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REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP MEETING Official And American American Agenda OCTOBER 7, 1969 - 8:30 a.m. - CABINET ROOM

Ram Ravers 8:30 - 9:00 a.m.

I. Draft Reform -

9:00 - 9:30 a.m.

R.N. -

II. Relations with Congress

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DIARY OF WHITE HOUSE LEADERSHIP MEETINGS -- 91st CONGRESS

October 7, 1969

At 8:35 a.m., <u>RMN</u> introduced <u>Laird</u>, who said that he is most encouraged that the House hearings on draft reform will have favorable results. Senator <u>Smith</u> said that if the House passes the bill, Chairman Stennis will argange Committee hearings and try to report the bill for floor action, even in the face of the fears he has about floor amendments.

<u>Arends</u> reported that the Democrats on the House Armed Services Subcommittee will furnish enough votes to report the bill to the Full Committee and act favorably and promptly. <u>Laird</u> suggested that Scott and Ford say plainly to the press that unless the Congress acts before January, the Administration will act administratively. The chief virtue of the plan is that it reduces the vulnerability to draft from 7 years to 12 months. <u>RMN</u> interjected to recall that the proposal had been messaged to Congress some 5 months ago, and if there is no action by January, the country will approve administrative action.

<u>RMN</u> turned to the second item on the agenda -- "relations with Congress." He signed the first FY70 appropriation bill October 1. This is an all-time record of dilatory action. He said the time has come to develop a systematic program of putting the blame on the Congress for frustrating the legislative program. He asked <u>Harlow</u> to summarize the problem. Harlow said that the problem was threefold. First, there is a leadership problem. During the Eisenhower Administration, Rayburn and Johnson were courted carefiely and invited to conferences with the President in the family quarters of the Mansion. Their influence was such that there was no need for the President to deal with other Democrats in Congresser For their own part, Rayburn and Johnson trans-



lated cooperation with the Administration into a political advantage for Congressional Democrats by telling the country that this was an example of Democratic bipartisan responsibility. This was easy to do since the people of the country never looked upon Eishnhower as a Republican anyway. Mansfield and McCormick are not "vibrant parallels." Second, in the Eisenhower years, foreign policy matters were considered traditionally bipartisan. With the new split in the Democratic Party, this is no longer true. and this exacerbates the conflict between the White House and the Capitol. Third, the ascendancy of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee is a new factor in the equation of political power. That Committee has power today greater than the power the old House Rules Committee once had. It actually schedules bills for floor action and tells committee chairmen when to report what bills. The Committee meets in Mansfield's office and decides in camera what to do about each element of the President's program. Until Chappaquiddick. Ted Kennedy was running the Committee and Mansfield was merely functioning as a Kennedy legionnaire. What the situation today is may be uncertain. He announced that a message will be sent to Congress next week dealing with the status of legislation.

Tower said it begins to be plain that the Democrats do not intend to change the game plan, and if this is true, the President will have to take the leadership in putting the blame on Congress.

Ford said that a shadow group of Democrats in the philosophical periphery of the Party has decided to take a big gamble to use Vietnam as a vehicle to destroy the Republican Party. The question now is whether Republicans should take a similar gamble and attack the Democratic leadership frontally. Ford, recognizing the consequences of such a gamble, is willing to take it. Scott said the Party can go more to the offensive if only because the country instinctively wants to support the President and condemn the Congress.



To exploit this instinct, we need the leverage of "Presidential moral indignation." The Prewident should become righteously indignant of Congressional inactions and vocalize this to the country at large.

The <u>Vice President</u> expressed a word of caution about giving offense to Democratic stalwarts who have givenus Republican victories. He mentioned Stennis and Jackson. He said that he was afraid a broad-gauge attack against Democrats will drive them away, and this would be bad for the country.

<u>RMN</u> said that it might be well, rather than criticize all the Democrats, to isolage the "super-partisans," pointing out that at every turn there are two different kinds of Democrats in Congress. <u>Anderson</u> said that the Mitchell speech to UPI concerning inaction on crime legislation received good coverage. He suggested that Cabinet officers should be a little bolder in criticizing Congressional inaction. <u>Morton</u> cautioned that the difficulty with using Cabinet members is that the day after they criticize, they may have to testify before some Congressional committee.

<u>Wilson</u> said that he felt strongly that the foot-dragging theme could become our greatest asset. <u>Rhodes</u> agreed that we should attempt to further divide the divided Democrats by concentrating on the "super-partisans."

<u>Griffin</u> suggested that the staff prepare a loose-leaf notebook of the Presidential legislative package and <u>Morton</u> advised that such a thing is already in progress.

Allen Smith raised again the question of postal reform. If H. R. 13000, the pay bill now pending before the Rules Committee, is passed, postal reform is down the drain. He suggested specifically the President should attempt to save postal reform by announcing now that the pay bill, if passed by the Congress in its present form, would be vetoed. <u>Arends</u>



agreed. <u>Rhodes</u> suggested that the President may rather let it be known that the pay bill would be vetoed unless it was coupled with reform.

Allott suggested that the Cabinet can be used effectively to persuade reluctant Democrats to support the Administration program. He mentioned the power that Cabinet members have with respect to projects in Members' districts and states.

For d suggested we need to survey the list of Presidential legislative proposals, assemble a priority list and then decide what tactics to use, that is, whom we should attack and with whom we should be should be should attack critical question, "Can you sustain vetoes?" He anticipates that the Congress may send him legislation purposely drafted to force him to exercise the veto. By way of example, he suggested that the social security bill, instead of being 15%, may very well be 25%.

He then asked <u>Moyhihan</u> to give a bird's-eye-view of the total legislative package the President has presented to Congress. In 5 minutes, Moynihan made a summary about as succinct and impressive as I have heard. He stated that in its total impact, the Nixon program is the greatest reform program since the days of Wilson. It includes:

1) draft reform

2) family assistance (welfare)

- 33)revenue sharing (restoring the creativity to state and local governments which they lost when the federal government monopolized revenue sources)
- 4) electoral college reform
- 5) Congressional representation for the District of Columbia



- 6) postal reform
- 7) transfer major responsibility for manpower training back to the statehouse
- 8) alleviation of hunger and guaranteeing adequate diets
- 9) population control
- 10) tax reform
- 11) criminal law reform

<u>RMN</u> then announced that a legislative message would be delivered to Congress on Monday but released to the press on Sunday. It will take a temperate approach but will be more than a simply laundry list of issues.

Ford said that he hopes we will continue to emphasize the single theme, viz, reform. To make a graphic illustration of Congressional inaction, he suggested that a picture be made showing a pile of the bills and messages the President has sent Congress compared to a stack of the bills Congress has passed. Scott said that this will make every paper except the New York Times.

Morton said that one of our problems in the Congress is the close fullendship which grows up over the years between the Democratic chairmen and ranking Republican mumbers. He suggested that it would be well for the President to call ranking Republican members together and impress upon them the need to put the blame on the Democratic Congress for Congressional inaction. Ford said that the relationship about which Morton spoke was almost "incestuous."

Wilson suggested that it would be easier to merchanitise our product if we hired a few advertising experts to conjure up

a few attractive labels. (Really, there isn't much sex appeal in postal reform, is there?) As the President stood to leave, <u>Harlow</u> called for quiet and the <u>President</u> announced that on Thursday he is meeting with the Chief of Police of the District of Columbia concerning the crime statistics and expects to make some dramatic gesture for the sake of the press. I asked Moynihan after the meeting what was involved, and it seemed that this has been consciously kept secret. I certainly have not heard about it before and no one around the table seemed to know anything about it.

After the meeting, <u>Nofziger</u> reached me and told me that efforts are underway to follow up on the suggestion I made at the last meeting that a lawyer be signed to write some grist on criminal law for one-minute speeches.

RICHARD H. POFF

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OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCE OF SENATOR HUGH SCOTT AND CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD THE ROOSEVELT ROOM

AT 10:45 A.M. EDT

CONGRESSMAN FORD: Good morning.

There were two major matters discussed at the Leadership Meeting with the President this morning. I will discuss the one and Senator Scott will discuss the second.

Secretary Laird was at the meeting and re-emphasized the absolute need and necessity for Congressional action in draft reform.

He pointed out that under existing law a young man is in jeopardy, he is uncertain as to his military future for seven years. And the President has requested of the Congress that action be taken to amend the existing law so that a young man reaching the age of 18 has one year where he knows whether or not he is going to be called to military service.

The President said again and again, and the Republican Leadership agrees with him entirely, that one of the highest, if not the highest, priority items on the Congressional legislative agenda is draft reform. We are going to push to the maximum to get some action in the Congress as soon as possible.

SENATOR SCOTT: The other matter which occupied a considerable amount of time is the fact that the President will on Monday send a message to the Congress to be released on Sunday.

This is in some ways an unprecedented message on the status of legislation, pro and con. It will discuss -- and not in a partisan spirit -- the problems of cities, crime, job training, reform of the draft, and welfare and so forth, and will, of course, make the point that the Congress can always act on these measures and indicate some reasons as to why action is most important and imperative.

I would like to add that this is a reform program of the Administration and we are asking the help of responsible Democrats and Republicans alike, that this is no time for so-called super partisanship.

MORE



We recognize the two-party system and its general operation. But there are 40-some Administration programs pending, all of which have departmental reports attached; over 2,000 reports have been sent up altogether.

This message is likely to point out that the President seems to restructure Federalism through reform of the draft, reform of welfare, revenue sharing, electoral reform, which is the first change there in over 50 years, a D. C. Delegate in Congress which has passed the House, the commission to draft Home Rule provisions for the District, postal reform, the first major devolution of a public program to a corporation, the hunger proposal with adequate diet for all persons, the population message on which other Presidents have talked and this President has acted, the crime bills, and special emphasis on the need to do something about narcotics.

As I have said before, I think this is a most bold and innovative program in many years. And I would add the tax relief and reform proposals which were first submitted by the President, I believe, in April, his peace proposal of May 14 and other measures.

Q Senator, did you discuss Judge Haynsworth and his present status?

SENATOR SCOTT: We did not discuss Judge Haynsworth in this meeting at all.

Q Was there any discussion of Laos?

SENATOR SCOTT: There was no discussion of Laos.

Q Senator, I am not quite clear on what this Sunday message is. Is this a message in which the President is appealing to the Congress to pass all of the programs that he has sent up since he took office?

SENATOR SCOTT: We have not seen the message yet. But I understand that the message will be a summarization in categories of the legislative recommendations he has made, that he will point out the necessity in the public interest for the passage of this legislation, will discuss the relative functions of the Presidency and Congress in this regard, and will strongly urge that the Congress act as soon as possible.

It will not be from his standpoint a message, as I say, on a partisan spirit. Some of us feel that the Congress has been slow. And, speaking for myself, I would define the 51st State of the Union, and it is the state of lethargy, which is overwhelmingly Democratic.

Q Senator, why do you think the Congress has been slow? Has there not been enough push behind the Adminstration's programs? Did they go up later than usual? What are the causes?

MORE



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SENATOR SCOTT: I think that is the opposition's thesis, which cannot stand up. In the first place, the Administration's proposals were accompanied by the Executive Departmental reports.

So to complain that the reports weren't there doesn't hold water.

If an individual Congressman submits a proposal for the relief of John Smith, there may be a delay in getting the report as it goes through. Individual Congressman at times have not had all of their reports back. But insofar as the Administration is concerned, and with many others as well, there have been over 2,000 reports. So it is not the fault of the Administration that the Congress hasn't acted.

The Congress is suffering not from a lack of material, but from a sort of political indigestion.

Q Senator, something like postal reform, Republican leaders on the House Post Office Committee seem to be among the biggest opponents of the program. What do you do about that?

SENATOR SCOTT: I think I would rather have Congressman Ford handle it since it is in the House.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I don't think it is a fair accusation to say that the Republican Leadership on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service are at fault. The ranking Republican, Congressman Corbett of Pennsylvania, has voted to consider the Nixon proposal for postal reform. And I think about 90 percent of the Republicans on that Committee have indicated their support for bona fide, legitimate, progressive postal reform.

We have had some Democratic support, but there are not enough Democrats on the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service who will go along with meaningful postal reform. And the net result is the whole issue of postal reform is on dead center in the House of Representatives.

I believe that the American people, being alerted as they are by Thruston Morton and Larry O'Brien, are going to demand some action. They will point the finger at the Congress if we don't do something in postal reform.

Q Congressman Ford, there was a story in print this morning that the White House and Republican Leaders have agreed on a figure of \$750 million for water pollution under this bill that is coming up soon and are asking Members of the House to support that. Could you tell us whether that is correct?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: The House Committee on Appropriations has approved a figure of \$600 million, which is more money than the Administration has asked for for water pollution.

It is my understanding that the Administration is standing with its budget recommendation, which is the same that was proposed in January by the Johnson Administration, and the Congress, in the House this week, Wednesday or Thursday, will fight it out on whether or not the \$600 million is the right figure. I understand the Administration will stand by their previous decision.

Q Which is what?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: \$214 million.

Q Congressman, did you discuss this morning the movement in Congress to support the anti-war demonstrations on the other side, and the movement to support the President's program and what effect it might have on his policy?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: We didn't discuss that issue in the Leadership Meeting.

I would make this observation: That some 100-plus Members of the House yesterday endorsed a resolution that had bipartisan support endorsing President Nixon's program to phase out U. S. military personnel and phase in South Vietnamese military personnel in Vietnam.

This bipartisan support of over 100 members, better than 25 percent of the Members of the House, was a backing of President Nixon's withdrawal program.

I might add, as another feature, that when we come to October 15, I would hope that those who are protesting would look at what has been accomplished by this Administration since January 20.

President Nixon is for peace. He has proved it by the de-escalation of our commitment in South Vietnam. He has proved it by his constant efforts in Paris through the eight-point peace plan, which was submitted in May.

I hope and trust that some of these professors will point their finger and indicate their plea toward Hanoi and support the President in his efforts toward achievement of peace.

Q May I ask, Senator Scott, there is a story this morning, Senator, that Administration officials are concerned with suggestions of a possible breakthrough like yours might contribute to an atmosphere of false optimism. Are you concerned about that?

SENATOR SCOTT: No, I am not concerned about false optimism, because I am not encouraging false optimism.

I think that my suggestion of some 60 or 90 days quiet period would indicate that the lessening of devisiveness or partisanship would give us a far better chance to have something happen in the Vietnamese negotiations.

In the demonstrations, I would be glad to offer anybody a hand-made sign saying, "Hurry up, Hanoi," because that is the problem here.

Q Senator Scott, you referred to Congress suffering from political indigestion. Do you think the Administration has sent too many programs up there? SENATOR SCOTT: We have not had any complaints to that effect from the Congress. But what we have had up there is a more lethargic attitude, that "if it is good, why hurry it, because the Nixon Administration might get credit."

I hope that will be superseded. Not everybody is super partisan on either side of the aisle. That is a relatively small and knotty group. But you can spell knotty either way.

Q Senator Scott, would you say that this is an attempt, this message that the President is sending up, or will be a bad report card on Congress?

SENATOR SCOTT: I wouldn't say that. I think it would be a recognition of his responsibility as the Chief Executive to call to the attention of the Congress and, of course, the Nation, the fact that at his end of the Avenue, he is ready for the legislation and has been in many cases for months.

He is curious -- I won't add any color to that -- that so little has evolved. Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

Q What is that?

SENATOR SCOTT: The mountain has labored and given forth a mouse.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: If I might add, Hugh, I haven't seen the message. But as Senator Scott has indicated, the President sent up 40 messages. All or most of them are in bill form and the effect is that there is a specific recommendation to the Congress for legislative action.

When you add up what has been sent up and you look at what has been accomplished, you can't help but come to the conclusion that there has been some foot-dragging, either deliberate or otherwise. And the American people can't help but come to the conclusion that the Administration has been progressive in its advocacy of good programs aimed at reforming the fabric of the American political system with new Federalism, and that the Congress has been dilatory in its action on this legislative program.

Let me just point out one thing. I said it last week and there has been no change. The President has had one appropriations bill for the current fiscal year on his desk for signature. I think this is the poorest record of the consideration of appropriation bills in the history of the relationship between the Executive and the Congress.

Something has to be done affirmatively and the President is going to remind the Congress that he has sent up these messages and he hopes that for the benefit of the country some affirmative action will be taken.

MORE

(OVER)

SENATOR SCOTT: I would like to add there that the Democratic control of Congress has been relaxed in action and rather laxative in political reaction.

Q When do you think the rest of the appropriations bills will be down?

SENATOR SCOTT: Whenever Congress wakes up.

Q Is this the first time that a President has ever sent such a message to Congress?

SENATOR SCOTT: The President regards it as virtually unprecedented in that it is sort of a reminder message rather than a message containing necessarily new material.

Q Senator, I find it strange that the Republican Leadership would not discuss this morning Judge Haynsworth's status. Could you tell us why that wasn't discussed?

SENATOR SCOTT: It is a question better addressed to the President, I think. But I assume that he feels that he has made his position clear and, therefore, there is no need for further discussion.

Q How about a report to him on a head-count in the Senate? Wouldn't that be pertinent?

SENATOR SCOTT: I think you would have to ask the Party Whips for that. I am not making a count.

Q The President didn't want to know this?

SENATOR SCOTT: The President has his own means of communicating with the Congress on these matters. If he has been queried on that, I am sure he has an answer. But he hasn't inquired of me.

Q What is your feeling today, Senator, on the Haynsworth appointment?

SENATOR SCOTT: I have indicated that I think it will be reported out of Committee and that he will be confirmed.

MORE



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Q Congressman Ford, you had said that there has been some foot-dragging, you felt, and that the Congress has been dilatory. Have you been discussing this problem with Speaker McCormack regularly?

Have you been asking him to move faster and what has his answer been?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: Of course, the Speaker knows the number of messages that have been sent up. The Democratic chairmen of the respective committees are familiar with bills that have been introduced and are before their various committees.

They are alert to the problem, but when we look at the result, we are disappointed. I hope and trust that before we adjourn the major part of this legislative program, the reform package of the President, will be approved.

All we can say is that when you look at what has been sent and what has been produced, there isn't a great deal of productive results so far.

This is particularly true in draft reform, particularly true in the area of welfare reform, particularly true in postal reform, particularly true in crime reform. You go right down the list and the major reform measures recommended by the President are still in limbo in the Congress.

Something ought to be done about it.

Q Is there a welfare bill operating?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: The welfare bill went up last week.

Q How can you expect Congress to act?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: They have known that it was on the agenda. The bill went up last week and hearings ought to be held, scheduled, and action taken.

Q Some of these items have to start in Ways and Means. Have they been dilatory and foot-dragging in welfare, Social Security?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: They have not acted on welfare. They have not acted on Social Security.

Q They have been busy, though.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I will just let the record speak for itself.

Q I gather this is to be a written message that is going to be released on Sunday and sent to the Hill on Monday.

SENATOR SCOTT: Yes.

Q Did the President indicate whether he had given any consideration to making this a non-written or televised or other kind of report?

SENATOR SCOTT: He made no reference to that.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: As I understand it, it is a regularly-submitted message to the Congress on Monday.

Q Did the President make any reference to his trade policy in his talks with you or say anything about his trade bill?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: Not this morning.

Q On television, Senator Scott, on Sunday you said, if I am not mistaken, that you sensed movement in Vietnam on the political or the diplomatic or military fronts.

Today, you were merely suggesting that if the country moots its criticism for a period of 60 to 90 days there will be a greater chance of movement.

Are you pulling back slightly from your statement of Sunday? Do you see movement now or only the hope of movement?

SENATOR SCOTT: I see both. I have the hope of movement.

I have the feeling that there will be movement. And I have the caution that I ought not to say any more than that.

Q Senator, did the comments by General Wheeler come up this morning?

SENATOR SCOTT: No.

Q Thinking specifically, he said that the pace of Vietnamization cannot be pushed too far and that American troops are likely to have to remain in Vietnam for some time to come.

Do you believe that this is the Administration's position?

SENATOR SCOTT: I have no way of knowing whether that is the Administration's position or not.

The Secretary of Defense has made it clear many times that the Administration is committed to Vietnamization of the war and the inference is clear that that should occur just as quickly as they are able to take on more and more responsibility.

And President Thieu has recently made the same point, that they are anxious to do so.



MORE

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I would add that the Administration's view is that the whole matter could be solved more quickly if Hanoi would agree to peace in Paris.

That is the way to end it, without having to go through this process of withdrawing American troops from Vietnam, as the South Vietnamese take over the greater responsibility.

Paris is where Hanoi can end the war most quickly, from our point of view, and unfortunately, they have not had any change of attitude since the first day.

Q I was trying to check on whether the General's statement today reflected a new estimate by the Administration of the pace of this program.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: There was no discussion of that.

Q It is a small, but maybe an important point, Senator. With respect, I don't think you directly answered Mr. Semple's question earlier, what is your position today about whether there is movement or a hope of movement toward reaching peace in Vietnam.

Are you rolling back from your position of Sunday, or do you stand by what you said Sunday? Is there any change in your attitude?

SENATOR SCOTT: There has been no change in my attitude nor has there been any change in my information.

What I said Sunday would still stand. I said perhaps I should add the addendum of caution because I don't want to indicate that more than I do, I know.

There is one temptation I would like to avoid. I am not always successful.

Q You said yesterday that the reaction at the White House to your hope for a breakthrough was not unfavorable. Could you tell us if the President agrees with your hope for a breakthrough?

SENATOR SCOTT: The President found no fault with the program on which I spoke and indicated that he thought it was a good program and that it properly presented good answers to the questions and stressed the fact that no one could be more for peace than he is.

Therefore, he could hardly be changed from pursuing a path of peace.

That is an explanation of some statements that he said he would ignore suggestions of the 15th of October. He made it clear that all he said was that he couldn't be affected by them because he couldn't be more for peace. But these demonstrators will also be for peace and therefore, perhaps we are all talking about the same thing in that regard.

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Q Did he see the program?

SENATOR SCOTT: You never know. A number of the White House Aides saw it and they called up and said the President liked it.

And then the President says, "I liked the program." Suppose you ask him whether he saw it. I didn't want to ask him. He just said he likes the program. I hope he saw it.

Q Senator, how long has this message of next Monday been contemplated?

SENATOR SCOTT: I first heard of it last night when I was told that the matter might be brought up today. That is all I was told, a one-sentence notice, and then it was discussed today. I didn't know anything until today about it beyond that.

Q A question for Mr. Ziegler:

You mentioned it going up to Congress on Monday. Will it be for release for publication on Sunday?

> MR. ZIEGLER: Yes, it will be. Q 6:30 ? MR. ZIEGLER: Yes. THE PRESS: Thank you.

> > END

(AT 11:12 A.M. EDT)



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

DRAFT REFORM:

Message dated and delivered to the Congress: May 13

Introduced in the Senate on Aug. 13 by John Stennis and Margaret Chase Smith

Introduced in the House on June 2 by Leslie Arends

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HOUSE ACTION, PERIOD SEPTEMBER 30 THROUGH OCTOBER 6, 1969

Tuesday, September 30, 1969

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT - TAX ACT

RULE (OPEN)

The House adopted by voice vote, H.Res.535, providing one hour of debate.

PASSAGE

By a record vote of 372 yeas to 17 nays, the House passed H.R.13300, to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 and the Railroad Tax Act to provide for the extension of supplemental annuities and the mandatory retirement of employees.

RECOMMIT

By a voice vote, the House rejected a motion by Mr. Teague of California to recommit the bill to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Wednesday, October 1, 1969

MILITARY PROCUREMENT

RULE (OPEN)

The House adopted H.Res.561 which provided for four hours of debate, by a record vote of 324 yeas to 61 nays.

Thursday, October 2, 1969

MILITARY PROCUREMENT Continued

The House continued reading H.R.14000 for amendment under the five minute rule.

AMENDMENT ADOPTED

The House adopted by voice vote the Latta amendment that excluded funds for the Sheridan M-551 tank.



Friday, October 3, 1969

MILITARY PROCUREMENT Continued

PASSAGE

By a record vote of 311 yeas to 44 nays, with one voting "present", the House passed H.R.14000, military procurement authorization for FY 1970.

PREVIOUS QUESTION - RECOMMITTAL MOTION

Prior to passage, by a record vote of 223 yeas to 141 mays, the previous question was ordered (Mr. Fraser) on the recommittal motion (Mr. O'Konski).

DEFEAT OF RECOMMITTAL MOTION

The House rejected Mr. O'Konski's recommittal motion instructing the House to eliminate funds for procurement, research and development for the ABM, by a record vote of 93 yeas to 270 nays, with two voting "present".

AMENDMENTS ADOPTED

- Also prior to passage, the House agreed by voice vote to:
 - An amendment by Mr. Philbin that would establish a semiannual reporting procedure on expenditures and programs for chemical and biological warfare.
 - An amendment by Mr. Sikes that provided for three-star rank for the Chief, Office of Army Reserve, and the Chief, Office of Air Force Reserve.
 - An amendment by Mr. Stratton that struck title V from the bill (regarding the Department of Defense keeping Armed Services Committees of Congress fully informed with respect to the Department's activities.)

AMENDMENTS DEFEATED

Also prior to passage, the House defeated the following amendments:

- An amendment by Mr. Jacobs that would require the Department of Defense to submit quarterly reports on major weapons systems and projects in R & D or production, and profit investigations on noncompetitive bid contractors; this amendment was rejected by a teller vote of 89 yeas to 109 nays.
- An amendment by Mr. Anderson of Illinois similar to the preceding but stressing reporting on new programs, was rejected by a teller vote of 97 yeas to 100 nays.



Monday, October 6, 1969

CONSENT CALENDAR SUSPENSIONS (7 BILLS)

By voice vote, the House passed S.1836, to amend the Federal Seed Act (Consent Calendar).

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- By voice vote, the House passed H.R.9857, to amend the Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act (Consent Calendar).
- By a record vote of 205 yeas to 148 nays, the House defeated H.R.14127, to carry out the recommendations of the Joint Commission on the Coinage. (2/3 vote needed for passage)
- By a record vote of 352 yeas to no nays, the House passed H.R.13304, the Gifted and Talented Children Educational Assistance Act.
- By a record vote of 351 yeas to 0 nays, the House passed H.R.13310, to provide for special programs for children with special learning disabilities.
- By a voice vote, the House passed H.R.13576, to increase the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation to widows of veterans.
- By a record vote of 352 yeas to no mays, the House passed H.R.372, amendments to the Non-Service Connected Pension Program for veterans.

Tuesday and Balance of Week

- H. R. 10878 To authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation (Open Rule - One Hour of Debate)
- H.R.14159 Public Works for Water, Pollution Control, and Power Development and Atomic Energy Commission Appropriation Act, 1970
- H.R.8449 Hours of Service Act Amendments (Opem Rule One Hour of Debate)
- H.R.7737 Educational Television and Radio Amendments of 1969 (Open Rule - One Hour of Debate)

FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 p.m., EDT, OCTOBER 11, 1969

Office of the White House Fress Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the nine months since Inauguration, a number of issues have arisen clearly calling for the Congress and the Administration to work together.

One such issue was the extension of the surtax, where our economic security was involved. Another was authority to build the Safeguard ballistic missile defense, where the national safety was the issue. On both occasions, when the time came to be counted, Congress subordinated partisan concerns and voted the country's interest.

The continuance of this working partnership between a Congress heavily Democratic and a Republican Administration, on occasions where great issues are involved, is imperative for the good of our country. I hope this partnership will survive the "spirit of party" that grows more evident weekly in the national capital. Yet, in recent days, the call to partisan combat has grown more compelling.

I am aware that members of the Administration have criticized the Democratic-controlled Congress for "dragging its feet" in the enactment of legislation, for holding hearings thus far on only half the Administration proposals before it, for having enacted but a single appropriations bill for fiscal 1970, a full quarter of the way through the fiscal year. From Capitol Hill there have come similar charges -- that the Administration has been laggard in proposing legislation, that the Executive Departments have been slow in giving the Congress the reports it has requested, that some of the most far-reaching Administration proposals have only lately been sent to the Congress, and so cannot be acted upon by the end of the year.

If a working partnership between men of differing philosophies and different parties is to continue, then candor on both sides is required. There may be merit in both charges; neither the Democratic Congress nor the Republican Administration is without fault for the delay of vital legislation.

But, in my view, the American people are not interested in political posturing between the Executive Branch and Capitol Hill. We are co-equal branches of government, elected not to maneuver for partisan advantage, but to work together to find hopeful answers to problems that confound the people all of us serve.

Both the Fresident and Congress have been commissioned by the same American people, for a limited time, to achieve objectives upon which the great majority agree. For our part, we are willing to travel more than half-way to work with Congress to accomplish what needs to be done. The time for staking out political claims will come soon enough.



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Let us resolve, therefore, to make the legislative is sue of the 1970 campaign the question of who deserves greater credit for the Ninety-First Congress' record of accomplishment, not which of us should be held accountable because it did nothing. The country is not interested in what we say, but in what we do -- let us roll up our sleeves and go to work. Before us are urgent legislative priorities.

The legislative program of this Administration differs fundamentally from that of previous administrations. We do not seek more and more of the same. We were not elected to pile new resources and manpower on the top of old programs. We were elected to initiate an era of change. We intend to begin a decade of government reform such as this nation has not witnessed in half a century. Some months ago, a Washington columnist wrote in some pessimism that if ours is not to be an age of revolution then it must become an age of reform. That is the watchword of this Administration: REFORM.

<u>REFORM OF THE DRAFT.</u> I have asked Congress to make the most extensive changes in the way we select young men for military service since the draft became an accepted feature of American life. We have the administrative power -- and we will exercise it if Congress fails to act -- to make far-reaching reforms in the selective service system, reducing the period of prime vulnerability for young Americans from seven years to 12 months. However, we need Congressional approval to shift from the inequitable requirement of choosing the "oldest first" to the more just method of random selection. I asked Congress five months ago for this power; I ask again today. Basic fairness to our young people is the prime reason for this recommendation. I see no reason why this vital piece of legislation cannot be enacted <u>now.</u>

<u>REFORM OF THE WELFARE SYSTEM</u>. Last summer I asked Congress to make the most sweeping changes in the American system of welfare since the beginning of the New Deal. Last week legislation went to Congress outlining the proposal I have made for a new family assistance system to replace the demeaning and bankrupt system that now exists.

Under the present system, sometimes a father must desert his wife and children to make them eligible for benefits. Under the present system, some mothers with three children must survive with only \$39 a month for the entire family to live on.

The family assistance system is built on a different set of principles. It provides incentives for families to stay together. It provides economic rewards for men and women on welfare who enter training programs and search out jobs. It provides a floor under income that assures the minimum necessary for food and clothing and shelter.

The present system has led this country into a morass. It has laid a heavier and heavier burden on the American taxpayer. It has loaded the relief rolls with more and more families even in times of rising prosperity and low unemployment. I ask that Congress begin hearings on the new family assistance system at once. The welfare system should be abandoned as quickly as we can discard it and a new system established in its place. <u>REFORM OF THE TAX CODE</u>. In April I recommended to Congress the most comprehensive set of tax reforms in many years. Subsequently the House of Representatives responded with an even more far-reaching proposal of its own. The national momentum behind tax reform -- to make the code more fair and equitable, to shift part of the burden from those who have borne too much for too long to the shoulders of others who have not carried their fair share -- must not be allowed to dribble away while a partisan wrangle goes on over who deserves the political credit. We will give Congress as much assistance and as many hours of labor as it requires to enact extensive and responsible reform in this calendar year.

I do ask, however, that Congress, in acting on this major reform, not compromise this Administration's effort to combat the most unjust tax of all, inflation. Specifically, I ask that Congress not convert this historic tax reform legislation into a sharp tax reduction that would unbalance the Federal budget and neutralize our campaign to halt the rising cost of living. I ask again that Congress repeal the seven per cent investment tax credit, and extend for another six months the income tax surcharge at one-half the present rate. To fail to take these steps would be an abdication by Congress of its vital role in controlling inflation.

<u>REVENUE REFORM</u>. For the first time in the history of this government, we have recommended a national policy of permanent sharing of the Federal income tax revenues with the States and lesser political units in the country. For years, political students and leaders have contended that governments at the State, county and local levels have lost their creativity and lost the capacity to respond because they lack access to the great source of growing revenues available to the Federal government. I have recommended that Congress set aside a rising portion of Federal revenues each year and transmit them directly back to the States and communities to spend as they see fit and not as Washington sees fit. This concept has been debated by both parties and recommended by their majorities for years. The time has come to move it off the plain of discussion to make it a reality. I urge the Congress to move.

POSTAL REFORM. For more than a decade the American people have complained increasingly of the rising cost of postal service accompanied step by step with declining service. Today the United States postal system is inferior to that of many countries of Western Europe; it is grossly inadequate to the needs of our society. The nation has known this for years. I have acted in that knowledge -- recommending that the existing postal system be scrapped, that a government-owned corporation replace the United States Post Office, that business principles replace partisanship in its management, and that merit and performance -rather than political affiliation -- be the new criteria for appointment and advancement. Three years ago this month the Chicago postal system, a microcosm of the national system, collapsed under a flood of mail. The rapid delivery of mail is not a partisan issue. Distinguished leaders, of both parties, have endorsed the precise reform I have recommended. There is no reason why the Congress cannot enact the most complete reform of the United States Fost Office in the nation's history -- by the close of this session.

I am aware of the setback which postal reform sustained in a House Committee on October 8. That action must be reversed. I shall persist in behalf of both the taxpayers and the mail users in this country to press for this urgently needed reform. I still believe enactment should come by the end of this session of the Ninety-First Congress.

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Here I must again urge responsible Congressional action, and promptly, on the proposed increase in postal rates for all three classes of mail. When this Administration entered office in January, it confronted a deficit in the postal budget for fiscal year 1970 of more than \$1.2 billion. We are already three months into that fiscal year -- and this deficit is being underwritten by the taxpayers, rather than the users of the postal service, who should rightly bear the cost. I recognize that such a measure is hardly a political delight. Yet it is required in the interest of equity and fiscal integrity. I request the Congress to face up to this task.

<u>MANPOWER REFORM.</u> The history of the 1960s chronicles an intense political debate that has resulted in the old centralism of the thirties losing converts to the new federalism of the seventies. More and more progressive men in both parties have become convinced from the failures of programs run from Washington that important areas of government decision-making must be returned to the regions and locales where the problems exist.

I have attempted to take that conclusion out of the forum of debate and into the arena of action -- Congress. I have recommended that management of a Federal program -- the multi-billion dollar manpower training program -- be consolidated, and turned over in a three-stage operation to the States and communities to run in a way that fits the needs of the immediate areas involved. No reform of this magnitude has been attempted since centralism became the dominant national trend at the depths of the depression. This recommendation represents the beginning of a revitalized federalism, the gradual transfer of greater power and responsibility for the making of government decisions to governments closest to the people. I urge swift Congressional action.

<u>SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM.</u> I have requested an across-the-board increase of ten percent in Social Security benefits to compensate elderly Americans for the losses they are suffering because of an inflation they could do nothing either to prevent or avoid. In addition, I have proposed a new reform, an escalator in Social Security to insure that benefits will rise correspondingly whenever the cost of living goes up. When this reform is enacted, never again will those Americans least able to afford it be made to bear the brunt of inflation. These necessary steps can and should be taken by Congress before the end of this year.

Cneword of caution. I know the political temptations here. Why not balloon the benefits now, far above 10 percent, for political rewards in 1970? I remind the Congress that it is kong since time that we stopped the political over-reactions which fuel the inflation that robs the poor, the elderly, and those on fixed incomes. I urge Congress to hold to this ten percent figure -- and let the new escalator protect older Americans against the possibility of future inflation.

A second reform I have proposed is to alter the system of social security to encourage and reward the workers who want to go on working past age 65 -- rather than discourage them. I ask Congress to enact this measure without delay.

<u>REFORM OF THE GRANT-IN-AID SYSTEM.</u> Among the first major pieces of legislation I asked of Congress was authority to make uniform the requirements for participation in many grant-in-aid programs that have proliferated in the last five years. If we are granted the power to draw these programs together, to group them by function -- setting far more simple regulations -- then States and communities will participate more and Congress' original purposes will be better served. We need that authority now. I know of no reason for delay.

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ELECTORAL REFORM. While I originally favored other methods of reforming the electoral college system, I have strongly endorsed the direct popular election plan approved by the House. I hope the Senate will concur so that final favorable action can be completed before the end of this session. This must be done if we are to have this needed reform amended to the Constitution in time for the presidential election of 1972.

D.C. GOVERNMENT REFORM. For years there has been broad support for granting the people of Washington, D. C. the same right to Congressional representation other Americans have always prized, and the right to conduct their public business themcelves. The Federal city has been a federal colony far too long. Months ago I presented to Congress a program to bring about the orderly transfer of political power to the people of this community. I recommended a constitutional amendment giving the District of Columbia at least one representative in the House and such additional representatives as Congress may approve, and providing for the possibility of two United States Senators. I arged Congress further to grant the city one non-voting Congressional representative in the interim, and recommended creation of a commission to prepare and present to Congress and the Fresident a program to improve the efficiency and competence of the District Government -looking to the day of complete self-government. Favorable action has been taken by the Senate. I ask that this work be completed before the end of the year.

<u>CEC REFORM</u>. I have provided the Office of Economic Opportunity with a new director, a new structure, and added responsibilities as the research and development arm of the nation's effort to deal with the problems of the poor. CEC is now strengthening its present operating programs, including the Community Action Agencies, VISTA, Legal Services, Neighborhood Health Centers, Family Flanning, Emergency Food, Rural, Older Fersons, Indian and Migrant Programs. In addition, there is new emphasis on research, the evaluation of existing Federal social programs, and developing and testing new approaches in community and economic development, manpower and education, to assist the poor to move into the economic life of the nation. I have asked for a twoyear extension of the existing legislation, without crippling amendments. I believe that a reformed CEO has a major and continuing role to play in our national life. Here again, there is no need or justification for further delay.

In recent years the Federal Government has suffered a precipitous decline in public confidence. The reason can be found in the chronic gap that exists between the publicity and promise attendant to the launching of a new Federal program -- and that program's eventual performance. If confidence in government is to be restored, the gap must be closed.

This is the purpose of the foregoing proposals and great goal of this Administration -- not to establish some new arithmetical record for the number of programs proposed, but to do more than other Administrationshave done -- to devise new approaches, to make the worthy old programs work, and to make old institutions responsive.

It is for this that we prize the mechanics and engineers of government who retool and improve its machinery as much as we do the planners and the idea men who develop new programs and new agencies. There is little publicity and less glamor in the labor of the mechanics and engineers of government but, with billions in tax dollars invested in scores and scores of on-going Federal programs, the need is certainly greater. Let us together make government's performance and responsiveness more commensurate with its size. <u>REFORM OF FOREIGN AID</u>. Our foreign aid program, sent to Congress in May, differs from earlier programs in three significant ways. First, it would place greater emphasis on technical assistance, especially in the areas of agriculture, education and family planning, where the return would be greatest when measured in terms of national and human development. Second, the new program would create an Overseas Private Investment Corporation to provide a greater thrust for the channeling of private investment to the low-income countries. Third, it would increase the share of our assistance contributed through multilateral institutions.

I know of the economic miracles which foreign aid has helped create in Western Europe and in parts of Asia. I know also that our program is far from perfect. With this in mind, I have recently appointed a Presidential Task Force on International Development, charged with proposing new approaches to aid for the 1970s.

One fundamental question must be faced as Congress prepares to vote on this issue: will we in the United States live out our lives in comparative affluence, while denying reasonable help to those who are our neighbors in the world community and who are struggling to help themselves achieve a better life? To enable us to answer this question positively, I have requested \$2.7 billion -- the smallest request in the history of the U. S. aid program but an amount vitally needed to maintain our relationship with the developing world.

In addition to the reforms already cited, I have made other recommendations that call for new commitments by the Federal government, and offer more hopeful avenues of progress than the paths of the past.

Specifically, I have asked Congress to:

-- establish a national computer Job Bank, which would enable the unemployed and the employer to come together through a computer matching system. The bank would have 'branches'' in every major labor market in the country. No longer would men have to go without work solely because they did not know where to find jobs.

-- commit this country to the most extensive improvement of the nation's air facilities in history. Under this program, the annual Federal appropriation for improving air facilities will rise from \$93 million a year -- the average of the last decade -- to \$250 million annually over the next decade. I have proposed further aid for airport development of \$2.5 billion dollars in Federal funds in the next ten years to be matched dollar-for-dollar by the States and local governments. This will mean an added \$5 billion in funds for airport development. It will mean a running start on the national effort to build for the doubling of airline traffic expected by 1975 and its tripling by 1980.

-- commit this country to the redevelopment of the nation's deteriorating public transportation system by providing an unprecedented measure of Federal support. In the six-year period ending with fiscal 1970, some \$800 million will have been authorized by Congress to aid the nation's deteriorating public transit industry. I have proposed raising that commitment to \$3.1 billion over the next five years and to a total of \$10 billion over the next twelve.

-- enact the most extensive improvements in the Federal-State unemployment system in a decade, with coverage extended to an additional 4.8 million workers, mostly low-income, with an automatic extension of benefits to workers during times of high unemployment.



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-- enact the strongest mine health and safety bill in history; one which empowers the Secretary of the Interior to upgrade health and safety standards for coal mines as the technology develops.

-- establish a national occupational health and safety board, with power to set standards to protect workers.

-- empower the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to bring suit in a Federal District Court to enforce federal laws against discrimination.

-- ban illiteracy tests as a prerequisite for voting throughout the United States.

NEW INITIATIVES

THE HUNGRY. For many years, in this richest of societies, we have heard rumors of malnourished children and hungry men and women. Now we know these rumors are true. This realization has prompted us to a commitment -- that we eliminate every vestige of hunger and malnutrition from America. I have asked Congress to help us assure that every American family will have a nutritionally complete diet; I have asked that the poorest members of our national community be provided with food stamps free of cost.

The Senate has shown a willingness to join in this commitment and has acted with dispatch. I urge the House to move so as not to prolong any further the day when this ancient curse of malnutrition and hunger is eliminated in this most modern of nations.

<u>POPULATION.</u> There is a widely-recognized correlation between population growth and poverty in the under-developed nations of the world. I have asked Congress to support our endorsement of those individuals and organizations seeking voluntary answers to this global question in other lands.

To approach this question as it applies at home, I have called on Congress to create a national commission to undertake now a study of how the nation is to provide for the 100 million new Americans expected before the turn of the century.

Beyond this, I have asked that a new philosophy become American government policy. We will interfere with no American's freedom of choice; we will infringe upon no one's religious convictions; but we shall not deny to any American woman the family planning assistance she may desire but cannot afford. That is the goal I ask Congress to support.

THE CONTROL OF CRIME

There is no greater need in this free society than the restoration of the individual American's freedom from violence in his home and on the streets of his city or town. Control and reduction of crime are among the first and constant concerns of this Administration. But we can do little more unless and until Congress provides more tools to do the job. No crisis is more urgent in our society. No subject has been the matter of more legislative requests from this Administration. Yet, not a single one of our major recommendations on crime has been acted upon favorably. I have not even received yet the budget appropriation for the Department of Justice for this fiscal year which is three month's old. In light of the rising crime statistics in the country -- and in the nation's capital -- I again call upon Congress to become a full-fledged ally in this national campaign. <u>ORGANIZED</u> <u>CRIME</u>. To intensify the national effort against organized crime I have asked for an arsenal of new legal weapons:

-- a doubling of existing resources for the organized crime effort;

-- authority for Justice Department agents to enter any community and shut down large-scale gambling operations;

-- a modern general witness immunity statute under which witnesses in Federal criminal cases could be compelled to testify under threat of a prison sentence for contempt;

-- finally, because organized crime would shrivel up without its enormous gambling resources, and because illegal gambling on a large scale cannot go on without cooperation of corrupt law enforcements, I have asked Congress to make corruption of local authorities who are tied in with such gambling operations a Federal crime. I must stress the great urgency of these measures. Let the Congress act -- <u>now</u>.

<u>D.C. CRIME.</u> To deal with the increase in crime in the District of Columbia I have asked for an expansion and strengthening of the entire system of law enforcement and criminal justice, including a fundamental reorganization of the courts. I have stressed the urgent need for more police, more judges, more prosecutors, more courtroom space, a new public defender's office, better penal and rehabilitation facilities and reform in the procedures for dealing with juvenile offenders. Crime in the District of Columbia continues to rise to new records with each month. We cannot contain or control it with existing resources; we need more men and money; we need a speedier trial system and, as important as any other measure, the power to keep hard-core criminal repeaters in the District of Columbia off the streets, so they are not committing five and six crimes before they are ever brought to trial. The Congress should act -- now.

<u>NARCOTICS</u>. In the Federal effort against the illicit narcotics trade, I have submitted a major revision of all Federal narcotics laws and requested more men and money to deal with a problem that long ago outstripped the capacity of government at every level. Existing manpower and resources are stretched to their elastic limits -- they are demonstrably inadequate. We have to have the cooperation of Congress to attack this terrible problem. Let's get at it -- now.

<u>FORNOGRAPHY</u>. To prevent the use of the nation's postal system for the mailing of unsolicited sex-oriented materials to families that do not want the material and to children to whom it might do psychological harm, I offered three legislative proposals that will protect American citizens from the barrages of the filth peddlers, and will also be consistent with the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court interpreting the First Amendment. These bills are still in Congress. I ask that they be promptly enacted.

These are among my major legislative proposals in these first nine months in office. I believe they speak directly to the needs of a nation in distress. I can see no legitimate reason why -- with good will and

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cooperation between us -- we cannot make the great majority of these urgently needed programs law before the end of the year. We should have all of them -- as well as the others now pending -- on the statute books well before the Ninety-First Congress enters the history books.

To that end, I again pledge the cooperation of this Administration.

RICHARD NIXON

THE WHITE HOUSE,

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October 13, 1969.

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