

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 5, 1973

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *BT*

SUBJECT: Congressional Relations

This is a status report on government Congressional relations personnel, organizations, and operations for the 93rd Congress. It is based on instructions from our Camp David meeting after the election and subsequent discussions with Bob Haldeman.

I. ASSISTANT SECRETARIES FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS

I have had some difficulty restructuring the departments' legislative positions to make them full Assistant Secretaryships. You will recall we wanted to:

- attract better qualified candidates.
- have legislative officers involved in policy development.
- provide Senate confirmation which implies Congressional acceptance of individuals dealing with Congress.
- give them Presidential commissions so they become part of your team and serve at your pleasure.

Unfortunately, the numbers of Assistant Secretaryships in the departments are restricted by statute and in some cases other functions have been deemed more important than Congressional relations. The alternative has been to make the legislative officers, in some cases, Deputy Under Secretaries--not controlled by statute. Therefore, we have worked out the following arrangements:

ASSISTANT SECRETARIES

1. HEW
2. STATE
3. DEFENSE (Secretary Richardson has not yet agreed to this, but we are pushing him. I think Defense is perhaps the most vital department for elevating the legislative position).
4. HUD
5. DOT
6. JUSTICE
7. INTERIOR

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARIES

1. LABOR
2. COMMERCE
3. AGRICULTURE
4. TREASURY (There is a good possibility we will be able to make this an Assistant Secretary as soon as some departmental personnel matters are resolved).

All Congressional posts will be paid at the Executive IV Level except Agriculture which will be GS-18.

II. PERSONNEL

Working closely with the White House personnel office and individual Secretaries, Under Secretaries, and Agency Heads, I have been able to recruit outstanding individuals without actually forcing our selections on the departments or agencies.

A list of the Congressional officers is in Tab A. They include four former Members of Congress and others with legislative experience. Taken together, they will form a close-knit, loyal, working team.

Two posts deserve special comment:

- DEFENSE: I have proposed former Virginia Democrat Jack Marsh to Secretary Richardson. Elliot has not yet agreed to this candidate, but I am hopeful this will be worked out soon. Jack wants this position, and I know he'll do an outstanding job on the Hill.

STATE: I have had problems finding the right individual for this tough assignment. The person selected should have legislative experience and he should have also had exposure to international affairs and departmental organization. Dave Abshire is a hard man to replace! For various reasons none of our prospects has measured up although Secretary Rogers has been most cooperative. Therefore, I now propose to retain the current Acting Assistant Secretary Marshall Wright (a career FSO who backed up Abshire) for six months and put Stan Anderson (now in your personnel office) in as his Deputy. I feel Stan can learn the ropes in six months and then be available for nomination for the top spot. (Stan worked with Fred Malek in the re-election campaign and performed well with the Convention planning group).

There are still vacancies in several agencies that we are trying to fill with qualified personnel.

I have talked individually with the new legislative officers and they understand that I will be placing personnel under them in support capacities. We are moving forward on these second and third level jobs now. Eventually, all should have in-depth strength in each office.

III. WHITE HOUSE

I have requested retention in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs: Dick Cook and Max Friedersdorf to concentrate on the House of Representatives; Tom Korologos and Wallace Johnson to handle the Senate. At your instructions, two staff had to be transferred to meet new personnel ceilings. They are Bill Gifford to Treasury and John Nidecker who is weighing several offers for other government service. Additionally, Lee Nunn (son of GOP fund-raiser and nephew of former Kentucky Governor) is a White House Fellow assigned to my office during his program tour.

The White House Congressional Relations team is top-flight, loyal, and professional. Members would be most difficult to replace. Not only are they expert on Members' backgrounds, legislation, and Congressional procedures, they also work well with other White House sections and departments. I have requested modest salary increases for your Congressional staff since their current compensation is less than the department Congressional personnel and some Capitol Hill staff.

Rather than assigning one individual in my office to "manage" all the departments and agencies, I think it's best to divide responsibilities among existing personnel. Therefore, this office's staff, in addition to normal Senate or House duties, are charged with maintaining daily contact with departments-agencies, gaining knowledge of policy positions for areas assigned, and providing appropriate supervision and assistance for their activities. Hopefully, through effective management of the departments-agencies, White House staff will not be forced to act as line officers as much as in the past.

COOK:	Treasury, HUD, Commerce, SBA
FRIEDERSDORF:	Agriculture, Interior, VA, NASA, AEC, OEO, ACTION
KOROLOGOS:	Defense, State, USIA, CIA, AID, HEW
JOHNSON:	Justice, DOT, EPA, Civil Service, EEOC, GSA, D. C.

Concurrent with this managerial responsibility is a requirement to cultivate the private sector groups concerned with assigned program areas in an effort to mobilize outside pressures on Congress for specific proposals. This will be done in coordination with Bill Baroody. Also, we propose to use the Republican National Committee's structure to generate wires, calls, and mail on Republican Congressmen who need to feel grassroots sentiment. I have discussed this with George Bush.

IV. OPERATIONS

I plan to have a meeting of all Congressional Relations personnel as soon as they are announced (and have requested Camp David, if available, over the Lincoln recess) for the purpose of orientation and instruction. During earlier sessions with each appointee, I discussed the strategy of building new support--not just regular leadership--on Capitol Hill by rewarding friends and punishing enemies. This general attitude toward Congress will be put into specific plans during the orientation meeting. We will:

- take the Senate and House Vietnam support lists and have each department-agency Congressional officer pay a courtesy call to the loyalists to establish rapport, express appreciation, and offer to be of service in the future. After eleven departmental and ten agency personnel make these calls, the Members of Congress will recognize

the President's appreciation for past support and the tactic will serve to hold them in line for the future. This word will spread informally throughout the Congress as a signal to "get on board."

- cultivate the freshmen by having briefings and/or meetings with White House staff, Cabinet, or Agency heads. Through early introduction, we expect to win friends among the newcomers. As they prove themselves, their names will be added to the key supporters' list for favorable treatment.
- arrange for the loyalists to be rewarded: social events, correspondence, patronage, notification of contract awards, and other forms of cooperation. Conversely, opponents will receive cold treatment by departments and agencies, as well as the White House.
- divide and assign all the loyalists and freshmen among the departmental-agency Congressional relations staff for the purpose of quick communications when necessary. In this way, we should be able to get a point across through personal conversation to every key supporter in the House and Senate within several hours and have a report back on their reactions. This "buddy" system will be based primarily on Members' committee assignments and should prove helpful in lobbying for votes.
- build new leadership circles for the purpose of providing a mechanism to publicly support Presidential positions and defend against criticisms. In Tab B is a list of junior Senate and House Members who will be asked to participate in this effort. This group will be given prepared remarks, be encouraged to speak out and also recruit others to do the same. Special events and briefings will be scheduled for the new leadership Members.
- alert all Cabinet and Subcabinet officers to the key supporters-new leadership lists so that they may use the system, as necessary, and also pay particular attention to rewards for them.
- develop a plan to cultivate administrative assistants and key staff members on committees in an effort to have them influence their Members on important issues.

V. WHITE HOUSE ACTIVITY

During the first month of the new Congress, the President has established a pattern of substantial contact with Members of Congress. He has:

1. Met with Republican Leadership twice.
2. Met with the Bipartisan Leadership four times.
3. Met with Mansfield and Albert separately and privately.
4. Held a reception for all freshmen and Leaders.
5. Invited a number of supporters to the two State Dinners and selected staff to the Entertainment afterwards, some Members to a Worship Service, the Swearing-in of the Cabinet, Presidential area parade seats, etc.

I have provided Rose Woods with a list of Vietnam supporters to use as priority for upcoming events.

Recommendations of events have been proposed to reward the loyalists (such as a reception for key Vietnam supporters).

I am putting together a list of special Hill friends, along with notations of their favorite interests, for Bebe Rebozo who has plans for entertaining them in Florida or on the Island.

Senior White House staff have agreed to meet frequently with Members of Congress. Already, Henry Kissinger has addressed the Senate and House separately on Vietnam; Roy Ash has appeared before the Senate and House Conferences on the Budget, and an offer has been extended to the Democratic caucuses; John Ehrlichman addressed the House GOP freshmen, and has met privately with Percy, Ervin, and Javits on Executive Privilege and Impoundments, and with Jackson and Fannin on energy. An Ehrlichman session with Russell Long also is scheduled; Bob Haldeman has agreed to speak before the joint Chowder and Marching-SOS Club's breakfast; Peter Flanigan has continued a series of private dinners and lunches with key Members involved in trade policy. As soon as the Lincoln recess is over, I plan to schedule on a regular basis small groups to meet with the senior White House staff to discuss problems and opportunities.

CANDIDATES AND POSITIONS

AGRICULTURE	<u>John Foltz</u> Deputy Under Secretary
COMMERCE	<u>George Pantos</u> Deputy Under Secretary
DEFENSE	<u>Jack Marsh</u> Assistant Secretary
HEW	<u>Stephen Kurzman*</u> Assistant Secretary
HUD	<u>Sol Mosher</u> Assistant Secretary
INTERIOR	<u>John Kyl</u> Assistant Secretary
JUSTICE	<u>Mike McKevitt</u> Assistant Attorney General
LABOR	<u>Al Abrahams</u> Deputy Under Secretary
STATE	<u>No candidate yet</u> Assistant Secretary
TRANSPORTATION	<u>Robert Monagan</u> Assistant Secretary
TREASURY	<u>William Gifford</u> Assistant to the Secretary

ACTION	<u>Carlton Kammerer</u> Director of Congressional Affairs
AID	<u>Matthew Harvey*</u> Director of Congressional Relations
CIA	<u>John Maury*</u> Director of Congressional Relations

COLC	<u>Barbara Ludden</u> Director of Congressional Relations
EPA	<u>Gary Baise*</u> Director of Congressional Relations
GSA	<u>Donald Kendall</u> Director of Congressional Affairs
NASA	<u>No candidate yet</u> Assistant Administrator for Legislative Affairs
OEO	<u>Leighton Sattler</u> Director of Congressional Relations
SBA	<u>No candidate yet</u> Director of Congressional Relations
USIA	<u>John Ryan</u> Deputy General Counsel
VA	<u>Richard Roudebush*</u> Assistant Deputy Administrator for Congressional Relations

*Retention of current official.

NEW LEADERSHIP

HOUSE

FRESHMEN

John Conlan (Ariz) - 42 - Science and Astronautics, Banking & Currency
Trent Lott (Miss) - 35 - Judiciary, Merchant Marine and Fisheries
Marjorie Holt (Md) - 52 - Armed Services
Robin Beard (Tenn) - 33 - Armed Services
Bill Hudnut (Ind) - 40 - Interstate and Foreign Commerce
James Jones (D-Okla) - 33 - Armed Services, Interior and Insular Affairs
Dale Milford (D-Tex) - 46 - Public Works, Science and Astronautics

SOPHOMORES

Jack Kemp (NY) - 37 - Education and Labor
Bill Archer (Tex) - 44 - Ways and Means
Norman Lent (NY) - 41 - Interstate and Foreign Commerce
John McCollister (Neb) - 51 - Interstate and Foreign Commerce
Bill Young (Fla) - 42 - Armed Services
Goodloe Byron (D-Md) - 42 - Interstate and Foreign Commerce

THIRD-TERMERS

Lou Frey (Fla) - 39 - Science and Astronautics, Interstate & Foreign Commerce
Manual Lujan (NM) - 44 - Interior and Insular Affairs
Bill Whitehurst (Va) - 47 - Armed Services
Wilmer Mizell (NC) - 42 - Agriculture, Public Works
Walter Flowers (D-Ala) - 39 - Judiciary, Science and Astronautics

FOURTH-TERMERS

Garry Brown (Mich) - 49 - Banking & Currency, Government Operations
Jerry Pettis (Cal) - 56 - Ways and Means
Larry Winn (Kan) - 53 - Foreign Relations, Science and Astronautics
Sonny Montgomery (Miss) - 53 - Armed Services, Veterans Affairs
Bill Stuckey (D-Ga) - 37 - D. C., Interstate and Foreign Commerce

FIFTH-TERMERS

Barber Conable (NY) - 50 - Ways and Means
John Erlenborn (Ill) - 46 - Education and Labor, Government Operations
Bill Stanton (Ohio) - 48 - Government Operations, Public Works
David Satterfield (D-Va) - 52 - Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Veterans
Affairs

SENATE

Peter Domenici (NM) - 40 - Aeronautical and Space Sciences; D. C.;
Public Works

Dewey Bartlett (Okla) - 53 - Aeronautical and Space Sciences; Interior and
Insular Affairs, D. C.

Howard Baker (Tenn) - 47 - Public Works; Commerce

Glenn Beall (Md) - 45 - Commerce; Labor and Public Welfare

Bill Roth (Del) - 51 - Finance; Government Operations

Bennett Johnston (D-La) - 40 - Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs;
Interior and Insular Affairs

Sam Nunn (D-Ga) - 34 - Armed Services; Government Operations

James Allen (D-Ala) - 60 - Agriculture and Forestry; Government Operations;
Rules and Administration