

## NINETY -THIRD CONGRESS

Compared to recent Chief Executives, the President is seen as an active and effective legislative leader. For example, The Washingtonian reports:

"Jack Kennedy, despite the hard work of Larry O'Brien, was not a successful Presidential lobbyist. Richard Nixon's performance is rated fair to good. During his first two years, LBJ was a superb lobbyist . . . . During later years LBJ missed the mark a lot. "

On balance it appears the next Congress will be more disposed to support the President's legislative program than the last two Congresses.

Reasons:

1. Republicans should enjoy net gains in both Chambers.
2. The President's election mandate will demonstrate his personal popularity and support for his programs, at least in the early days.
3. Democrats will be fighting among themselves for control of their party and Congressional leadership posts.
4. Since the new term will be the President's last, the opposition party will be less interested in efforts to embarrass him for political gain.
5. The Vietnam War, which has caused an undercurrent of opposition to the President, should not be an issue in the months ahead.

There are also several factors working against the Administration in the new Congress:

1. There will probably be 100 new faces on Capitol Hill and many of the President's most loyal supporters will be gone: Byrnes, Jonas, Springer, Betts, Pelly, Colmer, Bow, etc.
2. Unfortunately, many GOP members erroneously may feel the President was interested in his own re-election and didn't do enough to help them in their campaigns. This could result in an independent attitude toward the President's legislative proposals.

3. The year-long and year-end conflicts over powers of the Congress vs. the Executive could hang over the 93rd. Spending ceilings, impoundment of funds, executive agreements, war powers, executive immunity and privilege, etc., could poison the institutional relationship between the White House and Capitol Hill.
4. Increased isolationist views expressed in Congress will be reflected in international programs, especially foreign aid, trade agreements, multi-national lending institutions and U.N. financing.
5. While the President's last term may relieve Democratic opposition, it could also reduce Republican support somewhat since Members will not be running on the same ticket with the President again.

Nevertheless, the next Congress will present the President with great opportunities for legislative accomplishment, but it will require the President's personal involvement, particularly in the early months.

Any activity should be highly publicized because the Washington press corps tends to rewrite each others copy with the result of snowballing the public image of Presidential leadership with the Congress.

## PRESIDENTIAL PARTICIPATION

In the whole legislative process, there is no substitute for the President's personal participation with Members. It is not necessary for the Chief Executive to "twist arms," but Congressmen are politicians who relish some association with their Chief Executive.

Assuming that the President will want his second term to be historic in terms of achievement, he will have to devote more personal attention to Congress.

Statistics show that 1970 was the most active year for Presidential contacts with Members of Congress. It was also the best of four years in terms of Congressional accomplishment. I suspect this was not coincidental, but bears a direct relationship to passage of Presidential initiatives.

The President enjoys tremendous respect by virtually all Congressmen. In private meetings there is a chemistry between the President and Members, and this unusual resource can be used to advantage in the next Congress.

It is felt Congress will be more supportive through implementation of a personal contact plan. There follow some recommendations for the President's participation with Members of Congress.

### SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE 93RD CONGRESS:

#### 1. CONSULTATION

There must be a serious attempt at consultation with Congressional power centers, including their participation, before messages and legislation are drafted by the Administration. This does not mean that Members dictate policy, but rather offer their views toward tailoring proposals for the widest acceptance.

The President and key staff should hold a series of meetings with carefully selected Congressmen soon after the election. For maximum impact, these can be scheduled in San Clemente or Key Biscayne.

#### 2. BRIEFING BREAKFASTS

In addition to consultation meetings, it is recommended that the President have a series of breakfasts to include all Members. Cabinet Officers and White House staff can brief

on upcoming legislation. Members may be more supportive in the pleasant atmosphere of the White House and through demonstrations of Presidential interest.

Each briefing breakfast could be planned for about 150 Members.

3. LEADERSHIP MEETINGS

Once a month, on a regular basis, the President should schedule full bipartisan leadership meetings.

I prefer to hold full GOP leadership meetings only once a month, but have Scott-Griffin and Ford-Arends in the Oval Office on weeks when bipartisan and full GOP leadership meetings are not scheduled. These smaller sessions present greater opportunities for give-and-take. The President as well as his Senate and House leaders seem more comfortable at these informal sessions.

4. PERSUASION MEETINGS

It would be helpful to arrange a series of senior Member meetings following the consultations and briefings for the purpose of persuading the Committee Chairmen and Ranking Republicans to expedite legislation. These can be scheduled in late February and early March after messages and legislation have been transmitted to Congress.

5. SOCIAL EVENTS

There should be a Congressional reception for all Members of Congress scheduled for late February. One-third of Congress can be invited in alphabetical order to each of three consecutive evenings. A receiving line would be in order.

A stag reception in the President's living quarters for his Congressional surrogate campaign team would be well-received and allow the President to thank those who worked for his re-election.

During the year, the Congressional quotas for State Dinners, Evenings at the White House, Worship Services, and other social events must be enlarged. These prestigious affairs are much sought after by Members (and their wives) and can be used to legislative advantage. A third of the invitations, until all Congress has been covered, allocated for Members is recommended. White House viewing of new movies, an evening at Camp David, the Sequoia, and other built-in advantages of the President's Office should be utilized to win support of legislation.

The President, on occasion, may consider having small groups down to the Map Room for 5:00 p.m. cocktails. These informal, non-publicized events -- if carefully planned -- can produce results on Capitol Hill. Starting in March, 5:00 p.m. sessions once a month would seem appropriate.

6. PHOTOGRAPHS

Every Member of Congress should receive a new autographed picture of the President soon after the Inauguration. It is recommended that approximately 100 of these also have a personal inscription written by the President. While this is a chore, prompt action will reap dividends in goodwill and avoid stringing the process out over months and years.

7. GIFTS

Special Inauguration gifts exclusive to Members should be designed and given to all Congressmen. It should be an item which can be used in their offices (ash tray? paper weight?)

8. CONGRESSIONAL MAIL

Care should always be taken not to over use the President's signature. Nevertheless, the Congressional Relations office should be alert to drafting initial acknowledgements for the President's signature to give the appearance that the Chief Executive is aware of their concerns. Follow-up correspondence on substance can be signed by appropriate staff. This personal involvement in mail processing will help negate the complaint that the President is isolated.

9. TELEPHONE CALLS

The Congressional Relations Office should submit several telephone requests each week covering some topical matter such as a good floor speech, appearances on television, etc.

It is recommended that the President also reinstitute birthday telephone calls for 1973 only. This activity gives the Chief Executive an opportunity to chat briefly with Members on non-substantive matters. It is another tool to "condition" Congressmen for legislative victories.

10. CONGRESSIONAL HALF-HOURS

Once a week a half-hour should be set aside for five or six separate Members to make presentations (or present their constituents) to the President.

These photo opportunities go a long way toward "opening up" the Presidency to Congressmen, especially our supporters.

All freshmen Members of the House and Senate should be encouraged to use this time for their personal pictures with the President. Congressional Half-Hours also give the Chief Executive an opportunity to meet new Congressmen.

11. STAFF STROKE

Since the range of issues before Congress is so wide, Members depend heavily on their staff who, in many cases, can exert tremendous influence on their patrons. Also, Committee counsels and staff directors frequently set agendas, schedule witnesses and determine the course of legislation before their panels. Therefore, in the 93rd, attention and recognition should be given Hill staffers. In the spring, there should be a lawn party for Congressional assistants and secretaries. Additionally, committee staff should be invited to entertainment portions after State Dinners. The President may consider addressing several of the staff groups, such as Bull Elephants.

12. TRIPS TO CAPITOL HILL

We should be ever alert to opportunities for the President to make unofficial trips to Capitol Hill. A Mansfield lunch, greet Republicans in Scott's backroom, address the House GOP conference, etc., are types of events the President may consider. Token visits with Congress are highly visible demonstrations of the President's interest in his legislation.

13. SPIRIT OF '76

Some Presidential travel in 1973 should be carefully geared to events which include key Congressmen who have life-or-death influence over important legislation. Trips aboard the "Spirit of 76" provide excellent opportunities for informal persuasion and, in the past, have been most successful avenues for lobbying Members. For example, the California flight with Rep. Chet Holifield was most helpful in moving a government reorganization measure.

14. CALENDAR

The President should move quickly in guiding Congress toward his objectives. During the early weeks, the Legislature will be disorganized and a strong personal effort can produce results.

There is a rough two-month recommendation attached. The President does not have to sit through the consultation meetings but can introduce the subject briefly and turn the sessions over to Cabinet Members and staff.

In fact, while the Congressional calendar appears time-consuming, most of the suggested events require only a fraction of the President's total day.

CONGRESSIONAL CALENDAR

1972 Mon Dec 4 San Clemente Consultations  
Tues Dec 5 San Clemente Consultations  
Wed Dec 6 San Clemente Consultations

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1973 Wed Jan 3 93rd Congress Convenes  
Thurs Jan 4 Coffee with "Big 5" Bipartisan Leaders  
Fri Jan 5 - OPEN -

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Mon Jan 8 Consultation Session #1 (Ways & Means; Finance)  
Tues Jan 9 Consultation Session #2 (Education & Labor)  
Wed Jan 10 Consultation Session #3 (Armed Services &  
Foreign Relations)  
Thurs Jan 11 Consultation Session #4 (Commerce, Agriculture &  
Interior)  
Fri Jan 12 - OPEN -

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Mon Jan 15 Consultation Session #5 (Government Operations)  
Tues Jan 16 Full GOP Leaders Meeting  
Wed Jan 17 Consultation Session #6 (Judiciary)  
Thurs Jan 18 Consultation Session #7 (Banking)  
Fri Jan 19 Consultation Session #8 (Appropriations)

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Sat Jan 20 Inaugural Address

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Mon Jan 22 Reception for Congressional Campaign Surrogates  
Tues Jan 23 Full Bipartisan Leaders Meeting  
Wed Jan 24 - OPEN -  
Thurs Jan 25 State of Union Address  
Fri Jan 26 - OPEN -

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Mon Jan 29 - OPEN -  
Tues Jan 30 "Big 4" GOP Leaders Meeting; Budget to Congress\*  
Wed Jan 31 Breakfast Briefing (1/3 Congress); Msg. #1 to Congress  
Thurs Feb 1 Breakfast Briefing (1/3 Congress); Msg. #2 to Congress  
Fri Feb 2 Breakfast Briefing (1/3 Congress); Msg. #3 to Congress

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\*Since Budget is required by law 15 days after convening, Congress must authorize later submission.

Page Two

Congressional Calendar

1973 Mon Feb 5 - OPEN - ; Economic Report to Cong.  
 Tues Feb 6 "Big 4" GOP Leaders Meeting; Msg. #4 to Congress  
 Wed Feb 7 - OPEN - ; Msg. #5 to Congress  
 Thurs Feb 8 - OPEN - ; Msg. #6 to Congress  
 Fri Feb 9 - OPEN -

Mon Feb 12 - OPEN -  
 Tues Feb 13 Full GOP Leaders Meeting ; Msg. #7 to Congress  
 Wed Feb 14 Congressional Reception (1/3 Cong); Msg. #8 to Congress  
 Thurs Feb 15 Congressional Reception (1/3 Cong)  
 Fri Feb 16 Congressional Reception (1/3 Cong)

Mon Feb 19 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #1  
 Tues Feb 20 Bipartisan Leaders Meeting  
 Wed Feb 21 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #2  
 Thurs Feb 22 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #3  
 Fri Feb 23 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #4

Mon Feb 26 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #5  
 Tues Feb 27 "Big 4" GOP Leaders Meeting  
 Wed Feb 28 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #6  
 Thurs Mar 1 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #7  
 Fri Mar 2 Meet with Selected Committee Leaders #8