

Administration Coordination, 4/78

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 [Administration Coordination, 4/78]

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April 78

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*
RE: THOUGHTS ON CABINET/STAFF MEETING

Working with Stu, Frank, Jody and Jack, I have tried to identify those problems that exist between the staff and the White House that are serious and deserve some attention at Camp David. In the following pages, you will find the following things:

- Problems
- Solutions
- Talking Points
- Memoranda from A. D. Frazier

I believe a quick review of these materials will give you a better insight into the problems we face and the possible solutions.

APR 10 1978
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Problems

Some of the more basic problems which exist are outlined in the following pages.

When we discussed recently some of the political problems that exist as a result of lack of cooperation and/or support from the Cabinet, you asked for specific examples. I went back and found that examples were abundant. It is not that the members of your Cabinet are not smart and loyal to you. It is that they have failed to cooperate with us in an effort to utilize the resources of the Administration in an appropriate way.

1. Notifications of Grants and Federal Projects

Nothing is more troublesome to Democratic members of the Congress than to have Republicans announce Federal projects in their home states or districts. This is particularly irritating to those people who lived through the past eight years of Republican Presidents when the Republicans got everything and the Democrats got nothing.

You have expressed your concern on this matter to your Cabinet on several occasions. But the problems continue at great expense to us politically. The following are just a few examples.

A. South Carolina Federal Grants

As you know, Senator Fritz Hollings has been our consistent supporter and Senator Thurmond has been against us on everything. Also, we have an excellent chance of defeating Thurmond this year with Pug Ravenal.

Yet, despite repeated complaints by yourself and Frank Moore, Senator Thurmond continues to announce most of the Federal projects and grants in South Carolina to the chagrin of Hollings and to the detriment of our friend Pug Ravenal. The following are just a few examples.

B. Congressman Jenrette's Complaints

As you will see in the attached, Congressman John Jenrette (who has voted with us over 80% of the time on critical legislation) wrote you in October complaining that he was being left off of Federal announcements in his district which were going to Thurmond. At that time, you wrote Frank and the responsible department heads instructing them to correct this practice.

However, you can see the Congressman's most recent letter which indicates the practice continues. Frank's people report that Jenrette has begun to vote against us in the House more than he has previously.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1912-1687-1
1912-1687-1
1912-1687-1

10-18-27

To John Lane the

Frank Moore is looking

personally into the two

instances you describe and

he will report to the to

you & to me on how to

prevent a recurrence.

I am proud to have

been your early supporter.

Jimmy

cc Frank

600
Serving the
two great
Mandates

9910108800

C. Speaker's Letter on HUD Announcement

If it can happen to the Speaker, it can happen to anyone.

The attached letter outlines a recent problem that is typical. First, the Speaker was informed by telephone of a HUD grant in the Boston area that had already been announced by Mayor Kevin White.

Also, a project he had been told was to be funded was passed over in favor of the project recommended by the Mayor.

HUD

April 5, 1978

Honorable Patricia B. Harris
Secretary of Housing and
Urban Development
Washington, D.C. 20410

Dear Pat:

I am very grateful for your telephone call informing me of the UDAG grants for Boston. I was amazed to learn that most of this information was in the Boston Globe this past Saturday.

I am deeply disappointed in the lack of funding of the Cambridge application. The funding of this application is critical to the revitalization of the Lechmere Square area of Cambridge. It is my understanding that Cambridge City officials met and worked with your people on this application. The application was reviewed and modified at HUD's request to the extent that the requested funding was cut in half (from \$14 million to \$7 million). We were all under the impression everything had been agreed to.

I am very hopeful that you can personally review the application so that it may receive funding in the next round.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
The Speaker

TPO/gom

D. Other Examples

The following letters from Congressmen AuCoin, Long and Gonzalez are additional examples of the problems that we have had with the announcement of Federal grants and projects.

WYLAND
COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS
CHAIRMAN:
COMMITTEE ON
OPERATIONS
MEMBER:
COMMITTEES ON
INTERIOR
CONSTRUCTION

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3051
DISTRICT OFFICE:
200 POST OFFICE BUILDING
CHESAPEAKE AND
WASHINGTON AVENUES
TOWSON, MARYLAND 21284
(301) 522-6616
"OFFICE ON WHEELS"

May 6, 1977

Mr. Frank Moore
Congressional Relations
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Moore:

I should appreciate being advised of the Carter Administration policy on timely notification of Members of Congress regarding Federal grants and contracts awarded in their Congressional districts.

As the senior Democrat in the Maryland delegation, I would expect to be notified first. However, I have noticed during the past four months that grant information has often gone directly to the Republican senator or the county executive.

I am interested in grant and contract award information pertaining to the Baltimore area (Baltimore County and City), including Harford County which has two military installations involved in my work as a members of the Military Construction Appropriations Subcommittee. Additionally, I would like to be advised about Baltimore Harbor and the Chesapeake Bay.

Thank you for your cooperation. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely,

Clarence D. Long
CLARENCE D. LONG

CDL:bmr

*ack FM to Frank Peterson
to be put in the way of
Agency of meeting*

MAY 9 PM 4 23
RECEIVED OFFICE

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Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

Tom 8/9

September 8, 1977

SUBCOMMITTEES:
ANALYSIS, RESEARCH AND EMPLOYMENT
MONITORING, EVALUATION AND
GENERAL OVERSIGHT

BANKING, FINANCE AND
URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE:
HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CHAIRMAN:
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, INSTITUTIONS
AND FINANCE

GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND NEGOTIATION

FILE NO. A6: Lpi

*Chul w
FM 9/16*

acknowledged

Mr. Frank B. Wort
Office of Congressional Relations
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Frank:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Secretary Harris on the handling of Federal grant announcements.

The general policy in the past Administration was to give Republicans a clear advantage in receiving news of any Federal program grant. I have been startled of late to find that Republicans are still receiving preferential treatment. Today, for example, The San Antonio Express and News carried a substantial story from Senator Tower regarding certain Air Force personnel realignments. That same information was given to Democratic Representatives a full day after Senator Tower received it. Needless to say, it is impossible for me as a Democrat to understand this kind of treatment from a Democratic Administration!

I would like to know candidly what the Administration's policy is. I am willing to live with whatever procedure they may exist, but I do want to know what that policy is.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Henry B. Gonzalez
Member of Congress

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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515
202-225-3226

HOME OFFICE:
D-124 FEDERAL BUILDING
727 E. DURANGO STREET
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78205
512-229-6199

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

ZONE WHIP:
TEXAS DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION
HOUSE MAJORITY WHIP ORGANIZATION

September 8, 1977

FILE REF: A6:1gi

The Honorable Patricia Roberts Harris
Secretary
Department of Housing and Urban Development
HUD Building - 451 Seventh Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20410

Dear Madame Secretary:

I am sure you are well aware that over the years announcements of Federal grants and projects generally have been made through Congressional offices. During the tenure of George Romney, the policy was that any announcement of a HUD project would go through Republican offices with Democratic offices receiving notification some time later. Secretary Romney made it quite clear that this was a matter of political policy.

I have been startled of late to find that Republican offices still receive advance notices of HUD projects!

My purpose in writing is to inquire what your policy is on these matters; are you continuing to follow the Romney policy? Or, are Democrats not to receive the kind of preference that Republicans enjoyed?

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry B. Gonzalez
Member of Congress

cc: Frank Moore
Congressional Relations
The White House

2. Examples of Cabinet Members Being Uncooperative and/or Unsupportive of Presidential Policies and Instructions

- A. Brock Adams. After a conversation with Senator Russell Long, Frank Moore informed you that it was time to get with him and work out a solution to the deadlock on the waterway users tax. Frank asked you in my presence in the Oval Office Monday of this week if he and Stu could meet with Brock and work this out. You told them to do so immediately.

Frank and Stu both called Brock repeatedly who told them that he was too busy to meet with them. Brock talked with Stu by phone but Frank was informed by his secretary that his "schedule was too full" this week. Finally, Frank threatened to have the President call Brock. He finally relented

and saw Stu and Frank Friday - four days after you had instructed them to "get with Brock immediately and work this out".

B. Joe Califano. In testimony before a House Committee this past week, Secretary Califano was asked if he favored the Administration's proposed Department of Education. Joe's response was, "I think as far as my agency is concerned, I would in personal terms prefer to see it kept the way it is".

Because of Joe's statement, the word on the Hill is that you don't really favor a separate Department but have only done the minimum possible to satisfy your commitment to the NEA.

C. Mike Blumenthal. You have asked the members of the Cabinet to cooperate with our effort to campaign for Democrats this year. Mike Blumenthal has been particularly uncooperative taking the position that the Secretary of the Treasury has been historically

excused from such duty. This simply is not true. The Secretary of State and the Attorney General are supposed to refrain from openly partisan activities but it has never applied before to the Secretary of the Treasury. Bill Simon and John Conally are the two best recent examples of Secretaries who were openly partisan and active on behalf of Republican candidates in the election year. Blumenthal's people have refused to cooperate in our joint effort being coordinated by Frank's office to provide speakers to Democrats in the Congress who have been helpful to us.

You will find attached a rather arrogant memo that Mike sent the Vice-President about this subject.



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1978

Dick
See me

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Secretary of the Treasury Campaign Appearances

Since it seems that my staff has had many conflicting calls about my possible campaign appearances, I would like to clarify for you my approach to this matter.

1. I intend to continue the tradition of avoiding fund-raising activity. As you know, the Secretary of the Treasury, as the official in charge of the Administration of our tax system, is widely perceived as not being an appropriate member of the Cabinet to engage in such activities and I will maintain that tradition.

2. For the same reasons, I shall avoid obviously partisan appearances in which I would be called upon to endorse one candidate over another although naturally I will attend Democratic party functions. In that regard, I will follow the same policies as followed by the Secretaries of State and Defense.

3. I will allocate a couple of days a month, subject to some flexibility in the scheduling, to help our friends with non-fund-raising appearances similar to my recent visit to South Bend at the invitation of John Brademas. This will essentially involve making an appearance under the sponsorship of a Democratic incumbent, giving him full credit for my appearance, discussing the President's general program and accomplishments and, in the process, underlining the close relationship of the individual with the Administration, the good work he is doing in Washington and the help he is providing to the President.

If you have other ideas, I will be glad to talk with you about them, at your convenience.

WMB

W. Michael Blumenthal

D. The entire Cabinet. Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee George Mahon told Jim McIntyre recently that in his twenty-five years in Congress he had never seen a Cabinet work as hard and as openly as your Cabinet had to undercut the President's budget. Jim McIntyre will confirm that real cooperation and support for your budget is spotty at best with many Cabinet members lobbying openly for increases.

3. Failure to Respond Promptly to Presidential Mail

One of the most frequent and persistent complaints made by the Congress is our failure to respond rapidly to letter written to the President and referred to departments and agencies.

When Frank's office receives a letter to you from a member of Congress dealing with a problem or issue which requires agency input or response, he acknowledges the letter within 48 hours and forwards it to the appropriate agency or department.

The following is a chart of the average time it takes the agency/department involved to respond. The times recorded does not include the time it takes for the letter to get from the Congressional office to the White House or from the White House to the agency. So realistically, you can add 5-7 days to these totals.

Average Agency Response Time to Congressional Mail
Referred by the President/White House

<u>Agency</u>	<u>1977 Average</u>	<u>1978 Average</u>
CEA	40 days	34 days
CEQ	37	37
CIA	19	-
CSA	47	41
Civil Service Com.	22	20
Commerce	19	17
Defense	18	18
Energy	21	23
Interior	27	37
Justice	28	29
Labor	19	19
State	18	17
Transportation	22	31
EPA	25	27
HEW	7	20
HUD	20	21
Treasury	29	30

This is a terrible record! Our claim to manage the government and make it more efficient is undermined considerably when we can't even get your mail from Congressmen promptly answered.

You have written to the agencies and departments personally instructing them to improve the turn-around time. However, as is revealed in the chart, few have gotten any better from last year and some have even gotten worse.

In summary, we all know that it is a routine part of political life for members of the legislative body to bitch about the Executive's failure to respond to reasonable political requests. We saw that in Georgia and we are seeing it now. The fact remains that we collectively have done a very poor job of responding to the legitimate and reasonable requests of the members of Congress.

Let's consider a hypothetical situation:

Suppose you were a member of Congress who had been here for 10 years. You are a Democrat and have survived eight long years when you got nothing from the Republicans. Now finally a Democrat was in the White House. Your expectations are great!

Instead, you find out early in the year that there are no jobs or appointments for your friends and supporters. You call the White House repeatedly and even talk to the President but are told that the

key jobs in the departments and even in the region are appointed by the Secretaries. You make numerous recommendations but none of your people are selected. In fact, several of the key regional jobs continue to be held by Republicans.

You don't have much better luck with your mail. You write letters to the President which are acknowledged and referred to the agencies. It takes weeks and sometimes months to even get a negative response!

And a year after Carter has been in office, the Republican members of your delegation continue to get grant announcements ahead of you.

Yet, at the same time, the new Administration headed by an increasingly unpopular President forces you - in an election year - to vote on very controversial and unpopular issues.

What do you do? Support the President and do what is right or save your own political skin?

Solutions

To solve these problems requires a change in both attitude and process. We have talked about each of these problems many times before at Cabinet meetings, yet they persist.

The change in attitude should come from hard, direct talk from you that you expect these numerous deficiencies to be corrected. To insure that this happens, we have to develop simple and effective mechanisms and systems to see that these screwups are eliminated. I believe that the best way to start is for a group of the undersecretaries begin to meet with several members of the senior staff on a regular basis. At these meetings, problems of all sorts (personnel, grants, policy questions) will be aired and dealt with. The undersecretaries will be expected to return to their own department or agency and make the recommended changes.

Suggested Talking Points

1. I want to begin by reaffirming my confidence and faith in each of you. I said publicly last week that nothing would please me more than to finish my term of office with the same Cabinet I have now. We have had a good first year, some successes, some setbacks, but we are making good progress.
2. I wanted to have this session away from Washington to reflect on how we're doing, where we are, and where we are going. I want it to be a candid session. I will be frank with you and I want you to be frank with me. There are a lot of things that we can do better. Some of our problems result from the fact that the White House is as not well organized and tight as it should be. I am making changes now to improve our structure and our processes. There are also problems of coordination that exist between the White House and the Cabinet. Those need to be improved as well, and I hope that our conversations today can deal with some of those problems.
3. But if we are going to be frank with one another, what we say today has to stay in this room. I don't want to read any of my comments or yours in the papers in the next couple of days. For that reason, Jody Powell will be the sole spokesman to the press on our meetings and discussions.
4. Not only do I have faith in our team of people, but I still have faith that "cabinet government" is the best approach to the problems that face our country. However, in instituting "cabinet government", there have been some necessary trade-offs. By giving you more latitude

than any of my predecessors to run your own departments and select your own people, there has clearly been less central control from the White House over all of your operations.

5. This has sometimes given the appearance of confusion and disorganization in the government and has hurt me politically. I ran on a platform of giving the American people better government. And while I think we have succeeded in that objective, the perception is that we have failed. And that we have given the American people more government that is poorly managed.

6. Attempts at coordination have not always been successful, especially as relates to the Congress where people working for you have not been responsive to reasonable requests from the White House senior staff. One of the reasons for this is that the people working for you have given you their primary loyalty because (with a very few exceptions) they were selected by you. I expect them to be loyal to you but I also expect them to be loyal to me and my policies. It can't be any other way.

7. I want the advice and counsel of you and your people when a policy decision is being developed and is before me, but once the policy is decided, I expect everyone to be faithful in executing it. This is particularly true of your budgets. I continue to receive disturbing reports that your people are making back-channel requests for **additional** funds over and above what I have authorized. I want this stopped! I am asking Jim McIntyre and Frank Moore to monitor this carefully and report to me when they find this happening. I expect you and your people to support enthusiastically our budget.

8. Let me get specific on a few areas where we must tighten up:

- Congressional Relations. Too often Frank Moore and his people are up on the Hill working on one of our priorities only to find department CL people working at cross purposes or against Frank's staff. At other times, Frank asks for help from your department but finds them unresponsive. We can't succeed unless our CL people are working together. Therefore, I want you to instruct your CL people to treat a request from Frank Moore and his people as if it were a request from me. If you think his request is unreasonable, you bring it to me.
- Grant Notification. We continue to get hurt by the fact that fifteen months after we have been in office we have yet to develop a simple and effective system for letting Democratic friends announce grants in their states and districts. We have talked about this time and again - but the problems continue. Consequently, I would like for you to designate someone (preferably your undersecretary) to meet with Frank Moore and Hamilton this week to solve this problem. Our tentative plans are to handle all grant announcements out of the EOP.
- Presidential Mail. I am disgusted by the length of time it takes for the departments to respond to mail from Congressmen to me referred to your department. There is no excuse for us and it hurts us terribly on the Hill. I expect this to be corrected immediately and addressed at the meeting between Frank and Hamilton and your undersecretaries.
- Response to Reasonable Requests. Too often some member of my senior staff will ask you or someone under you to do something entirely reasonable and proper but they fail to get an adequate or timely response. These requests usually reflect my own wishes or policies and I expect you to respond to

them when made my a member of my senior staff. If you think the request is unreasonable or in any way improper, you should pick up the telephone and call me. As I have said many times, I don't want my staff ordering you around, but I do expect you to respond to reasonable requests.

-Leaks. There is seldom a day that I don't read a newspaper story quoting an administration official on a matter that is either wrong or opposed to our best interests. Some of this is institutional and cannot be avoided, but a lot of it can be avoided if you provide the right kind of leadership in your own department fighting it. When you find people in your departments that are leaking damaging stories, I expect you to get rid of them. I don't believe in witch hunts and don't intend to start any, but these leaks are very damaging to us on the Hill and with the public and constantly puts me in the position of "changing my position" on an issue when I have not even made a final decision. And there is another kind of leaking that I want stopped - that which is designed to influence me before a decision is made. I don't like to be lobbied through the news media. It makes us look indecisive and disorganized. Your views and those of your subordinates are important to me, but in private memoranda, not through the media.

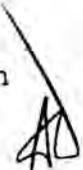
8. All of these things - even though they are small - have a tremendous cumulative effect on us politically. I can't do my job as President unless I stay politically strong. And I can't stay politically strong if the members of Congress are unhappy with me over petty things. It is true that some of the political damage I have suffered has been the result of controversial policies and decisions such as energy, the Middle East, etc. But that kind of damage is incurred knowingly because it is usually unavoidable if we are going to tackle the tough issues. But it is done with our eyes wide open. But these other things I have referred to repeatedly through the year continue to hurt us and must be stopped.

9. This means that all of you have to help our friends on the Hill through fundraisers and other political appearances. It means that you will also have to help John White and the DNC with their many projects. Frank Moore has established a valuable mechanism for enabling us to give valuable assistance to our friends in the Congress and I expect all of you - except Cy, Harold and Griffin - to cooperate with him completely.

10. I don't mean to suggest that all of our problems are the shortcomings of the Cabinet - we have made many mistakes at the White House and are presently trying to correct them. We are making some changes in personnel, structure and procedure that I believe will enhance the relations between the Staff and the Cabinet. They will be announced soon. We have been in office for over a year now. I would encourage you to review your own personnel situation. I have appointed over 200 Assistant Secretaries in the government. Certainly some of them need to be changed. I would like for you to take a hard look at your own department and give me a report in the next ten days as to the changes you might make. Now is the time to make such improvements.

11. Let me conclude by saying that no one would be in this room unless he or she enjoyed my total confidence and support. You are the best Cabinet a President can have. But we have learned some things in this first year and we have to apply those lessons to the time we have remaining. Above all, we have to pull together and recognize that only if we act together can we have any hope of achieving our ambitious goals. I need your help.

April 14, 1978

To: Hamilton Jordan
From: A. D. Frazier 
Re: Update of Staff Coordination in the
White House - Six Months Later

You asked for my opinion on White House organization. I have now observed the White House from Atlanta for six months. After re-reading my October 19 memo to you (attachment A), I see no reason to change those observations today. Subsequent events have only exacerbated the earlier problems.

Here are some further observations and recommendations.

Current Observations

1. Only the most mundane positions of our reorganization study have been implemented. The policy management system and improved system for senior staff work are not in place.
2. From my discussions with you and other senior staff and from reading memoranda, I believe you have accurately assessed the nature of the shortcomings of this White House. The basic flaw in the memoranda is that they set out no comprehensive work plan for dealing with the issues raised.
3. For lack of a comprehensive plan -- a working document and system you and other staff members live with daily -- the President and staff are placed in a basically reactive, rather than pro-active, mode of operation. You are being driven by events rather than managing them. For the President this translates into a perceived "lack of leadership".
4. For lack of protocols -- basic rules of the road -- governing the dealings between the President and White House staff on the one hand and Cabinet Departments on the other, cabinet government as a collegial notion has lapsed into a series of uncoordinated initiatives undertaken by "independent contractors" with little concern for the Presidential fall-out generated.

5. I as a private citizen have been able to see no basic substantive themes emerge from the Carter presidency. The President's image is badly blurred as a result.
6. On the tough issues, the Administration is not perceived as having fought particularly well.
7. For these operational difficulties there is no "quick fix". Crisis action begets yet another crisis. The problems are systemic and deserve systemic solutions.

Current Recommendations

1. Commit to a disciplined system of planning, organizing and controlling the work flow of the White House (consolidated).
2. Commit to evaluate and critique systematically the work of subordinates and hold them accountable for their work--to the point of removal, if necessary.
3. Commit to agenda-setting, task assignment, coordination, implementation, follow-up and audit, as recommended in our Decision Analysis report. Commit to prepare and live by some internal White House "rules of the road" as well.
4. Commit to reassess and publish the central themes of the Administration and insist through humane enforcement that the work of subordinates both inside and outside the White House support those themes.
5. Commit to finding the most experienced resources in Washington and formally or informally include them in the planning and implementation of Presidential initiatives. (Other Presidents have used these resources well.)
6. Seek the President's commitment to spending a certain portion of his time ministering to the organizational needs of his staff.
7. Commit to establishment of protocol for relationships between Cabinet Departments and the White House and between Department Heads and White House staff.

8. Establish the role of Staff Coordinator, as I discussed on October 17, to see that commitments one through seven are made operational.
9. Use the Cabinet retreat at Camp David to kick off the overhaul process, not announce the completion of it. (The latter is to some degree expected and you cannot deliver.)
 - a. Using your analysis as the basis, prepare a work plan for ordering the problems you raised and fixing them.
 - b. Set your own timetable (suggest 90 days) to have operational improvements in place. (Make no public promises.)