

1 advise a President and, in practice for the first
2 time I think in American history, I had that access.

3 As a matter of fact, when we first
4 began, the President said, "You're invited to every
5 meeting that I'm scheduled," and I could pick and
6 choose, and did throughout those four years, all
7 meetings at any time.

8 When Walter Heller came to town to
9 shape our economic policies that worked so well, I
10 was in there with Walter as he was explaining why
11 high inflation was good for us and so on.

12 We had an institution which was called
13 the weekly luncheon where once a week we would have
14 a private luncheon to discuss any matters that
15 he wished to discuss or I wished to discuss. What
16 we said or discussed was confidential and will
17 remain so, but what I was trying to achieve is not.

18 Sometimes he said the Presidency --
19 the President is a lonely man and the Presidency
20 is a lonely job. In one sense, that's true, but
21 in terms of pressure, in terms of the paper that
22 comes into that job, in terms of the number of
23 groups that come in to see him, Congress and from
24 all sources of the country, it is the lease lonely
25 job imaginable. What the President needs is

1 not more and more information -- although, that
2 is often helpful -- he needs a few people who can
3 help him appraise him and evaluate him.

T3 4 He needs people that he can sit down
5 and discuss problems with, confidentially, and get
6 the help he needs in finally deciding what he
7 wishes to do.

8 He needs to hear voices that speak,
9 not only special interest groups or a particular
10 parochial interest, but from a national perspective.

11 He has no limit to the number of
12 people who want to talk to him, but that does not
13 assure him of the confidentiality he needs to speak
14 freely.

15 He also has no limits to the number
16 of people who censor themselves even within an
17 earshot, even though what a President needs is
18 blunt and direct and often critical advice, and
19 that's a phenomenon I'll never understand.

20 I've known some friends of mine that
21 would come into my office in the White House and
22 say, "I'm going to go in and see the President for
23 a few minutes and I'm going to tell that man --
24 I'm going to tell him bluntly the mistakes he's
25 making and he's going to get it raw from me."

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1 I said, "That's wonderful, let's go
2 in, he needs the advice."

3 And you get into the Oval Office and
4 he'll say, "Hello, Mr. President, how is Rosalynn
5 and Amy? You're doing a wonderful job." Hawks
6 would become Doves, Conservatives would become
7 Liberals. I didn't recognize half of my friends
8 when they got in there. There's a cleansing
9 process that is unbelievable and that does not
10 help a President.

11 The best thing you can do for a
12 President is to let him know exactly what you think,
13 speak to him directly and as candidly as possible.
14 And I found that a Vice President is uniquely
15 suited to meeting these needs. When a Vice
16 President advises the President, he does not have
17 to speak for any department goal or constituency
18 or any cause. He can be a source of independent
19 judgment. He does not need to censor himself.

20 He can speak frankly and he can sit
21 down and discuss a matter with the President in a
22 way in which the President wishes to do so, and
23 that's what we did throughout these last four years
24 on virtually every important matter.

25 Although I have not agreed with

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1 every decision the President made, not once in four
2 years was I surprised by what the Administration
3 did, for I took part in everyone of his major
4 decisions.

5 Secondly, I helped determine the
6 President's agenda. That may seem like a small
7 matter, but there are dreadful limits to a President's
8 time, to a budget, to the Congress' ability to
9 deal with matters, to the number of foreign
10 governments that he can deal with personally,
11 interest groups and the rest. There is a limited
12 ability that the President can have, any President,
13 to sort through these demands; a limit to the
14 government's and the bureaucracy's ability to focus
15 on them, and a limit to the public's ability to
16 wade through them.

17 Major ideas take time to gather
18 momentum in a democracy. One of the first things
19 you learn in the White House is how both impressive
20 and strong the Presidency is on the one hand and
21 yet how incredibly weak it is if the American
22 people do not accept and support and understand
23 what it is the President wishes to do, and the only
24 way that a President can lead is with a set of
25 priorities that are coherent and understandable

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1 and consistent and which the institutions and
2 the American people can follow. Without
3 that, inertia always wins. Our system is built
4 up in a way to check and to balance and slow down
5 and deter, unless the American people have
6 decided the mood, and thus the agenda and priority
7 setting is crucial, and I helped work with the
8 President on that goal.

#4 9 Throughout our term I worked with the
10 Congress to achieve our legislative goals, and
11 in the process I really learned the meaning of the
12 separation of powers, those words I learned at
13 the law school.

14 When I was a Senator I used to look
15 down Pennsylvania Avenue and say, "How is it that
16 all the power is found in the White House?" and
17 then I sat in the White House and I looked down
18 in the other direction toward the Capitol and say,
19 "How is it that all of the power is in the Congress?"

20 The fact of it is, it's separated
21 between co-equal branches of government and the
22 Executive and Legislative relations is absolutely
23 crucial to any effective governmental policy; and
24 this need that the President has for help in
25 legislative assistance I think is much greater now

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1 than it has been for several years, for two
2 reasons. And it has changed a great deal since
3 I first went to the Senate. The power is more
4 widely dispersed today in the Congress than it
5 used to be. Individual members are much more
6 independent from central Congressional leadership
7 than in the past, and thus tend to be more
8 responsive to a local constituent's response, a
9 constituent's demands than to a general national
10 direction.

11 Secondly, without any doubt, the
12 President's influence in Congress has declined.
13 This, I hope, can be a topic of another discussion,
14 but for some 15 years now Presidential leadership
15 has been ravaged by the public reaction to Vietnam,
16 by the appalling information that came out in
17 what we call Watergate, but the abuses of
18 intelligence agencies some years ago, and the
19 reaction has been not to try to just correct those
20 problems, but in many ways to impede and undermine
21 the authority of a President that this nation needs
22 to deal effectively with our problems at home
23 and abroad.

24 And that reduction in Presidential
25 influence is found most clearly in the questioning

1 that the Congress always raises against the
2 President, the President, any President, who will
3 need help in Congressional relations.

4 In the last four years the measures
5 we tried to pass were not simple. They were
6 some of the most complex and controversial in
7 American history. Whether it was the Comprehensive
8 Energy Program or the national gas pricing and
9 distribution conflict that had been deadlocked for
10 some 30 years, arms control measures and the rest.

11 One of the classic examples was the
12 Panama Canal Treaties, a very complex measure. When
13 we proposed the Panama Canal Treaties, the first
14 poll that came out said that 80 percent of the
15 American people supported us. Our opponents
16 raised questions about security and foreign policy,
17 and the benefits of the Panama Treaties were very
18 intangible, measured mostly in terms of the grief
19 that we had avoided, and yet they were absolutely
20 crucial.

#5 21 As a matter of fact, some four or five
22 Presidents of both political parties for 15 years
23 had tried and failed to pass Panama Canal Treaty
24 legislation. In the end we passed it by a narrow
25 vote in the House and by a single vote in the

1 United States Senate, and I involved myself every
2 step of the way meeting with Senators and with
3 members of the Congress coordinating the work of
4 our legislative staff, mapping our strategies with
5 leaders and presiding over the Senate during the
6 crucial moments of our deliberations.

7 There is one unique aspect of the
8 institution of the Vice Presidency that is often
9 overlooked, and that is he is the only officer of
10 the Federal Government to belong to two branches
11 of government, the only officer who breaches the
12 separation of power, being a member of both the
13 Legislative and the Executive branches of government.

14 That helped me because I knew the
15 Senate. I knew its rules and its methods, its
16 moods and most of its members and was able to help
17 adopt and ratify those treaties.

18 With the President's encouragement, I
19 also acted as one of the President's principal
20 spokesmen, here and abroad. A President's public
21 education responsibility may be the most important
22 responsibility he has and, when properly conducted,
23 the most significant power that a President possesses.

24 Teddy Roosevelt called it "Occupying
25 the Bully Pulpit." It goes to the very heart of

1 his capacity to lead and to gain the trust and
2 support that he must have, and any President needs
3 all the help he can get.

4 I worked to extend the President's
5 reach to the public. I estimated that I have
6 traveled nearly 600,000 miles during the four years
7 in my Presidency. I visited nearly every state;
8 visited editorial boards, had interviews, everything
9 I could do to support our policies.

10 I would talk often on specific issues
11 like the Salt II Accord that we had to pull down
12 because of the invasion of Afghanistan; would go
13 on the road for a week, sometimes longer, and go
14 to foreign policy rooms and the rest to argue the
15 case for something that was essential.

16 Secondly, a President needs political
17 support, and all during these four years I campaigned
18 for members of the Congress and Senate and others
19 all over this nation.

20 In 1980 I campaigned in the greatest
21 number of primaries and caucuses our party has
22 ever held. If you can believe it, I even ended
23 up in a town that not even Hubert Humphrey had
24 ever been in, and I'll never forget ending up in
25 the famous town of Mingo Junction, Ohio. I'm

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1 sure most of you have been there, and the mayor
2 got up and said, "We're very pleased to have the
3 Vice President here with us today. We haven't
4 had an important person here" -- and there was a
5 long pause -- "as a matter of fact, we have never
6 had an important person here before." We lost
7 Mingo Junction.

8 I talked with civic and political
9 leaders around the nation and thousands and thousands
10 of Americans, and this, too, I hope will be another
11 topic of discussion sometime, and that is that
12 campaigns I think are thought by most Americans to
13 be a time when a politician tells the American
14 people what he intends to do and thinks.

15 The only campaigns that are worth
16 anything are those in which the politician listens
17 carefully and tries to learn and respond to the
18 needs of the people of this country, and it was in
19 the process of that kind of political support for
20 the President that I was able to gain information,
21 suggestions, advice and insight which I would bring
22 to the President whenever I returned from those
23 trips.

24 Of all of the areas in which I served,
25 one of the most important to me was in the field

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1 of intelligence, national security and foreign
2 policy. The President agreed that, in addition to
3 my domestic role, I would be helpful in these areas.
4 I had several diplomatic missions abroad, starting
5 with two days after the inaugural when I visited
6 the heads of the government of the United Kingdom,
7 Belgium, including NATO, Common Market Headquarters,
8 Germany, France, Italy and Japan, and in preparing
9 for this speech I listed the number of countries
10 that I have visited with diplomatic missions in the
11 last four years, a sum of 26 nations covering
12 virtually every part of the world.

#6 13 I spoke to the United Nations
14 Conference on Indochinese Refugees as well in
15 Geneva and the Conference on Disarmament at the
16 General Assembly in New York. I received literally
17 hundreds of foreign leaders over the past four years
18 from all over the world in the office in the
19 White House.

20 I worked closely with the President's
21 personnel, security officials throughout the
22 government. I was a member of a small group which
23 met weekly, the so-called Friday Morning Foreign
24 Policy Breakfast, which became a little noted but
25 extremely important regular meeting with the

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1 President at which most of the crucial foreign
2 policy decisions were made.

3 In addition, I spent hundreds of hours
4 over the last years in informal meetings, phone
5 conversations and the rest, with the range of
6 officers who make and implement foreign policy.
7 These experiences were very, very helpful to me in
8 permitting me to serve the President and for
9 several different reasons.

10 First, I was privy to all the
11 information bearing on the decisions that had to
12 be made.

13 Secondly, because the public perception
14 of the role the President permitted me to play, I
15 was able to bring about decisions within our own
16 government bearing upon relations with other nations.

17 You might say, "Well, what's so
18 impressive about getting your own government to
19 decide anything?" If any of you join government,
20 you will find it is the toughest job of all and to
21 pull different agencies together, to get differing
22 points of view resolved, to get decisions made, to
23 move on, is often the most difficult of all tasks,
24 and particularly when the issues are tough.

25 Let me give you one example. In the

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1 summer of '79 you all recall the world viewed one
2 of the most tragic human situations that has been
3 seen in recent history. Thousands and thousands
4 of Indochinese were expelled cruelly and barbarically
5 out to sea in unsafe boats, overcrowded, inadequate
6 food, and we estimated at one time nearly one-half
7 of them lost their lives before they could reach
8 any other destination.

9 These refugees were subjected to
10 piracy, which I thought was a thing of the past,
11 but which wasn't. They were literally overwhelming
12 nations as well, Thailand, Malaysia, moving into
13 the Philippines, down through Indonesia, all the
14 way into Australia and even some to New Zealand;
15 an absolutely tragic, overwhelming crises for the
16 civilized world.

17 We had coming up a U.N. Conference on
18 Refugees in Geneva. It was not at all clear that
19 the conference was going to do anything but talk.
20 The Vietnamese had built a backfire against the
21 success of the conference and the hope for a
22 successful conference depended on our own government
23 doing certain things that could enhance our
24 leadership and, because of that, permit us to lead
25 at that conference.

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1 I was asked by the President to go
2 to Geneva to represent us there, and in the process
3 I discovered there were several crucial decisions
4 that we had to make in terms of funding, in terms of
5 constructing facilities, in terms of coordinating
6 our program with other countries, and, in my
7 opinion, in terms of taking the Seventh Fleet and
8 actually ordering them to go out and pick up these
9 people from the ocean before they drowned.

10 We were able to get our government to
11 make those decisions. We went to Geneva and,
12 because of those decisions, were able to get the
13 international community to move effectively, quickly,
14 to put unbearable pressure on the Vietnamese to
15 stop them and now, as you know, there has been a
16 dramatic change and cessation of that problem.

17 There have been many, many other
18 examples. When I visited China on behalf of the
19 President a year and a half ago, we had normalized
20 relations but was basically a non-relationship
21 because we had not done those specific -- taking those
22 specific steps in economics and trade and security
23 and so on which should characterize the mature
24 relationships between the United States and other
25 major powers.

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1 We were able to make those decisions
2 before we went to China, and I think, not bragging,
3 to say that as a result of that mission the
4 relationships between the United States and the
5 People's Republic of China was enormously enhanced
6 and we're on a fine and solid basis today.

7 The same is true of a mission that we
8 took to Nigeria where we had several outstanding,
9 unresolved, long-delayed issues between our two
10 nations that advocated the relations between the
11 United States and that great country, the richest
12 and most powerful Black nation on earth.

13 We were able to resolve those differences
14 and we entered into a range of agreements that are
15 fundamental in nature.

16 I hope to point out these things because
17 I hope that future Vice Presidents will be assigned
18 this essential role. There are so many things
19 that deserve and expect high level, policy sensitive
20 attention of a personal nature.

21 A President simply doesn't have the
22 time to do as much as the situation warrants and,
23 if he tried, he could do nothing else. And this is
24 one role particularly where a Vice President could
25 be of enormous help.

1 The appendix is part of the body
2 which once served as a useful function but
3 atrophied because of the passage of time the need
4 for it disappeared. What I have been trying to
5 stress this afternoon is that the Vice Presidency
6 is virtually the mere image, the opposite and
7 converse of the appendix.

8 Evolution, the growth and ferment
9 of American political institution has transformed
10 the Vice Presidency from a vestigial role to a
11 viable and vital one.

12 For generations the Presidency's
13 unique qualities have all been dormant. The
14 changes over the Presidency meant that those
15 policies for the first time are being invigorated.

16 Over the years the more intimidating
17 the President's powers became the less likely he
18 grew to hear frank talk, and that is what the
19 confidentiality of the Vice President's unique
20 relationship can provide. The more the nation
21 demanded a President personally to do, the less
22 time he had to sort through and order those
23 priorities, and that's what a Vice President's
24 special freedom from line responsibility can help
25 him accomplish.

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1 The more bureaucratic and street-wise
2 the President's own Executive branch became, the
3 less able he was to coax decisions from it. And
4 that is what the President's inherent distance from
5 inner bureaural allegiance can help him attempt.

6 The more complex the Congress became,
7 the less sure the President grew that his legislative
8 program would be acted on and that is where the
9 Vice President's constitutional double identity
10 can be mobilized.

11 The more dense and intricate the
12 issues facing Americans became, the less easy it
13 was for the President alone to educate and lead the
14 nation, and that is where the Vice President's
15 electoral mandate from all the people can be put
16 to use. The more complex and diverse our political
17 life became, the less possible it was for the
18 President to sense the texture that mayors and
19 governors feel and listen to the music that members
20 of Congress hear in their district, and that is
21 what a Vice President's experience can help the
22 President learn.

23 The more the American Presidency was
24 drawn into the life and course of other nations,
25 the less time there was to devote his calendar and

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1 presence to each reason; and that is where the
2 Vice President's unparalleled ability to be deputized
3 for foreign missions can extend his reach.

#7 4 I began this lecture talking about my
5 advice to President Carter. In a sense, the whole
6 matter came full circle. This fall, when I met
7 with Vice President-elect Bush and told him what I
8 thought he should do as Vice President, I said to
9 him then and I thought there was something in the
10 relationship between President Carter and I that
11 was more than personal; and, though in the end
12 everything depended on the relationship of confidence
13 and trust, I believed there was institutionally
14 less to be learned about what we had done and I
15 offered some of those lessons to Mr. Bush in the
16 form of advice, and I must say the first few weeks
17 of this Administration I believe Mr. Bush and
18 President Reagan are showing every sign of
19 understanding the potential of the Vice President's
20 office and I commend them both.

21 The advice I gave to Mr. Bush is what
22 I would give to any future Vice Presidents. One:
23 Advise the President confidentially. The only
24 reasons to state publicly what you have told the
25 President is to take credit for his success and try

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1 to escape blame for failure.

2 Two: Either way there is no quicker
3 way to undermine your relationship with the President
4 and lose your effectiveness. A President should
5 and won't tolerate it.

6 Secondly, don't wear a President down.
7 He should be bright enough to catch your meaning
8 the first time. Give your advice once and give
9 it well. You have a right to be heard, not obeyed.
10 A President must decide when the debates must end,
11 this nation must move on, and you must be a part
12 of that decision-making process.

13 Third, as a spokesman for the
14 Administration, stay on the facts. A President
15 does not want and the public does not respect a
16 Vice President who does nothing but deliver fullsome
17 praise of a President. He should want and the
18 people respect sound factual reasoned arguments
19 on his behalf.

20 This office that I have held is
21 important enough not to be demeaned by its occupant
22 delivering obsequious flattery.

23 Fourth, understand your role as a
24 spokesman, it's important, but always understand
25 that you probably can't support every idea that comes

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1 out of an Administration. A wise President who
2 values his Vice President will not make the
3 mistake of forcing the Vice President to speak for
4 something with which he fundamentally disagrees.

5 Fifth, avoid line authority assignments.
6 If such an assignment is important, it will then
7 cut across the responsibilities of one or two
8 cabinet officers or others and embroil you in a
9 bureaucratic fight that would be disastrous.
10 If it is meaningless or trivial, it will undermine
11 your reputation and squander your time as most
12 Vice Presidents have found.

13 I can give several examples of duties
14 that were offered that I turned down. One day
15 the President announced that I was in charge of
16 Africa. I declined. There were sighs of
17 relief all through Africa and it wouldn't work, in
18 my opinion, because, first of all, the personnel,
19 the skills, the experience required to handle that
20 were clearly beyond anything that a Vice President
21 could assemble or would want to assemble.

22 Secondly, the skills in the State
23 Department and elsewhere are superb and there is
24 absolutely no reason why a Vice President could
25 not work cooperatively with the existing agencies

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1 where he can be helpful in achieving these
2 results and that's what we did.

3 Secondly, one day it was suggested that
4 I was going to be the Chief of Staff of the White
5 House. I turned it down on the spot. If I had
6 taken on that assignment, it would have consumed
7 vast amounts of my time with staff work and
8 distracted me from important work.

9 Sixth, the Vice President should
10 remember the importance of personal compatibility.
11 He should try to complement the President's skills;
12 and, finally, and perhaps in a real sense the most
13 important of all roles, be ready to assume the
14 Presidency. We all know the story of President
15 Truman succeeding on Roosevelt's death with no
16 knowledge of the Manhattan Project, which for a
17 long time had been under way.

18 President Carter did not want me to
19 need three or four months of on-the-job training
20 in the Presidency, if the need arose. As he said
21 so often, he wanted me to be ready the same moment
22 the nation would need me to be ready.

23 Political scientists have studied
24 the Vice Presidency and have suggested a number of
25 ways of changing it. Some propose that a

1 Presidential candidate be required to name his
2 running mate before he enters the first primary.
3 Others say he should leave substantial time open
4 at the convention and the delegates themselves
5 independently nominate the Vice President. It's
6 been suggested that the Vice President be given
7 statutory or constitutional additional authority,
8 from running the White House Budget Office,
9 cabinet agency, and even this last year's suggestion
10 of some kind of co-Presidency.

11 Others have suggested that the office
12 be eliminated entirely. I don't want to dwell
13 on these specific suggestions, but let me make just
14 two points in closing.

15 First, I believe that any change in
16 the Presidency which would weaken, diminish, delude
17 or divide the Presidency is a grave, grave mistake.
18 To say that the increased problems the President
19 faces requires a new mandate division of labor in
20 the White House, in my opinion, gets the wrong
21 way around. The more a President must do, the
22 stronger his office must be. There can be no
23 doubt of who is boss and who is running the Executive
24 branch of the government, and the purpose of a
25 Vice President is to add to his strength, not to

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1 sap it.

2 Secondly, I don't believe statutory
3 or constituional changes are the appropriate way
4 to keep the institution of the Vice Presidency
5 from returning to its centuries of hibernation.
6 Instead, I think it's about the -- I think it's
7 the force of evolution, the marvelous, resilient,
8 adaptive energy of our free political system that
9 is the more appropriate engine of change. There
10 is much in our modern government that's not part
11 of our original Constitution. The political
12 parties, the primary process, judicial determination,
13 even the Presidential news conference, all of these
14 have evolved along with the nation.

15 And so have the enormous range of
16 responsibilities that fall on a President's shoulders.
17 In our century, as the President's powers have
18 grown, so has his responsibility for the prosperity
19 of our economy, stature of our country overseas,
20 the health of the democracy abroad, peace to the
21 world.

22 In recent years the American President
23 found himself in the focus of rising expectation,
24 the target of unmounting demands.

25 John Steinbeck put it this way: "We

1 give the Presidents more work than a man can do,
2 more responsibility than a man should take, more
3 pressure than a man can bear. We abuse him often
4 and rarely praise him. We wear him out, use him
5 up, eat him up, and with all this Americans have a
6 love for the President that goes beyond loyalty
7 or party or nationality. He is ours and we
8 exercise the right to destroy him."

9 Just as the demands in the Presidents
10 have risen, so the President and I thought could
11 the office of Vice President be used to help the
12 medium and in making this role we established a
13 new tradition. I hope and I believe that we have
14 broken new and significant institutional ground
15 that has and will serve our nation well.

16 Now, you may be wondering, now that I
17 have sketched all the ground that has been broken,
18 the duties that I have performed and the success
19 that we have achieved, how is it then that we lost
20 the election? I have the answer but I am out
21 of time.

22 (Applause.)
23
24
25

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6 REPORTER'S CERTIFICATE
7

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9 35 pages of typewritten material constitutes a complete
10 and true transcript of the proceedings held at the place
11 and at the time and date noted.

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13 
14 Leonard G. Jenks,
15 Court Reporter.
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