Talking Points/Issues Back-Up for Trips

Bernie Aronson has carried by far the heaviest load in preparation of speeches and talking points. Issues staff has cooperated in providing substantive guidance, some drafts, and issue papers for trip briefings.

II. Evaluation

The First Six Months have been an extraordinarily busy period for the Administration in general and the Issues Staff has worked hard to keep on top of major events. Good relations have been established with the Domestic Council and other White House and agency units, including an ability to draw upon their resources for direct preparation of memoranda for the Vice President, a system which can hopefully be continued and increased. It would be of major potential benefit over the long term, in our judgment, to try to work out a time when the Domestic Council staff might be invited to an informal get together with the Vice President, to help deepen and hopefully build upon this relationship.

The heaviest burden has fallen upon the speechwriting function, a situation which will hopefully be eased with designation of an individual with responsibility to assist Bernie in preparation of daily talking points.

An analysis of speeches delivered over the past six months reveals a weakness in ability to generate "hard" good news, in part as a result of forums (party fundraisers) but also because events are rarely tied to Administration policy announcements. Part of the value of the Six Month Evaluation lies in trying to look ahead, to the kinds of issues that are likely to be coming up, the feasibility and desirability of a Vice Presidential announcement of a key policy or policy element, and the opportunities for selection of an appropriate forum. To avoid a certain degree of Cabinet resentment, it is of great importance to link these announcements to policy decisions in which the Vice President has been actively involved, i.e. child welfare, tax reform, and possibly in the future urban strategy.

III. The Next Six Months

A. Activities which will require substantial time allocation.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 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 times 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 targeted activities and others which might be included 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.

I. OVERVIEW

The past six months provide a context for planning the Vice President's schedule for the next six to eighteen months. General principles and objectives have been given substance. And perhaps most importantly, the expectations of the President have begun to follow a pattern which makes planning for the future more likely to be productive.

The first six months for the Vice President have been made up of many diverse activities. 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

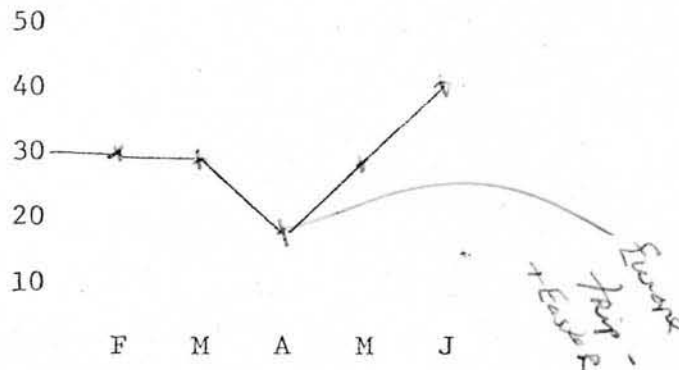
Al Eisele's Memo establishes that the combined media and public perception of these activities has been extremely positive. All indications

are that the President is well pleased. The response at political events and the demand for the Vice President's time is extremely strong.

TAB 1 is the breakdown of hours spent in the office during the first five months. The numbers include time in the office in meetings. It does not include Washington events outside the office, telephone calls, study time, travel time, evenings, trips outside of Washington or weekends.

The principal conclusions of the office time study are the following:

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.*

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.

* The figures included do understate Congressional time because they do not account for telephone calls.

TAB 2 is a listing of domestic appearances in Washington and on the road. The list is inclusive but because of the nature of the trips no time analysis is included.

The principal conclusions of the domestic appearances are the following:

1. The great bulk of travel and speeches has been devoted to traditional Democratic party audiences and traditional fund raising events.
2. No substantial attention has been paid to such important democratic constituencies as organized labor, the blacks and hispanics, and the Northeast.
3. The Vice President's schedule has had no significant "people events" which have proven successful for the President.
4. No substantial attention has been paid to the "Mondale constituency" made up of people concerned with the problems of children and youth, the /dispossessed, education and educators, and other related social problem areas.
5. The South has received substantial attention.
6. 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.

II. SCHEDULING OBJECTIVES

The following eight scheduling objectives should be helpful in developing the schedule and evaluating its success. Though very general, they are intended to give guidance in the selection of worthwhile events.

Schedules should be designed to:

~~Continued~~

1. Fulfill those assignments given by the President in both foreign and domestic to the maximum extent possible.
2. Build maximum public support for major policy initiatives of the Administration.
3. Utilize fully the special relationship with many key members of Congress for the benefit of major administration initiatives.
4. Assist in building and maintaining strong state and national party organization.
5. Establish and maintain effective communication with special constituencies build through years of service in the Senate.
6. Build popular support for the Administration with the traditional constituencies of the Democratic Party.
7. Establish an Administration presence in the key states necessary for re-election in 1980.
8. Demonstrate an ability to cut across traditional political lines and communicate effectively with the broad range of people touched by the Carter Administration.

III. THE NEXT SIX MONTHS

TAB 3 is the block schedule which includes all the commitments made for the next six months.

✓ Taking the Political Initiative through 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. Unions included in this program in phase 1 should include the following:

- a. The United Auto Workers
- b. The Communication Workers of America
- c. The United Steelworkers of America
- d. The National Association of Machinists
- e. The American Federation of State, County,
and Municipal Employees
- f. The AFL-CIO

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

2. That the state federation of labor conventions in Illinois and Connecticut be accepted for the fall of 1978.

- a. Peoria, Illinois Sept. 26-29 APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____
- b. New Haven, Connecticut Sept. 28-30 APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

APPROVE WITH EXCEPTIONS _____

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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

3. That a program of speaking engagements be developed to important black audiences. Examples might include:

a. The major black college -- Recent Court rulings present real questions of survival to the black colleges.

b. A convention of a major black political, religious, or social action organization.

APPROVE IN PRINCIPLE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

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 a 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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

E. The South

The Vice President's

In the past six months, ~~your~~ *the Vice President's* schedule has had a substantial focus in the South. Since the inauguration ~~you have visited~~ *the schedule included* Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina. This month ~~you will~~ *a* visit Tennessee and in the near future ~~you will be invited to~~ *is planned* campaign 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.

- a. Louisiana
- b. Texas
- c. Florida

- d. South Carolina
- e. Kentucky

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

APPROVE WITH EXCEPTIONS _____

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 the 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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

APPROVE IN PRINCIPLE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

The past six month schedule, the President's schedule, and the proposed and accepted schedule for the next six months include all these states except the following:

- Delaware
- Florida*
- Hawaii
- Kentucky
- Louisiana*
- Maryland
- Nevada
- New Mexico
- North Dakota
- Oklahoma
- Oregon
- South Dakota
- Washington

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

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

*Included in recommendation concerning the South

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 ~~depressed~~ ^{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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

2. At least two major speeches should be accepted which provide the opportunity to give an overview of the Administration's concern and program.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

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."

IV. CONCLUSION

The recommendations enumerated above suggest new initiatives in a wide variety of areas. Each initiative will be a commitment of the Vice President's time away from the office and possibly away from the first objective of the schedule; that is, to be immediately responsive to the direction of the President.

Each recommendation carries with it two assumptions that may prove to be ~~shaky~~ ^{questionable}.

1. That the drift of policy decisions and Washington events will be such that there is a receptivity among the groups we have targeted. There certainly have been some examples from the first six months (labor after common situs, wheat farmers after the introduction of the farm bill) where a major initiative or speech would certainly have been counterproductive. Undoubtedly there will be similar examples in the next six months.

2. That there is sufficient staff capacity to move in so many different areas at once. Acceptance of the recommendations would mean an increased travel and speaking schedule.

Beyond the specifics, the central objective of the next six months will be the same as the previous six months: to further the goals of the Administration through a schedule which uses the full political and substantive potential of a new Vice President with stature.



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