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memo	From Brzezinski to The President (3pp.)re: Meeting with Senator Byrd	8/23/77	A
memo w/ att.	From Brzezinski to The President (2 pp.)re: Letter to Clark Clifford	8/23/77	A
memo	From Brzezinski to The President (1 page)re: Proposed Statement on Northern Ireland	8/23/77	A

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

MR. PRESIDENT:

This is the statement
Interior has authorized
to be released on Pat
Delaney.

Hamilton Jordan

8:15 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.

8:45 Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.

10:00 Taping for CBS Energy Special. (Mr. Barry Jagoda).
(30 min.) The Map Room.

10:30 Mr. Jody Powell - The Oval Office.

11:30 Vice President Walter F. Mondale, Dr. Zbigniew
Brzezinski, and Admiral Stansfield Turner.
The Oval Office.

12:30 Lunch with Mrs. Rosalynn Carter - The Oval Office.

2:30 News Conference. (Mr. Jody Powell).
(30 min.) Room 450, EOB.

3:15 Drop-By Briefing on the Panama Canal.
(15 min.) The State Dining Room.

3:30 Secretary Robert Bergland et al. (Mr. Stuart
Eizenstat) - The Cabinet Room.

7:00 Dinner with Senator and Mrs. Robert Byrd.
The Residence.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

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8/23

Statement from the Department of the Interior
on Pat Delaney (authorized by the Under Secretary
Jim Joseph, since Andrus is out of town)

The appointment of members of the Susquehanna River
Basin Commission is a Presidential prerogative .
While the Secretary of the Interior submits recommendations
to the President, we also expect that other recommendations
would be made. We have been informed that Patrick Delaney
is a leading candidate. We believe that he is qualified
and expect to support him if he is the President's
choice. Policy for the Commission is set by the Secretary
of the Interior and others in the Administration.
Members of the Commission, with the staff support, implement
these policies.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MR. PRESIDENT -
BOOK YOU INQUIRED
ABOUT.

H.J.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

12



CARTER ON THE ARTS



INTRODUCTION BY JOAN MONDALE



INTRODUCTION

The quotations in this book assembled by ACA give an indication of the events that have influenced our new President's thinking in the field of the arts and outline some of his hopes for the future.

I love the story that President Carter tells about his fond memories of the time a visiting symphony orchestra gave a concert in South Georgia near his home of Plains. It was the first time a symphony had ever played in that area, and he said,

"Everybody from the county merchants to the farmers went, listened, and enjoyed. The orchestra's visit was the main topic of conversation for weeks afterwards. People felt that something beautiful had touched their lives."

Ten years ago if I were asked to name the place where the arts meant the most to people, I would have been hard-pressed to name more than a few major cities. That is not true today. An explosion of interest has taken place all across the country. The dilemma now would be to single out examples from the scores of communities that have made the arts a vital part of their lives.

Both the performing and the visual arts are attracting larger audiences than ever before and more of us of every age—before we go to school until after we retire—are finding enrichment in participating in the arts. More Americans are now attending arts events than sports events! And more than nine of every 10 Americans feel the arts are important to the quality of life in their community.

During the frenetic travels of the campaign, an occasional tour of a local museum or a new downtown square gave me a deeper understanding of the area I visited. I have such happy memories of watching young girls experience the joy of movement in an after-school dance class in Hartford, Connecticut; of walking through a shopping mall which has brought new life to the central city in Utica, New York; of seeing a craft exhibit in Eugene, Oregon, that offers recognition to the talented potters and weavers of that state; and of spending a few hours in the enchanting historic restoration of New Harmony, Indiana, which is adding more and more tourist dollars to their economy each year.

We have all learned that "art" is more—much more—than looking at a painting in a museum. It is something to enrich all of our lives; art is for everyone—everywhere in this country. It is the total range of creativity—the way of finding one's own private world. For me, it has been the joy of making pottery—for others, it may be teaching music, painting, growing flowers, or writing poetry. Creativity covers the whole range of human endeavor.

Eleven years ago as President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Arts and Humanities bill in the White House Rose Garden, he reminded us of how we may be judged by future generations of historians when he said:

"Those nations which created no lasting works of art are reduced today to short footnotes in history's catalog . . . Art is a nation's most precious heritage. For it is in our works of art that we reveal to ourselves, and to others, the inner vision which guides us as a nation."

Enactment of this legislation signified a national commitment to support the arts. What started as a tentative experiment has become a major influence on American life.

JOAN MONDALE

Joan Mondale is the wife of the new Vice President and has had a life-long interest in the arts. She is a former member of the Board of ACA (Associated Councils of the Arts) and is the author of a book, *Politics in Art*, which in 1972 commented on the social significance of art. After graduating in history and art at Macalester College in Minnesota, she worked at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. When her husband was elected to the U.S. Senate she moved to Washington, D.C., where for nine years she conducted tours for visitors at the National Gallery of Art.

RECOLLECTIONS

A good place to begin exploring Jimmy Carter's relationship to the arts is with his autobiography *Why Not the Best?* In it he observes that:

Although my father seldom read a book, my mother was an avid reader, and so was I.

Of his childhood near Plains, Georgia, he says:

Within my memory, whenever anyone has ever asked me what I wanted for Christmas or my birthday present, I always replied, 'Books.' When I was four years old my godmother, also a nurse like my mother—though apparently not a great reader—gave me a set of the complete works of Guy de Maupassant. It was, of course, years later before I read through this set of volumes.

My life was heavily influenced by our school superintendent, Miss Julia Coleman, who encouraged me to learn about music, art, and especially literature.

Miss Julia was a spinster, who died recently, and she encouraged all of her students to seek cultural knowledge beyond the requirements of a normal rural school classroom. We were highly competitive in debating, an essay contest called 'Ready Writing,' music appreciation, one-act play productions, spelling bees, and other cultural activities.

Every student in the classroom was required to debate, to memorize and recite long poems and chapters from the Bible, and to participate in spelling contests. Each of us had to learn the rudiments of music and play some musical instrument—if it were only a ukulele, harmonica, or even a small piccolo.

As a school boy who lived in an isolated farm community, my exposure to classical literature, art, and music was insured by this superlative teacher. She prescribed my reading list and gave me a silver star for every five books and a gold star for ten book reports.

Miss Julia remains alive in my memory. She was short and somewhat crippled, yet she was quite graceful as she moved along. Her face was expressive, particularly when she was reading one of the poems she loved or

presenting to a class the paintings of Millet, Gainsborough, Whistler, or Sir Joshua Reynolds.

When I was about 12 years old she called me in and stated that she was ready for me to read *War and Peace*. I was happy with the title because I thought that finally Miss Julia had chosen for me a book about cowboys and Indians. I was appalled when I checked the book out of the library because it was about 1,400 pages long, written by the Russian novelist Tolstoy, and of course not about cowboys at all. It turned out to be one of my favorite books, and I have read it two or three times since then.

The book is about the French army under Napoleon, who believed that he was destined to be the conqueror of the world. He attacked Russia with every expectation of an early victory, but he underestimated the severity of the Russian winter and the love of the peasants for their land. The following spring the French army withdrew in defeat.

War and Peace is a great book about one of the most important events in modern history. This was the crucial campaign of Napoleon, who led the greatest army ever assembled until then—with fighting men from 20 nations.

The course of history was changed as great men struggled for military and political power. But the book is not written about the Emperor or the Czar. It is mostly about the students, farmers, barbers, housewives, and common soldiers.

As stated by Tolstoy, the purpose of the book is to show that the course of human events—even the greatest historical events—is determined ultimately not by the leaders, but by the common, ordinary people. Their hopes and dreams, their doubts and fears, their courage and tenacity, their quiet commitments determine the destiny of the world.

If the author were correct in his claim that the destiny of nations is controlled by the people, even when they are ruled despotically by kings and emperors, how much more true should this be in a nation like ours where each of us is free! Our government is supposed to be shaped and controlled by the collective wisdom and judgment of those among us who are willing to exert this power and democratic authority. But often those who want no special favors from government do not participate actively in the political process.

Carter's references to his boyhood give a picture of a semi-rural life-style, centered around the family. His home was at a Georgia crossroads called Archery, on a dirt road between Savannah

and Columbus. He went to school in the nearby town of Plains—population 550. It was more like life in self-contained communities at the turn of the century than that known by most Americans in the 1930's and 1940's. Books were the chief source of outside information throughout Carter's school years. Life on the farm was largely outdoors, both for work and play. The only performing arts Carter mentions seeing as a boy, other than school events, were the medicine shows and a "tiny circus" that visited the town.

But an important new voice from the outside world came with the introduction of radio in the 1930's:

We did not have electricity as I was growing up, but Daddy owned a battery-operated radio. The only programs we heard after dark as a family were prize fights and political conventions. I stayed up alone sometimes, after everyone else was asleep, to listen to Glenn Miller while lying on the floor in front of the fireplace.

Carter writes of the black people who attended the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Archery, and its minister, who was a bishop in the AME Church:

Each year the Bishop would invite us—the nearby white people—to special worship services at the Archery AME Church, and a superb choir would come down from Morris Brown College in Atlanta to take part in the program.

Carter had made up his mind he wanted to attend Annapolis even before he started the first grade in school and that influenced every aspect of his life thereafter. In his autobiography he tells of the service academy's attempt to teach him social skills:

One of the most fearsome requirements was in after-dinner speaking. It was necessary to prepare a speech, ostensibly humorous, or at least entertaining. Then, some 15 or 20 of us would assemble in a group in formal attire and try to eat a banquet meal, presided over by a senior officer. About a third of us would be called on at each session to make our prepared speeches. No one knew who would be introduced next. Speaking and listening were equally painful, and cold sweat was everywhere.

We learned how to dance from professional instructors—without girls. Fox trot, waltz, samba, and rhumba were required subjects.

Carter's attempts to broaden his education are told in his autobiography:

I spent a lot of my time at Annapolis trying to supplement the rigid engineering curriculum with private liberal arts studies. I was interested in literature, philosophy, theology, art and music.

We were paid only \$4 a month the first year, \$7 per month the second year, and \$11 a month as first classmen. My roommate and I spent most of our meager money on classical phonograph records. Other midshipmen would visit our room and we would argue for hours about the relative quality of performance of orchestras and concert soloists. For some reason, each time we reached the final part of 'Tristan and Isolde,' a large group would quietly gather in the corridor to listen to Liebestod.

In an interview in Madison, Wisconsin, reported by news agencies in March 1976, Carter recalled his Annapolis experience again:

All my education has been in technical schools, but all through that period I expanded my mind by studying. When I was in the Naval Academy, I spent most of my free time with classical music . . . I spent all of my money on classical records. We would buy two or three versions, for instance, of a Wagner aria or a Rachmaninoff concerto and we would compare the techniques of the pianists or the singers.

He mentioned a later book which had influenced him:

As far as books that I think have made a good impression on me, I think my favorite book of

all time, strangely enough, is *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* by James Agee . . .

This is an account by Agee of life during the depression on a rural southern farm—poorer, for sure, than Carter knew in his childhood, yet probably not far different from what he could see around him as he grew up.

He also recalled a poet who had come to mean a great deal to him:

As far as poetry goes, I like lots of poets, but my favorite is Dylan Thomas. For years, my three children and my wife and I would sit down at night with recordings of Dylan Thomas himself reciting his poems and we would analyze one poem a week and try to see what every word meant. He's by far my favorite.

His love for the works of this poet and a popular song writer formed part of his self-description in his autobiography:

I am a farmer, an engineer, a father and husband, a Christian, a politician and former governor, a planner, a businessman, a nuclear physicist, a naval officer, a canoeist, and, among other things, a lover of Bob Dylan's songs and Dylan Thomas' poetry.

In that book he quoted from Dylan Thomas' poem, "The Hand That Signed the Paper"*:

*From *The Poems of Dylan Thomas*, Copyright 1939 by New Directions Publishing Corporation.

. . . Great is the hand that holds dominion over Man by a scribbled name.

The five kings count the dead but do not soften
The crusted wound nor stroke the brow;
A hand rules pity as a hand rules heaven;
Hands have no tears to flow.

And from Bob Dylan's lyrics for "Song to Woody":

Hey, hey, Woody Guthrie, I wrote you a song
'Bout a sunny ol' world that's a-comin' along.
Seems sick an' it's hungry, it's tired and it's torn,
It looks like it's a-dyin' an' it's hardly been born.

He turned to Dylan's lyrics again in a well-noted part of his speech accepting the Democratic nomination for President:

I've never had more faith in America than I do today. We have an America that in Bob Dylan's phrase is 'busy being born, not busy dying.'

GOVERNOR

Carter was Governor of Georgia from 1971 to 1974. He told more about the development of his interest in Dylan during that period in an interview published in the November 1976 issue of *Playboy* magazine.* He had been asked about this by Robert Scheer and replied:

... I'm a human being. I'm not a packaged article that you can put in a little box and say, 'Here's a Southern Baptist, an ignorant Georgia peanut farmer who doesn't have the right to enjoy music, who has no flexibility in his mind, who can't understand the sensitivities of an interpersonal relationship...'

Carter told Scheer his sons had cured him of whatever culture shock he felt when confronted by ideas at variance with his rural Baptist background.

I have three sons, who now range from 23 to 29, and the oldest of them were very influenced by Bob Dylan in their attitudes toward civil rights, criminal justice and the Vietnam war. This was about the period of time I was

*Excerpts from the PLAYBOY INTERVIEW WITH JIMMY CARTER. Originally appeared in PLAYBOY Magazine copyright © 1976 by Playboy.

entering politics. I've been fairly close to my sons and their taste in music influenced my taste, and I was able to see the impact of Bob Dylan's attitudes on young people. And I was both gratified by and involved emotionally in those changes of attitudes.

Later, when I became Governor, I was acquainted with some of the people at Capricorn Records in Macon—Otis Redding and others. It was they who began to meld the white and black music industries, and that was quite a sociological change for our region. So as I began to travel around Georgia, I made contact a few days every month or so with Capricorn Records, just to stay in touch with people in the state, and got to know all the Allman Brothers, Dicky Betts and others. Later on, I met Charlie Daniels and the Marshall Tucker Band.

Then I decided to run for President. I didn't have any money and didn't have any political base, so I had to depend substantially on the friends I already had. One of my potential sources for fund-raising and for recruiting young volunteers was the group of recording stars I already knew. So we began to have concerts and I got to know them even better.

Of course, I've also been close to the country-music folks in Georgia, as well as the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra.

The first large contribution I got—\$1000—was from Robert Shaw, the music director of the orchestra. We've been over at the Grand Ole Opry a few times and gotten to know people like Chubby Jackson and Tom T. Hall.

Scheer asked Carter how the reference to Dylan came about and Carter replied:

A number of years ago, my second son, Chip, who was working full time in our farming business, took a week off during Christmas. He and a couple of his friends drove all the way to New York—just to see Bob Dylan. There had been a heavy snowstorm and the boys had to park several miles from Dylan's home. It was after Dylan was injured, when he was in seclusion. Apparently, Dylan came to the door with two of his kids and shook hands with Chip. By the time Chip got to the nearest phone, a couple of miles away, and called us at home, he was nearly incoherent. Rosalynn couldn't understand what Chip was talking about, so she screamed, 'Jimmy, come here quick! Something's happened to Chip!'

We finally deciphered that he had shaken Dylan's hand and was just, you know, very carried away with it. So when I read that Dylan was going on tour again, I wrote him a little personal note and asked him to come visit me at the governor's mansion. I think he

checked with Phil Walden of Capricorn Records and Bill Graham to find out what kind of guy *is* this, and he was assured I didn't want to use him, I was just interested in his music.

The night he came, we had a chance to talk about his music and about changing times and pent-up emotions in young people. He said he didn't have any inclination to change the world, that he wasn't crusading and that his personal feelings were apparently compatible with the yearnings of an entire generation. We also discussed Israel, which he had a strong interest in. But that's my only contact with Bob Dylan, that night.

Carter's involvement with the arts during his years as Governor of Georgia may have been meaningful personally but he left no record of public statements on the arts.

The September 1976 Word from Washington, published by ACA with information supplied by J. Golodner Associates, Washington, D.C., said:

"Former Governor Carter's record in Georgia is subject to varying interpretations. Critics point to the fact that, during his years in office, the State Arts Commission was abolished and replaced by a staff director in the Governor's office. Furthermore, it is argued, he initially cut the arts budget drastically. However, supporters point out that when Carter began his administration the state arts budget was \$128,000 and when he left office in 1974 the state was providing \$183,000 for the arts."

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Carter made many friends when he toured the United States for Democratic Congressional candidates in 1974 as Chairman of the Campaign '74 Committee.

On Dec. 12, 1974, Carter announced in a speech to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. that he was a candidate for President. Probably his earliest statement on the arts made in this new role was in February 1976 in a reply to Louise Tate, director of the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities. She had written to all the major candidates asking:

"The National Assembly of State Arts Agencies and Associated Councils of the Arts are backing a recommendation of a \$200 million appropriation for the National Endowment for the Arts. Their current appropriation is \$82 million. What level of funding will you recommend for the National Endowment for the Arts?" Carter replied:

The U.S. Government's cultural and educational programs here and abroad have been of enormous benefit to our country. Indeed, more

and more of the American public has come to recognize the important role cultural institutions play in improving the quality of community life.

However, the very success of the government's role in cultural life focuses renewed attention on a number of identifiable problems. The Carter Administration will review existing programs and institutions in the arts to further improve what is by common consent a highly constructive federal role in our domestic cultural life.

As it became clear that Carter was emerging as a serious candidate for the Presidency, the curiosity about his attitude toward the arts gave rise to inquiries from artists themselves.

At a fund-raising event in Los Angeles, according to news agency reports, Carter was introduced to a number of actors and writers. Tony Randall, the actor, asked Carter if he favored a national theatre, similar to the national repertory companies of England, Sweden, Ireland and many other countries. Carter replied,

"This is the first I have heard of it."

"You have obviously been with the wrong people," Randall quipped.

"They are the people who put me here,"

Carter is said to have answered.

Joseph Papp, the New York theatrical producer, wrote to Carter in June 1976, asking his views on cultural matters. The following reply, quoted in *The New York Times*, was dated June 26:

I have long been an enthusiastic patron of the arts, as persons such as Robert Shaw, conductor of the Atlanta Symphony, will attest.

Moreover, I believe that it is important that the federal government help subsidize the performing arts.

Arts in America are not simply a luxury, they are a vital part of the fabric of American life and deserve strong support from the federal government. If I am elected president, they will receive this support.

We are now in the formative stages of organizing a task force on the arts and I would be very pleased if you would not only serve on this task force, but suggest the names of others who might be interested.

Others had also been asked to join an arts task force, but none was ever announced.

DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

Carter won the Democratic nomination for President on July 13, 1976, and the following evening Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, Carter's choice, was nominated for Vice President.

On the morning of July 15, in a news conference at the Americana Hotel, where Carter was staying in New York City, he said:

I will carefully keep a record of those things that I promised the American people, the most significant and most important. I intend to keep my promises. I consider my word of honor is at stake, and I know Senator Mondale will help me honor those commitments.

Carter's general attitude toward the arts was discussed in an interview with Kenneth Reich of the *Los Angeles Times*, published on August 24:

Before the campaign progresses very far I intend to make one speech or kind of a compre-

hensive statement on the arts, as they will be encouraged when I become president. We've got in Georgia, a commission on the arts that is headed by a young pianist, who also happens to be a Rhodes scholar, and we've had a major emphasis on bringing the arts out into the country, into the small towns and cities where, in the past, access to the visual or performing arts has not been adequate. I was asked last night by a group if I would pursue the concept of a much greater support for the arts within the federal government. I would.

I think this is the kind of thing that has been neglected perhaps since John Kennedy was President. I would like to reinstitute that thrust. Senator Mondale's wife, Joan, has written a book about government and the arts, and I think she's already had some conversations with me and my wife about her role in that. My wife has been very enthusiastic about it, also. But this is something that I think has been neglected in our country.

When I've traveled in other nations, I've seen a much heavier emphasis on the performing arts out among people who ordinarily would not have access to them, who are not socially elite or very wealthy and this I think would be a good thrust for our government to pursue which in the past has been ignored almost completely.

The reporter asked: I think the National Endowment has about \$85 million this year. That sounds less than you would like to see the government have in the future?

And Carter replied: Yes sir.

Reporter: Would you change the basis of it all, I mean decentralize?

Carter: Yes, I would like to see it decentralized. I found that when I was Governor, that sometimes a \$10,000 allocation to, say, a ballet group or other group in Augusta, Ga., could be magnified four or five times over with local participation. And I fully believe that we have tens of thousands of those people around the country who would be willing to make a contribution on a matching basis, either of their own time or a financial contribution to improve the quality of arts in their own communities.

So, I think that the federal government could provide the emphasis and the organizational structure for greatly magnifying performing and other arts better than you could by direct grants to a specific artist where the government paid 100 percent of a certain level.

Reporter: There's a lot of talk these days about the amount of sex and violence both in movies and on television. I was wondering how much of a movie goer you are and how much television you

watch other than the news, and whether you share that concern about some of the contents and what, if anything, that you think ought to be done?

Carter: I hate to admit that I'm not much of a movie goer, or, a television watcher. I am concerned about it. It's surprising how many times this question's come up in audiences around the country, what can be done to hold down an overemphasis on sex and violence, particularly during the family watching hours. And I responded to this the other day at a citizens' forum in Washington.

I know there's a very narrow dividing line between censorship on the one hand and a minimization of violence and sex on television movies. I think the best thing that I could do is perhaps to express my concern to those who comprise or form those presentations and hope for voluntary—maybe stricter—self-policing in that respect. I would not hesitate, as President, to express my concern about it, and I think that the President's voice would have a beneficial impact, perhaps. But I would be cautious about how to do that because I'm really strongly opposed to any sort of censorship.

I think that if parents and purchasers of goods, who comprise the viewing audience, say, on television, if they knew that the President was

also concerned, that they might very well let their displeasure be felt in a more vivid and effective way.

When the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA) met in Atlanta in September 1976, delegates attended from throughout the country. Carter sent the following message:

I am happy to welcome the NASAA to my home state of Georgia. I'm sorry I cannot be with you personally, but I would like to take a little time to share my feelings on the arts with you, the state chairmen and chairwomen who are helping establish the arts in our nation's schools and communities.

I am vividly aware of the importance of the arts to our communities. I still remember the impact a visiting symphony orchestra made in the county I came from in south Georgia. It was the first time a symphony orchestra had ever played in that area. Everybody, from country merchants to farmers went, listened and enjoyed. The orchestra's visit was the main topic of conversation for weeks afterwards. People felt that something beautiful had touched their lives.

A recent poll has confirmed what I saw then—there is an almost unanimous perception among the American people that the arts are not a luxury, but a vital part of American life.

Over 90 percent of those surveyed felt that the arts were important to the quality of life in the community. Over 90 percent considered it important for their children to be exposed to a wide range of arts and cultural events. Yet more than half said they had never had the chance to attend a major cultural event themselves.

What is sorely needed on the federal level and what should be encouraged on all levels is a well-defined policy of support programs designed to bring arts programs and cultural events to more Americans.

The National Endowment and the state arts agencies have made an excellent beginning in this direction, but much more needs to be done. It can be done by a true partnership between the state agencies and the federal government. That is what I believe in.

If we can respond to the desire of the American people to participate in the arts, if we can educate our young people in an atmosphere in which the arts are an integral part of the everyday world, then we will have built a strong and secure base for the future of the arts in America—a base on which individual artists and professional organizations can build; a base on which folk arts and ethnic dances, symphony halls and great museums will thrive.

I commend the job the National Endowment and the state arts agencies have done in the past. I am committed to strengthen their support so that we can realize the goals I have outlined above.

During the next few weeks I hope to be in touch with some of you personally, and many of you through my issues staff. Please feel free to volunteer your suggestions for future arts policies in America.

Actors' Equity Association is a 20,000-member union of performing artists. At their national Membership Meeting, October 8, 1976, the following message from Carter was read:

Please accept my warmest personal greetings to each of you at the Quarterly meeting of Actors' Equity. At this meeting you pay tribute to the crucial role of the individual artist in shaping and uplifting the spirit and soul of this nation through the Paul Robeson Award. Please convey my congratulations to this year's distinguished recipient, Lillian Hellman.

It is essential that in our efforts to sustain and enhance the continued artistic development of our nation, we not lose sight of the artist as an individual. We must never forget that institutions do not create human art; human beings do. Consequently, government programs with

impact upon the arts must always give appropriate consideration to the condition of the individual artist.

I am proud, as a Democrat, to participate in the heritage of John Kennedy, who through his personal example awakened our public concern for the arts, and Lyndon Johnson, who set in motion the major elements of government support for the arts. I intend, if I am elected, to carry forward the heritage with new vigor and leadership.

On October 26, Actors' Equity released a response from Carter to a letter posing three questions of vital interest to it:

1. With a continual unemployment rate among Equity members of 75-80 percent, what action will you take to help provide jobs for actors and, therefore, additional professional theatre to hundreds of thousands of audiences who are literally starving for good theatre?
2. The governing body of Actors' Equity has issued a Declaration of Intent Toward Establishment of a National Theatre of the United States, wherein it is anticipated that a network of theaters at state and regional levels will be established. Do you agree with this concept and, if so, what action will you take to achieve the intent?
3. In view of the fact that the government of no major nation in the world spends as little on the arts as we do, do you agree with us that in order to have a meaningful impact in fostering quality

arts throughout the United States, the authorization for the National Endowment for the Arts should be at least be quadrupled? Carter replied:

1. As a nation we have been extremely neglectful of our basic resources. Nowhere is this indifference to waste more tragic than with respect to our human resources. Today, as you know, seven-and-a-half million people in this country are without jobs. Many millions more are only partially employed or working at jobs that make little or no use of their education, training and skills. I fault this Administration for its continuing tolerance of extremely high unemployment rates. I deplore its apparent inability to look behind these cold statistics at the individual human tragedies and the loss to our country in creative, human achievement which these figures represent. We can never measure the loss inflicted upon an actor who is given no opportunity to perform, an audience which never will enjoy that actor's work, or a community which loses a memorable cultural experience. And we will never begin to correct this situation for the actor or others until we have a government that sees the loss, understands the tragedy and places the priority for jobs first—not last—in the nation's economic agenda.

I pledge to you as I have pledged to others in the country that if I am elected we will never

use unemployment and recession as a tool to fight inflation. We will never sacrifice someone's job or livelihood for the sake of an ill-advised economic game plan that has not worked, is not working and will not work. My commitment to you is no different than it is to other artists and working people. It is to put people back to work and to stop wasting the people's abilities and stunting their talents and skills through disuse.

The unemployment rate today is higher than at any time since the depression of the 30's. Judging by statistics developed by your union and by the Labor Department the situation facing actors is probably as bad as it was then. But in those days with FDR [Franklin Delano Roosevelt] in the White House we had a government that cared about people and about what they could contribute to the strength of our nation. It developed novel programs to bring theatre, music, dance, and the other arts to millions who previously were deprived of cultural activity. In the process, that government employed thousands of actors, took them off the streets and put them on the stages where they could grow and develop professionally. Many of those artists went on to make major contributions not only to American life but to the cultural life of the world. The government nurtured these human resources as it did our soil, our forests, our

waters, and other valuable resources. We must have a government that once again expresses this concern for our people and what they can do. To do this, I will assemble all of the tools of the federal government—its employment, education, tax and other programs and, in a coordinated fashion, apply them to the goal of ending massive unemployment among those groups, including performing artists, where it exists.

2. I deplore the fact that thousands of highly trained, talented theatre artists and technicians are unemployed today while millions of young people who are studying Shakespeare, O'Neill, and Tennessee Williams in their classrooms have no opportunity to see their works professionally performed as they should be in a live theatre. I am appalled when I think of the many fine artists in this country who cannot find work while our elderly Americans, seeking enriching activities to brighten their retirement years, find no opportunities to attend a theatre or concert hall in their own community at a price they can afford.

By marshalling the resources of the national government I believe we can do more to end this waste of human talent. I also believe that by coordinating education and recreation programs, and with a comprehensive government policy toward the arts, we can find the means

for strengthening professional theatre throughout the country. I would like to see our nation's theatres offer year-round employment and service their communities with more and better programs for young audiences, regional touring, and the presentation of works by new, untried playwrights.

I regret that during the campaign I have not had the chance to adequately study Equity's concept of a National Theatre. I strongly believe, however, that we need to bring more high quality artistic performances to more of the American public. A National Theatre, with branches at state and regional levels, may indeed prove one way of fulfilling this goal.

3. As I have indicated in the past, I believe we must expand the authorization for the National Endowment for the Arts. But before we can put a dollar amount on that increase, we must remember that the federal government has many tools it can use to aid artists and advance the arts—among them, tax policies, copyright laws, government procurement policies and broadcast regulations. Regrettably, the present Administration has shown no capacity to identify clear goals and coordinate the wide range of government actions which affect the arts. Indeed, many of its actions seem set at cross purposes.

If I am elected, I intend to supply the leadership which has been so sorely lacking in this field. The first step must be to take a hard look at what our government is doing to and for the arts. We can then proceed to mobilize our governmental resources and apply them in a rational and consistent way to the goal of enriching the cultural and artistic life of our country, fostering and sustaining our creative artists, and making it possible for all of our people to enjoy and benefit from our rich and living cultural heritage.

Early in his Administration, President Kennedy appointed a high-level advisor on the arts who, under the aegis of the President, investigated every facet of the federal government with regard to its impact on the arts.* His report led to the creation of the National Council on the Arts, the development of new programs to improve architectural design in federal buildings and many ideas and concepts which have been allowed to mangle during the Nixon-Ford years. I think it is time we took another look at what our government is doing to and for the arts. Only then will we be able to judge whether the goal you have proposed for Endowment funding, along with all other supportive measures, is enough, too much, or too little.

*August Heckscher

On October 14, Carter wrote to members of the new National Committee of Advocates for the Arts, a program of ACA:

It was with great pleasure that I learned of the formation and initial meeting of the National Committee of Advocates for the Arts. The arts have increasingly demonstrated their importance to both the spiritual and economic life of every community in the nation. Your willingness to give of your time and energy to ensure that the cultural richness of this country will be felt in every corner of the land is commendable.

If I am elected President I will do my best to see that federal, state and local activities in the arts are strengthened and supported.

I salute your active participation in this important area and wish your organization success in its efforts.

The same day, a dinner was held at the White House in honor of Martha Graham. President Gerald R. Ford presented the Medal of Freedom to Miss Graham for her contribution during 50 years as a dancer and choreographer. During the presentation, President Ford said he would ask Congress for \$50 million for three years for a new "challenge" grant program for the National Endowment for the Arts. The funds—\$12 million in Fiscal '77, \$18 million in Fiscal '78, and \$20 million in Fiscal '79—had already been authorized by the Congress and would have to be matched three-to-one in local campaigns to help cultural institutions

develop new and larger amounts for continuing support. The President said his request that these funds be appropriated would be a part of his budget request to the Congress.

His statement prompted a rare reply from Carter in regard to the arts issue. Shortly thereafter he said:

... I would place emphasis on the use of challenge grants, *as originally proposed by the Democratic Congress and recently adopted by President Ford*. I would also like to see greater support for our nation's museums, which now find themselves in great financial difficulty. [Italics added]

It was a remark Carter repeated a few days later in a position paper on the arts released to the press.

This definitive statement giving Carter's opinion on the relation between the arts and the federal government, was made public on October 21, as the campaign was drawing to a close. It was the most complete description of his views on the arts made by Carter during the presidential contest.

Carter Statement on the Arts

During this campaign, I have spoken often of the essential strength and goodness of the American people. One important way in which these characteristics are manifested is in our rich and vital cultural and artistic life.

Despite the strength and variety of our artistic resources, we have failed as a nation to measure up to the standards for government support and encouragement of the arts set by many other developed nations. Our government needs to better develop a rational, well-coordinated policy directed to the advancement and dissemination of the arts.

The most visible instrument of federal support has been the National Endowment for the Arts. I believe that this agency, created by a Democratic Congress and a Democratic President, must be strengthened and provided with increased resources. I would place emphasis on the use of challenge grants, as originally proposed by the Democratic Congress and recently adopted by President Ford. I would also like to see greater support for our nation's museums which now find themselves in great difficulty.

I know that there is concern about the implications for the National Endowment of any governmental reorganization which might be implemented under a Carter Administration. I want to assure you that I will not approve any actions as President which would impair the autonomy of the arts or the proper priority they deserve.

The Arts and the Economy

Our cultural community does not exist in a vacuum. Indeed, it is uniquely sensitive to changes in the economic well-being of our nation as a whole. It is simply not possible for our artistic life to prosper when seven-and-a-half million Americans are without jobs. The first and most important obligation of the next President to the arts will be to end this tragic waste of our human resources by putting Americans back to work.

The greatness of the Roosevelt years as compared to the past eight years, was that Roosevelt did not view the arts merely as something to be supported. Roosevelt treated artists as an integral part of society—workers who had an important job to do in rebuilding our nation.

Roosevelt understood the importance of individual artists and the importance of creating conditions which would allow them to work, earn money, and make meaningful contributions to society.

We must again have a government that is prepared to make use of the arts, as Franklin Roosevelt did, by the implementation of imaginative new programs for the advancement of our cultural life, as it seeks to revive all sectors of our lagging economy.

Building Support for the Arts

(Here he repeated five paragraphs from his message to the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies.)

I am vividly aware of the importance of the arts to our communities. I still remember the impact a visiting symphony orchestra made in the county I come from in south Georgia. It was the first time a symphony orchestra had ever played in that area. Everybody, from country merchants to farmers went, listened and enjoyed. The orchestra's visit was the main topic of conversation for weeks afterwards. People felt that something beautiful and full of meaning had touched their lives.

A recent poll has confirmed what I saw then—there is an almost unanimous perception among the American people that the arts are not a luxury, but a vital part of American life.

Over 90 percent of those surveyed felt that the arts were important to the quality of life in the community. Over 90 percent considered it important for their children to be exposed to a wide range of arts and cultural events. Yet more than half said they had never had the chance to attend a major cultural event themselves.

What is sorely needed on the federal level, and what should be encouraged on all levels, is a well-defined policy of support programs designed to bring arts programs and cultural events of the highest quality to more Americans.

The National Endowment and the state arts agencies have made an excellent beginning in this direction, but much more needs to be done by a true partnership between the state agencies and the federal government.

Institutions like our opera companies, our great museums, dance companies and symphony orchestras are national treasures. They need our immediate, continued and vigorous support if they are to survive. A Carter Administration will be committed to provide the leadership in obtaining that support.

But there is more we are to do if we are to create the strong nationwide appreciation for the arts on which these institutions depend. First, we must pay more attention to developing support for the arts in all parts of the country, rather than concentrating solely on major metropolitan areas.

Next, we should strive to obtain greater assistance and incentive for local, state and regional activities.

But, most important of all, we need to expand the education of generations of young Americans to be sensitive to the arts so that there will be a solid, long-term base of support and appreciation for the arts.

The Arts and Foreign Relations

I don't believe that the Administrations of the past eight years have ever fully understood the potential of the arts as a means of improving and cementing our relationships with other peoples. We have a rich cultural heritage to share with other nations of the world. I believe that through the arts, through our great cultural institutions, through our ethnic dances and music and art forms, we can communicate to others the greatness that a free and democratic people can attain.

More effectively than weapons, more effectively than diplomacy, the arts can communicate, people to people, the spirit of America—the spirit of a diverse and proud people.

I have spoken often of the need for our foreign policy to embody the spirit and ideals of our people. I can think of few more concrete and dramatic ways to fulfill this need than through active 'export' of the arts.

I commend the National Endowment, the state

arts agencies, and thousands of often unrecognized, small arts organizations across the nation for their efforts in bringing the arts to the people.

I have pointed out before the immense base of potential support that exists for the arts among the American people. If we can respond to the desire of the American people to participate in the arts, if we can educate our young people in an atmosphere in which the arts are an integral part of the everyday world, then we will have built a strong and secure base for the future of the arts in America—a base on which individual artists and professional organizations can build; a base on which folk arts and ethnic dances, symphony halls and great museums will thrive.

Carter summed up what he hoped to accomplish in an NBC News interview the day after his election, on November 3. It was an informal session, with Carter appearing more relaxed than he had in any meeting with the press during his candidacy. Speaking with the confidence of a President-elect, Carter unfolded the philosophy which he said would be the basis for his Administration:

I would like to see the major aspirations of this country reach toward a quality of life, based on excellence, based on individuality, based on maximum human freedom, maximum honesty, integrity, openness and a sense of closeness between people themselves—among peo-

ple and their own government . . . There are some practical things like government reorganization, tax reform, education programs, energy policies, welfare reform, that are important. But I think that the one central thing is to seek a better quality of life for our people . . .

I would like to see . . . goals of excellence and quality, where there's a vision of hope and improved quality of life in the future. I think we are going to see a lessening of demand for material things . . . I think that's what's going to come in the future. As we see the pressures of energy shortages and population explosions around the world, an unchanging amount of land and water to produce food and fiber, I think there is going to be a realization that the finer things of life can come not from how much physical acquisition we have of material goods but what we have inside of us—a sense of peace, a sense of enjoyment—music, art, drama, education, an exchange of ideas. To preserve the quality of our environment is very important to me. And along with that I think we are going to see a shift to a fuller employment—maybe even a longer period of work time in our lives, not such early retirement. And I think there is going to be a shift toward the delivery of services to people in the field of music, art, drama, education, better health care and so forth, and not just the building up of trinkets and 'things' that go into our lives.

In the three-month period following his inauguration, President Carter attended more performances at the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. than any previous President in an entire term in office, according to Kennedy Center officials. He and members of his family saw Puccini's opera "Madame Butterfly," actor Hal Holbrook in "Mark Twain Tonight," and the New York City Ballet's production of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

The President gave further proof of his cultural interests by visiting an exhibition of treasures from the tomb of King Tutankhamen at the National Gallery of Art. And he requested that paintings by American impressionists be hung in his private study in the White House.

At his first state dinner, honoring Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo, the Carters asked Rudolf Serkin, world renowned pianist, to play sonatas by Beethoven and Mendelssohn. Dinner music consisted of Bach orchestral suites.

On the lighter side, White House entertainment for the nation's Governors consisted of an abbreviated version of "Annie," a new musical comedy staged by Mike Nichols, and Prime Minister Callaghan of Great Britain was treated to nostalgic ballads sung by mezzo soprano Jan de Gaetani and tenor Robert White.

Perhaps most surprising of all was the President's habit of playing classical music in his office for eight to ten hours a day. Using his own stereo equipment plus some 50 albums of classical music given to the White House by the Recording Industry Association of America during the Nixon years, the President had his secretary program the continual music.

In March 1977, Andrew Glass reported in *The New York Times* that when all of President Carter's campaign promises were examined, very little in his 111-page staff-assembled "promises book" referred to federal support for the arts. Therefore, his pursuit of the arts after taking office was all the more remarkable.

CONCLUSION

The federal government has become an important presence in the arts in America. This is not simply because of coherent policy decisions, but as an outcome of the increasing role of the government in the lives of individual citizens, their communities and states.

The tax laws, legislative decisions and administrative regulations affecting housing and urban development, transportation, employment, education, postal rates as well as federal construction and other expenditures, all affect the conditions and the climate in which artists work, arts organizations operate and individual citizens experience the arts. The result of this may be positive, as in the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts, specifically intended to foster the arts and make them more accessible. It may be permissive, by allowing programs such as that established by the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) to employ artists. It may unintentionally hurt the arts, by not understanding the way they work, as is the case with so many provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. Or it may act specifically to the detriment of the arts, as in certain aspects of our copyright legislation.

Because of the intricacy of the government/arts relationship, the attitude of the President is critical. For this reason Nancy Bush, who is Coordinator of the Advocates for the Arts program of ACA had the sensible idea of exploring what our new President, Jimmy Carter, had said about the arts up to the time of his elec-

tion in 1976. This book, which she edited, is a compilation of President Carter's words about the place of the arts in his own life and also his views of the broader place of the arts in society. We think it will be invaluable as a reference work to all those concerned with the evolution of the arts during the Carter Administration.

We have added some appendices giving resolutions by the U.S. Conference of Mayors and the National Governors' Conference, because those, too, reflect a growing awareness of the place of the arts in daily life.

ACA is deeply indebted to Thomas Meloy for making publication of this book possible. Dr. Meloy is a graduate of Harvard University and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and is a member of the Board of Trustees and Honorary Producer of Arena Stage of Washington, D.C. He is also a member of the Council for the Arts at M.I.T. His concern arises from the conviction that "knowledge of the arts makes better engineers."

ACA believes that the preceding pages do offer some indications of what the next four years have in store. America is a land always in process of becoming. The arts can help make what our society becomes in the next few years more aware, more varied, more interesting and better able to capitalize on what is still our most valuable national resource, the human spirit.

MICHAEL NEWTON
President of ACA

3:15 PM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

C
—

August 22, 1977

STATE BRIEFINGS ON PANAMA CANAL TREATY

Tuesday, August 23, 1977
3:15 p.m. (15 minutes)
The State Dining Room

From: Phil Wise P.V.

I. PURPOSE

To motivate a grass-roots effort among public opinion leaders to support a treaty ratification.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: Since the Senators have made it known they will follow their constituencies on the treaty, it is important to influence their voters on the canal. The most responsive and influential citizens of the states of Kentucky and Mississippi have been invited.
- B. Participants: Key industrialists, political activists, and financial contributors who have influence on their Senators. Governors Carroll and Finch will be in attendance. See attached list of invitees and briefers.
- C. Press Plan: No press coverage. If response is positive, both Governors will be available for statements after briefing. Carroll has already indicated strong support.

III. TALKING POINTS

- A. Frank Moore advises that it would be politically inappropriate for you to suggest specifically that they lobby their Senators. Instead, you need to ask them to help generate public support for the treaty in their own state.

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for Preservation Purposes

- B. This is an educational briefing - part of your pledge to conduct foreign policy in the open. The Senators of these two states were informed of the meeting and consulted on the list of invitees.
- C. Importance to our National Security and our posture in the world.
- D. Provides atmosphere for greater economic growth in the United States with our Latin American neighbors.
- E. Key forums are being identified in these states for top level officials (Vance, Brown, Linowitz, etc.) to speak to enlarge the public knowledge on the treaty as an initial follow-up.

Attachments
Agenda
Invitees

Tuesday, August 23, 1977

AGENDA

2:00 p.m.	Welcome	Jack Watson
2:10 p.m.	Overall Foreign Policy View	Zbigniew Brzezinski
2:30 p.m.	National Security View	Harold Brown
2:50 p.m.	Break	Vice President, Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell, Frank Moore
3:15 p.m.	Remarks	President Carter
3:30 p.m.	Treaty explanation	Ellsworth Bunker, Ambler Moss, General Dolvin

INVITEES - August 23, 1977

KENTUCKY

Gill Sturgill, Coal Operator, Chairman of Board of Trustees of
the University of Kentucky

Howart Hunt, Democratic Party Chairman, Kentucky

Betty Jo Heick, President, County Clerks Association of Kentucky

Steve Caller, Attorney

Bob Aldemeyer, President, Kentucky Association of County
Elected Officials

John Clark, President, General Electric Co. (GOP) of Louisville

Bourke Mantle, Jr., Farmer

Hal Rogers, Attorney (GOP - Ford's Campaign Manager for the
General Election in Kentucky)

Leonard Kernen, Vice President for Government Affairs, First
National Bank of Louisville

Lee Thomas, Jr., President, Thomas Industries, Louisville

John W. Kearns, President, Circuit Clerks' Association

David Grissom, President, Citizens Fidelity Corporation

Jack Paxton, Editor, Sun Democrat

O. T. Dorton, President, Citizens Bank of Paintsville
President, Kentucky Bankers Association

Herbert Ligon, President, Ligon Specialized Haulers, Chairman,
EDC of Kentucky

Bill Weinberg, State Representative, Attorney, Coordinator
of the 7th District of Kentucky

Walter Dear, Editor, The Gleaner, Henderson, Ky.

Governor Julian Carroll

Mr. Dale Sights, Carter Chairman, Kentucky

Dorothy Middleton, President, Kentucky Business & Professional
Womens Club

Ms. Scottie Kenkel, President, Kentucky League of Women Voters

Bill Terry, Industrialist (Coca-Cola Bottling Co.)

INVITEES - August 23, 1977

MISSISSIPPI

Al Binder, Chairman of the A & I Board, Assistant to
Governor Finch

W. P. McMullan, Jr., Chief Executive of the Mississippi Bank

William Winter, Attorney, Former Lt. Gov. of Mississippi

Tom Riddell, Chairman of the Democratic Party, Co-Chair
Aaron Henry

Sam Creekmore, Attorney

J. C. Redd, Former President of the Mississippi Economic Council

Mike Sturdivent, Delta

Will Waller, Former Governor of Mississippi, Attorney

Charles Young, Black businessman, Meridian

B. F. Smith, Executive Director of the Delta Council

William F. Hankins, Vice President of the Mississippi Bank

Helen Tedford, Executive Committee for Democratic Party

Colonel Milton Barschdorf, Executive Director of the
Port Commission

Dr. Gilbert Mason, Black physician

Paul McMullan, President of First Mississippi National Bank
in Hattiesburg

Leonard Erb, from the Coast

Paul Fugate, First National Bank

Danny Cupit, Attorney and former Co-coordinator of Mississippi
Carter Campaign

Governor Cliff Finch

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1977

The Vice President
Stu Eizenstat
Frank Moore
Jody Powell
Bert Lance
Bunny Mitchell

The attached is for your information.
If you wish to comment, please call
(x 7052) by 12:00 Tuesday, August 23, 1977.

Rick Hutcheson

RE: LETTER FROM A. VERNON WEAVER, SBA



U.S. GOVERNMENT
SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20416

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR

August 22, 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you with respect to our 8(a) Business Development Program for socially and economically disadvantaged persons.

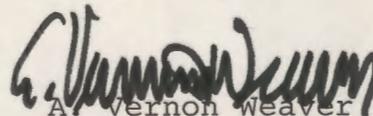
You may be aware of the extensive publicity generated by the Chiles hearings on this subject. The major thrust of the hearings was directed toward instances wherein unscrupulous White businessmen used minority "fronts" to obtain government procurement under this Program and made exorbitant profits.

I have established a review board for the purpose of redefining this Program, and an internal review committee to investigate each company we suspect of any wrongdoing. We have 1,576 companies presently in the Program and, of these, as many as 150 may be "problem companies." I would expect that at least 50 of these companies will be terminated from the Program for cause.

Almost without exception, each of the terminated companies will have strong support from at least one Member of Congress. I expect emotional intervention from some Members of Congress in many cases, based on past experience. However, it is my firm belief that the Program must be cleaned up and abuses eliminated in the public interest so its objectives of assisting truly socially and economically disadvantaged small business can be achieved.

I wanted to advise you of these pending actions and of the necessity of making these unpleasant decisions, since some protests may be call to your attention.

Respectfully,


A. Vernon Weaver
Administrator

101-111

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

23 August 1977

TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RICK HUTCHESON *Rich*
SUBJECT: Memos Not Submitted

C
1

1. THREE ITEMS FROM BOB LIPSHUTZ:

A statement by Common Cause President David Cohen, hailing the appointment of Frank Johnson to the FBI as "outstanding."

An AP story from a Maine newspaper stating that: "dire fears that Maine's massive Indian land claims dispute would result in financial chaos for the state... have failed to materialize."

A telegram from Gov. Longley of Maine complementing in strong terms Judge Gunter's work on the Maine Indian Land Claims dispute. "I don't think you could have picked a finer or fairer representative." Gov. Longley also mentions his concern about the "nation within a nation" concept espoused by some Indians.

files to Central File

2. VERNON WEAVER MEMO notifying you that in the process of cleaning up abuses in SBA's Section 8(a) Business Development Program (minority business program) he expects that at least 50 companies will be terminated from the program. Weaver wanted you to be prepared for possible "emotional intervention" from some Members of Congress.

Frank Moore's office will ensure that appropriate congressional notification takes place prior to any terminations.

(This issue has already come to your attention in a July 27 memo from Eizenstat, Mitchell and Watson.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

Not Submitted
R.L.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
SUBJECT: Vernon Weaver Letter
re: SBA Business
Development Program

In a memo of July 27 to you we advised you of the fact that Vernon Weaver was taking action to correct abuses relating to the SBA 8(a) Business Development Program. The major problem, highlighted in hearings held by Senator Chiles, is the practice known as "fronting", the use of blacks as nominal officers of a firm controlled by whites in order to take advantage of benefits designed to promote minority entrepreneurship.

Weaver's letter to you explains that of the 1,576 companies in the 8(a) program, 150 may be "problem companies" and at least 50 of these companies will be terminated for cause. Weaver felt that you should be aware of the fact that certain Congressmen may vigorously oppose these terminations.

The Senate hearings and SBA's independent investigations show that there is clear justification for eliminating some businesses from the 8(a) program. I believe that you should support Weaver's efforts to correct the abuses. In order to mute some of the Congressional opposition, Weaver should be asked to explain to Congressmen the details behind his decision to terminate a company. I believe that there will be less of an outcry from the Hill if they know that the Administration is committed to continuing 8(a) and that these actions are being taken to make certain that the program meets its objective of assisting truly socially and economically disadvantaged persons.

6

MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE FILE

DATE

Filed 8/23/77

EXECUTIVE

F66-11
PR5-2
FI 2
PR16

~~LETTER, MEMO, ETC.~~

TO:

Lance Bert

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Q&A re NBG Plane

National Bank of Georgia

CORRESPONDENCE FILED

PRESIDENTIAL
HANDWRITING FILE

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED

NBG PLANE

HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE FAILURE TO ~~XXXX~~ PAY FOR CAMPAIGN TRIPS ON THE NBG PLANE?

IT WAS SIMPLY AN OVERSIGHT ON THE PART OF THE CAMPAIGN. A MISTAKE WAS MADE, QUITE UNINTENTIONALLY, AND HAS NOW BEEN CORRECTED AS SOON AS IT CAME TO OUR ATTENTION. MR. LANCE WAS INFORMED THAT OUR CAMPAIGN WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR LETTING HIM KNOW WHAT PORTION OF THE FLIGHTS WE SHOULD PAY FOR. WE SIMPLY FAILED TO DO SO.

HOW COULD THIS HAPPEN?

ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH THE COMPLEXITIES OF KEEPING TRACK OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES UNDER THE NEW LAW WOULD TELL YOU THAT OUR CAMPAIGN AND ALL THE OTHERS HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN A CONTINUAL PROCESS DURING AND AFTER THE CAMPAIGN IN CHECKING FOR MISTAKES AND CORRECTING. THE CONGRESS RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTY INVOLVED BY ALLOWING A FOUR YEAR PERIOD FOR THIS TO BE DONE.

WHAT ABOUT THE PERSONAL FLIGHTS OF YOU AND YOUR FAMILY?"

WELL THE LAWYERS TELL ME THAT THIS IS LEGITIMATE, INASMUCH AS I WAS A CUSTOMER OF THAT BANK AT THE TIME. HOWEVER, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT FOR A FEW HUNDRED DOLLARS, WHICH IS ALL THAT IS INVOLVED, IT WAS NOT WORTH THE HASSLE OF ARGUING ABOUT IT AND I DECIDED TO JUST GO AHEAD AND PAY MYSELF ONCE THE SITUATION WAS EXPLAINED TO ME.

DOESN'T THIS JUST ADD TO MR. LANCE'S PROBLEMS? ISN'T IT JUST A WAY TO TAKE PRESSURE OFF HIM?

NO, I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT WE HAD PROMISED THAT WE WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR LETTING NBG KNOW WHAT NEEDED TO BE

DONE TO COMPLY WITH THE LAW. WE FAILED TO DO THAT THROUGH AN OVERSIGHT AND THUS WE HAVE TO ASSUME FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT.

I MUST SAY THAT IT IS AT LEAST A NEW TYPE OF ALLEGATION TO CLAIM THAT THE PRESIDENT IS TAKING THE HEAT FOR SOMEONE WHO WORKS FOR MIM. IT JUST DOESN'T HAPPEN TO BE TRUE.

F.Y.I. BOB LIPSHUTZ TALKED WITH THE FEC YESTERDAY. BASED ON THAT CONVERSATION HE HAS COME UP WITH A FORMULA THAT WILL ~~██████~~ HAVE THE CAMPAIGN PAYING FOR ~~\$1000~~ \$1011.15 AND YOU PAYING FOR \$782.55. HE HAS SENT TO THE FEC TODAY A MEMO ASKING FOR THEIR APPROVAL OR ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS.

EARLIER THIS YEAR WE ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED APPROVAL TO RETAIN FOR THE TIME BEING \$25,000 TO BE USED TO DEAL WITH JUST THIS SORT OF CONTINGENCY. ~~██████~~ THIS \$25,000 IS OVER AND ABOVE ABOUT \$126,000 IN FUNDS THAT WE HAVE RETURNED TO THE ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ FEC.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO: The President

FROM: Bob Fitzhugh

This letter, etc.,
delivered today by
hand to F. E. C.,
following my phone
call yesterday.

Check from Campaign
to N. B. G. mailed today
8/23/77

COPY

②

MEMORANDUM OF INFORMATION FOR THE FILE

DATE 8.23.77

EXECUTIVE

FG6-11
PR 5-2
F12
PE1
FG131

~~LETTER, MEMO, ETC.~~

TO: The President
FROM: Bob Lipshutz
SUBJECT: * National Bank of Georgia Plane

FG6-1-1/Lipshutz, i.
Lance, Bert

Attachment:
(copy) Bob Lipshutz memo 8/22/77 re National Bank of Georgia Plane to William Oldaker - General Counsel - Federal Election Commission

CORRESPONDENCE FILED

PRESIDENTIAL
HANDWRITING FILE

RECEIVED
SEP 3 1977
CENTRAL FILES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

August 22, 1977

C
1

Re: Committee for Jimmy Carter

Dear Mr. Oldaker:

As you undoubtedly are aware, there has been a considerable amount of discussion in the press during the past several days relative to an airplane owned by the National Bank of Georgia, of Atlanta, which purportedly was used by President Carter during the period when he was campaigning for the nomination of the Democratic Party for President of the United States.

Attached is a memorandum which I prepared relative to this matter, based upon all available information at this time.

Also attached is a summary of the five airplane trips in question, setting out detailed information which we have obtained in the past several days from the offices of the National Bank of Georgia. You will note that we have attempted to divide the costs of these trips between the "Committee for Jimmy Carter" and "Jimmy Carter and Family" personally. This division of these costs is based upon the following information which we respectfully submit to you. We would appreciate your advice as to the appropriateness of the division of these costs, which now have been paid to the National Bank of Georgia. Should any adjustments be necessary, we of course will make them.

On August 30 the candidate participated in a political parade from Copperhill, Tennessee, to Elijay, Georgia, and attendant activities such as a barbecue. His trip to Sea Island, Georgia, was primarily for recreation and rest.

On October 17, 1975, the candidate went to the home of a close personal friend in Dalton, Georgia, but this was related to campaign business.

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page 2

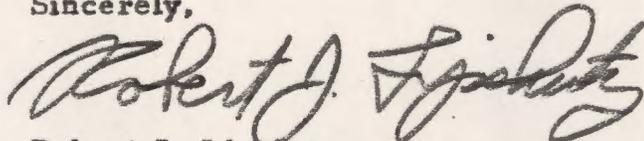
On December 29 the candidate came from his home near Americus to Atlanta primarily to attend a meeting of several supporters who were preparing a fund raising activity, a Telethon.

On June 13, 1976, the candidate and several members of his family went to Sea Island both for recreation and rest and for planning related to the upcoming Democratic Party Convention and related political matters. The family stayed there until June 19, at which time the family returned to Americus and to Calhoun, but the candidate flew out of Brunswick, Georgia, on another plane for a campaign trip (Brunswick is adjacent to Sea Island).

While we of course will include these campaign disbursements in our next report to the Federal Election Commission, in view of the circumstances we felt it wise to advise you specifically of this action and also to request your advice.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,



Robert J. Lipschutz

Treasurer

Committee for Jimmy Carter

Mr. William Oldaker
General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20463

M E M O R A N D U M

August 22, 1977

SUBJECT: National Bank of Georgia Airplane Expenses, Carter Presidential Campaign

A recent review of the flight records of the aircraft owned by the National Bank of Georgia (N.B.G.) indicates that Jimmy Carter was a passenger on the airplane on four occasions during the two-year period in which he was campaigning (and other members of his family without him on another occasion), within Georgia and once in a nearby area of Tennessee. The Committee's records do not indicate either a billing or a payment to N.B.G. for the cost of the transportation, which N.B.G. now has advised us should be for \$1,011.15 for those portions of these trips which related to the campaign. During this two-year period the campaign paid out over \$150,000 for the use of small airplanes, mostly for short trips in and around the state of Georgia.

At no time did the Campaign receive a billing for these services. Had we received an invoice it would have been paid. The Committee actually is now returning approximately \$126,000 to the U. S. Treasury from its campaign funds.

While all matters relating to scheduling, billing and payment of expenses were of course handled by the campaign staff, the candidate and the campaign treasurer accept full responsibility for this matter and all similar matters.

The entire subject of unrecorded in-kind contributions by both individuals and corporations was a problem that was addressed by the Committee's internal auditors as well as Arthur Andersen & Company, C.P.A.'s, who conducted an exhaustive, independent audit of the Committee's records. Tests and procedures were instituted by the Committee and by Arthur Andersen & Company to try to insure that all in-kind contributions by individuals were recorded, disclosed in the Committee's FEC reports, and properly accounted for, and that in-kind contributions by corporations were eliminated by full payment for any goods or services rendered. As a result of our search for unrecorded in-kind contributions a number of individuals exceeded their maximum contribution limits and had to be refunded the excess over \$1,000. Corporations failing to properly bill the Committee (either intentionally or unintentionally) were always paid in full. It is presently the Committee's belief that there are no material in-kind contributions that the Committee is unaware of. This view is also shared by Arthur Andersen and Company. One can never be sure that there are absolutely no unrecorded in-kind contributions as it is impossible to verify such a fact to perfection.

There were thousands of transactions, both in expenditures and contributions, over a period of two years in 50 states, D.C. and Puerto Rico. Hundreds of these had to be reviewed, resulting in numerous adjustments.

Many expense items and a few contribution questions are still unresolved: disputed claims; checks sent out which never have been deposited; one independent expenditure which the FEC is questioning; items which may have to be reviewed after completion of the FEC's audits; etc. --- It may take the full statutory 4-year period to get every detail concluded. The Federal Election Commission recognizes this problem and has agreed to the Committee's retaining a reserve fund of \$25,000 for the purpose of clearing up all doubtful items.

August 30, 1975

Route: Atlanta to Americus to Calhoun
to Copperhill (Tenn.) to Elijay

Flight Time: 2 hours, 27 minutes

Cost: \$ 220.50

Route: Elijay to Sea Island (dead
head included)

Flight Time: 3 hours

Cost: \$ 270.00

October 17, 1975

Route: Atlanta to Dalton
and Return

Flight Time: 3 hours

Cost: \$ 154.80

December 29, 1975

Route: Atlanta to Americus
and Return (dead head each
cirection also included)

Flight Time: 5 hours, 27 minutes

Cost: \$ 490.50

June 13, 1976

Route: Americus to Sea Island (dead
head included)

Flight Time: 3 hours, 14 minutes

Cost: \$ 145.35 \$ 145.35

June 19, 1976

Route: Sea Island to Americus
to Calhoun (dead head
included)

Flight Time: 4 hours, 5 minutes

Cost: \$ 367.20

TOTAL \$1,011.15 \$ 782.55

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 23, 1977

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for your
information.

Rick Hutcheson

CADDELL MEMORANDUM ON THE BUREAU
OF LABOR STATISTICS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON
		LANCE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

~~SECRET~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Although the memo is dated August 5, it was received by Stu's office last Thursday, and given to me today.

Rick

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN,

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN "J" *J*
DATE: AUGUST 23, 1977
SUBJECT: CADDELL MEMORANDUM ON THE BUREAU
OF LABOR STATISTICS

Pat makes some compelling points in his Memorandum. If you would like to reconsider the Shishkin nomination, I will discuss the matter with Ray Marshall and Charlie Schultze.

*Leave as is.
J.C.*

_____ Reconsider
_____ Disapprove
_____ Other

*Pat may have overstated
~~his~~ his case here - but you
should be aware of these
arguments against the
Shishkin appointment.*

J.C.

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5
CAMBRIDGE SURVEY RESEARCH INCORPORATED

12-14 Mifflin Place Cambridge Massachusetts 02138 617/661-3212
1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W., Suite 1250
Washington, D. C. 20006 202/223-6345

JK
TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL
RE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
DATE AUGUST 5, 1977

1008 8/21/77
8
CONFIDENTIAL

Last Thursday Stu, Dick Moe, Landon, Wayne Granquist of OMB, and I met and decided to raise the issue of the BLS director's appointment with you. The reason we raise this question is that the BLS will have a major impact on whether or not your administration (and particularly its economic policies) are seen as successful or not. The BLS director -- under the guise of "statistical judgement" -- can make decisions about whether unemployment goes up or down in the next four years, whether inflation speeds up or slows down and so on. It is all too easy to say that they are statistical judgements -- arcane, abstract and remote from decision-making -- but in fact, perhaps more than any other individual but yourself, the BLS director has an ability to shape debate -- and whatever the reality -- to create or solve problems.

One example can make this clear. Several years ago the Bureau of Labor Statistics began to "seasonally adjust" the unemployment figures. Because subjective analysis is not encouraged, this effort to adjust figures for "normal" seasonal fluctuations also averaged in aberrations such as the Arab oil embargo and the 1975 recession months that greatly distorted the fluctuations. No government decision-maker paid much attention to the potential consequences. Albert Sindlinger, a Republican economic pollster with a mixed reputation, did notice. All through 1976 he wrote about it in his newsletters and on occasion he went to the Ford White House screaming that this "seasonal adjustment" would wreck Ford's reelection. He could see that the adjustment depressed the unemployment figures in the spring since both the embargo and recession were late winter and early spring, but that in the fall the seasonal adjustment would artificially raise the unemployment figures -- since there was no artificial valley in February 1976 -- with a peak around election day. The people in the Ford White House listened but paid no heed, since they were busy men and these statistical conversations seemed a bit too academic. Of course, the unemployment figures rose to levels they had not anticipated in September, October and by November stood over 8%. Unemployment replaced inflation as a leading issue, highlighted by the news

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING BY Jay DATE 12/5/89

media and discussed by Democratic candidates. Unemployment and the economy became an important factor in Gerald Ford's narrow defeat. Unemployment had not of course been as high as it appeared. Only because of "seasonal adjustment" did the figures pass the 8% level. Of course early in the year on the reverse cycle unemployment levels declined more dramatically than had been expected.

Ray Marshall has recommended that Julius Shishkin, the incumbent commissioner of the BLS, be reappointed to a four year term. You have approved this reappointment although the paper work has not been completed.

Shishkin is a 60+-year-old academic who during the Nixon Administration was the head of Statistical Standards Division in OMB under his patron, George Shultz. In the fall of 1973 he was appointed to head BLS. Ray Marshall had originally been inclined not to reappoint Shishkin. However, he ran into strong Shishkin support on two fronts. First, many people felt Shishkin had fended off pressure to politicize BLS during the Nixon Administration and was considered honest if not overly effective. Second, Senators Proxmire and Humphrey were strong supporters since Shishkin had spent innumerable hours servicing each and also supplied them with pre-release data. As does any good bureaucrat, he has carefully cultivated excellent Congressional relations.

Furthermore, there were no loud vocal opponents. Although the AFL-CIO prefers a new person, they have so many other critical issues they acquiesced. Others who might have been critical of his past performance, if they had understood it, chose to praise his past honesty. While critical in private, few public comments were heard from the statistical community -- who tend to protect their own. Not many people in or out of government care enough about or understand enough about how BLS operates to really make comments. Faced with such a situation and with other important issues to face, Marshall decided not to ignite a furor and offered Shishkin reappointment.

As you know, I have been concerned about the accuracy of the government economic numbers for some time. Econometric projections and economists' forecasts based on government data have been fairly consistently wrong. Our exploration has revealed serious problems with various series of data collected by a number of agencies. I have talked with knowledgeable people in the statistics field, both producers and users. Furthermore, knowledge of Shishkin's performance at BLS was increased by a two day conference on the reorganization of the Federal Statistical System sponsored by OMB (which Wayne Granquist) of OMB and I attended). Finally, my negative impressions of

If BLS has trouble producing an accurate or timely WPI, CPI wage data or unemployment figures one questions exactly what it does. These data are crucial for government and business economic responses. Interpretations of this data move your supporters and critics. Many of your own actions are influenced by this information. Yet everywhere one turns there are serious problems. Certainly not all the problems are Shishkin's but he is the man in charge, the responsible officer. He clearly is not much of a manager and I am hard pressed to believe that his reappointment will bring improvement. Mistakes at BLS now, however, will affect the fortunes of Jimmy Carter and not Gerald Ford.

Shishkin Himself

Julius Shishkin has a reputation for honesty and political independence. While the first seems accurate, the second is certainly open to question -- though not during his BLS term as much as earlier in OMB under George Shultz and Richard Nixon. To be brief, the Nixon Administration at one time attempted some politicization of the statistical system. It was later thwarted. One of the efforts that was instituted, little understood except by some in the statistical community, involved the separation of data collection from analysis. The Nixon effort was to restrict the collection agencies in gathering data. The analysis was in many cases shifted to separate analysis groups that would interpret the data for policy and programs. By removing the analysis from the collectors it became more susceptible to political manipulation. Shishkin spearheaded this highly technical, little understood effort. The problem of separating data collection from analysis is one of the major problems facing the statistical system.

Important Considerations

As you are aware the Congress mandated a Commission at Shishkin's insistence to study the structure of employment and unemployment figures. The present way unemployment is currently reported is derived from recommendations made by the Gordon Commission in 1963. BLS administratively altered the structure of unemployment statistics. The Chairman of the new Commission is Sam Levitan. A strong-willed individual, he has basically picked the Commission which he wants and is expected to dominate it. His books in the past forcefully advocate an expanded definition of unemployment, i.e. "more of it." Many suspect that Levitan is already convinced of his conclusions even before the Commission meets. At the reorganization conference he clearly gave that impression to both Granquist and me. If Levitan

produces a report that essentially expands the definition then BLS would be on perfect historical grounds to adopt that report. The result would almost certainly increase the unemployment rate in 1979 or 1980 -- the earliest it could be put into effect. This process could well become your "seasonal adjustment" in 1980.

It is important to realize that the BLS appointment is a term appointment. Once the appointment is made there is no input, no control. I am not sanguine at the prospect of a conservative Republican, whose management skills are negligible presiding over the scenario outlined above.

Conclusion

The BLS is crucial both to the success of your government and to your future political fortunes. No one advocates politicizing BLS. That would be unconscionable. However, being apolitical does not mean that you are obligated to give a term appointment to a "George Shultz-Arthur Burns" Republican who is currently mismanaging a statistical operation like BLS.

I urge you to withdraw this nomination. This appointment is your appointment, not Ray Marshall's. BLS is part of Labor but in truth it is an independent agency.

If the question is over a replacement I would recommend Dr. Ruggles at Yale. He is one of the most eminent people in the statistical community at this time. He has studied BLS and BLS related issues for years and authored the recent report on the Wholesale Public Index. He is a frequent witness at the JEC and is highly thought of by Proxmire and -- I think -- by Humphrey. Most important, he understands the problems and needs at BLS as well as anyone. I met him, as did Granquist, for the first time last week and was most impressed.

One final note, if you lack doubt about the wisdom of the Shishkin appointment, can I urge you to spend 15 minutes listening to Shishkin under questioning by a few experts.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

7:00 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 22, 1977

Q
/

DINNER WITH SENATOR AND MRS. BYRD

Tuesday, August 23, 1977
7:00 p.m. (Duration)
Residence

From: Frank Moore *J.M.*

I. PURPOSE

To entertain Senator and Mrs. Robert Byrd and to discuss both domestic and foreign policy issues.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

A. Background: The dinner was arranged per the President's request.

B. Participants: The President
Rosalynn Carter
Senator Robert C. Byrd
Erma Byrd

C. Press Plan: White House Photo

III. TALKING POINTS

To be supplied by memorandums from Frank Moore and Zbig Brzezinski.

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11/15/77

CHECKLIST

US-Soviet	SALT	(tacit interim renewal)
	CTB	
	ABM	
US-Chinese	(maybe)	
Panama		
AWACS		
TTB/PNE		
Foreign Assistance		
Defense Budget		

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

FRANK MOORE ^{FM.} AND DAN TATE

SUBJECT:

DINNER WITH SENATOR AND MRS. ROBERT C. BYRD

One of the primary purposes of our recommending that you and the First Lady invite the Byrds to dinner tonight was to deal with the Senator's considerable and, as of now, bruised ego. Byrd feels neglected when he considers how much he has done for you and your Administration and sees that the Speaker and Senator Humphrey are getting most of the publicity as your friends, advisers, and confidants in Congress. As Majority Leader, he views himself as the Speaker's equal and any attention we give Senator Humphrey, who challenged him for the Leader's position, makes him bristle.

Byrd is not particularly interested in becoming known as your friend. However, while maintaining a degree of independence, he expects to be your chief Senate adviser and workhorse. We recommend that you let him know that you depend on him as much as Tip and that you need his counsel and help more than any other member of the Senate. If you can make progress in getting Byrd's nose back in joint, then the evening will have been well spent and will pay handsome rewards in the coming months and years.

Incidentally, when the Byrds were here last our photographer's camera was broken so we did not get any color pictures. The Senator wants an autographed color photo of the four of you for his grandchildren whom he adores.

If the opportunity arises, we also urge you to discuss the following items with the Senator.

Energy

The Senate will be moving on two fronts: the non-revenue measures which will be coming out of Scoop Jackson's Committee and the tax provisions which will be acted upon by Russell Long's Committee. We expect no real problems on any of the non-revenue measures except natural gas deregulation. The Senate adopted a modified deregulation measure during the last Congress and the tentative vote count still shows us behind.

We need Byrd's help. Also, Byrd's intervention with Senator Long is essential if we are going to retain as much of our energy tax package as we would like. The gas guzzler tax looks safe, but the rebate (except for low income citizens) is in deep trouble. Senator Long has indicated privately that Byrd shares his and his Committee's opposition to the "universal" rebate. In any event, Byrd is the one member of the Senate who stands a chance of bringing Long around. Therefore, you may find it useful to emphasize that Byrd is your only real hope of getting the energy package through the Senate relatively intact.

Panama Canal

(a) As you know, Byrd has made no public commitment to support the treaty even though his private statements have been encouraging. However, he knows that this matter is extremely important to you, and we expect that he will be supportive. We recommend that you see if he will make a private commitment to (1) vote for the treaty and (2) take the lead role in getting the treaty ratified or, in the alternative, actively recruit votes for ratification.

(b) Also, you should get Byrd's unvarnished opinion of our chances of getting the treaty ratified right now and what we need to do to improve those chances. We recommend that you lay out your present strategy for promoting the treaty with the American people and turning the public opinion polls in our favor. In short, can we get the treaty ratified and how do we go about doing it.

(c) You should also consult with the Senator on timing of the Senate vote on ratification. Your current thinking favors an early vote; otherwise the issue will get caught up in election year politics. Byrd's current thinking strongly favors a vote early next year out of concern that more time is needed to promote our side of the treaty story with the people. Since everything we do should and must be geared toward the Senate vote, we recommend that you give great weight to Byrd's advice.

(d) Senator Humphrey has indicated that he wants to be very active in pushing the treaty in the Senate. We should take him up on his offer, but we must also consider who we want to lead the fight. We recommend that you ask Byrd to assume that role. He is the best vote counter in the Senate, the acknowledged master of the Senate Rules, and he is the Majority Leader whose call to arms stirs liberals and conservatives alike and whose active role on an issue can even get the Capitol janitors marching in lock step. Additionally, Byrd is not known as a liberal either inside or outside the Senate. We don't need to sell the treaty to the liberals.

The votes of moderates and conservatives will decide the treaty issue and Byrd is probably respected by both, and is certainly not despised by either. Finally, this treaty is of utmost importance to you so you should look to the Leader of your party in the Senate to carry the day for you. He expects to be asked.

(e) We also recommend that, in explaining our current strategy and seeking Byrd's counsel, you ask for his thoughts on having a dinner for the Latin American heads of state (who will be in Washington for the signing of the treaty) and 25 to 35 Members of Congress (15-20 Senators and 10-15 Congressmen) who will be important in the ratification battle. If he feels this idea has merit, you might ask him to suggest the Senators to be invited.

(f) There is one final matter you should be aware of. Byrd recently suggested that you contact Senator Sparkman and ask him not to let his Committee report any treaties or other matters which could precede the Canal Treaty on the Executive Calendar of the Senate. Byrd's goal is to avoid at least one possible filibuster. The Rules provide that in order to consider a treaty the Senate must be in Executive Session (as opposed to Legislative Session in which bills are considered). Once the Senate goes into Executive Session the first item on the Executive Calendar is automatically the pending business. However, if the Leadership desires to skip over the first item on the Calendar, a "motion to proceed to consideration of" the desired measure must be made. Such a motion is debatable and, therefore, subject to a filibuster. That is why Byrd wants to have the Panama treaty as the first item on the Calendar.

(g) We intend to do this anyway, but you might ask Senator Byrd's advice on having Senators Stennis, Jackson and Nunn briefed by Ambassador Linowitz and General Bernie Johnson on the Panama Canal. Nunn is currently leading our way. Stennis and Jackson are unknown. If we could neutralize for the time being these moderates on armed services, it would mean considerably more than these 3 votes.

AWACs

Last month Senator Byrd wrote you urging that the AWACs/Iran sale be withdrawn and resubmitted in order to give the Senate more time to consider the issue. You did not respond in writing; rather, Secretary Vance talked with Byrd. The Senator somehow felt slighted for two reasons: first, you personally did not respond in writing and, secondly, you did not accede to his request. He made a rare formal appearance before the Foreign Relations Committee and virtually demanded that the Committee vote to disapprove the sale unless you withdrew and subsequently resubmitted the issue. The Committee did so, with even Senators who supported the sale (such as Baker) voting for disapproval since the Majority Leader had made this a matter of personal privilege.

When you talk with Senator Byrd this evening, we recommend that you raise the FY 77/FY 78 foreign military sales (AWACs) budget problem and (1) ask for his advice as to how we should proceed and (2) ask for his active support for the sale and his assistance in getting its consideration expedited. As far as we know, Byrd himself has made no final decision on the merits of the proposed sale, has a relatively open mind, and is amenable to Presidential persuasion on the issue.

Social Security Financing

The Vice President has given you a memo on the issue in the Finance Committee which has tentatively voted against tapping general revenues, is leaning toward substantially increasing the employers' tax on a one-shot basis, and threatens to attach its final package to H.R. 7200, a House-passed welfare bill. Our current strategy favors getting Congressman Ullman to object to Senator Long's plan of initiating the Social Security action in the Senate. As you know, the Finance Committee's plan to attach a major amendment to a minor and unrelated House-passed bill is not unusual; in fact, this is the customary procedure of the Committee. However, if we succeed in playing on the House's jealousy of its Constitutional prerogatives, we will be dealing in the Ways and Means Committee -- a much friendlier forum for our reform proposal. You may want to apprise Senator Byrd of your concern that the Finance Committee's tentative plan will be inflationary, will probably increase unemployment, and will result in reduced retirement benefits for today's younger workers.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

5

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE
DAN TATE

SUBJECT:: AWACS/Iran and Senator Robert Byrd

Our memorandum on your dinner with the Byrds tonight contained an error. Our recommendation should read as follows:

When you talk with Senator Byrd this evening, we recommend that you not mention this matter. However, if he should raise the issue, you may want to explain the problem which would be created if the sale is not completed by the beginning of the next fiscal year (It will be charged against your FY 78 budget for foreign military sales which you have said would be less than FY 77 FMS). We had felt that with Senator Humphrey's leadership we could beat the resolution of disapproval, but his medical problems will probably prevent him from doing the kind of job for us that he would like. In light of these developments, present strategy calls for beating the disapproval resolution in the House and not having the matter come up at all in the Senate.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jack Watson
Jane Frank

August 22, 1977

RE: Your Dinner with Senator Byrd

We suggest that three topics be raised at dinner tomorrow night with Senator Byrd:

1. The Panama Treaty. Senator Byrd's recent statements lead us to believe that he is dubious about the accuracy of our estimate of fifty votes. (A couple of recent polls show that substantially more Senators are uncommitted.) Since Byrd is a master at producing good vote counts, you might ask him to go over our count with you and to give you his advice on what else you personally and the Administration can do to reach the undecided Senators. We believe that he feels you need to do more with the Southern Senators since right-wing interest groups are now targeting them. A suggestion Senator Byrd has made in the past is for you to meet privately "one-on-one" with Senators Stennis and Eastland. If dinner tomorrow night is not an appropriate time for the two of you to go over the vote count Senator-by-Senator, you might want to ask Senator Byrd to come by the White House later this week to do so. We believe that his insights on the various Senators would be invaluable to you, and that whatever additional time you spend together on this subject would be time well spent.
2. "Must" legislation for the remainder of the session. Byrd has his own list of "must" bills which hopefully can be meshed with ours before the Senate comes back in.
3. Invite grandchildren to White House. Robert and Erma Byrd have six grandchildren--ages six to twelve. They were unable to come to one of the White House Congressional picnics, but if Amy were to invite the children over on some occasion, we know that the Byrds would be very touched.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jack Watson
Jane Frank

The attached National Journal article on Senator Byrd is absolutely superb. You may wish to read it before dinner this evening.

August 23, 1977

Byrd of West Virginia— A New Job, A New Image

The hard-working Majority Leader has received highly favorable reviews for his performance in leading the Senate and skillfully managing its operations.

BY RICHARD E. COHEN

As Senate Majority Leader, Robert C. Byrd does more than make the trains run on time. He also decides what tracks the trains should run on and the cargo they should carry.

No one who watched the West Virginia Democrat at work during his six years as Majority Whip had any doubt that he would operate the Senate efficiently when he replaced Mike Mansfield of Montana, who retired last January. But there were doubters, particularly among the roughly 20 Senate Democrats who supported Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., for the post, who questioned whether Byrd had the capacity and desire to be more than a technician, whether he could "lead" the Senate.

Seven months do not make the full record, but the early returns are favorable. On and off Capitol Hill, the view is that Byrd has done surprisingly well. He has managed the Senate skillfully, contributed his own ideas on legislation, and so far has struck an appropriate balance between his role as the Senate's emissary to the White House and President Carter's link with the Senate. "I'm very impressed with Sen. Byrd's leadership," said Dick Clark, D-Iowa, manager of the aborted Humphrey campaign for Majority Leader. "He's fair, honest and above all, extremely hard-working. He has a healthy respect for the Senate as an institution."

"He is very forceful and an architect of the legislative process. He does this by a basic understanding of that process and an ability to work with all factions," said Ted Stevens of Alaska, the Assistant Minority Leader.

Fred Wertheimer, vice president of Common Cause, said that despite past battles his organization has had with Byrd, particularly on Senate institutional reform issues, "I think his performance as

leader has been first-rate. He's done a great job."

Charles E. Walker, a prominent business lobbyist and deputy secretary of the Treasury during the Nixon Administration, said that while Byrd's big test lies with Senate consideration of the energy package, "I give him high marks from the perspective of the business community."

OVERSHADOWED

Byrd so far has been overshadowed as a congressional leader by House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass. This results from several factors. For one, public attention has been focused on the House because of its handling of Carter's energy package and O'Neill's role in pushing it through. (*See Vol. 9, No. 31, p. 1196.*) O'Neill's style and his mastery of personal relations (both with his colleagues and the press) have generated favorable profiles. In contrast, Byrd's reputation as a dour insider has changed little since he became Majority Leader. He is still regarded—perhaps unfairly—as a man whose principal goal is to curry favor with the other 99 Members of the Senate, who revels in the technical details of legislative procedure and who prefers to meet the press on Saturday mornings.

It may be, however, that Byrd's style and advice will be as important to Carter as O'Neill's has been, that his mastery of Senate procedures and institutional idiosyncracies may produce results the way O'Neill's more public orchestration of the House has.

Byrd recognizes that comparisons with O'Neill are inevitable, but is comfortable with his own style. "As Popeye used to say, 'I yam what I yam and that's all I yam,'" he said.

But he is quick to note that the House and Senate operate in different worlds and that what may work for O'Neill would backfire for Robert Byrd. The

Senate operates by unanimous consent, under the constant threat of a filibuster. It is filled with men who consider themselves worthy successors or replacements for Jimmy Carter. It is a more difficult body to direct, let alone control. And without the two-to-one majority enjoyed by O'Neill, Byrd must use different tactics to move legislation.

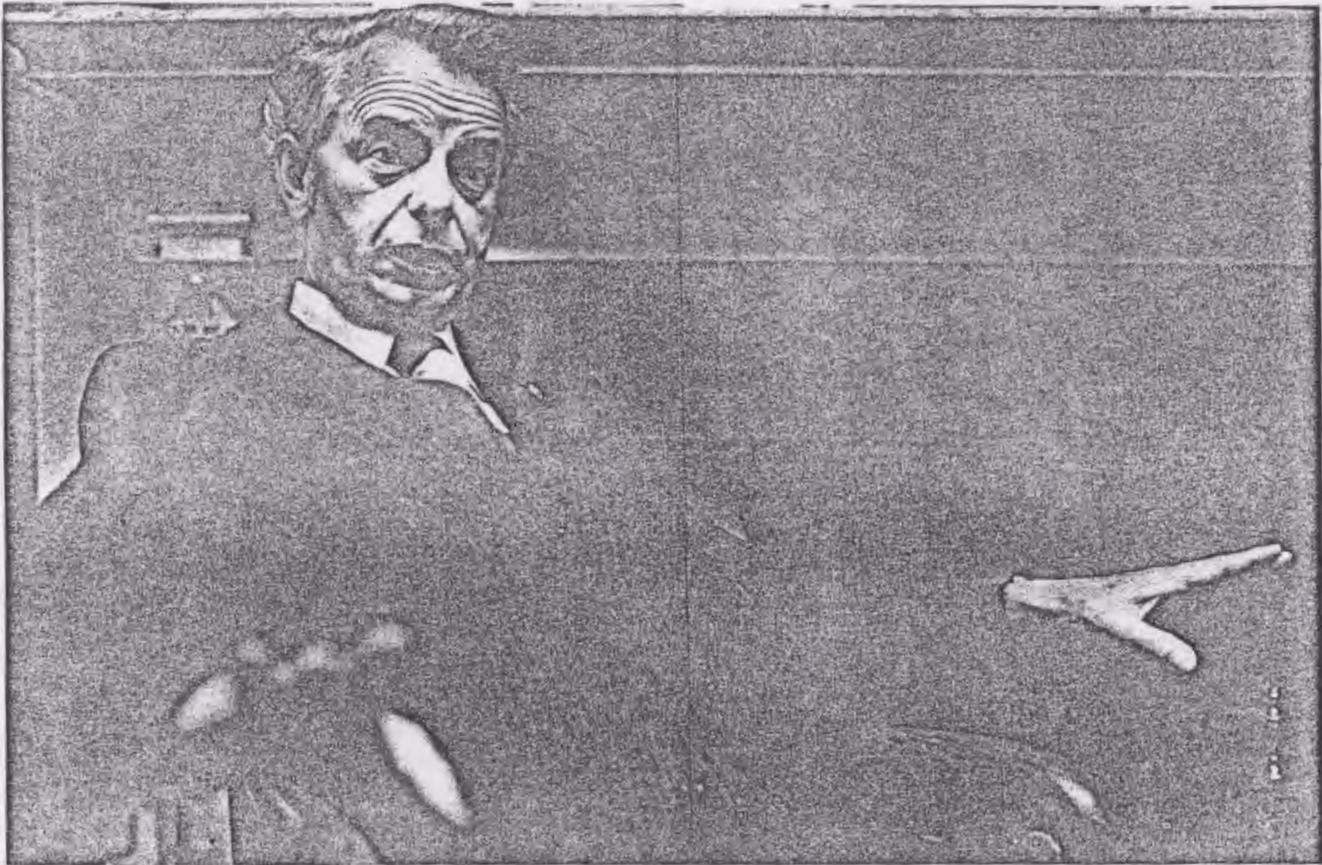
He, of course, is not the sole Democratic leader. Alan Cranston of California, who succeeded Byrd as Whip, has a reputation as a solid vote-counter and an effective advocate of liberal causes. Byrd said he values Cranston's judgments and believes the new Whip is a dedicated member of the leadership. Other Senators, committee chairmen like Russell B. Long of Louisiana (himself a former Whip) and subcommittee chairmen like Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts (who succeeded Long as Whip and lost the post in 1971 to Byrd) are forces to be reckoned with on various issues.

But Byrd is by far the dominant figure, and in the absence of an effective counterweight on either the left or right, has been able to put his stamp on the Senate this year, from its compromises on the neutron bomb and Korean troop withdrawals to its decision to postpone debate on such controversial measures as the consumer protection agency, political reforms and several labor bills and to its swift action on a new ethics code.

His sense of what is attainable, his compelling drive to see the Senate churn out legislation acceptable to more than a bare majority and his ability to find compromises at crucial moments may prove to be the keys to success, both for himself and for Carter's legislative program.

BYRD'S BACKGROUND

It has not always been this way for Robert Byrd. His oft-told biography



wends its way through a poor West Virginia upbringing, brief membership—long since repudiated—as a young man in the Ku Klux Klan, studying for a law degree at The American University while a Member of the Senate and prominence as a prober of welfare problems in the District of Columbia during his early Senate service.

In comparison with others in the Democratic Class of 1958—Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Howard W. Cannon of Nevada, Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey and the late Philip A. Hart of Michigan—Byrd did not stake out a position of leadership on particular committees or issues. Instead he quietly learned the ways of the Senate under the tutelage of such masters as John C. Stennis, D-Miss., and the late Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., and did his homework back in West Virginia. His official biography notes that his record includes capturing the largest percentage of votes ever obtained by a statewide candidate in that state and being the only one ever to win all 55 counties.

It was not until his upset victory over Kennedy in the 1971 contest for Majority Whip that Byrd began to receive national attention.

As Whip, he was given increasing authority by Mansfield to run the daily operations of the Senate, which principally involve the scheduling of bills and efforts to reach time limitations on

debate. (For a report on Mansfield's leadership, see Vol. 8, No. 51-52, p. 1802.)

If there was one factor above all others that marked his service as Whip, it was that he drove himself from early morning to late evening to meet the personal needs of individual Senators and keep the legislative treadmill rolling. Partly because of Mansfield's relative disinterest in the mechanics of scheduling, Byrd was able to take a previously unimportant post—one without any power in statute or Senate rules—and parlay it into a position of power.

As he said in an interview with *National Journal*, many important bills would not have been enacted in recent years were it not for his work as a "technician." As examples of bills on which he helped advocates overcome procedural obstacles, he cited the 1975 Voting Rights Act, creation of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and, in the face of heated filibusters, passage of bills toughening antitrust procedures and permitting the award of attorneys fees to private parties in civil rights cases. (For a report on his role on the antitrust bill, see Vol. 8, No. 39, p. 1353.)

To some extent, Byrd's role as Majority Leader has not changed all that much from his position as Majority Whip. He exercises his authority to see that the Senate completes action on scheduled bills, even where there is fierce opposition. His grasp of complex Senate rules

On and off the Hill, the view is that Robert Byrd of West Virginia has done surprisingly well in his role as Senate Majority Leader.

gives him an advantage in dealing with most Senators.

What has changed is that the mantle of being Majority Leader enables him to be more assertive in shaping the Senate schedule and in resolving controversial bills.

"Byrd is an artful mechanic at work," said an aide to a Democratic Senator who at times has battled with Byrd. "He brings together all the people working on an issue into a room, gets those of differing views to agree to bring up an issue and then sets the framework for consideration. He usually doesn't give a damn about the bill but wants to make sure all people with an interest are represented."

A common perception of Byrd in the Senate is that he is a facilitator—a term used more with admiration for its skill than in derogation of its importance.

"Nine-tenths of Byrd's role is facilitation, keeping the Senate moving," said Dick Clark. "He has to keep things moving or we'll get nothing done." Clark added that this process leaves room for affecting the substance of legislation. Assistant Minority Leader Ted Stevens said that in discussing the schedule for bills, Byrd and other members of the leadership do not discuss their own views.

'The Majority Leader Is Not a Facilitator . . .

The following is an edited transcript of an Aug. 8 interview with Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd.

Q: Have you modeled yourself after past Majority Leaders—Mike Mansfield or Lyndon Johnson, for example?

A: No, absolutely no. I haven't modeled myself. I'm the Robert C. Byrd model, and as Popeye used to say, "I yam what I yam and that's all I yam." I can't be someone else.

Q: To what extent do you see yourself working the way House Speaker (Thomas P.) O'Neill works?

A: Speaker O'Neill has done an outstanding job. I think he is to be highly commended for the fine job that he has done. But in the Senate, it's a different ball game, made up of different players, and more importantly, it's under far different rules.

Q: What are your principal sources of power?

A: I go back to the Senate Democratic Conference. I also have the Democratic Policy Committee and the chairmen—what I refer to as the Committee of Committee Chairmen.

Q: I appreciate that you have a two-way relationship with other Senators, but to what extent do you seek order or discipline?

A: I had two or three meetings with committee chairmen and the Policy Committee and at the first one asked, "What bills out of your committee do you plan to report and what bills do you consider absolutely imperative this year? Submit me a list." I compiled them and then we had a second meeting and I said, "Now gentlemen, as you see here, we obviously can't do all of this. Tell me which of those can be left over and which must be done this year." Out of that we came up with a smaller, more refined, tighter list of measures.

Q: When you suggest to Senators that not all of their bills can be considered this year or perhaps even this Congress, is there a little kicking and stomping?

A: No. It's perfectly obvious when they get the overview and see the whole package and when they recall the number of days and weeks left; then they begin to say, "Well this can wait until next year."

Q: Would it be fair to describe this function as being a facilitator?

A: No, it's being Majority Leader.

Q: Why do you react adversely to the use of the word "facilitate"?

A: Because the Majority Leader is not a facilitator. He is the Majority Leader. He does many things. He facilitates, he constructs, he programs, he schedules, he takes an active part in the development of legislation, he steps in at crucial moments on the floor, offers amendments, speaks on behalf of legislation and helps to shape the outcome of the legislation.

Q: In a substantive sense?

A: In a substantive sense.

Q: Do you feel that you've had more of an impact on the substance of legislation since becoming Majority Leader?

A: I think a good bit of the work I've done in the past hasn't been noted. I think as Majority Leader, one's substantive work is more noticed than otherwise.

Q: It was suggested that when you were Majority Whip that a large part of your role was that of a technician—arranging the Senate schedule and so forth. You're saying quite clearly that your role goes far beyond that.

A: It went far beyond that then. But let me cite a few measures that would never have become law if it hadn't been for that technician: extension of the voting rights act the last time; the attorney's fee bill; S 400, creating an Intelligence Committee; the antitrust bill.

MORE LIBERAL STANCE

Q: Some people think you have moved to the left because you are Majority Leader and need to represent the Senate as a whole.

A: I think that's a little bit like the sun. We know it's going to set today, it's going to set about a minute earlier than it did yesterday, tomorrow morning it's going to come up again. It's a rule of nature. A Majority Leader has to be representative of all the Senate, has to be fair to all the Senate, has to be very conscious of the viewpoints of left and right and the varying degrees of each. For me to be representative of my colleagues, keep an open mind, be fair, be reasonable, to deal evenhandedly, that is *one* of my responsibilities.

Q: Does that mean on some issues you might take a position more in line with the majority of Democrats than you would have when you weren't Majority Leader?

A: No, not on a final vote. For example, I voted against foreign aid on final passage, but I did everything I possibly could to schedule it and I was instrumental in calling together the principal participants in the debate (on the Friday before the August recess).

Q: To what extent does the ultimate product reflect your own point of view, simply because of your role in getting these bills considered?

A: Go back to the State Department authorization, when Sen. (Robert) Dole (R-Kan.) offered his amendments, one dealing with withdrawal of troops from Korea, another one dealing with diplomatic recognition of China. My substitute amendments were in the bill when it passed the Senate, and they reflected a consensus of the Senate that gave the President more flexibility—the kind of flexibility he needs as Commander-in-Chief—and the Administration more flexibility in dealing diplomatically with Cuba and with Korea. In the case of the Clean Air Act, they (the Members of the Senate) were at a Mexican standoff there, and I came in—(Minority Leader Howard H.) Baker (R-Tenn.) and I together—with an amendment that broke the deadlock.

Q: Is this a role you play reluctantly?

A: No.

Q: Do you have to be careful when you do so?

A: Well, I have to try to mold something that will develop a consensus of a majority of the votes. But it's not something I'm reluctant about.

Q: You can't do it on every issue though.

A: Certainly not. There's no necessity for it because the Senate usually works its will on legislation before that, and these chairmen, who are acting as managers of the bills, are able to work the things out themselves. It's better for a Majority Leader in that kind of a situation to stay in the background.

CRANSTON FUNCTIONS

Q: I think it's fair to say that Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) functions as Whip somewhat differently than you did. Do you see him as an emissary to the liberals.

A: I am my own emissary to 60 other Democrats and one Independent (Harry F. Byrd Jr. of Virginia).

Q: Where does Sen. Cranston fit in?

A: I see Sen. Cranston as being very effective in helping to ascertain what the vote situation is as to the number of votes on a given measure at a given time. He is very effective in dealing with—in working with—certain Senators, especially on the Republican side of the aisle. And he is dedicated in his

... He is the Majority Leader—A Byrd's-Eye View

support for me. He works with me closely and I have every confidence in his dedication toward his responsibilities as assistant Democratic leader.

Q: But would it be fair to say he serves as Whip differently than Sen. Byrd served as Whip?

A: This has been a way of life with me for 10 years, first as Secretary of the Democratic Conference and then as Democratic Whip. During those 10 years I spent a lot of time on the floor. It comes natural for me to continue that. With a state as large as California's, Sen. Cranston naturally can't



give the floor time that I've been able to give. But he is able to fulfill very important functions.

RELATIONSHIP WITH CARTER

Q: How do you view your relationship with the President?

A: The relationship is one to one. I have great respect for Jimmy Carter, not only because of the presidency but also because of him as an individual. It's an easy relationship.

Q: But you have been publicly critical.

A: Those are not critical comments about the President so much as some comments that were made with respect to the

methodology of achieving goals. For example, in the case of water projects, there was a little criticism, but I think a lot of that could be expected in a new Administration.

Q: Where is the fine line between being a representative of the Senate and, as Majority Leader, trying to help get the President's program through Congress?

A: It's impossible to draw the fine line. I've said it before and I'll say it again: I'm the President's friend, I'm not the President's man. I certainly intend to give my utmost cooperation to the President. Where I can help him I will; where I can offer him advice, I will do so, especially if he requests it. I must always keep in mind that I am a Senate man and I am the Senate leader until such time as my Democratic colleagues determine otherwise. I have three constituencies: my West Virginia constituency, my Senate constituency and my national constituency.

REFORMS

Q: Are there any kinds of reforms in the Senate that you would like to see?

A: We've gone a long way toward committee structural reform. I think there's still a little distance to go. I'd like to see the number of committees and subcommittees further reduced. I also would like a rule change that would expedite action on debate following a cloture vote.

UNDER ATTACK

Q: There was an interesting article about you in *The New York Times* recently, and in the last paragraph, there was a suggestion that you weren't happy in your leadership post. Is that correct?

A: Yes, yes it was. I think he (the reporter) asked me if I liked being Majority Leader, and I said no.

Q: For what reason?

A: Because of the pressures, the tensions and the time. I don't like being U.S. Senator that well, to be absolutely honest about it. I don't think being a Senator is what it used to be.

Q: Because of the time that has to be spent on the job?

A: That, plus the fact that the Congress is held up to constant abuse and subjected to unfair criticism. It's a no-win proposition. There are problems and there always will be. And there are some people who will always so conduct themselves as to make the institution look bad.

I've had this feeling quite some time, that it's a no-win proposition. I mean, it's the most visible target of the three independent branches of government, and I think it's entitled to some constructive criticism, and certainly to some self-analysis. And we are going through that self-analysis. We are trying to look inward at ourselves. We are trying to improve and bring about reforms, but even with that, I don't think that people will know much about them, and there will be just a constant attack that's abusive and unfair.

You know, I just sort of get tired of it. It's discouraging. You're going to see a good many lawmakers, as you are seeing already, a good many Members of the Congress in both houses leaving because it just is not worth going through this diatribe, this constant vitriolic abuse and attack. It's unjustified. Some of it's constructive and good, and we need it, but some of it is so picayunish and unfair that I just get discouraged.

Q: Much as you dislike the attacks and, to some extent, the role of Majority Leader, you're not likely to give it up, are you?

A: You are looking at a very, very tough guy. He may speak softly, but he's got West Virginia flint in his backbone.

Cranston Whips Up Support in the Upper Chamber

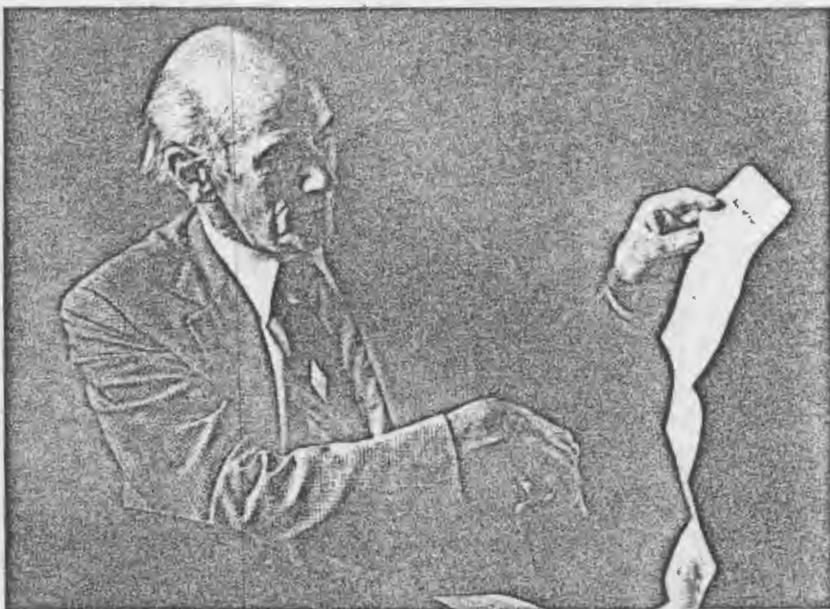
Alan Cranston would have an impossible act to follow in replacing Robert Byrd as Majority Whip because Byrd is not of a mind to let Cranston duplicate his role.

But the California Democrat is satisfied with a different role, one that may be unique for Senate Whips. While he does participate in the traditional scheduling and general strategy sessions, he believes a major part of his job is "to pitch in on a bill that I'm deeply concerned about and seek to move it along." Cranston played this position in recent years as a largely anonymous roving vote counter, primarily on behalf of liberal issues that interested him.

Armed at any one time with at least a half-dozen dog-eared tally sheets listing how most of the 100 Senators will vote on various issues scheduled for immediate or more distant Senate action, Cranston is in a position to aid Byrd and others who want to know when and under what conditions to call up a bill. "Knowing where the votes are helps us know when to bring up a bill and where the problems are," he said. Cranston does his count largely by himself and surveys both Republican and Democratic Senators.

On occasion, Byrd encourages Cranston to take the lead in rounding up support for a Democratic initiative, particularly when Byrd himself is uncertain about his own views. One example was Cranston's leadership in the confirmation of Paul C. Warnke to be head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief negotiator at the SALT talks.

Roy F. Greenaway, Cranston's administrative assistant, said that an important aspect of his boss's service as Whip is that he represents the nation's largest state. "We're able to do much more for California" when bills affecting the state reach the Senate. One example is the \$1.1 billion Auburn dam in California, which is one of the water projects from



The Senate's roving vote counter

Carter's original "hit list" that was saved by Congress.

Byrd said he counts on Cranston to provide assessments of voting strength. In an interview, he also pointed out that because Cranston represents a much larger state than he does, Cranston is "not in that fortunate position" of being able to spend much of his time on the Senate floor.

Several persons, including one Democratic Senator who asked not to be identified, said that Cranston has not begun to play a significant role in the leadership and that he might have been more effective in the Senate before he gained the title and the responsibility to be a team player that comes with it.

It may be that Cranston's more important role will be as an informal emissary to the White House where his views and less formal stance are probably in wider favor than are those of Byrd. Cranston, who attends the biweekly congressional leadership breakfasts at the White House, said, "I want to support the President and his program and give him the benefit of the doubt but I also have to look at the national interest."

"Our job is to make sure the will of the Senate is expressed, that the rights of all Senators are protected and the timing is consistent with the Senate's over-all workload." But Byrd says he has had an impact on the substance of various bills and that being Majority Leader contributes to his ability to do so in the Senate.

Partly because of his concern with an image that often emphasizes form over substance, Byrd is quick to reject the label of facilitator or technician. "The Majority Leader is not a facilitator. He is the Majority Leader," Byrd said. "He facilitates, he constructs, he programs, he schedules, he takes an active part in the development of legislation, he steps in at crucial moments on the floor, offers amendments, speaks on behalf of legislation and helps to shape the outcome of the legislation."

INSTITUTIONAL MAN

At times, Byrd acts to assure that the Senate will take action on a particular bill. The best example is his repeated declaration that essential legislation for 1977 should be passed by the August recess so that "the decks will be clear" for the Senate to spend the rest of the session on energy legislation. (*For a report on the energy bill, see this issue, p. 1303.*)

It has often been the case that he has expedited the resolution of controversial bills by offering a compromise between the competing sides and successfully pushing for its adoption.

Essentially, however, Byrd's primary concern is with leading and representing the Senate as an institution rather than with drafting the details of particular bills.

Max L. Friedersdorf, staff director of

the Senate Republican Policy Committee and previously assistant to former President Ford for legislative affairs, compared the respective roles of O'Neill and Byrd: "The Speaker knows that the key in the House is to use the force of his personality to lean on people to get blocs into shape and ride roughshod when he has to. In the Senate, you don't whip them around. Each Senator represents his own fiefdom and won't be bullied. The leader's function is to find a consensus rather than make it as in the House."

In effect, Byrd's role has been to identify the point of consensus among his colleagues and to advance that position. Where there is no readily discernible consensus, he generally puts the matter aside.

One example is the fiscal 1978 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 7797), approved Aug. 5. It is a perennially

controversial bill and one that in recent years frequently has been enacted well after the beginning of the fiscal year. Byrd opposes many aspects of the foreign aid program and voted against final passage of the bill this year. But before doing so, he spent several hours bringing together the Senators most interested in the bill. "I saw that there were some very difficult problems to resolve," he said. In particular, James B. Allen, D-Ala., and Harry F. Byrd Jr., Ind-D-Va., had numerous amendments to restrict the foreign aid program.

Byrd said he felt it was important to finish the bill before the August recess because of his plan to concentrate the Senate's attention on energy legislation for the rest of 1977. "Well, I went to Danny (Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations) . . . and to Schweiker (Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., ranking minority member on the subcommittee). And I went to Jim Allen, Harry Byrd, I went to Howard Baker (R-Tenn., the Senate Minority Leader) and I suggested that we have a meeting . . . I said, 'Now, gentlemen, we need to decide if we can finish this. I need to know so I can let our colleagues know there won't be a Saturday session.'"

Facing the unhappy prospect of delaying the vacation of other Senators and their aides, the group sat for several hours and worked out their differences, Byrd said.

Byrd took a more active role in the substance of a controversial issue during debate in June and July on the neutron bomb, a weapon designed to cause widespread injury to people but little property damage. Funding for research and development was a part of the public works appropriation bill (HR 7553), even though Carter has not decided whether to deploy the bomb. Opponents led by Kennedy and Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., fought to kill the project or, as an alternative, to allow either chamber to veto its production following submission of an impact statement by the President. Their amendments were narrowly defeated, making it desirable for supporters to make some gesture to the neutron bomb opponents in order to expedite consideration of the bill.

With Baker's support, Byrd offered an amendment that would require votes by both chambers to block production of the bomb. In explaining his amendment on July 13, Byrd, a supporter of the neutron bomb, said, "I am convinced that there is enough sentiment in this body supporting an institutional role for Congress to keep this matter before the Senate for a while if this amendment is not adopted." He added, however, that he

wanted to make clear that it should not be interpreted as "a crippling amendment." The proposal was approved, 74-19.

It is routine practice for Byrd to work closely with Baker to resolve disputes on scheduling or specific provisions of bills. Almost without exception, GOP Senators and top aides commend Byrd for respecting the rights and interests of the minority.

One idea pressed by Baker, to which Byrd has subscribed, is that the Senate should not be in session all year. Baker believes it is better for the public and Members of Congress if they spend less time in Washington and more time with their constituents. Byrd agreed at the beginning of the year to shoot for adjournment in early October. Although the energy debate may push back that deadline a few weeks, Byrd is committed to an early adjournment.

But that decision has had a ripple effect on other controversial legislation and has produced criticism of Byrd's leadership. Byrd has been reluctant to schedule bills that face the threat of a filibuster because it usually takes at least two weeks to consider such a contested bill. Critics charge that Byrd is allowing a small group of Senators to prevent consideration of important legislation.

"If there's any criticism I have, it is his (Byrd's) determination not to bring up certain bills because of timing," said Howard M. Metzenbaum, D-Ohio. "I would have hoped we could have considered the consumer protection agency bill and national health insurance. But I recognize that anyone in a leadership role

would not act 100 per cent as I wish."

Republican Charles H. Percy of Illinois, who has worked closely with Byrd on some issues, also questioned "Byrd's willingness to put off anything because of the threat of a filibuster."

Andrew A. Feinstein, a lobbyist for Ralph Nader's Congress Watch, admitted that while his fear that Byrd was politically too conservative has not proved correct, he too is bothered by the fact that Byrd "stays away from controversial bills, many of which he supports. He may be, at times, too cautious."

Nader's group has been most concerned with Byrd's decision not to take up the consumer agency bill until the House passes it. (*See Vol. 9, No. 26, p. 996.*) But other bills have been shelved at least temporarily because of a filibuster threat, including voter registration, Hatch Act repeal, Legal Services Corporation amendments and several labor bills. Byrd did schedule debate on the bill to extend public financing to Senate elections, knowing that it would be filibustered. When the Democrats were unsuccessful in three attempts to shut off debate, the public financing sections were stripped out of the bill. (*See this issue, p. 1314.*)

Byrd's defense of his scheduling decisions is that he is not afraid to take up controversial bills at certain times but wants a reasonably good likelihood that the bill will be approved. Ironically, a bill (SRes 5) backed by Byrd and Allen to tighten Senate filibuster procedures following a cloture vote was considered by the Senate in May but scuttled when Byrd and other Democrats determined



"If there's any criticism I have, it is his (Byrd's) determination not to bring up certain bills because of timing."

—Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum

The Behind-the-Scenes Staff

Not surprisingly, the Senate Democratic leadership staff reflects the Majority Leader—it is competent, hard-working and prefers doing the work of the Senate to grabbing public attention.

During his 18 years in the Senate, Robert C. Byrd, D-W. Va., has kept his staff in the background, in contrast to some Senators who often seem at a loss for words without an aide whispering into their ear. In fact, Byrd has caused some resentment among the Senate staff by the disdain with which they say he often treats them.

Now that he has broad responsibilities and must keep tabs on more complex issues and personalities, he has several aides acting on his behalf, both to ease the problems with which he must deal and protect him from surprise. Most of these aides are assigned to the Democratic Policy Committee, chaired by Byrd. The panel's principal function is to ratify his decisions on the scheduling of Senate legislation.

In the past, these aides have been prominent figures in and out of the Senate who were not reserved about expressing their own viewpoints on legislation. During the later years of Mike Mansfield's tenure as Majority Leader, Charles D. Ferris and Daniel E. Leach were the key figures on the policy committee staff. Both were well-known to the press for their liberal views. Leach now serves on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Ferris is a leading contender to be the next chairman of the Federal Communications Commission.

The new chief counsel and staff director is Thomas D. Hart, who previously served for six years as a Senate Judiciary Committee aide where he worked principally for Byrd. Several Senate aides familiar with Hart speak highly of his ability and say his appointment speaks well of Byrd. The general counsel is Lee Williams, who served for several years as a top aide to former Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., on the Foreign Relations Committee.

Hart and Williams have two principal responsibilities. When the Senate is in session, they are almost constantly at the desk in the front of the chamber assisting the manager of the bill under consideration and making sure Senators are kept informed when they should be prepared to offer amendments or make speeches. Related is their responsibility to help Byrd work out time agreements to limit debate on bills scheduled for consideration. On a controversial bill, they often sit in with the Majority Leader and other Senators resolving a dispute.

Their second function is to keep in close contact with the progress that Senate committees are making on legislation so that Byrd can have a good idea of what bills lay ahead for the Senate. On priority bills for the Carter Administration, Byrd occasionally talks directly with the committee chairman to attempt to resolve problems within the committee.

A Senate Republican aide said Hart and Williams are "professionals doing a job but they do not have as much influence on legislation" as did Ferris and Leach.

Other members of the policy committee staff include Dennis C. Thelen, former assistant counsel on the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, who periodically spells Hart and Williams on the Senate floor; Charles E. Bangert, former general counsel of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly; Calman J. Cohen, an economist with a background on tax and social issues; Carolyn A. Emigh, an energy economist who formerly worked in the House; and Hoyt Purvis, another former Fulbright aide.

Other key aides to the Majority Leader include James H. Duffy, Secretary for the Majority, who was formerly chief counsel for the Senate Rules and Administration Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections; Walter J. Stewart, assistant to the Majority Leader for floor operations, who previously served as Byrd's aide on the Appropriations Committee; and John Guiniven, counsel to the Majority Leader, who had been Byrd's press secretary.

In addition, there are new officials in the two top Senate staff positions. J. S. Kimmitt, former secretary to the Senate Democrats, replaced Francis R. Valeo as Secretary of the Senate and F. Nurdy Hoffman replaced William H. Wannall as Sergeant of Arms. Each of these selections was made by the Democratic Caucus, and the officials are responsible to all 100 Senators. Because of Byrd's special interest in Senate operations, however, they are particularly responsive to his views.

that Republican-backed weakening amendments gutted the bill.

Byrd's stamp as the institutional man is most evident when it comes to issues that directly involve the Senate. For example, he supported Adlai E. Stevenson, D-Ill., in his effort to abolish some Senate committees and rationalize the jurisdictions of others. (*For a report on the Stevenson reorganization plan, see Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 106.*)

Byrd also fought successfully for a stronger ethics code for Senators, including a cap of \$8,625 on outside earnings excluding personal investments. Byrd made the ethics debate in March a test of his strength. According to a Senate aide, the debate was important because "he wanted to prove right away he was a strong leader." The code, which was prepared by the temporary Special Committee on Official Conduct, chaired by Gaylord Nelson, D-Wis., paralleled in many respects the code developed earlier by a comparable House panel. Byrd kept a close watch on the committee's progress and set a March 1 deadline to make sure there would be adequate momentum.

When the new code reached the Senate floor, it became the subject of harsh attack from several Senators, led by Muskie, who angrily asserted that the income limitation would have a serious impact on his personal finances. However, Byrd pressured many Democratic Senators—reminding them that earlier he had supported the pay raise as a quid pro quo for the tougher code. Muskie's amendment to remove the \$8,625 limit was defeated, 35-62.

POLICY TILT

While such categorizations are often suspect, it appears that since being elected head of the Senate Democrats, Robert Byrd has moved his politics slightly more to the center of Democratic opinion.

Byrd acknowledged—in a limited way—a possible shift. "For me to be representative of my colleagues, keep an open mind, be fair, be reasonable, to deal evenhandedly—that is one of my responsibilities."

Cranston puts a slightly different cast on the assessment. "I think Byrd is stronger now among the liberals than he was earlier, partly because he is supporting their concerns, though he is not changing his views."

James Allen, one of the Senate's leading conservatives, sees it still differently. He said that as Whip, Byrd had to "prove himself to the liberals as willing to ram through liberal legislation." Now, said Allen, Byrd is "conciliatory" to all sides.

Whatever the validity of these assessments, it is the case that Byrd has switched his position to the liberal

side on at least one major issue.

He joined the ranks this year of those who support public financing of congressional campaigns. He explained that shift by saying it was something Carter supported and, compared with other political reform proposals, stood the best chance of Senate passage.

On the consumer protection agency, another favorite liberal project, Byrd voted against the bill in 1975, the last time it was considered by the Senate, although he did vote to break the filibuster. An aide said there has been no indication that he has changed his mind.

However, Frances Zwening of Congress Watch said her organization "assumes he will support the bill" this year because Byrd has said several times that he will support the items on Carter's list of priority legislation, which includes the consumer agency bill.

Esther Peterson, special assistant to the President for consumer affairs, said she has had several "constructive" conversations with Byrd and that she thinks he is "open" on the bill. "He senses the difference between being Majority Leader and Senator from West Virginia. I think he will be very helpful in getting the bill through the Senate once it clears the House," she said.

Byrd also has played an important role on two major defense issues. He sent Carter a strongly-worded letter urging opposition to continued funding of the B-1 bomber. Carter's decision on the supersonic bomber probably had little to do with congressional pressures, but it is significant that Byrd joined the growing ranks of Senate skeptics when it comes to new defense projects. In the past, he has supported many of these projects, including the antiballistic missile in 1969.

More recently, he supported the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's efforts to delay Carter's sale of seven Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) airplanes to Iran. As required by a 1976 arms sale law, Carter had notified Congress of his proposed sale and Congress had until Aug. 5 to block the sale. Members of the committee had been urging Carter not to force the issue because he was likely to lose. He finally backed off July 28 after repeated entreaties from Byrd, Humphrey, and an unexpected vote against him in the House International Relations Committee. A Senate aide said Byrd was offended that Carter took so long to postpone the sale.

Whatever Byrd's personal views on the merits of the two defense issues, his outspoken public statements were accepted warmly among a majority of Senate Democrats. "He has shown a timeliness as well as good judgment in speaking for the Senate's position on the B-1 and AWACS," Metzenbaum said.

CARTER RELATIONSHIP

Neither Carter nor Byrd appears comfortable at being a wheeler-dealer or engaging in the idle political chatter and ribaldry that enlivens Washington. Each is the son of the rural South who worked his way up the political ladder to a position of great power not because of alliances with a political machine or interest group but because of personal persistence, hard work and an instinct for the public mood.

But if neither of them owes anything to anyone else, least of all each other, their fates, in fact, are inextricably tied. Carter needs Byrd to steer through the Senate his plan for reforming government programs and processes. Byrd does not need Carter to help him attain a specific policy goal so much as to prove his ability to make the legislative process respond to national needs.



"I'm very impressed with Sen. Byrd's leadership. He's fair, honest and above all, extremely hard-working."

—Sen. Dick Clark

So far, their relationship can best be defined as distant but proper. When Byrd says, "I'm the President's friend, I'm not the President's man," he seems to be saying he is a "friend" less in a personal sense than in the sense that he can assist the President meet his goals.

Periodically, Byrd has criticized Carter's actions. When Carter called for the termination of 30 water projects across the nation, Byrd warned that the announcement jeopardized Carter's proposed income tax rebate pending in the Senate. A few days later, Carter scrapped the rebate plan. Byrd said that this criticism and others have not been directed at the President so much as at "the methodology of achieving goals."

Some early tension between the two reportedly has dissipated as Carter has

moderated his criticism of Congress and begun to work more closely with its leaders. But, as a Senate Republican aide noted, "Byrd feels he knows more about the Senate than does Carter and he won't be pushed around." Another aide commented that Byrd, in responding to the views of his Senate peers, is "not afraid to draw lines with the White House," particularly when the Administration does not cooperate or consult with Congress.

Ted Stevens said Byrd has done "an excellent job of conveying to the executive branch the feeling of this part of the legislative branch." But the relationship has not been entirely one-way. Byrd's assistance in steering through the Senate a host of Carter proposals has been invaluable. From the Korean troop pullout and the neutron bomb to the Department of Energy and clean air legislation, Byrd has expedited con-

sideration and resolution of important Administration goals.

Fred Wertheimer of Common Cause said Byrd has been as "essential" to the White House as has O'Neill to the House. "The absence of their strong leadership would have seriously hurt Carter's program," he said. Asked whether he agreed, Byrd said, "Yes."

As Carter's top legislative goals for energy, welfare reform and tax policy make progress through Congress and eventually hit the unpredictable wind-tunnel that can be the Senate floor, the President probably will rely on Byrd more and more.

If that happens, Byrd may finally convince the public that the work-horses of the Senate outperform its show horses. □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: HAM JORDAN
FROM: FRANK MOORE
SUBJECT: Conversation with Senator Byrd

I talked to Senator Byrd today. He suggests that the best schedule would be to have the Heads of State to arrive on Tuesday. If the President is going to do something on TV, do it Tuesday night. Sign the Canal Treaty on Wednesday morning. The Senate is going to take up coal conversion on Wednesday and if we have a dinner that night we should set it at 8:00 so the Senate can work until 7:00 pm and start early and work late on Thursday in order to finish up coal conversion, and clear the rest of the energy stuff.

He has no objection to the concept. He suggested I also clear it with Sen. Sparkman.

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for Preservation Purposes**

WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo	From Brzezinski to The President (3pp.)re: Meeting with Senator Byrd	8/23/77	A
memo w/ att.	From Brzezinski to The President (2 pp.)re: Letter to Clark Clifford	8/23/77	A
memo	From Brzezinski to The President (1 page)re: Proposed Statement on Northern Ireland	8/23/77	A

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec. - Pres. Hand-writing File 8/23/77 [1] Box 49

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