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## Members' Statistics

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 93RD CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

A summary of the birthdates, occupations, religions and other statistics on members of the 93rd Congress, showed these highlights.

## Average age\*

Senators . . . . .	55.3
Representatives . . . . .	51.1
Both houses . . . . .	52

\* As of election, Nov. 7, 1972

The youngest senator was Joe Biden (D Del.), who was 31 Nov. 20, 1973. That made him 10 years younger than the youngest Republican senator, Robert W. Packwood (Ore.).

The oldest senator in the 93rd Congress was George D. Aiken (R Vt.), 80. The oldest Democratic senator was John L. McClellan (Ark.), 76.

The youngest representative was John B. Breaux (D La.), 28. The youngest Republican was Alan Steelman (Texas), 30.

The oldest representative in the 93rd Congress was Ray J. Madden (D Ind.), 80. The oldest Republican representative was Leslie C. Arends (Ill.), 77.

## Gains and Losses

Democrats gained two Senate seats in the 1972 election, bringing their total to 57 and the Republican total to 43. Republicans, aided by redistricting that brought new representation to Republican-leaning suburbs, picked up a net of 13 in the House. When the 93rd Congress convened, Democrats held 240 seats in the House and Republicans 192, with three vacancies. By the end of the first session the lineup had changed slightly, with 243 Democrats, 190 Republicans and 2 vacancies in the House and 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans in the Senate. Congress was without vacancies for less than two months, from Sept. 5 to Oct. 8.

The 93rd Congress had 69 new representatives and 13 new senators, a relatively large turnover considering how few members lost at the polls. In the House, much of the turnover came because incumbents faced with redistricting problems chose to retire rather than fight it out. But the number of freshmen members was not large

enough to make a significant difference in Congress all by itself. In the years since World War II, the House had averaged 65 freshmen members in each Congress, the Senate 12.7.

The Nixon landslide in the South brought in Republican members from places where the party had rarely won before. For the first time this century, Virginia and North Carolina voters elected Republican senators.

David C. Treen was the first Republican to represent Louisiana in the House in this century. Mississippi chose two Republican representatives, Thad Cochran and Trent Lott, to represent districts that had been unfailingly Democratic since reconstruction.

**Occupation.** Four hundred and fifty members reported past service in politics or public life. There were 290 members who had a background in law and 177 having business or banking careers in the past. There were 70 educators and 49 farmers. Members with military service numbered 390.

**Sex and Race.** The defeat of Margaret Chase Smith left the Senate without any women members for the first time since 1948. In the House 14 women were elected in the Nov. 7, 1972, general election. They were joined later by Corinne C. (Lindy) Boggs (D La.) and Cardiss R. Collins (D Ill.), elected in special elections to fill seats left vacant by their husbands, both of whom were killed in airplane crashes.

The first two blacks to represent southern constituencies in this century were elected to the 93rd Congress. State Sen. Barbara C. Jordan won in the new 18th district of Texas. She was the first black woman elected to Congress in the South.

Democrat Andrew Young, a former aide to Martin Luther King Jr., won Georgia's 5th district seat, vacated by Rep. Fletcher Thompson (R Ga.) who lost a bid for the Senate.

In California Yvonne Brathwaite Burke won in the new 37th district, making a total for four black women in the House.

There was one black, Edward W. Brooke (R Mass.), in the Senate and 15 in the House. When the non-voting delegate from the District of Columbia, Walter E. Fauntroy, is included there were 17 blacks in the 93rd Congress.

## Senate—Birth Dates, Occupations, Religions, Seniority Status

(Seniority rank is within the member's party. Key to occupational abbreviations, next page)

## ALABAMA—Allen (D)

Born Dec. 28, 1912. Seniority: 37. Occupations: C,L,V. Religion: Church of Christ.

## Sparkman (D)

Born Dec. 20, 1899. Seniority: 5. Occupations: C,L,T,V. Religion: Methodist.

## ALASKA—Stevens (R)

Born Nov. 18, 1923. Seniority: 21. Occupations: C,L,V. Religion: Episcopal.

## Gravel (D)

Born May 13, 1930. Seniority: 37. Occupations: B,C,V. Religion: Unitarian.

## ARIZONA—Fannin (R)

Born Jan. 29, 1907. Seniority: 15. Occupations: B,C. Religion: Methodist.

## Goldwater (R)

Born Jan. 1, 1909. Seniority: 22. Occupations: B,C,V. Religion: Episcopal.

DEC 19 1974

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
December 19, 1974

M

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY JONES  
FROM: WILLIAM E. TIMMONS *WET*  
SUBJECT: Bill Signings and Vetoes

I committed to the Democratic Congressional leadership -- with approval of the President -- that he would make no decisions to sign or veto any enrolled bill received at the White House after December 16th until next week. In other words, no action on Friday or Saturday!

The exceptions are the Nixon tapes bill and perhaps the Continuing Resolution to keep government functioning.

Will you please protect me on this?

cc: ~~Donald Rumsfeld~~  
John Marsh  
Max Friedersdorf



AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 12:30 P.M. EST

DECEMBER 19, 1974

THURSDAY

MR. NESSEN: The President, as you know, went to Alexandria this morning. At 12:45 p.m., the President will present to General Andrew J. Goodpaster the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the highest noncombat award.

At 2:00 o'clock this afternoon, the President will have another session with Roy Ash and the OMB people to continue making his decisions on the 1976 budget.

At 3:30 p.m., the President will meet with his energy advisers to receive their views, which were put together at their meeting at Camp David last weekend, and some other work they have done since they came back from Camp David. There will be no decisions made this afternoon. We do not plan any announcements after the meeting or a briefing after the meeting.

The President and Mrs. Ford, as you know, will be the hosts at a Christmas party for you and your colleagues in the press from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. in the House.

I think, what is being passed out now are three releases; one of them is the nomination of Joe Laitin, to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs.

The President is nominating Joe Laitin to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. He is also nominating -- that job pays \$38,000 a year -- Robert J. Corber is being nominated to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. We were checking that salary. And also, the President has made a preliminary selection, pending all clearances, of 11 members of the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation.

Q Does that pay?

MR. NESSEN: That is a full-time job.

Q Paying what?

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MR. NESSEN: I will check that.

Let me give you some thoughts about Rockefeller. The Rockefeller swearing in ceremony -- I am told the time is still up in the air, but it is looking like it might be more early evening than late afternoon.

The Senate Press, Radio, TV and Photographic Galleries are handling the press arrangements for the ceremony itself. We plan, here, to have full press coverage of the arrival at the White House of Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller and their two children preceding the swearing in ceremony. That will take place at the South Portico about an hour before the ceremony itself. Unfortunately, there is no way to know what time that is going to be, but we will keep you advised.

Then, there will be full press coverage of the departures from the South Portico by President and Mrs. Ford, Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller and their families about 15 minutes before the ceremony begins at the Hill. Families will travel to the Capitol in a motorcade, and there will be the standard White House travel pool, plus a special pool, which Governor Rockefeller is bringing with him. That is four people, I am told.

On arrival at the Capitol, the two press pools will be conducted to the hall outside the Senate Chamber and will wait there until the ceremony is over. The travel pool will not go inside the Senate Chamber for the ceremony.

When the ceremony concludes, the President and Mrs. Ford will leave the Capitol for the White House with the Presidential travel pool accompanying them. The Vice-President and his family accompanied by their travel pool will attend a reception on Capitol Hill and, then, following that, will come to the White House. We do not plan any coverage of their returns to the White House because they will be coming separately, and they will just come in the backdoor.

Now, how this is going to affect the Press Party I don't know, because we do not know what the times are. I was talking to Mrs. Ford -- which is why I was somewhat delayed -- and she is concerned about this, and I think we will just have to wait and see how the times run and when the swearing in is.

Q Is there any chance of the time of the party being changed until later or something?

MR. NESSEN: She is thinking of that. That is why she called me. I have to talk to Nancy Lammerding after this briefing. As soon as we get a better idea, we will get the word out.

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We have a few more details on coverage at Vail. Actually, we have a lot more details.

The Legal Services Board will set the salaries for the officers and employees, so we do not have that yet. The rates cannot be more than Level 5, which is \$138 a day.

The ICC guy gets \$38,000 a year.

Q Is this for three years or two years, or at the pleasure of the President, or what?

MR. NESSEN: I don't have that, but I will check it for you. It is on the sheet, I am told, "Term of Office."

Sunday at Vail -- the President does plan to ski Sunday afternoon after he gets there, and our plan is to get everybody, the entire press party, to the bottom of the slope so you will have him and his family there at the bottom getting on the lift and riding up and, then, you will be there as he arrives at the bottom after his run.

Now, Sunday evening, after the ticket office closes, Vail Associates will open its office to give you members of the press who are going lift passes to use yourselves. It should only take a couple of minutes. They take your picture and they laminate it, and these are free lift passes for members of the Press Corps and not their families.

Q Is that a coverage pass, or --

MR. NESSEN: It is to ride up and down and cover events.

Q My question is, is it limited?

MR. NESSEN: I am sorry, I said the wrong thing. It is to use to go up to ski down for your own entertainment.

Q Do you know what the charge is for members of families?

MR. NESSEN: Ray Zook probably has a rundown on the fees out there. He sent me one the other day on ice-skating.



Q Ron, will we be able to have a pool 50 percent up and then at the top?

MR. NESSEN: Let me go through the rest of the coverage plans and you will see that is going to get done.

On Monday I hope we can get into some kind of daily routine. The basic thought about a daily routine is to have a protective pool each day that would cover that entire day's events.

Eric went out there this morning, and I told Eric by the time we get there he should have posted the protective pool for each day we are going to be there so you can plan your week ahead of time. But whoever is on the protective pool for each day is responsible for pooling every activity that day, whatever the President might do that day. That includes skiing, if he goes skiing, or if he goes out to eat, or to a party, or whatever he does.

As I told you yesterday, the plan -- and Mrs. Ford just confirmed it to me -- is for him to work about four hours a day and relax about four hours a day. The morning work would conclude about 11:00 or 11:30, and then he would go out to ski.

Now on Monday we will have the protective pool for that day at the bottom of the hill, and Eric will be there, and he will tell you which slope he will come down, and where he will end up at the bottom, and so forth.

Just to anticipate your concern, the protective pool is for protection, and obviously you must have in your mind the possibility that the President could sprain an ankle or something, and I am told the bottom of the hill is the place to be if anything like that should happen.

Q Are there telephones there?

MR. NESSEN: There is a restaurant there. Maybe if we talk to Eric on the phone we can find out something about phones there.

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Q Has he ever sprained an ankle or broken a leg before?

MR. NESSEN: No.

Before we go on to more of the day-to-day arrangements, the President feels about his visit to Vail that he is only one of the visitors to Vail during the Christmas season, and that a lot of people who have no connection whatever to the White House are going to be there on vacations, and a lot of them have spent a lot of money for vacations at Vail at Christmastime. So the President's attitude -- and he has communicated it to the staff -- is that what we do should disrupt the paying vacationers as little as possible, and that he would hope that you would follow the same philosophy that the White House is following.

He does understand the need to cover the President of the United States. And he understands the need for a protective pool. And so whenever possible we are going to have one with him.

Now on Tuesday -- that is the day of the coverage on the slopes -- we are going to get some snowmobiles and do some other things to try to get film and photographs and coverage of the President, and perhaps some members of his family too.

Our plan was to break the press corps into groups and have the groups stationed at various points on the mountain, some at the top, some on the way down, and some at the bottom. And obviously, with that kind of military precision there is just no way that this is not going to disrupt the skiing of the paying customers, and I would hope that one day of this would be enough to satisfy everybody's interest in skiing pictures, and, after that one day of Tuesday of getting everybody clinging to precipices half-way down --

Q Would you get him to yell something for radio as he comes down? (Laughter)

MR. NESSEN: After that one day of that spread-out coverage all over the mountain we will go back to the standard protective pool at the bottom.

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On briefings, I think given the fact he is going to work until 11:00 or 11:30 every morning, and I am going to need some time to talk to him and to Don, and also talk to the offices back here, I think we probably ought to shoot for a noon briefing. It is 2:00 in the east, and obviously it is not going to make the afternoon papers happy, but I think it is probably the best we can do.

Q That does not bar us from getting some information earlier?

MR. NESSEN: No. Just like here. We are in the office from 7:00 on, Helen. You know that. Certainly we are going to have information available whenever it is available, but to have a real briefing, I just do not think we are going to have the information we need, either from the President or from the offices back here.

He is taking a lot of work out there, and especially a pile of bills that Congress will pass in the last days, so that will certainly provide some news at the beginning at least, and then there will be other things as we go along. Budget and State of the Union, of course, are two of the things he will be working on too.

The protective pools will basically consist of the AP and UPI, and the AP and UPI photographers, and a writer either from a newspaper or magazine, a broadcast correspondent, a pool television crew, a local writer, and a local still photographer. That will be the protective pool. And as I said, Eric hopefully will have the names posted for each day of the stay out there.

On the way out there you will get some maps of Vail, and also a book that the people in Vail have put together to tell you about the place, and it will help you to find your way around.

I think we mentioned to you that casual dress is correct for Vail, and warm clothing, and we are also going to have a shuttle bus running around town to help you get around, and also the information on how to get your credentials, and how to get your lift passes, and so forth.

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Q Is this a special bus you are putting on? There is a shuttle service there.

MR. NESSEN: I know there is. I think it is once an hour, or once every half-hour, but this will be our own press corps shuttle bus.

So, we are moving right along with the Vail plans. I think that is basically the announcements that I have today.

Q Ron, is there anything you can tell us on steel?

Q Ron, may I renew my question on the pool on Sunday. At the top, as the President gets off, will we be able to have a pool up there?

MR. NESSEN: It is my understanding it is not a pool, Phil. It is open coverage. I think I explained yesterday that the press plane will land at Grand Junction two hours ahead of the President, and that the people who want to go on to Vail to cover his arrival there will leap on a bus and drive straight on. It is three hours. And then those who would rather stay behind in Grand Junction and see his arrival there can stay if they want to. We will fill up as many buses and take them right in to Vail as we can, and then you will go out to the house and cover his arrival there.

Q You are talking about getting everybody at the bottom of the slope.

MR. NESSEN: On Sunday.

Q On Sunday.

MR. NESSEN: Right.

Q I am just talking about coverage at the top.

MR. NESSEN: Not on the first day. There is not going to be a protective pool at the top any day, which includes Sunday.

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Q Ron, is any kind of ceremony planned for his arrival like a welcome by city officials, or anything like that?

MR. NESSEN: I have not heard of anything, Russ, but as I say, Eric went out there this morning and I will be talking to him once he gets on the ground, and we will just relay to you, as we get it from Eric, what the plans are out there.

There is one thing I forgot to tell you about Rockefeller, incidentally. His Press Office says that he and his family are going to leave New York about 3:00 on a plane from Westchester Airport and arrive at Page Terminal at National at 3:45, and they will go from there to the Rockefeller home on Foxhall Road, and will stay there until it is time to come to the White House.

Q How about steel, Ron?

MR. NESSEN: On steel, what did you want to know?

Q Has the president decided to do anything more than leave it in the hands of the Wage-Price people?

MR. NESSEN: The question really is premature because -- I mean the process is under way now. U.S. Steel is going to come in with its written justification tomorrow, and based on what they say, and how the Wage and Price Stability Council feels about it, there could be additional Presidential actions, but we have to wait and see how they explain it, and whether the Wage and Price Stability Council -- what reaction it has to their explanation.

Q Ron, U.S. Steel maintains that most of its increases are catch-up increases. Is it true that the White House has no quarrel with catch-up increases?

MR. NESSEN: I think we really have to wait for them to send in their written justification and let the Council make that judgment, that very judgment.

Q So when you are talking about rolling back their prices, are you leaving the door open to rolling it back and below what they consider catch-up prices?

MR. NESSEN: It is something I really cannot do. The Wage and Price Stability Council has this thing under way, and they will make a ruling on what they think of the U.S. Steel explanation of it.



Q Ron, has the President sent a letter to Senator Jackson offering a compromise on the Strip Mining Bill?

MR. NESSEN: I am not aware of any letter on the Strip Mining.

Q Has he made any other approach?

MR. NESSEN: I am not aware of any approach. I think the matter pretty much stands where we talked about it yesterday, which is, he has announced his plan to veto the bill as it is, and the only decision there is whether a real veto or a pocket veto.

Senator Jackson's staff has sent a request in here asking that the White House try to find room for a compromise, and the compromise would be carried out by a second bill that would correct some of the deficiencies the President sees in the first bill. And the Administration is actively working on suggestions for a draft bill that might make these corrections.

I think Frank told you on Saturday that the Administration has, for a long time, believed in the need for strip mining legislation that would be balanced between the desire to protect the environment and to reclaim land, and also the need to increase coal production because of the energy problem, and the desire to reduce the reliance on oil. So I think the way it stands is that the President is anxious to achieve acceptable legislation without further delay.

I think the President's advisers would recommend that he accept the present bill, if Congress passes another bill which makes the corrections he outlined at this session.

Q Ron, was the President totally unaware of Mr. Bass's interest in strip mining when he agreed to accept the house?

MR. NESSEN: The President told me this morning -- and if you would like to quote this you may -- "The first time I knew he owned one ounce of coal was when I read it at 7:00 a.m. in the New York Times." And as Jack told some of you yesterday -- Hushen -- the President does not make environmental policy decisions based on whose house he is renting for Christmas.



Q Ron, could you tell us if the President is contemplating having a news conference before he goes to Vail, and if you can't answer that, can you rule one out?

MR. NESSEN: I just do not have anything to give you on a news conference today, Walt.

Q How about tomorrow?

MR. NESSEN: I do not have anything to give you on a news conference, period.

Q Can you rule one out in Vail?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know of any plans to have one in Vail.

Q Ron, yesterday, I think, in giving us a capsule biography of Mr. Bass, you mentioned he was a geologist and that he has holdings in mineral, or in any case, extracting industries. Did no one go beyond that and find out whether he was in oil or coal or what?

MR. NESSEN: I can tell you how this biography came about. I anticipated that there would be some interest in who Dick Bass was. I talked to him on the telephone Tuesday, December 17th and asked him to tell me who he was, and this is what he gave me.

Q You did not ask him whether he was in coal or oil?

MR. NESSEN: I did not know that it really mattered. The answer is, I did not.

Q Does the President plan any actions on bills today?

MR. NESSEN: There is getting to be quite a pile of them here.

Q How many, do you know?

MR. NESSEN: No. I guess there are maybe in the area of about a half dozen that need to be thought about sooner or need to have decisions made on them soon.

Just to finish -- Helen, I do not know of any that we will be announcing today.

Q What about the Nixon tapes' bill?

MR. NESSEN: No decision, but very soon.



Q You have to act --

MR. NESSEN: -- by midnight tomorrow.

Q Is the President likely to sign the transportation bill, which permits bigger trucks on highways?

MR. NESSEN: I did not even know about that one. That is not one of the six. Is it up here, or is it still on the Hill?

Q Here.

Q They completed work yesterday.

MR. NESSEN: I have not looked into that one, but I tell you, from what I have heard here this morning, there are a lot of them and many of them are complicated. The trade bill, for instance, is 180 pages, I am told, and aside from the ones that have deadlines on them, like the Nixon tapes' bill, I expect that that is going to take up a lot of the work in his first few days out there. I would expect you will be getting a lot of announcements in Vail of bill signings or vetoes.

Q What do you think the President will do when the food aid increase bill comes back from the State Department?

MR. NESSEN: The which one?

Q The food aid increase.

MR. NESSEN: The President saw some of the material sent to him for him to make his decision on, and he asked for additional material and that is being prepared and sent to him, so the decision has slipped a little bit on that one.

Q That is food aid?

MR. NESSEN: Food aid, yes, international food aid.

Q Ron, did the Secretary of State and the Israeli Ambassador have an angry argument in the White House near midnight either last night or the night before?

MR. NESSEN: I am told there was no meeting last night between the Ambassador --

Q How about the night before?

MR. NESSEN: They had dinner at the Golda Meir Dinner and, then, I am told, the Ambassador went home and the Secretary went home and did not have any private meetings.

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Q And there was none the night before either?

MR. NESSEN: I did not check the night before. I thought the story said last night.

Q Well, it did, but there was some question as to whether last night was the last night here or last night, the night before that.

MR. NESSEN: I will check. I have not heard anything to indicate they ever had this kind of meeting that the Israeli paper talked about.

Q Ron, on the strip mining bill, you did mean to say, didn't you, that the President hoped that another bill could be passed this session?

MR. NESSEN: I hope that is clear now that it is not a question of sign this one and hoping for the best next time to correct it. He would consider signing this one, or would sign this one, if the corrective bill is passed now, before Congress goes home, so he could sign both at the same time.

Q There is not considered to be any realistic chance of that is there?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know, Jim. You have to check the Hill.

Q Would you anticipate there would be a realistic chance?

MR. NESSEN: The White House would like to have realistic strip mining legislation, and so, we would like it.

Q Can you give us specifics on this corrective legislation that is needed?

MR. NESSEN: I have a transcript of Zarb's briefing from Saturday. I am not an expert on strip mining, but I think he pointed out -- I think the main complaint is the ambiguity of some of the language that is open to various interpretations. He is concerned and the President is concerned that the language is ambiguous and would result in a very large number of lawsuits.

Let me start back again then and tell you the five specific objections to it, if I may.



Number one, the changes that the White House would like made are, one, revising the scope of the citizens' suits provision so as to reduce the regulatory uncertainties, which is what I started to talk about, which could cause unnecessary production losses through extended and extensive lawsuits.

Q Could you run through that once more?

MR. NESSEN: You were here on Saturday. I am just telling you the same thing Frank told you.

Q To reduce what?

MR. NESSEN: To reduce the regulatory uncertainties which could otherwise cause unnecessary production losses through extended and extensive lawsuits.

The second objection is -- and I should say, the second correction the President would like would be to authorize the Secretary of Interior, to designate him as the one whose definitions would govern the interpretation of ambiguous terms in the legislation.

Q That is the Secretary of Interior's interpretation?

MR. NESSEN: Yes, authorize him to define the ambiguous terms.

Q The Secretary, or Frank Zarb in this case?

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MR. NESSEN: The Secretary of Interior is Rogers Morton.

Q To designate the Secretary.

MR. NESSEN: No, no. The correction the White House would like to make is to designate the Interior Secretary as the one who would make the definitions.

The third correction would be to qualify what the White House considers the unnecessarily rigid prohibition against increased siltation which -- you know what that means. It has to do with silt getting into water systems that are near the strip mining operation.

The fourth correction would be to qualify the prohibitions in the bill that have to do with alluvial valley floors and hydrology which again has to do with -- just to put it in simple language -- qualifying prohibitions dealing with rivers and other waterways that might be affected by strip mining.

Fifth, the correction that the White House would like would be to focus this -- there is a reclamation fund in the bill -- to focus the use of this fund and also to reduce the excise tax on coal as an anti-inflationary measure.

There are several other minor changes in the bill too. But if that gives you an idea, I would not go into the others, if that is all right.

Q Does the White House have someone to introduce the bill today?

MR. NESSEN: I think they are working with people on the Hill, Helen. I do not have an up-to-the-minute report on how it is coming along.

Q Did the initiative for this possible compromise come from the White House or from Senator Jackson?

MR. NESSEN: My understanding is that his staff got in touch and said, "Let's see if we can work out a compromise."

Q When do you expect a Cabinet appointment?

MR. NESSEN: I do not have any idea, Carroll.

Q Any more this week?

MR. NESSEN: We only have one more day, or two more days. I don't know, Helen. We will have to announce it when it comes out of the hopper.



Q When are you expecting an announcement of a replacement for Mr. Ash?

MR. NESSEN: I cannot give you anything on time tables, Jim. Mostly because I do not have a time table.

Q How about Levi?

MR. NESSEN: We are not announcing any Cabinet changes today.

Q Will the President then hold off any nominations until the new Congress?

MR. NESSEN: You mean in sending them up for confirmation. If he does not make them before tomorrow, I guess he will have to send them up to the new Congress. That is the only Congress we have got.

Q I am talking about making the nominations in the interim.

MR. NESSEN: I see what you mean. It is possible he could make some. They all have to go through the confirmation process, but he could make some between now and January 14.

Q Would he make any as recess appointments then and not submit them until some other action is taken?

MR. NESSEN: I see what you are getting at. No, not that I know of.

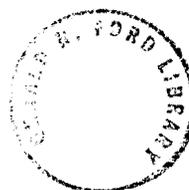
Q Don Rumsfeld yesterday did not want to go into the manner in which the President plans to use the Vice-President.

MR. NESSEN: I talked to the President this morning about that because I thought you might be interested in it and I do not think it was a question of Don not wanting to go into it. It was a question of it seemed improper to do because if you started making plans for Governor Rockefeller's role or staff you were presuming a confirmation which had not taken place.

The fact is that the President indicated this morning that now that Governor Rockefeller is confirmed and will be sworn in this evening, that he will sit down and discuss it and will indicate to Governor Rockefeller what activities the President intends for him to get into.

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Q You cannot tell us anything about what his thinking is.

MR. NESSEN: Only what he said himself which is he would like him to play a role in domestic policies. There are certain things the Vice-President does by statute. I do not have those right in front of me, but you probably know what they are. For the rest of it, they have not had their talk and the President has not instructed him as to what he wants him to do.

Q Will he be coming out to Vail, Rockefeller?

MR. NESSEN: I don't think so.

Q Has the President learned anything by being Vice-President himself that he would like to pass along?

MR. NESSEN: I think that might be something they will talk about. There are no specifics.

Q Specifically, Ron, is the President considering the establishment of a new Domestic Policy Board that presumably would replace the Domestic Council in naming Vice-President Rockefeller as Chairman of that Board?

MR. NESSEN: Well, I have read that, Jim, but I have not heard it discussed in any way around here.

Q That is not a matter under consideration as far as you know?

MR. NESSEN: That I am aware of, that is right.

Q Ron, have you heard discussed the possibility that a successor to Ken Cole will not be named but that Vice-President Rockefeller would assume those duties?

MR. NESSEN: I do not think Vice-President Rockefeller can assume Ken Cole's duties. Ken is the Executive Director of the Domestic Council, running it on a day-to-day basis, which is a full time job, and I do not see that as Vice-President Rockefeller's job.

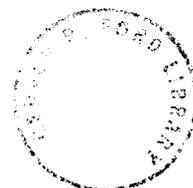
Q Is the President speaking at the inaugural?

MR. NESSEN: No, not that I know of.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Ron.

END

(AT 1:05 P.M. EST)



AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 4:00 P.M. (Martinique Time)

DECEMBER 15, 1974

SUNDAY

(Martinique, F.W.I.)

MR. NESSEN: What Mr. Beauchamps has just informed the French press, and this also reflects the views of the American side, is that the contacts between the two Presidents so far have been very good. On the level of their personal relations, they have been very relaxed.

The meeting for this afternoon will begin at 4:30.

Q What will the subject be this afternoon?

Q Mr. Beauchamps mentioned lunch.

MR. NESSEN: Your own poolers will give you a fill on the lunch. I cannot give you a subject on the afternoon meeting right now. I will pass them to you as soon as I have them.

Q Who do we attribute this to, the Press Secretary?

MR. NESSEN: You mean about the meeting and the personal relationship between the Presidents?

Q Yes.

MR. NESSEN: Yes, you can attribute that to me.

Q Can you say whether energy will continue to be discussed this afternoon?

MR. NESSEN: I just don't know, Russ.

I have one other announcement: As some of you who were out at the lunch know, there were pictures taken by the personal photographers of each President of the Presidents swimming, and also the Foreign Minister and Secretary Kissinger, and at the request of the Presidents, there were no news photographers there. However, because of the great interest in the subject and because it is possible that some news photographers did get some pictures, Mr. Beauchamps has graciously agreed to distribute some of his official photographer's pictures of the Presidents swimming. There will be prints available here for both the French and the American news services in several hours, however long it takes to develop and print the pictures.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Ron.

END (AT 4:02 P.M. Martinique Time)

AT THE WHITE HOUSE

WITH RON NESSEN

AT 6:15 P.M. (Martinique Time)

DECEMBER 15, 1974

SUNDAY  
(Martinique, F.W.I.)

MR. NESSEN: I really only came to say that we are still awaiting the conclusion of the afternoon session, so we don't have a briefing yet. The afternoon session began at pretty close to 4:30 and I don't have the subject matter for you yet, but at 5:58, after approximately an hour and a half, Secretary Simon and the French Finance Minister adjourned their own private meeting and joined the two Presidents and the Foreign Minister and Secretary of State, and that meeting now continues.

So, the meeting, since 5:58, has consisted of the two Presidents, Secretary Kissinger, the Foreign Minister, Secretary Simon and the Finance Minister. There is really nothing more I can give you until the meeting is over and I don't have a clear idea how long that will be, although we might think vaguely in terms of another half hour.

Q Is Dr. Kissinger going to brief?

MR. NESSEN: I don't know, Helen.

Q The French have been told that Kissinger and his counterpart will not, that you and your counterpart will.

MR. NESSEN: Let's wait and see.

Q Can you even tell us for guidance?

MR. NESSEN: Dr. Kissinger has been in the meeting and I have not been able to talk to him about who is going to do it.

Q When are we going to get the toast?

MR. NESSEN: That is a good question. I will find out.

Q If he does brief, would you expect it to be immediately after the meeting?

MR. NESSEN: Yes.

THE PRESS: Thank you, Ron.

END (AT 6:17 P.M. Martinique Time)



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1975

'70/43  
'60/37

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH  
FROM: BOB WOLTHUIS

In response to your request of yesterday regarding average ages and length of service in the Congress, Paul Bergson has come up with the following statistics:

43 I. 43.2% of the House of Representatives have come to the House since 1970.

37 II. 36.6% have come to the House since 1960.

14 III. 13.8% have come since 1950.

IV. 6.4% came to the House before 1950.

V. Average age of the House of Representatives:

1. For the entire House of Representatives the average age is 49.8 years.

2. The average age of the Democratic Members is 50.4 years.

3. The average age of the Republican Members of the House is 48.6

VI. The average age of the United States Senate:

1. The average age of the entire Senate is 55.5 years.

2. The average age of the Democratic Members is 55.0 years.

3. The average age of the Republican Members is 56.2 years.

VII. Average age of both houses combined:

1. The average age of both Senate and House Members is 50.9 years.

2. The average age for Democrats in both houses is 51.2 years.

3. The average age for Republicans in both houses is 50.3 years.



VIII. Average age of new Members:

1. Average age for both parties of new Members in the House is 40.7.
2. Average age for new Republicans in the House is 42.8.
3. Average age for new Democrats in the House is 40.2.
4. Average age of new Senators from both parties is 45.4.
5. Average age for new Republicans is 47.
6. Average age for new Democrats is 45.



Lost

Abourezk  
 Bayh  
 Bible  
 Biden  
 Burdick  
 Byrd, Robt  
 Chiles  
 Church  
 Clark  
 Cranston  
 Eagleton  
 Fulbright  
 Gravel  
 Hart  
 Hartke  
 Haskell  
 Hatfield  
 Hathaway  
 Hollings  
 Huddleston  
 Hughes  
 Inouye  
 Long  
 McGovern  
 McIntyre  
 Mansfield  
 Metcalf  
 Mondale  
 Montoya  
 Moss  
 Muskie  
 Nelson  
 Packwood

Pastore  
 Pell  
 Proxmire  
 Randolph  
 Ribicoff  
 Schweiker  
 Scott, Wm.  
 Symington  
 Tunney  
 Williams

Firm

Allen  
 Baker  
 Bartlett  
 Beall  
 Bellmon  
 Bennett  
 Brock  
 Brooke  
 Buckley  
 Byrd, H.  
 Case  
 Cook  
 Cotton  
 Curtis  
 Dole  
 Domenici  
 Dominick  
 Eastland  
 Ervin  
 Fannin  
 Fong  
 Goldwater  
 Griffin  
 Gurney  
 Hansen  
 Helms  
 Hruska  
 Jackson  
 Javits  
 McClure  
 McGee  
 Nunn  
 Percy

Roth  
 Scott, H.  
 Sparkman  
 Stafford  
 Stennis  
 Stevens  
 Taft  
 Thurmond  
 Tower



Swing

Aiken  
 Bentsen  
 Cannon  
 Humphrey  
 Johnston  
 Kennedy  
 McClellan  
 Magnuson  
 Mathias  
 Pearson  
 Stevenson  
 Weicker  
 Young

<u>Rep Firm</u>	<u>Dem Firm</u>	<u>Rep Lose</u>	<u>Dem Lose</u>	<u>Rep Swing</u>	<u>Dem Swing</u>
Abdnor	Bevill	Biaggi	Abzug	Anderson(Ill)	Annunzio
Arends	Breckinridge	Dellenback	Adams	Andrews(N. D.)	Bennett
Armstrong	Brinkley	Dent	Addabbo	Archer	Boggs
Bafalis	Burleson(Tex)	Dulski	*Alexander	Ashbrook	Bolling
Baker	Byron	Esch	Anderson(Calif)	Bell	Bowen
Bauman	Casey	Findley	Andrews(N. C.)	Biester	Breaux
Beard	Chappell	Frenzel	Ashley	Broomfield	Brooks
Blackburn	Daniel, D. (Va)	Gude	Aspin	Brotzman	Burlison(Mo)
Bray	Davis(Ga)	Heckler(Mass)	Badillo	Carter	Collins(Ill)
Brown(Ohio)	Davis(S. C.)	Johnson(Colo)	Barrett	Coughlin	Culver
Brown(Mich)	Dorn	McCloskey	Bergland	Cronin	de la Garza
Broyhill (N. C.)	Fisher	Mosher	Bingham	Fish	Delaney
Broyhill(Va)	Flowers	Pritchard	Blatnik	Forsythe	Denholm
Buchanan	Gettys	Whalen	Boland	Gilman	Dingell
Bergener	Haley		Brademas	Gross	Downing
Burke(Fla)	Hebert		Brasco	Harvey	Evins(Tex)
Butler	Ichord		Brown(Calif)	Hastings	Flood
Camp	Jarman		Burke(Mass)	Heinz	Flynt
Cederberg	McFall		Burke(Calif)	Kluczynski	Fountain
Chamberlain	Mahon		Burton	Lujan	Fuqua
Clancy	Mathis		Carey	McClory	Ginn
Clausen	Milford		Carney	McDade	Gonzalez
Clawson	Montgomery		Chisholm	McKinney	Green(Oreg)
Cleveland	Nichols		Clark	Mallory	Hanley
Cochran	Passman		Clay	Miller	Hays
Collier	Poage		Cohen	Peyser	Henderson
Collins(Tex)	Roberts		Conte	Quie	Holifield
Conable	Satterfield		Conyers	Railsback	Jones(Tenn)
Conlan	Sikes		Corman	Rinaldo	Jones(Okla)
Crane	Spence		Cotter	Robison(N. Y.)	Jones(Ala)
Daniel, R. (Va)	Steed		Daniels(N. J.)	Ruppe	Jones(N. C.)
Davis(Wis)	Stevens		Danielson	Sandman	Kazen
Dennis	Stratton		Dellums	Sarasin	Landrum
Derwinski	Teague(Tex)		Diggs	Shoup	Long(La)
Devine	Waggoner		Donahue	Steele	McCormack
Dickinson	Whitten		Drinan	Steelman	McKay

<u>Rep Firm</u>	<u>Dem Firm</u>	<u>Rep Lose</u>	<u>Dem Lose</u>	<u>Rep Swing</u>	<u>Dem Swing</u>
Duncan	Wright		duPont	Thone	McSpadden
Edwards(Ala)	Young(Tex)		Eckhardt	Widnall	Mann
Erlenborn	Young(Ill)		Edwards	Wyatt	*Mills
Eshleman			Eilberg	Zwach	Mollohan
Ford(Mich)			Evans		Murphy(N. Y.)
Frelinghuysen			Fascell		Natcher
Frey			Foley		Nedzi
Froehlich			Ford, W. (Mich)		Patman
Goldwater			Fraser		Patten
Goodling			Fulton		Pepper
Grover			Gaydos		Perkins
Gubser			Giaimo		Pickle
Guyer			Gibbons		Preyer
Hammerschmidt			Grasso		Price(Ill)
Hanrahan			Grey		Randall
Hansen(Idaho)			Green(Pa)		Rarick
Harsha			Griffiths		Rogers
Hillis			Gunter		Rooney(Pa)
Hinshaw			Hamilton		Rooney(N. Y.)
Hogan			Hanna		Rostenkowski
Holt			Hansen(Wash)		Reynolds
Horton			Harrington		Shipley
Hosmer			Hawkins		Sisk
Huber			Hechler(W. Va)		Slack
Hudnut			Helstoski		Snyder
Hunt			Hicks		Staggers
Hutchinson			Holtzman		Stubblefield
Johnson(Pa)			Howard		Stuckey
Keating			Hungate		Taylor(N. C.)
Kemp			Johnson(Calif)		Thornton
Ketchum			Jordan(Tex)		White
King			Karth		Wilson, C.(Tex)
Kuykendall			Kastenmeier		Wilson, C.(Calif)
Landgrebe			Koch		Zablocki
Latta			Kyros		
Lent			Leggett		
Lott			Lehman		
McCollister			Litton		
McEwen			Long(Md)		



Rep FirmDem FirmRep LoseDem LoseRep SwingDem Swing

Madigan  
 Mailliard  
 Maritizi  
 Martin(Nebr)  
 Martin(N. C.)  
 Mathias  
 Mayne  
 Michel  
 Minshall  
 Mitchell(N. Y.)  
 Mizell  
 Moorhead(Calif)  
 Myers  
 Nelsen  
 O'Brien  
 Parris  
 Pettis  
 Powell  
 Price(Tex)  
 Quillen  
 Regula  
 Rhodes  
 Robinson(Va)  
 Roncallo(N. Y.)  
 Rousselot  
 Ruth  
 Scherle  
 Schneebeli  
 Sebelius  
 Shriver  
 Shuster  
 Skubitz  
 Smith(N. Y.)  
 Stanton(Ohio)  
 Steiger(Ariz)  
 Steiger(Wis)  
 Symms  
 Talcott

Macdonald  
 Madden  
 Matsunaga  
 Mazzoli  
 Meeds  
 Melcher  
 Metcalfe  
 Mezvinsky  
 Minish  
 Mink  
 Mitchell(Md)  
 Moakley  
 Moorhead(Pa)  
 Morgan  
 Moss  
 Murphy(Ill)  
 Nix  
 Obey  
 O'Hara  
 O'Neill  
 Owens  
 Pike  
 Podell  
 Rangel  
 Rees  
 Reid  
 Reuss  
 Riegle  
 Rodino  
 Roq  
 Roncalio(Wyo)  
 Rose  
 Rosenthal  
 Roush  
 Roy  
 Roybal  
 Ryan  
 St Germain



Rep Firm  
Taylor(Mo)  
Teague(Calif)  
Thomson(Wis)  
Towell  
Treen  
Vander Jagt  
Veysey  
Walsh  
Wampler  
Ware  
Whitehurst  
Wiggins  
Williams  
Wilson, B.(Calif)  
Winn  
Wydler  
Wylie  
Wyman  
Young(Fla)  
Young(Alaska)  
Young(S. C.)  
Zion

Dem Firm

Rep Lose

Dem Lose

Rep Swing

Dem Swing

Sarbanes  
Schroeder  
Seiberling  
Smith(Iowa)  
Stanton, J. W. (Ohio)  
Stark  
Stokes  
Studds  
Sullivan  
Symington  
Thompson(N. J.)  
Tiernan  
Udall  
Ullman  
Van Deerlin  
Vanik  
Vigorito  
Waldie  
Wolff  
Yates  
Yatron  
Young(Ga)



Not voting: Albert  
Saylor  
Benitez  
de Lugo  
Fauntroy  
Won Pat

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 1-11-75

TO: Jack Marsh

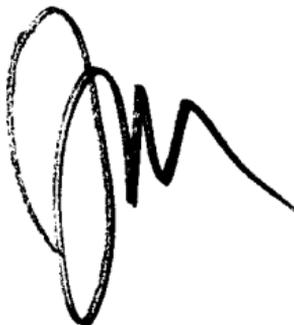
FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

Please handle \_\_\_\_\_

Please see me \_\_\_\_\_

For your information

Other

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long tail.

JAN 13 1975

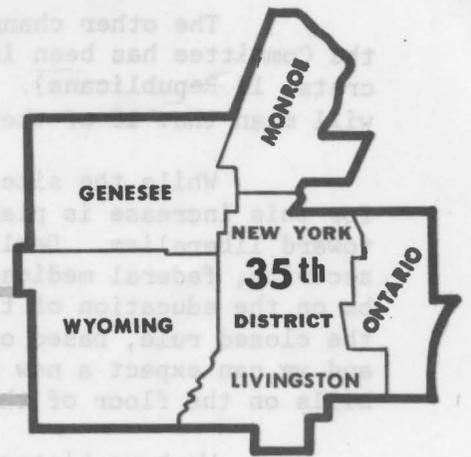




# Washington Report

FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN

**BARBER B. CONABLE, JR.**



No. 93-25

December 12, 1974

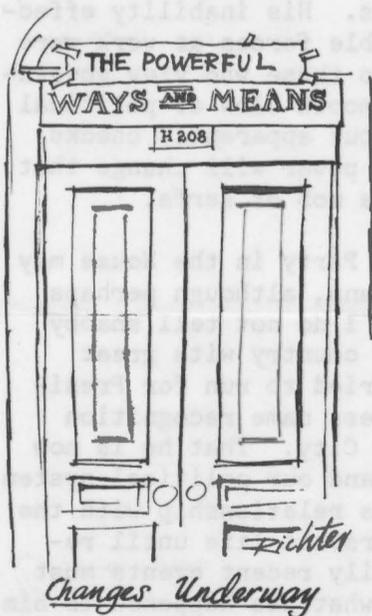
Dear Friends:

**MAJOR CHANGES** - Those who are confused about what has been happening in Washington this past week probably have only forgotten that Congress is run by the political parties. People who think politics is dirty resist this idea, feeling that the process of organizing a Congress should be sanitized by individual decisions (didn't they vote for the person, not the party?) and that the rules of the House should be much more important than the rules of a party. But the rules of the House are designed only to protect the rights of minorities and individuals. The processes of control and accountability, the structure of decision, the vesting of leadership, even the assignment and diffusion of committee membership - all these are party decisions.

With the decline of party, decisions of this sort haven't been well made in recent years, or more correctly, haven't been made at all. While responsibility to govern normally goes with majority status, the Majority Party has been content recently to drift rather than to go through the process, difficult for a coalition party, of making the leadership decisions necessary to govern. Maybe this year is going to be different.

The Democrats, the majority party by more than two to one in the House next year, have been making major changes this past week. Whether or not it constitutes reform depends upon your point of view. Expressed in feudal terms, the power of the barons (Committee and subcommittee chairmen) has been reduced relative to both the king (the Speaker) and the serfs (Caucus).

The party caucus, having no special legislative function, is purely political, while the committee leaders have been primarily legislative; the shift in power will thus increase the political influences over the legislative process. Put another way, we can expect less deliberation about details and more political responsiveness. That's good, unless you're the type to be concerned about details, or unless you didn't intend your majority vote to be a political mandate.



**THE CHANGE IN WAYS AND MEANS** - My attention has been particularly focussed - no, riveted - on the changes the Democratic Party in the House is making in the Ways and Means Committee.

Although it affects me only indirectly, I thoroughly approve of one of the changes. The Democratic side of the Ways and Means Committee has served as the Democrats' Committee on Committees, the group that assigns members to committees. To some majority members this political function was more important than the legislative work of the Committee. They served on the Committee, not because of their interests and abilities, but because some powerful politician back home wanted to project his power into Congress through control of the committee assignments of the congressmen from his area. Some of these political appoint-

ments were also good legislators, but in the long run the decision this past week to vest the Committee on Committees' responsibility elsewhere will improve the attentiveness of the Democrats on the Ways and Means Committee to their legislative responsibilities.



The other changes made are more controversial to a Republican. The size of the Committee has been increased from 25 (15 Democrats, 10 Republicans) to 37 (25 Democrats, 12 Republicans). This dramatic shift, coupled with retirements and defeats, will mean that 18 of the 37 members will be newly-appointed next year.

While the size is not that important as a committee characteristic, the motive for this increase is plainly to enhance party control and to change ideological bias toward liberalism. Dealing with technical subjects (taxation, trade, welfare, social security, federal medical programs) as we do, our emphasis this next year will either be on the education of the new members or we will make a lot of mistakes. In addition the closed rule, based on the Committee consensus, will become a thing of the past, and we can expect a new practice of extensive efforts to amend Ways and Means Committee bills on the floor of the House.

We have historically disparaged floor amendments made by the Senate, because they have so frequently been misinformed and occasionally even the direct result of special interest lobbying. The closed rule in the House has many times protected the members from their admitted inability to resist undisciplined "motherhood" type amendments. The effects of the demise of the closed rule will have to be closely watched.

<p>-----  <u>RECENT NEWS COLUMNS</u>  / (Available upon request)/  / A Taxing Experience /  (Oil Taxes) /  / The American Mandate /  (Election Results) /  / Leadership '75 /  -----</p>	<p>The new subcommittee requirement is related to the increase in size. The myth about Ways and Means' refusal to have subcommittees in the past is that it was Chairman Mills' decision, to enhance his control. While he may have believed this, more basic reasons were the members' desires to participate fully in the development of each sensitive bill, and our feelings that the nation's interests were well served by a diffusion of special interest lobbying pressure among all the members of the Committee rather than concentrating it at a few subcommittee focal points. These theories can now be tested. The Democrats' rules change will spread subcommittee assignments broadly among the new members as well as the old. Certainly it will be a whole new ball game for the lobbyists.</p>
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While changes in Ways and Means are going to affect the way it functions and make service there difficult in terms of the recent past, I don't believe anybody will want to leave the Committee. Our Committee has always been the goal of congressmen who want to improve their committee assignments, and so it likely will remain. The assignment is controversial and the work burdensome, but there is no better way to get astride the big issues between government and the American people than to serve on the Ways and Means Committee. Because its jurisdiction is not changed, this central role is not changed either.

My own personal relationship to the changed process has been upgraded by my increasing seniority: for the first time I will be participating in the conferences between the House and Senate on Ways and Means bills. As I have said many times in these letters, it is in conference that much of the real work of legislating takes place.

One is usually tempted to interpret change in personal terms. However, these changes are not the result of the sad condition of Wilbur Mills. His inability effectively to resist may have hurried the process, but the inevitable forces at work were not to be denied. The committee system has been frustrating to those who view government as the prime problem-solver because it can interrupt the smooth flow of political power. It is part of a larger system of checks and balances, but apparently checks and balances are not as popular as they used to be. Abuses of power will change that, whether that abuse is practiced by the king, the barons, or the mob of serfs.

ABOUT WILBUR - As I write this, it appears that the Democratic Party in the House may have decided to depose Wilbur Mills as Chairman of Ways and Means, although perhaps the results of his hospitalization will improve his position. I do not tell shabby jokes about Wilbur Mills. For thirty-five years he served the country with great skill in a comparatively anonymous central role, and when he tried to run for President in 1972 he discovered that he had two percentage points less name recognition than Bella Abzug, then a freshman Congressperson from New York City. That he is now a household word says something about the values of our media and our political system. I am sad about my friend, who has been stable and decent in his relationship with the members of his Committee, whose mind is much admired, whose personal life until recently was completely submerged in his work, and for whose family recent events must be personal tragedy. Beyond that, I simply do not understand what has happened to him.

Sincerely,  
*Barber B. Conable, Jr.*

This paper contains recycled fibers

MAR 6 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH ✓  
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JERRY H. JONES

The attached article by Walter Pincus is forwarded to you with the suggestion that you may want to get it to some of our Republican friends on the Hill so they can make use of it in speeches and floor remarks.

Thank you.





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# House of Ill Repute

by Walter Pincus

MAR 10 1975

March 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

Former Congressman Dick Shoup phoned me this morning regarding the initiative by John Rhodes to establish an independent Republican Congressional legislative program.

Shoup who has been retained on Rhodes staff as a coordinator, indicated that he would like to meet with me this afternoon to discuss his pending recommendations to Rhodes.

Shoup was very emphatic that the Rhodes' effort is not designed "to cross wires with the Administration". I agreed to meet with Shoup and will give you a further report after we sit down today.

Rhodes has been rather open about his efforts for a separate program and several weeks ago we intercepted a confidential memorandum from his legislative assistant to all minority counsels requesting recommendations for new and innovative legislative approaches.

Thus far I don't believe they have come up with anything that could be sold to all factions in the Republican conference which would deviate widely from Administration programs.

John is inevitably going to run into a conflict between the conservative majority of the Republican conference and the 30 to 40 moderate to liberals which now make almost one-third of his constituency.

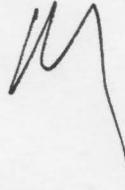
MLF:jg

✓ bcc: Jack Marsh



3/11

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON



Mr. Marsh --

I have called Phil Burton's Office and the Democratic Caucus meets tomorrow, Wednesday, March 12, on three items:

1. Aid to Cambodia and Vietnam,
2. Emergency employment appropriations act of 1975
3. Amendments to the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973.

No mention was made of the Colby Report or the Holtzman Resolution.

Charlie Leppert



**March 19, 1975**

**MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF**

**FROM: JACK MARSH**

**In light of Senator Long's conversation this morning, I believe it would be helpful if Bill Kendall would keep us posted on the status of the Senator's Amendments, particularly those adopted.**

**I make special reference to the Talmadge Amendment and what it provides.**

**Thanks.**

**JOM/dl/3-19-75**



March 19, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JACK MARSH

In light of Senator Leag's conversation this morning, I believe it would be helpful if Bill Kendall would keep us posted on the status of the Senator's Amendments, particularly those adopted.

I make special reference to the Talmadge Amendment and what it provides.

Thanks.

JOM/dl/3-19-75



[April 1975?]



# The ten brightest congressmen

By Larry L. King

dents and grand schemes. The typical House member has put the lie to the old caricatures. Perhaps they never had the breaks or opportuni-

APR 8 1974

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

WILLIAM T. KENDALL *wtk*

SUBJECT:

A Poll of Senators

Senator Tower:

The major concern in Texas is the economy. Also he has talked a great deal to party people and feels we are still in trouble with "the Right". Suggests we get a talking paper together on some points where President has agreed with Conservatives. On Southeast Asia there seems to be only the extremes--no middle ground. In his opinion Congress is moving down in the public's mind and the President is moving up--but not fast enough to suit the Senator.

Senator McGee:

All the talk in Wyoming is about the nomination of Governor Hathaway--and it is good. The cattlemen are concerned about their problems. They like Butz but do not like raising meat import quotas. His people are still concerned about the economy--apprehensive was the word he used. On energy, as producers they want to have people use energy, not conserve it! His people have had it "up to their ears" on Southeast Asia. He caught Hell on his vote on aid to Turkey--says he can't get a meal in a Greek restaurant.

Senator Nunn:

His people are not that crazy about the Tax Reduction Bill. They think it's too little and too inflationary. Economy still number one issue and unemployment is a worry. They fear government will drive up interest rates again. Their feelings on Southeast Asia: isolation, anger, frustration. Thinks his people would be opposed to aid to Southeast Asia, the U.N., Israel, etc.



Page 2

Senator Dole:

Kansas not as concerned about economy as rest of nation. Farmers unhappy about prices. Regarding Southeast Asia, he feels we will all be judged on how we react to this crisis rather than past crises.

Senator Beall:

His people are confused, as he said "scratching around for something" to complain about, but unsure of the main issues. Amazed at evaporation of support for military aid to Southeast Asia and feels isolationism taking hold. He feels the President should keep on with his criticism of Congress--in a dignified way. He feels Congress will not move without constant prodding (as with the tax and energy bills).

Senator Griffin:

Approaching crisis in Michigan because supplemental employment benefits at Chrysler about to run out and G.M. in June. This is special union fund giving workers about 90% of their pay. Finds little or no support for aid to Southeast Asia. Feels Members will need briefing on situation very soon from Defense and State.

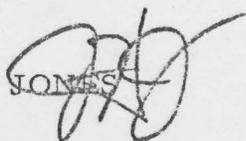


APR 16 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

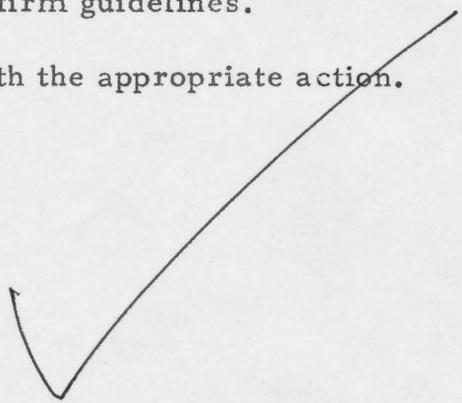
MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM LYNN  
FROM: JERRY H. JONES   
SUBJECT: Implementation of New  
Congressional Budget Act

Your memorandum to the President of April 9 on the above subject has been reviewed and your recommendation -- meet with the joint leadership to urge them to establish detailed budget targets for each sub-Committee of the Appropriations Committees and for each other Committee handling spending bills -- was approved, with the following notation:

-- with firm guidelines.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.



cc: Don Rumsfeld  
Phil Buchen  
Jim Cannon  
Robert T. Hartmann  
~~Jack Marsh~~  
Max Friedersdorf  
Bill Seidman



CLARENCE J. BROWN  
7TH DISTRICT, OHIO

URBANA, OHIO

COMMITTEES:  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS  
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE  
JOINT ECONOMIC

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

April 16, 1975

APR 17 1975

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
212 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE  
BUILDING  
AREA CODE: 202 225-4324

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
ROOM 220  
U.S. POST OFFICE BUILDING  
150 NORTH LIMESTONE STREET  
SPRINGFIELD, OHIO 45501  
AREA CODE: 513 325-0474  
L.S.Y. BUILDING, THIRD FLOOR  
196 SOUTH MAIN STREET  
MARION, OHIO 43302  
AREA CODE: 614 383-4343

Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.  
Counsellor to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear John:

I feel moved to write you after your presentation this morning to the C&M and SOS Breakfast. It comes from one who has the greatest respect and confidence in President Ford and a very fond affection for my friend Jerry.

I am not totally unhappy with the diminution of Presidential power that has followed in the wake of the Viet Nam and Watergate experiences. I felt that Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson had all together elevated the Presidency to a level that had become too powerful. There was a need to return the relationship between the President and the Congress to a more equal partnership in order to maintain the confidence of the people in federal government. I am not even too unhappy with the loss of confidence in federal government, because I think the average American citizen had become too dependent on federal government, thereby less dependent on himself and the good Lord.

Perhaps I should refine that by saying that I think the partnership between the two branches should tilt more toward the Presidency in foreign affairs and more toward the Congress in domestic affairs. With all of this, however, I also have to suggest that Congress has become increasingly less responsible in recent years as a result of its past diminished role. That is certainly evident in the current Congress, and there is a great need for exercises of statesmanship and politically unselfish responsibility by individual Members of Congress. The "fakery and game-playing" between authorization and appropriation you attributed to President Johnson is something he very probably learned while he was in the Congress. No one should take any pride in that kind of deception of the taxpayer. It is being reflected in the ultimate in the current irresponsible budgeting done by the Congress.



Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.  
Page Two  
April 16, 1975

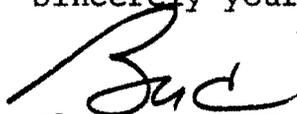
Like you, I feel that Jerry Ford is the best prepared man to serve in the Presidency for this particular time that we could possibly have. He has my support for re-election and my prejudice for support on most issues. As a good Presbyterian, I am confident that God put him where he is now for a worthy purpose.

Having said all that, I enclose a copy of a column I wrote on the international situation. After reading it, my wife (who is my severist critic and one of Jerry's greatest fans) said, "I wish the President had said this in his speech." On the strength of that recommendation, you may wish to share it with him.

Finally, I enclose a press release which I put out relating to the energy program and its up and down progress in the Energy and Power Subcommittee of Commerce, on which I serve as the Ranking Member. When it is time for the President to present an energy speech directly either to the public or the Congress, I should be more than happy to help in the drafting. Encouraged by your recommendations to that effect, I may prepare a speech for my own use which I will be happy to share with you and the President through Frank Zarb for any use he may wish to make of it.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Clarence J. Brown, M. C.  
Seventh Ohio District

CJB/LWS

Enclosures



*Congressman*

**Clarence J. Brown—Ohio**



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

PH: WASH., D. C. 202-225-4324  
SPRINGFIELD 513-325-0474

"REPORT FROM WASHINGTON"  
For Release Tuesday, April 15, 1975

THE TRAGEDY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA will cast a shadow across future generations as it has shadowed the past twenty years for Americans. President Ford's agony over American responsibility at the end of a war whose American policy he did not set was properly shared with the people he serves. The implications to future Americans of any failure to protect the lives of our own citizens in that collapsing situation are likely to reduce the future security of all of us. An American disregard for what may happen to those Southeast Asians who worked with and stood up for American interests there will surely trumpet a message to others in the world tempted to support American or American positions, just as the Berlin Airlift signalled our attitude about the American resolve to maintain the peace and security of our former enemies shortly after the end of World War II.

But times have changed and with the changing circumstances, the American attitude has apparently altered.

In the days after World War II, American military and economic power was practically the only such strength in the world. Other nations had been prostrated by the war. Even where we used only a small portion of our massive strength of arms or dollars, it was impressively influential at that time. And we did use it: to get Greece and Turkey to stand up against Communism on the very borders of Russia; to rebuild Japan in our own image; to keep former allies from economic collapse; and to stimulate economic growth in underdeveloped nations. What started primarily as a humanitarian objective soon developed the motive of containing Communism and developing markets for American goods so as to enhance prosperity in the U.S. As former allies (such as England and France) pulled out of their former colonial spheres for lack of strength to compete with new ideologies and aspirations (such as Communism and nationalism), America began to fill the resultant voids. And as we did, the conditions imposed as "appreciation" for our generosity became more demanding.

Neither my predecessor then, nor I since, have ever voted for much of this foreign aid. We felt that philosophic loyalty, like friendship,

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

(more)

cannot be purchased. A real partnership depends on mutual sharing. For that reason, I have supported some of the multilateral aid and trade development bank ideas. As nations grew more prosperous from our post-World War II grubstake, I felt others ought to take responsibility in the role of developing the underdeveloped.

But except for a few nations and a few organizational concepts (such as NATO), little commitment to U.S. policies in the world as generated by our generosity--including in the United Nations, the most multilateral of all organizations.

So, foolishly, the United States decided frequently to "go it alone." And it was that solitary policy which bogged us down in Southeast Asia. At least in Korea we had been careful to include the United Nations, even though we carried the bulk of the load ourselves. As times changed, we simply failed to restrain our "generosity" and get true "partnership loyalty" from nations which had grown into strong economic competitors. They just did not want to waste their economic strength in efforts to influence the world politically.

When I came to Congress, my country was already involved in Vietnam without the support of any our strongest allies. Having been raised in an era when partisan differences ended at our nation's shores so as to present a united national front on foreign policy, I could not vote to deny our troops in the field the materials with which to fight in Vietnam--no matter how much I might wish they had not been sent there originally without the support of other nations. At that time, I observed that we had "taken over" the War in South Vietnam and could not morally withdraw abruptly without giving the South Vietnamese time to reassume responsibility for their own defense. Thus, I supported President Nixon's phased withdrawal and his plan for Vietnamization of the war and some continuance of aid so that Vietnam would have a chance to make it with American troops or aid.

The lesson of Vietnam is that America cannot operate a foreign policy--and certainly not a military policy--unilaterally thirty years after end of World War II as it did when the U.S. was the only game in town at the end of that war. That is why the Kissinger policy which includes multilateral negotiations with Israel and Egypt, Greece and Turkey, China and Russia, makes eminent good sense. It recognizes that the U.S. can no longer impose and enforce a just peace alone.

Another lesson of Vietnam is that America should not undertake wars it does not intend at the outset to win with whatever degree of commitment winning requires.

As a result of our Southeast Asia experience, America is put in a more realistic (and reduced) perspective in the world and that requires the sharing of the burden of defending Western freedoms with others even more than in the past. We are no longer THE power; we must now be a partner. Our withdrawal from Southeast Asia must be accomplished in such a way that we will be trusted as a partner. The world and our perception of it will never again be as it was after World War II. That is the painful lesson we have learned in Vietnam.



*Congressman*

# Clarence J. Brown—Ohio

# NEWS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

PH: WASH., D.C. 202-225-4324  
SPRINGFIELD 513-325-0474

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON, D.C.--A return to lines at gasoline stations was foreseen by the ranking Republican on the House Energy and Power Subcommittee if a measure approved Monday by Democrats on that subcommittee becomes law.

"The proposal would mandate an artificial gasoline shortage by Congressional enactment," Congressman Clarence J. Brown of Ohio said in opposing a measure to roll back gasoline consumption to 98 per cent of 1972 levels.

The scarcity proposal was approved on a straight party-line vote with Democrats on Congressman John Dingell's subcommittee supporting it and every Republican opposing it. It would require the Federal Energy Administration to prohibit refineries from producing gasoline each month in excess of 98 per cent of the amount of gasoline produced in 1972 and to allocate the reduced supplies throughout the various states. The measure would remain in effect for three years after becoming law.

In the first three months after the law passes, Americans would find the gas pumps short 13.5 million gallons per day, or 4.7 per cent of the amount consumers are predicted to purchase without the restriction. Six months later, the shortage is predicted to grow to 23.8 million gallons per day, 9 per cent less than anticipated demand.

"During the worst of the Arab oil embargo, Americans suffered a shortage which reached only about 19.5 million gallons per day, about 8 per cent of nationwide consumption," Brown said. "The Democrats now propose to throw us back into that kind of chaos--only about half again worse. But they make no provisions for seeing that the reduced supply is allocated fairly among individual Americans based on need.

"Odd-even day distribution or some other method would have to be imposed by local authorities, as it was during the Arab oil embargo," Brown said. "Otherwise, the gasoline will go to those who have the patience to wait in line the longest."

In opposing the section of the pending legislation, Brown said it would surely raise the price of gasoline or drive many small service stations out of business. "How can a service station meet its fixed operating costs while it is pumping fewer gallons of gasoline unless it can raise its price per gallon?" Brown asked.

-more-

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

The Ohio congressman also predicted the artificial shortage would discourage wildcatters and oil drillers from seeking and producing more crude oil in the United States because it would tend to put a limit on the market for their product. It also will lead to significant increases in unemployment, he feels, because of the impact on recreational driving.

In 1972, the rate of consumption of gasoline in the United States was 268 million gallons a day. That rate climbed 4.5 per cent to 280 million gallons per day in 1973 immediately prior to the embargo. For the ten years before that, the rate of increase in gasoline consumption in the U.S. had been growing at an annual rate of 3.9 per cent.

With the boycott and a doubling of the price, United States consumption of gasoline decreased during 1974 by 2.1 per cent. However, the rate of increase in recent months has been 3.0 per cent as consumption returns again to previous trends in spite of economic recession and higher prices.

"Now the Democrats want to reverse this trend by creating an artificial shortage. If consumption is held to 98 per cent of 1972 levels into 1977, the daily shortage will reach 35.6 million gallons a day or an estimated shortfall of almost 13 per cent of demand."

Brown said he found no fault with the general strategy of trying to reduce gasoline consumption as a part of a total conservation energy program aimed at making the U.S. independent of foreign oil. But he said he preferred to let each American make his own decision about reducing his demand for gasoline as prices go up on the free market after decontrol of oil prices.

"Then we should use tax programs to encourage the people who produce gasoline to use the money they are receiving to finance the search for more domestic oil. My colleagues have lost faith in that basic approach.

"The thing my colleagues ignore is that there are many users of gasoline who cannot reduce their consumption because they must have it to go to work. Even at higher prices, they will continue to drive because they must and will save from other expenditures in order to buy gasoline. What will they do if they can't get gasoline at any price?

"Apparently my colleagues would rather have government deciding who should and who should not have gasoline. Their next step may be a proposal that the government spend taxpayer money drilling for oil."



[May 1975?]

Ed Arnold  
Robert Bonitati  
Hollister Cantus  
Paul Cyr  
Ken M. Duberstein  
Max Friedersdorf  
Richard Fryklund  
Mrs. Margaret Gaynor  
Miss Jane Greenleaf  
Gerald Griffin  
Harold Griffin  
Ken Hagerty  
Ed Hidalgo  
Jim Hogue  
Les Janka  
Bill Kendall  
Mrs. Nancy Kennedy  
Steve Kurzman  
John Kyl  
Charles Leppert  
Vern Loen  
Robert McCloskey  
Mitchell McConnell  
Tom McDowell  
John Marsh  
Sol Mosher  
Denis Neil  
Patrick O'Donnell  
Bill Prendergast  
Russell Rourke  
Robert G. Ryan  
Leighton Sattler  
John Snow  
Jim Sparling  
Robert Wolthuis  
Duke Zeller

*Doug Bennett*  
*John Foltz*



[May 1975]

Senate Republican Leadership

Leader of the Senate -- Hugh Scott (Pa.)

Assistant Rep. Leader of the Senate -- Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)

Chairman of the Conference -- Carl Curtis (Mebr.)

Secretary of the Conference -- Robert Stafford

Policy Committee Chairman -- John Tower

Campaign Committee Chairman -- Ted Stevens



Republican Leadership House

- 1 Minority Leader -- John Rhodes
- 2 Minority Whip -- Bob Michel
- 3 Chairman GOP Conference -- John Anderson
- 5 Vice Chairman GOP Conference -- Sam Devine
- 6 Secretary GOP Conference -- Jack Edwards
- 4 Chairman of the Policy Committee -- Barbara Comable
- 7 Chairman Research Committee -- Lou Frey
- 8 Chairman Congressional Campaign Committee -- Guy Vander Jagt
- 9 Ranking on Rules Committee -- James Quillen

Senate Republican Leadership



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Chairman of the Policy Committee -- Barber Conable

Vice Chairman GOP Conference -- Sam Devine

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MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 5, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: VERN LOEN

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*

SUBJECT: Destroyers for Ecuador and  
Peru: Congressman Wilson's  
interest

It is true that the Government of Peru has been informed that we would be willing to sell them a destroyer, subject to Congressional review. Notification to Congress of our intention has not yet gone forward, however. It has been nearly a year and a half since any tuna boat seizures by the Peruvians and there is no legal restriction on FMS sales to Peru.

There was talk of selling a destroyer to Ecuador. However, the seizures by Ecuador of our tuna boats at the end of January made any such transfer out of the question. We did not recommend or forward to the Congress any proposal on a destroyer for Ecuador. We are in the process of transferring an LST to Ecuador. This, however, was approved in December before the recent seizures. On that occasion, the House Armed Services Committee did not object to the transfer.

cc: Max Friedersdorf  
John Marsh ✓  
Russ Rourke  
Bob Wolthuis

*MAX -*  
*Be sure*  
*passes to*  
*Wilson.*  
*V/L*  
*JM*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JACK MARSH

Recalling Dick Cheney's request for a list of Senate Republicans who will be up for reelection, could you get that list down to him?

Many thanks.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY  
THROUGH: JACK MARSH  
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
SUBJECT: Senators up for Re-Election next year

Per your request, relayed through Jack Marsh, I am attaching a list of those Senators seeking re-election next year.

As you know, Senator Hruska is up for re-election but will not be running.



REPUBLICANS

Beall, J. Glenn, Jr.  
Brock, Bill  
Fannin, Paul J.  
Fong, Hiram L.  
Roth, William V. Jr.  
Scott, Hugh  
Stafford, Robert G.  
Taft, Robert, Jr.  
Weicker, Lowell P., Jr.

Conservative Republican

Buckley, James L.

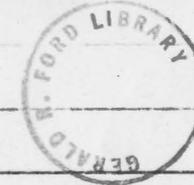


DEMOCRATS

Bentsen, Lloyd  
Burdick, Quentin N.  
Byrd, Robert C.  
Cannon, Howard W.  
Chiles, Lawton  
Hart, Philip A.  
Hartke, Vance  
Humphrey, Hubert H.  
Jackson, Henry N.  
Kennedy, Edward M.  
Mansfield, Mike  
McGee, Gale W.  
Montoya, Joseph M.  
Moss, Frank E.  
Muskie, Edmund S.  
Pastore, John O.  
Proxmire, William  
Stennis, John  
Symington, Stuart  
Tunney, John V.  
Williams, Harrison A.



6/75



*J*

JOB RATING OF GERALD FORD

	DIS- -----AREA-----					---SEX---		-----AGE-----				-----PARTY ID-----					
	TRICT WIDE	WIN- CHSTR	FRORK CO	SHNDH CO	CLARKE CO	WRRN CO	FQR CO	MEN	WOMEN	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-UP	RE TIRED	DEMO CRAT	INDE- PNONT	REPUB- LICAN
(PERSONAL)	146		81		65			75	71	17	27	32	70	24	51	38	41
EXCELLENT	4.1		4.9		3.1			4.0	4.2	5.9		6.3	4.3	8.3	5.9	5.3	2.4
GOOD	57.5		58.0		56.9			46.7	69.0	70.6	63.0	59.4	51.4	50.0	35.3	57.9	85.4
NOT SO GOOD	24.7		23.5		27.7			32.0	16.9	23.5	25.9	28.1	24.3	20.8	33.3	26.3	9.8
POOR	10.3		11.1		9.2			13.3	7.0		7.4	9.4	14.3	20.8	19.6	10.5	2.4
DON'T KNOW	3.4		2.5		3.1			4.0	2.8		3.7		5.7	4.2	5.9	2.6	2.4
POSITIVE	61.6		64.2		58.5			50.7	73.2	76.5	63.0	65.6	55.7	58.3	41.2	63.2	85.4
NEGATIVE	35.6		34.6		36.9			46.7	23.9	23.5	33.3	34.4	40.0	37.5	52.9	34.2	12.2
TOTAL RESPONSES	197.3		198.8		195.4			197.3	197.2	200.0	196.3	203.1	195.7	200.0	194.1	200.0	200.0

*61.6*  
*35*