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OCT 7 1975

M

October 7, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DON RUMSFELD

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

Congressional Leadership Meetings

Attendance of uninvited staff at Congressional Leadership meetings is totally out of hand.

We have requested as politely as possible that those not specifically invited not attend.

The Republican Leadership meeting today was the worst thus far.

Uninvited staff overflow as so bad that several senior staff who had reserved seats found them occupied when they arrived a few minutes after the meeting convened (Nessen, Cheney).

It would be helpful if you could issue instructions to staff that attendance at leadership meetings is by invitation and not a "drop-in" affair.

J  
bcc: Jack Marsh  
Ron Nessen  
Dick Cheney



OCT 8 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*M*

October 8, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.G.*

FROM: BOB WOLTHUIS *RKW*

I have talked to the advance office and it is their understanding that on the exclusive political trips such as Newark, Hartford, Louisville and Detroit the RNC is picking up the cost of the trip and we are not billing the cost of travel to Members of Congress making the trip.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 10.2.75

TO: \_\_\_\_\_

*Bob*

FROM: Max L. Friedersdorf

For Your Information \_\_\_\_\_

Please Handle \_\_\_\_\_ ✓

Please See Me \_\_\_\_\_

Comments, Please \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

*?*

Marsh

OCT 1 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: NED CAVANEY  
 THROUGH: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
 FROM: BOB WOLFE RKA  
 SUBJECT: Elkins, West Virginia, Newark, New Jersey,  
Knoxville, Tennessee

*MAX -  
 Where do  
 these stand on  
 these travel  
 re Cavane  
 in ASK  
 BK*

As per our telephone conversation we have invited the following to fly to Elkins with the President on Saturday, October 1.

- |                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Senator Randolph     | Congressman Slack   |
| Senator Robert Byrd  | Congressman Heckler |
| Congressman Mollohan |                     |
| Congressman Staggers |                     |

For the Newark trip, also on Saturday, October 1, we have as per our telephone conversation, invited the following members of the New Jersey delegation, all Republicans.

- Senator Case
- Congressman Forsythe
- Congressman Rinaldo
- Congresswoman Fenwick

For the Knoxville, Tennessee, October 7, trip, we recommend the following be invited to accompany the President.

- |                     |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Senator Baker       | Congressman Evins       |
| Senator Brock       | Congressman Fulton      |
| Congressman Quillen | Congressman Beard       |
| Congressman Duncan  | Congressman Ed Jones    |
| Congresswoman Lloyd | Congressman Harold Ford |



For each of the above trips we request that a member of the Legislative Office be included on the trip. At this time our only definite assignment would be Bill Kendall for the Newark trip. Bill is from New Jersey and has been involved in GOP politics in that state for many years.

Copy

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH

FROM: RUSS ROURKE R

The attached is, of course, a great idea.

What about having the same kind of reception for the Democratic Hill offices and the top Majority Committee staffers sometime early next year. Obviously, we have had to depend upon considerable Democratic Congressional staff and Committee staff support in so many activities. Despite the obvious down-side, such an effort could pay great dividends.

*Concern  
with both  
M*



OCT 16 1975

October 16, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

WARREN RUSTAND

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

Presidential Reception

If the budget can stand it, I would like to propose a Presidential reception at the White House in October or early November for a selected group of Hill staff.

The invitees would include one top staff person from each Republican Congressional office (145), Senate office (38), one Minority Committee staffer (39), and the Minority Floor staff (10). This totals 232 guests.

I would recommend a Monday evening event, 5:30-7:30 p.m., with a reception line in the East Room and refreshments in the State Dining Room.

Presidential involvement would include a reception line, handshake, and picture with each guests (about 30 minutes) and a brief mingle afterwards.

The purpose of the event would be to entertain the top Republican staff person from each Senate and Congressional Hill office as well as the top Minority staff member from each House and Senate standing Committee, as well as the key House and Senate Floor staffers of Representative Rhodes and Senator Scott.

The vast majority of these people have not been to the White House for an event since President Ford assumed office.

I believe the opportunity for each of these key staffers to be personally greeted by the President and photographed with him would engender much staff support for the President.

A Christmas event has been scheduled for Members of the House and Senate and I believe it is important that we have a staff event also.

cc: Jack Marsh  
Bill Kendall  
Vern Loen



October 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

As I mentioned to you, at the last meeting of the Transition Team there was a discussion about having a legislative day on the Hill for the benefit of House and Senate Members.

The President voiced his view in support of those who suggested it and in fact, he directed that this practice be instituted.

I would be grateful if you would put together a suggested plan on how this might be done. This plan would include the following:

- General concept.
- Frequency of the meetings on the House and Senate side.
- Meeting place.
- Particular time and day of each week.
- <sup>notice</sup>~~Notice~~ of the Members.
- Emphasis placed on reaching Democrats as well as Republicans.
- Pre-consultation prior to implementation with the Leadership.
- What Leadership would be pre-noticed?
- Format and structure of the meetings. For example, how much time would you plan on spending with each Member?



As I have mentioned to you, my suggestion would be that one week you take it in the House and I would take it in the Senate. I think on these occasions each of us should have one of the House or Senate people with us to help assist in handling the Members' business.

In putting together the plan, you might wish to consult with Bryce Harlow who was one of the spokesmen at the meeting last week.

cc: Don Rumsfeld

JOM/d1



OCT 30 1975

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BILL NICHOLSON  
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *m.f.*  
SUBJECT: Mrs. William Ford

Mrs. William (Martha) Ford, wife of Congressman Bill Ford (D-MICH), has requested the opportunity to bring her 10 year-old son and his 4th grade class at Linton Hall School, Bristow, Virginia, to the White House for a picture with the President.

The class of 20 children, would be accompanied by Mrs. Ford and three other adults.

Mrs. Ford said she is a friend and admirer of the President.

I can't strongly recommend this request, except it would be nice to do, and possible could be handled in a Congressional Hour.

cc: Jack Marsh



cong-

November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JACK MARSH

Have you talked with your people in reference to contacts they receive from representatives of foreign nations, particularly the Bloc countries.

JOM/dl



Cong

November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

JACK MARSH

I think it would be helpful if you could have a copy of the notes taken at the Leadership Meetings given to the President. Also, I would like to have copies myself.

Thanks.

JOM/dl



Cory

November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: .MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

On the agenda of our next meeting, let's get into this Legislative Day on the Hill.

JOM/dl



November 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH  
SUBJECT: Year End Report

The end of the First Session of the 94th Congress is drawing to a close. In order to:

1. assess our achievements to date,
2. look at our shortfalls,
3. see what needs to be done in the near term and the long term, and
4. prepare for the State of the Union,

it would be helpful to have a year end summary from the Legislative Affairs Department. This will not be unlike the report that was written marking the first year of the Ford Presidency, but it will have a somewhat different thrust.

This should be a composite piece of work and should reflect the inputs of all of your senior people who deal with Capitol Hill. If other staff members, such as researchers, have suggestions to make, you may wish to incorporate them into your final report.

This should be a rather comprehensive report which can be used by the President and a few of his key assistants in preparing for the State of the Union and in preparing responses to press inquiries at the end of the year.



*Cong. Relations*

You may wish to divide this into quarters.

In all events, you will want to touch on such matters as:

- the vetoes,
- the energy program,
- his first tax cut bill,
- Mayaguez and South Vietnam,
- notifications under the War Powers Act,
- a number of bipartisan meetings,
- a number of GOP meetings,
- breakdown of other Congressional visits,
- key legislation passed,
- key legislation pending,
- key legislation not considered,
- major legislation expected to be considered before the close of the present session,
- key legislation in conference.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, are your recommendations. In this regard, it would be helpful if you would have your people submit recommendations to you which you review and pass on, if you believe they would be helpful. The specific areas you should give special attention to fall into broad categories:

1. Inputs for the State of the Union Address to include ideas and themes as well as particular legislative points.
2. Ways that you believe your department can more effectively assist the President in the next session.



Conj. 1/2/75

3. Your assessment of the legislative program for the second session in light of the fact that it is a Presidential election year and there is a two-to-one ratio against us. Will it be necessary for you to change your method of operation? If so, how? Will the President have to address the manner in which he deals with the Congress and change it from 1975? If so, what would you recommend that he do differently?
  
4. What impact might be expected on the legislative program next year with so many individuals on Capitol Hill being candidates for the Presidency?

This report should be the product of thought and discussion and, therefore, I suggest that you shoot for a target date of November 21, if possible. To pull it together, it might be well to have one or two evening sessions.

JOM/d1



~~JOM/dl~~  
Cong Relations

November 11, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

I think it would be helpful to include on your list, in the event you have not already done so, Don Anderson, who runs the telephones in the Democratic Cloakroom on the House side.

I know that Don is very anxious to go out on the Sequoia or attend a White House function, and I believe he would greatly appreciate it.

JOM/dl



Cong.

November 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM: JACK MARSH

Once things settle down a little more, I think it would be helpful if you were to make a few courtesy calls on the Hill. If you want Max or me to lend a hand, please say so and we will set up the meetings for you and accompany you, if you so desire.

JOM/dl



Cong.

November 12, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: DON RUMSFELD

FROM: JACK MARSH

I think it might be helpful once you are confirmed if you would make some courtesy calls on the Budget Committee Chairman and the Ranking Minority Member for both Houses. They are playing an increasingly important role and this has special significance to the Department of Defense.

JOM/dl



cong

November 21, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JACK MARSH

Where do we stand on the Congressional day program?

Perhaps we can implement this when the Congress reconvenes after December 1.

JOM/dl



*Cong. relations*

November 21, 1975  
*Joe Jackson*

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

I think it would be helpful if we could chat sometime about touching base with senior staff people on the Appropriations Committee on both the House and Senate side.

There is something I want to bring to your attention concerning this.

JOM/d1



*Cong relations*

November 28, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

Let's use Monday and Tuesday to take some soundings on the Hill on pending key issues to include:

- a. Energy Bill.
- b. Situs picketing.
- c. The Tax Bill.
- d. New York City (however I believe that will take care of itself).

The point I am trying to make is that the Members having been Home for a recess may have some different views on pending legislation, particularly the energy bill.

JOM/dl



*Coz. relations*

December 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

What can you tell me about the Library of Congress matter?

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 11, 1976

*Keep in  
File*  


MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH

FROM: RUSS ROURKE

Bill Gulley reported to me following his conversation with Cheney re White House garage and use of vehicles. I will discuss this with you in greater detail but the essence of the matter involves a slight relaxation of the regulations as they apply to you or to your secretary using your name. The relaxation permits the vehicle to be dispatched immediately upon request to the House or the Senate and then get clearance on the request while the vehicle is enroute to pick-up the Member. In this manner the verification procedures remain in tact but no time is lost.

MAR 13 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL KENDALL  
VERN LOEN  
CHARLIE LEPPERT  
JOE JENCKES  
TOM LOEFFLER  
BOB WOLTHUIS

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

Saturday Work Schedule

Unless the Congress is in a regularly scheduled recess or adjournment period, your offices should be manned on Saturday until 1 P. M.

There should be at least one House and one Senate staff man and secretary in the office from 9 A. M. until 1 P. M. on Saturdays.

I suggest a rotation system be used if only one person is scheduled to work. If you have plans to be off when your rotation time comes up, it is your responsibility to arrange for one of your colleagues to handle your Saturday assignment.

Please advise me on Friday evenings who will have the duty on Saturday.

cc: ~~Jack Marsh~~  
Russ Rourke



Cong

March 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: RUSS ROURKE  
FROM: JACK MARSH

I want to talk with you about two problems which are occurring involving Members who are visiting the White House on special occasions.

The first, and the most important, relates to their being expedited and passed through the gates. There has been a tremendous number of complaints about delay at the gates and I believe something can be done to expedite this. My suggestion would be that we bring in the Chief of the Force and discuss it with him in a cooperative way as opposed to a critical way. What's happening is that the Member once he gets to the gate is cleared rapidly; however, in many cases there is a delay in getting him to the gate and in some cases, a failure to identify him as a Member of Congress.

The second problem is of a lesser nature but it relates to the seating of Members in the East Room for ceremonial occasions. The Military Office seems to be placing non-platform Members who are guests in the back rows. I mean by this, the third and fourth rows rather than the first row. Something should be done to try and get more Members on the platform and secondly, to place in the front rows Members who are not located on the platform.

For your information, Terry O'Donnell has a big role in the platform guests, but I suspect the Military Office, Maria Downs, and Tex Scouten have the authority in the regular seating. I think the place to start is with the Military Office and with Maria. But endeavor to do this in the spirit of cooperation rather than in a spirit of criticism.

In all events, I would like to discuss it with you before you begin.

In the meantime, I think you should speak with Bill Kendall who has observed a number of the problems and I think he can sum up quite accurately the problem as it exists.

JOM/dl



March 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:       MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM:                    JACK MARSH

Shortly after Bill Brehm is confirmed, I would like to set up a meeting here at the White House, consisting of you, Brehm, Wolhuis and myself to discuss how we might assist him in his efforts on Defense bills.

It is my plan to have a weekly meeting here with Bill Brehm and possibly include in that meeting McCloskey of State, depending on the legislative demands.

JOM/dl



March 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JACK MARSH

You will recall we mentioned the possibility of having a meeting of all the legislative representatives, perhaps every third Saturday. You may wish to divide this into two groups like we did at Camp David.

However, let's set up a meeting for this week. Let's discuss this and see what would be a good time and a good day. It may or may not be Saturday.

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
Date 3/30/76

TO: Jack Marsh

FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT

Please Handle \_\_\_\_\_

For Your Information \_\_\_\_\_

Per Our Conversation \_\_\_\_\_

Other: Per your request.



PATRICK ROWLAND

Home: 2315 Jackson Parkway, Vienna, Va. 22180, (703) 573-7462  
Business: 1800 K St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006, (202) 872-1280

Vice President - Congressional Affairs  
Glass Container Manufacturers Institute

Responsible for the development and operation of a federal public affairs program for the institute. Serve as industry liaison with the House and Senate. Assist in the development of industry's positions on federal issues. October, 1975.

Administrative Assistant to  
Congressman Charles E. Wiggins

Congressman Wiggins is a 5-term Congressman from the 39th district of California (Orange County). Served as an aide from January, 1969 to September, 1975. Responsible for overall staff function and assisted in all political matters.

Director of Congressional Action  
Chamber of Commerce of the United States

As director, coordinated the National Chamber's Congressional Action Program, working closely with trade and professional associations, state and local chambers of commerce and corporate executives. I also served as chairman of the Chamber's Testimony Team. The team handles the Chamber's formal presentations before Congressional committees. I was also responsible for the Chamber's legislative workshops and seminars.

Joined the National Chamber's staff as Assistant Manager of the Legislative Department, June 1967. Promoted to Director of Congressional Action, March 1968. Left to become Congressman Wiggins AA, January 1969.

Manager, Chamber of Commerce  
El Monte, California

One of the four chambers of commerce in California to be "Accredited" by the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. (1967). Major responsibilities: administration, membership relations, governmental relations, community improvement and commercial-industrial development. Employed as manager, December 1961 until joining U.S. Chamber, June 1967.

Reporter, El Monte Herald

Semi-weekly newspaper. Started full-time, June 1959. Part-time reporter (summers), 1954-1959. Left to become Chamber manager, December, 1961.



Educational Background

M.B.A. - University of Southern California, June 1960.  
Studies completed under grant from the Crown-Zellerbach  
Foundation.

B.S. - University of Southern California, June 1959,  
Cum Laude. Attended on scholarships from Mayr and Crawford  
Foundations...

Special Certificate - Organization Management,  
University of Santa Clara, 1966.

Awards and Honors

Tom May Marketing Award - 1958 (College Honor)  
American Marketing Award - 1959 (College Honor)  
Beta Gamma Sigma National Honor Society  
Young Man of the Year - El Monte - 1963  
City Council Award - El Monte - 1967

Affiliations

Vice President - Administrative Assistance Association, 1975.  
Chairman - California Republican Administrative Assistants,  
93rd Congress.  
Assistant Scoutmaster - Boy Scout Troop 1132.  
Past President - St. Mark's Parish Council.  
Past Chairman - Cub Scout Pack 1132.  
Founding Member, Board of Directors - Boys Club.  
Past President - Civitan Club, college fraternity alumni,  
college fraternity, high school student body.

Personal Data

Married, four children, excellent health, age 37



See also Cong. misc.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK MARSH  
FROM: RUSS ROURKE

Jack, I had an extended discussion with Terry O'Donnell concerning the proposal relative to the seating of Members in the East Room for ceremonial occasions. In point of fact, Terry advises me that he has the principal responsibility for the control and coordination on all of these events. Every effort is made to place all appropriate MC's on the platform, and to reserve a sufficient number of front row seats for other Members of Congress.

I discussed with Terry a number of unhappy experiences we have had in this general area.

The following recommendations resulted from our discussion:

- 1) Earlier notification and coordination by our Legislative Affairs Office with Terry O'Donnell in order that a plan might be instituted as far in advance as possible.
- 2) Assure the presence of a representative of our House and Senate side types to permit immediate identification and proper seating (or platform placement) of Members of Congress.

In summary, Terry is willing to cooperate in any way possible to eliminate any and all problems relative to the attendance of MC's at East Room ceremonial functions. Any individual suggestions from our Office of Legislative Affairs can either be forwarded to me or directly to Terry.

cc: MFriedersdorf  
BKendall  
CLEppert  
TO'Donnell



Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

The President today announced the appointment of Charles Leppert of Alexandria, Virginia as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs. He succeeds Vernon Loen who has resigned.

Born on October 31, 1932, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, Mr. Leppert received his B. A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1954. From 1954 to 1958, he served in the United States Marine Corps. He was awarded his LL. B. degree from the University of Richmond T. C. Williams School of Law in 1961. He was admitted to the Virginia State Bar in 1961 and is a member of the Virginia Trial Lawyers Association. He is a member of the American Bar Association and the Federal Bar Association.

In 1961, Mr. Leppert entered the private practice of law prior to becoming Minority Counsel on the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs in the United States House of Representatives in 1965. He joined the White House staff in January, 1975.

Mr. Leppert is married to the former Karen Ann Rowe of Richmond, Virginia, and they have two children. They reside in Alexandria, Virginia.

# # #

APRIL 5, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Joseph S. Jenckes, V.

Joseph S. Jenckes, V, will serve as Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs. He has been Administrative Assistant to Senator Paul Fannin since May, 1973.

Born on September 24, 1935, in Phoenix, Arizona, Mr. Jenckes attended the University of Arizona in 1961 and received his J.D. degree.

In 1961, Mr. Jenckes became Assistant Attorney General for the State of Arizona. He entered the private practice of law in 1962 and was associated with the firm of Langerman and Begam until 1964. He became Deputy County Attorney and Maricopa County Attorney in Arizona in 1965. He was attorney for the Arizona State Compensation Fund in Phoenix, Arizona during 1969. From 1969 to 1973, he was Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Arizona, and became Chief of the Criminal Division for the District of Arizona. While serving as Chief of the Criminal Division he received the Special Achievement Award for the superior performance from the Department of Justice.

Mr. Jenckes is married to the former Linda Sue Leppa and they have one child. They reside in the District of Columbia.

# # #



TO

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM:

BOB WOLTHUIS *RKW*

If you concur, I would like to schedule an FBI and NSC security briefing for all of our legislative affairs personnel including secretaries for April 20 at 9 A.M. This would be a two-part briefing divided between the FBI and the NSC. Each would come in and discuss their various topics and I recommend we allow our staff an opportunity to ask questions after each presentation.

I recommend the April 20 date because it is during the recess and we should allow a more relaxed environment for the briefing.

I realize some of our people may be out of town at that time.

*O.K.*

*Jack*

*Do you concur in this approach?*

*Bob.*

April 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JACK MARSH

Jim Connor spoke with me concerning a change they plan to make at the gates in the manner in which they handle Members of the House and Senate on admission.

I would like to discuss this with you to be certain everything is coordinated and everyone understands the new plan.

In substance, the plan is to admit, on their own identification, any Member of the House or Senate to the Lobby. At that time, the guard will call your office and ask for Nancy Kennedy. It will be her responsibility to go to the West Lobby and see the Member, in the event there is no list or other event for which they are to be admitted.

I think you and I should discuss this in some detail in order to avoid any misunderstandings.

Many thanks.

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

TO: Jack

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING

PER YOUR REQUEST

*Tom has seen*

*W*  
WILLIAM T. KENDALL



# Turning Screws: Winning Votes in Congress

The Latin term for it is *quid pro quo*, meaning "something for something." On Capitol Hill it's called "horsetrading," "backscratching" and "tit-for-tat."

Under whatever name it passes, trading votes in Congress for favors from the White House is a rarely discussed but deeply ingrained underside of life in Washington.

Most of the pressure for such bargaining—"99 per cent" of it, according to one high-ranking White House aide—comes from members of Congress. Other administration and Capitol Hill sources generally agree with that assessment.

"Some of these guys [legislators] will just tell you flat out, they'll do everything they can to torpedo a bill if you don't give them what they want, whether it's hiring a constituent or building a bridge in their back yard," declared another administration official.

By most accounts, the Ford administration is not much better or worse at playing the game than previous administrations of Richard M. Nixon, Lyndon B. Johnson and John F. Kennedy.

"We're like kindergarten children compared to LBJ," contends Max L. Friedersdorf, who as head of the White House liaison staff is Ford's chief lobbyist and vote-counter.

"I suppose these things do happen," said House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R Ariz.). "I don't like them, and I don't condone it for one minute, but it's not anything that is new."

According to most sources, the White House rarely engages in blatant bargaining with a member for his vote. But many trades are implied rather than declared.

And when trades do take place, they usually are closely held secrets between the White House and the individual member, since neither party usually has anything to gain by advertising what has taken place.

Thus, clear-cut cases of trades are hard to pin down. But in 43 interviews with past and present White House lobbyists, administration officials, members of Congress and other Capitol Hill sources, a picture of direct and indirect bargaining for votes emerges.

## Freshman Complaints

Freshman Rep. David F. Emery (R Maine) told Congressional Quarterly he has never asked for any "substantial" favors from the White House and that he has never bargained for his vote.

But, Emery added, "I'm sure there are a great many members of Congress who would like to see a bridge built or a military contract or whatever go to their district, and my district's not any different from the 434 others."

During the past five months, Emery and three other House members have publicly complained over what they considered to be improper tactics by White House lobbyists.

Having had a well-publicized brush with then-White House aide Vernon C. Loen in February over the ad-



ministration's natural gas deregulation bill, freshman Republican Rep. Larry Pressler of South Dakota said he intends to introduce a bill to outlaw *quid pro quo* offers and to place stricter limits on all lobbyists, government and private.

## 'Political Trouble'

According to Pressler, Loen, who worked for Friedersdorf as the administration's chief lobbyist in the House, threatened Pressler with "political trouble" in his district if he voted against a bill (HR 9464) calling for full-scale natural gas deregulation.

Pressler complained in a letter to President Ford that after he ignored Loen and voted against deregulation Feb. 5, Loen left a telephone message at Pressler's office saying, as Pressler put it, "that I have let him [Loen] down on the deregulation vote...and if I wanted any future favors from the White House I should call the AFL-CIO."

The labor federation had lobbied heavily against deregulation, which was favored by Ford and major oil producers. (*Deregulation story, Weekly Report p. 259*)

Fellow freshman Berkley Bedell (D Iowa) joined Pressler in criticizing Loen. The feud ended when Pressler announced that Loen had apologized to him in a telephone call.

Loen resigned his White House post April 4 to take a job as a public affairs assistant at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He denied that his departure had anything to do with the Pressler incident.

## Spreading the Goodies

The episode recalled a similar one at the end of 1975 between White House aide Douglas P. Bennett and the two representatives from Maine, Emery and William S. Cohen, both Republicans.

Cohen and Emery charged that Bennett tried to "buy" their votes during the Dec. 18 House attempt to override Ford's veto of the six-month tax cut extension (HR 5559). The two legislators and 17 other Republicans voted to override the veto, which was sustained, 265-157. (1975 *Almanac* p. 133)

On the day of the vote, according to Cohen and Emery, Bennett threatened to block the reappointment of former Maine Gov. John R. Reed (R) as chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board when his term expired at the end of the year if they voted to override.

Bennett, who has been in charge of reviewing presidential appointments since June 1975, had previously worked for Friedersdorf as a White House lobbyist.

Emery told CQ that when he went to his office the morning of the vote he found a message asking him to call a White House staffer who "had some information" about the Reed appointment. When Emery called, the staffer had the White House switchboard connect him with Bennett, who was at home with the flu.

"Rather than talking about John Reed, he [Bennett] asked me how I was going to vote on the override of the tax bill," Emery said. "I told him I was going to vote to override because I thought it was important to the state's economy. Whereupon he said something such as, 'Gee, that's too bad, that's going to affect John Reed's reappointment.'"

Emery said, "I pulled him up sharp and said, 'Do you mean to tell me that my vote on the tax bill is going to affect the status of John Reed's reappointment to the National Transportation Safety Board?' He said, 'Yes, that's exactly what I mean,' or words to that effect."

Emery added, "It left absolutely no doubt in my mind as to what was going on or what he meant. So I told him I thought that was not very proper and ethical, and hung up."

Reed, who was not reappointed, declined comment. But friends said the White House told him before the phone calls to Cohen and Emery that the administration was afraid he could not be confirmed by the Senate, even though Maine Sens. Edmund S. Muskie (D) and William D. Hathaway (D) had polled members of the Commerce Committee and predicted approval. Capitol Hill sources reported that top members of the Commerce Committee staff had been unhappy over the way Reed had handled investigations of several recent airplane crashes.



Larry Pressler (R S.D.)



Berkley Bedell (D Iowa)

Upset Freshmen



David F. Emery (R Maine)



William S. Cohen (R Maine)

Tested by the White House?

"I found out later that the decision not to reappoint Reed had already been made prior to the phone call," Emery said. He added that he did not know whether the White House would have changed its mind about Reed if he had voted to sustain the veto.

Emery said he had the impression that the White House was "testing" him with the Reed threat to see how he would react to such tactics.

"I would have to say that it was a bad experiment as far as I was concerned," Emery said. "Whether or not it happens to other congressmen daily or not, I don't know. I guess it depends on how you react."

Bennett conceded that he had discussed both the Reed appointment and the tax vote with Cohen and Emery, but he denied linking the two issues.

However, a reliable White House source told CQ, "These things become inexorably tied."

According to this source, Cohen and Emery had been mounting a steady campaign of pressure on the White House to reappoint Reed. But, the source said, the White House wanted to give the job to some other Republican.

"The policy has always been against reappointment," he said. "You try to pass the goodies around to more party faithful. Every administration has done that."

Reed had been a member of the board since 1967 and had served as chairman since 1969. The source said the White House had "just about decided" to give Reed another federal post "as a result of all their pressure."

"When the time came [for the tax bill veto vote], we were trying to do them a favor and saying, 'We're ready to go ahead and give your man something. But we'd sure appreciate your help on this vote.'"

## 'Work It Out'

When pressed during an interview with Congressional Quarterly, Friedersdorf would not deny that such trades are ever offered by the White House, nor would he say that Ford has ever ruled out such tactics.

"The President regrets and is concerned" by incidents such as those involving Cohen, Emery, Pressler and Bedell, Friedersdorf declared. "He is especially sensitive since he spent 25 years as a member of Congress himself. He expects those contacts to be handled so that those problems don't occur."

Friedersdorf added that when incidents such as those reported by the four members come to light, "the President asks us to discuss it with the member and try to work it out."

Given the "literally hundreds if not thousands of contacts that are made per week" between the liaison staff and Capitol Hill, "If you look at the job we've done over the year and a half, a couple or three disagreements isn't a bad record," Friedersdorf said.

"Personality is a key on a job like that" of White House lobbyist, Friedersdorf added. "If you are insensitive and brusque, you could find yourself in deep trouble."

### 'The Message Comes Through'

According to several past and present White House lobbyists, explicit trades are rarely discussed. It most often works this way, they say: when a White House staffer calls a member of Congress to urge him to support the President in an upcoming vote, the member often reminds the staffer of some request he has made, such as hiring a constituent to a federal job.

"When you have a crucial vote and they know you're in a vulnerable position where you need help, especially on a close vote," said one White House aide, "you call them up and say, 'Can you help the President on this?' Invariably, that's when you hear their shopping list."

The official added, "The congressman usually asks me, 'While I've got you on the phone, could you help me out with this?' It's an opportunity for somebody to ask for something. They've got you in an awkward position, and it's just human nature to ask for something in return."

A former White House lobbyist who helped round up votes for President Nixon in the House of Representatives said that when he called a member to explain the President's position on an upcoming vote and to offer information about the issue, "quite often the congressman comes right back and says, 'Yes, it's a critical vote, and I don't know how I'm going to vote yet, but while I've got you on the phone could you tell me how the project is coming over at HUD [Department of Housing and Urban Development] for my district?'"

Still another former White House lobbyist said, "Usually you'll get a veiled hint, like, 'Dammit, I've been asking the White House for a lot of stuff and I'd like to help you out, but I need some help myself.'"

Much of this is done with a touch of humor, the former aide said, but "The message comes through anyway."

## Inducements

One important commodity the administration has to offer in return for a favorable vote is federal money.

The White House Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations estimates that the administration in fiscal year 1977 will award some \$15-billion in federal project funds through a variety of government contracts. They range from Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) research projects to Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) demonstration programs.

Unlike the bulk of federal budget items where spending is mandated by statutory formula, the administration has wide latitude in picking contractors for these projects. For the most part they are small and medium-sized businesses scattered in congressional districts throughout the country.

"These are the areas where there is some choosing," said an administration budget analyst. "For political reasons if you want to convey the impression you're doing something for somebody or some area, you frequently go to the project grant."

## 'No Board, No Bill'

In exchange for a promise of anonymity, a senior member of Congress told how in 1973 he threatened to hold up action on a multibillion-dollar spending bill until the Nixon administration created a minor federal board and appointed one of his constituents as a member.

The legislator, chairman of the committee that handled the bill, said he used Mario Puzo's novel, *The Godfather*, to illustrate to a Nixon Cabinet official what would happen to the bill if the board were not created.

The Cabinet officer confirmed the story.

Calling the deal a "tradeout," the legislator admitted, "I was guilty of saying, 'Either you do [create the board] or you don't [get the spending bill].' This is the kind of thing that happens" between members of Congress and the administration, he said.

The member added that the bill was not introduced until his constituent had gotten the job, which paid \$100 for each day spent on official duties, plus travel allowances.

The legislator first approached President Nixon about the appointment during a White House visit. According to the congressman Nixon jokingly asked him, "Can he [the constituent] read and write?" The legislator quipped, "I don't know. He went to Whittier," referring to Nixon's California alma mater. "I shouldn't have asked you," Nixon reportedly replied.

The issue went unresolved until one day in early spring of 1973, when the Secretary paid a courtesy call to the chairman's office in his home district. After some light conversation, the chairman asked the Cabinet officer about the status of the board. The Secretary replied that he did not believe the administration had made any commitment to appoint the panel.

According to the legislator, the conversation then went like this:

"I looked at him straight in the eye and said, 'Have you ever read *The Godfather*?'"

"Yes," said the Cabinet officer.

"Have you ever seen the movie?"

"Yes."

"Well, I've got something to tell you. I'm going to make you a proposition you can't turn down."

The legislator said, "I pulled my hand across my throat and said, 'No board, no [spending] bill.'"

In confirming the story, the Cabinet officer said he took the reference to *The Godfather* as a joke.

As time went by and the board still was not created, the member said he learned that the issue was being blocked in the White House by Nixon's two top staff aides, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman. The committee chairman said he made another visit to the White House and handed Nixon a letter "explaining what had happened."

"The next morning the first call I got was from Ehrlichman," the member said. "He said, 'The President and you had a conversation last night, and everything's clear.'"

"The [spending] bill was not introduced until those [officials] were appointed," the legislator added. "I thought maybe we could go a year without [the spending bill]."

## Rep. Gerald R. Ford: Administration 'Blackmail'

In the midst of a bruising battle between the Kennedy administration and Capitol Hill in 1962 over raising the national debt limit, a seven-term Republican legislator from Michigan complained bitterly in a House speech about the administration's lobbying tactics.

The legislator was Rep. Gerald R. Ford. He charged that the Defense Department had threatened to cancel military contracts in his district if Congress rejected the \$308-billion debt ceiling recommended by President Kennedy.

"The Republicans in Michigan are not going to be blackmailed by this kind of an approach from the Department of Defense," Ford said.

Reporting a similar incident, Ford's Michigan Republican colleague, August E. Johansen (1955-65), charged, "I label that as both blackmail and cowardice on the part of the executive branch."

A high-ranking Defense Department official during the Kennedy administration told Congressional Quarterly he remembered attending a Pentagon strategy session where such tactics were discussed. He added that the White House also had ordered Defense Department officials to threaten canceling of national guard and reserve armories scheduled to be built in legislators' districts if a member refused to support the White House.

"This was done rather blatantly," said the official. "It happened two or three times, on a massive scale."

Several other top Kennedy administration aides, including Lawrence F. O'Brien, Kennedy's congressional liaison chief, said they did not recall any discussion of armories. None of these officials flatly denied that armories were offered in return for votes, however, and one then-White House aide said, "It sounds probable" that the offer was made.

According to the Defense Department official, a meeting was held at the Pentagon to discuss strategy in lobbying for the debt ceiling bill, and it was at that time that instructions went out to offer the armories in return for votes.

The official said, "We all met in a room and were told that the Secretary [Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara] just came back from the White House, and we were supposed to pick the members of Congress we knew best and say or imply to them, 'If you don't vote for this [debt ceiling bill], we're not going to build the reserve armory in your state.'"



*"The Republicans in Michigan are not going to be blackmailed...."*

—Rep. Gerald R. Ford  
(R Mich.)

### Playing Politics

One of the high-ranking military officials in the room left, saying, "I'm not going to stay in this meeting because it's politics and a guy in uniform doesn't play politics."

The officer, Army Lt. Gen. Andrew T. McNamara, commander of the Defense Supply Agency, told Congressional Quarterly he could not recall the incident. McNamara is now retired.

Former Defense Secretary McNamara (no relation) declined comment on the report. Other former Pentagon officials said they did not remember any such discussion of armories.

During the fight over the debt ceiling, Republicans presented a solid front in opposing the bill (HR 11990). The Senate finally cleared the measure June 28, 55-34, and sent it to Kennedy. The House had passed the bill June 14, 211-192. (1962 Almanac p. 544)

During House debate, Rep. John W. Byrnes (R Wis. 1945-1973) charged that "any number" of members had told him they had been contacted by defense contractors in their districts who said the Defense Department "advised them their contracts may be in jeopardy if Congress does not approve a \$308-billion debt ceiling." Byrnes said that "smacks of blackmail." Five other Republicans then reported similar incidents.

In his June 13 speech, Ford said a representative of the Chrysler Corp. had called him the day before to find out how the Michigan Republican delegation was going to vote on the bill.

According to Ford, the Chrysler executive himself had been called earlier that day by a Defense official who had asked the executive, "Can you find out how the Republicans in the House from Michigan are going to vote on the \$308-billion debt limitation proposal?"

Ford said the Defense aide had added, "If they do not vote for the \$308-billion, defense contracts in Michigan may be curtailed."

Ford declared, "And he also said to [the executive], 'The missile B program in which your corporation, Chrysler, is interested, could be in jeopardy.'"

### 'In the Public Interest'

"In the public interest this had to be revealed," Ford told the House, "and I will do all I can to protect [Chrysler and the executive] from subsequent discrimination."

Later in the debate, Johansen laid out his view of executive branch lobbying in this statement:

"When any member of the executive branch proposes to discuss with me pending legislation on its merits, he is welcome to do so, whether I agree with him or not.

"When any individual of whatever position in the executive branch undertakes to discuss with me the fate of defense or other government contracts in the state of Michigan, in relationship to my vote on any issue, I regard that as blackmail."

"I can tell you that you can go into any federal department and find case after case of political arm-twisting," said a high-ranking HUD official during the Johnson administration. "It happens particularly in the area of research and policy development."

"It usually comes in the form of a telephone call from the White House or a cocktail conversation: 'Get this project for me or kill that one,'" the former official said. "That's pretty effective control, because the department's got to respond."

The aide and other sources noted that such tactics generally do not work on major projects that have "high public visibility." But they do work well as inducements where the sums involved are minor compared with a department's total budget and where they can be important to an individual contractor in the legislator's district.

## Defense Projects

Small defense contracts and military base closings are also widely regarded as areas that are notoriously vulnerable to congressional pressure for favors.

"You couldn't function that way on a big competitive contract because you've got hundreds of people working on it," said one former White House lobbyist. "But let's say you and I are figuring out the Army budget and we've got a segment for small construction projects. We've got a five-year program that lists more than we can tackle in one year, so you can knock one out of one congressional district and add one to another."

Various Defense secretaries have tried to insulate from congressional politics the process of closing down obsolete military bases for greater efficiency. Many individual members of Congress who represent districts where these bases are located have resisted such moves with equal vigor. (Box, p. 7)

Since 1969, the Defense Department has announced 2,764 base closings, reductions or realignments in the United States and Puerto Rico. The shifts would have eliminated nearly 500,000 persons from the Defense payroll—if they all had been completed. But, according to a Defense spokesman, so many have been torpedoed by congressional resistance that the Pentagon has given up trying to keep track.

In the past, the Defense Department has tried to keep secret from both the White House and members of Congress its list of proposed base realignments and closings until it was ready to announce publicly a coordinated plan of such actions.

Generally, the department has tried to make such general announcements at a time when congressional elections would cause the least interference with closure plans. In 1974, a major round of base closings was unveiled Nov. 22, three weeks after the congressional elections.

But, according to a House Armed Services Committee source, word of impending base changes often leaks out to members before the general announcement.

"Let's assume a congressman has a friend at the Pentagon," said the source. "For a myriad of reasons he might want to ingratiate himself with the congressman, and he cranks this information out to him. It's the same sort of leak we have in intelligence information or anything else."

If a powerful legislator learns that a base in his district is being considered for closing or reduction, he may be able to reverse the decision by applying pressure to the White House before the general announcement is even made.

## A Little Help From Carl Curtis

Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R Neb.) offered to help the Ford administration in its 1975 fight with Congress over energy legislation in return for hiring one of Curtis' staff aides in a minor Commerce Department post, according to administration sources.

Curtis confirmed that he discussed the hiring with Rogers C. B. Morton, then Commerce Secretary, during a Capitol Hill cocktail party early last fall. Curtis said, "I might have even mentioned it [the energy policy bill] in the same conversation, because I believed very strongly in what the administration was trying to do in energy."



Carl T. Curtis

A high-level Commerce official told Congressional Quarterly that "it was put to us that if we would hire the individual, he [Curtis]

would support the energy legislation the President was trying to get passed."

The source said, "The individual was not quite qualified, but because of the strong pressure, it was a deal."

Another administration source familiar with the incident characterized Curtis' staffer as "a bright person, but like everybody else on the Hill overpaid. At the time, he [Curtis] was trying to cut his staff down, and this person wanted to go to the executive branch."

Curtis' alleged offer came in the midst of a prolonged struggle over Ford's plan to cut energy consumption and to stimulate domestic energy production. The result was the compromise Energy Policy and Conservation Act (S 622—PL 94-163), which Ford reluctantly signed in December. (1975 Almanac p. 173)

Morton was acting as Ford's energy czar at the time Curtis discussed the staff hiring with him. But Morton left the Commerce Department in December to join Ford's White House staff. His departure left the staff hiring in limbo.

"It [the hiring] never materialized," Curtis said, "because he [Morton] didn't stay in Commerce. Time just ran out on us."

Curtis' office confirmed that the staffer was still on Curtis' payroll.

A high White House source said he could not recall the incident. But, the source added, "Curtis is very vocal, and he's not bashful when he has a request. He is a forceful person and he lets us know when he has a problem."

Curtis, who is a member of the Senate Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, said he sees nothing wrong with the administration's hiring somebody as a favor to a member of Congress.

"It might be some insignificant matter that means a great deal to the member that the White House can help him out on," Curtis said.

William E. Timmons, who was President Nixon's congressional liaison chief (1970-74), said he never explicitly bargained with a member for his vote in return for keeping a base open. But, Timmons said, "We were quite anxious not to close some of them if there were some merit to keeping them open, if it was a close call."

Timmons added, "Members became violent almost on those sorts of things. It did create havoc with the [White House] legislative operation."

A high-ranking official of the Defense Department under the Kennedy administration said he was "sure the list of base closings was scrutinized quite carefully for political purposes at the White House." He added, "This didn't start with the Kennedy administration, either."

Rep. Edward F. Hebert (D La.) acknowledged that he once persuaded President Kennedy to reverse an announced Defense Department plan to close down the 8th Naval District in Hebert's home town, New Orleans.

At the time, 1961, Hebert was a member of the House Armed Services Committee, of which he later became chairman. Hebert said that on the day of the announcement he approached Kennedy at a White House party and said, "Jack, they're hauling down the flag in New Orleans."

According to Hebert, Kennedy suggested he talk to then-Navy Secretary John B. Connally Jr. Hebert said he already had. Kennedy then reportedly said, "I'll talk to [Defense Secretary Robert S.] McNamara."

"The next morning, early, I got a call at home from McNamara," Hebert said. "McNamara said, 'I was talking to the President about this and we'll work something out.'"

The New Orleans base is now the headquarters of the chief of Naval Reserve, in addition to still being 8th District headquarters.

### Federal Jobs

Another favorite bargaining point is federal jobs, ranging from high-level posts such as the one Reed held to minor jobs in federal agencies where congressional or White House pressure might be expected to attract little attention. (Box, p. 5)

"Everybody knows that congressmen approach Cabinet officers all the time to get friends and relatives and political supporters appointed to jobs," remarked one high-ranking department aide.

One disgruntled official said he thought his agency had filled its political quota of less-than-qualified persons.

"I've gotten stuck with inheriting enough deadwood and I don't have to hire anybody else," he said. "If we can do something for a congressman, fine, if not, the hell with it."

Timmons, Nixon's chief lobbyist, recalled that he routinely screened presidential appointees for their political pedigree and, along with others in the White House, gave each one "careful scrutiny."

"There was discussion on who supported the President the most and who his candidates [for the job] were, and who did not support the President very often and who his candidates were, and that could have had an effect on the outcome," Timmons said.

The "tendency was to tilt a little bit" toward jobseekers backed by "the President's most loyal legislative supporters," he added. "We really went to bat for those who were always out in front for the President on issues. It was just a natural thing to do, not just on personnel matters but anything."



White House Lobbyist Max L. Friedersdorf

However, Timmons said, "I can't recall ever making an offer or having a request for a blatant trade—'I'll vote for this bill if you get Aunt Mamie a job.' I think they knew that we would try our best to help them on all kinds of requests if they supported the President, and we did. It kind of goes without saying."

### 'Court of Last Resort'

Friedersdorf, who was Timmons' chief assistant as the White House liaison with the House of Representatives during the Nixon administration, said members of Congress most often approach him for help only after they have exhausted their own efforts in trying to persuade a department or agency to accommodate them.

Although Friedersdorf contended that he treats all requests for such help equally, even if they come from "the most partisan Democrats," he said most such appeals come from Republicans because it is a Republican administration.

"They will have things that are important to them where they've struck out with all their appeals, and by the time we get it it's either a crisis or a court of last resort, whether it's trying to get somebody a job, or whatever the favor is."

Friedersdorf said that "after something has been given a close look by a department or agency, there's nothing wrong with a congressman saying [to the White House], 'I want you to have one more look at this.' I think that's perfectly legitimate, part of the process."

When the White House intervenes in such a case, according to Friedersdorf, the purpose is to "run it through the system again" to make sure the legislator has "had a fair shake."

Sometimes White House aides sit in on agency and department meetings that are called to review a decision, Friedersdorf said. "We don't like to do that, but sometimes it's necessary" because the legislator insists on it.

Friedersdorf said that "99 out of 100 congressmen" are satisfied with the final outcome, even if the decision goes against them, since they can tell their constituents that

## Switching Votes: Outright Trade or Just a 'Factor'?

On May 14, 1975, a New York Republican representative considered generally moderate on labor issues voted in favor of a labor-backed \$5.3-billion emergency jobs bill.

Less than three weeks later, the same legislator, Rep. Donald J. Mitchell, surprised labor observers by switching sides and voting to sustain President Ford's veto of the bill (HR 4481). The attempt to override fell short by five votes. (1975 Almanac p. 793)

Three weeks after that, word leaked out that the Air Force had reversed a 1974 decision to close down the Rome Air Development Center (RADC), a large installation at Griffiss Air Force Base in Mitchell's district.

The emergency jobs bill was designed to create one million jobs to help counteract the recession. The decision to leave RADC open saved 1,294 jobs in Mitchell's district.

Did Mitchell trade his vote for keeping the facility open? In an interview, Mitchell denied that he negotiated an outright trade. But he acknowledged that he had discussed both issues with the White House prior to switching his vote, and that his switch was "a factor" in the Pentagon's decision.

"My vote on the jobs bill was a factor in keeping the base open, but not the key factor," Mitchell said. "Both issues were decided primarily on the merits. I don't think how I voted on that bill was a key factor."

Max L. Friedersdorf, Ford's chief congressional lobbyist, acknowledged that Mitchell had been applying heavy pressure about the base at the White House, and that the White House had intervened at the Pentagon to ensure that Mitchell received a "fair hearing" on the matter.

Friedersdorf declared, "We were very sympathetic [to Mitchell] and gave him all the assistance we could in asking the Defense Department to give him all due consideration on it. I know that the base issue was on his mind all last year, and I don't recall ever seeing him for the last year without his mentioning his concern over Griffiss Air Force Base."

Friedersdorf said he did not know whether Mitchell believed that by switching his vote on the jobs bill he could help save RADC. But, Frieders-

dorf said, "I'm sure that people who have things of importance to them that are pending want to be in a position of supporting the administration."

In announcing his decision to keep the center open, then-Air Force Secretary John L. McLucas said he had applied "additional factors that I felt should be considered before determining my final course of action."

McLucas, now administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, said new studies showed the Air Force would not save as much as it originally had thought when the decision to shut down the facility was first announced.

"I don't think my story is incredible or hard to believe," said McLucas, reminded of the timing of the veto vote and the Air Force reversal. Noting the intensity of Mitchell's efforts to save the center, McLucas said Mitchell had done "everything he could, including exerting White House pressure."

However, McLucas contended that there was "no pressure applied to me personally" by the White House.

Rep. Mitchell declared that in his discussions with the White House about the facility, "there was no *quid pro quo*, no promises made."

Asked if the jobs bill veto and the RADC closing were ever discussed with White House officials during the same

conversation and if he had ever raised one issue in relation to another, Mitchell replied, "That's right."

Mitchell at another point said, "I don't know from one conversation to another. I certainly knew how the White House felt about the veto override, and they knew how I felt about the base."

Griffiss is regarded by many in Mitchell's district as a major factor in the economic health of the region, which includes most of the Mohawk River Valley in upstate New York. The question of which candidate can best help protect the base usually is a major issue in congressional elections.

The district was jolted about three weeks after Mitchell's 1974 election to a second term when the Defense Department announced the closing of RADC, along with 111 other base closings and realignments throughout the country.

Mitchell immediately joined with a group of local political and business leaders to try to save the facility.

The Air Force in February 1975, commissioned an independent study of the impact of the closing on the region. The results, issued May 8, supported local arguments against the closing.

On May 14, Mitchell voted in favor of the jobs bill. Eight days afterward, the Air Force announced it was postponing its decision on the RADC closing for two more months.

Mitchell reversed his support of the jobs bill and voted to sustain the veto on June 4. The vote followed a heavy White House lobby campaign that focused on 49 Republicans who, like Mitchell, had voted for the bill originally. Mitchell was one of 28 Republicans who switched sides.

Three weeks after the vote, a trade newspaper, *Electronic News*, reported that the Air Force had decided to leave RADC open. The official announcement came July 31.

For his efforts, Mitchell received a hero's welcome in his district. Under the headline "Job Well Done, Don," a local newspaper commented editorially, "Mitchell did—and would do again—a great service to his district by convincing the Air Force that the unit should remain at Griffiss."

New York Gov. Hugh L. Carey (D) said the RADC campaign showed "our system of government at its very best."



Rep. Donald J. Mitchell

"they went the extra mile and left no stone unturned to try and help."

Asked if he thought such tactics were improper, Friedersdorf said, "Of course, anything can get out of control. But I have never really felt anyone has made a demand on me that was not a legitimate request."

## Code of Ethics?

Pressler said his brush with White House aide Loen left him with a "positive attitude" toward executive branch lobbying. "We need lobbyists," Pressler said. "They perform a positive function in transmitting information, and the White House lobbyists have a legitimate function, too."

Pressler said that "as a freshman" he may have "overreacted" to Loen's approach to him about the gas deregulation bill. "A more seasoned politician might not have reacted that much," he said.

Nevertheless, Pressler said he is going ahead with plans to introduce a bill to "clarify the relationship" between lobbyists and legislators.

The measure would go beyond another bill (S 2477) ordered reported by the Senate Government Operations Committee March 23 setting a stricter definition of private lobbyists. (*Weekly Report* p. 715)

The three main points of the bill Pressler outlined are:

- Contacts between government lobbyists and legislators should be limited to transmitting information and discussing the merits of the bill, and "no mention should be made of any political ramification or patronage appointments or other things that a congressman could be rewarded or penalized with."

- In contacts from labor, business or other private lobbyists, "no implied or actual remarks should be made about contributions to campaign funds."

- Lobbyists should not be able to stand in areas immediately adjacent to the entrances to the House or Senate chambers.

Pressler conceded that such a law would be hard to enforce, since it is difficult to police private conversations.

"But," he said, "at least the relationship would be defined and we would depend on people's good faith to follow these parameters."

"There's a code of ethics for lawyers, the medical profession, and for lobbyists in the South Dakota State Legislature," Pressler said. "Congress should have one, too."

Told of the White House contention that "99 per cent" of the pressure for vote-trading comes from members of Congress, Pressler said, "I think that's right, and I'm no great white knight on a white horse. But I would feel more comfortable if the lobbying role were more closely defined."



Vernon C. Loen

*White House aide quoted as threatening "political trouble."*

*"Members became violent almost" on the closing of military bases. "It created havoc with the legislative operation."*

—William E. Timmons



## 'Fourth Branch'

White House lobbying was first institutionalized along the lines of current activities during the Eisenhower administration. Prior to that, Presidents had worked with Capitol Hill personally or through informal emissaries, such as Woodrow Wilson's postmaster general, Albert Burleson. Harry S Truman's appointments secretary, Matt Connelly, headed a three-man liaison team, but Truman preferred to deal directly with members himself.

During World War II, the Pentagon established a Legislative and Liaison Division to funnel information and requests to and from Congress. Most other departments had followed suit by 1955.

The *Public Administration Review* in 1966 quoted a freshman Democrat as saying, "I had heard a lot about lobbyists before I came to Washington, and expected to be besieged when I arrived. I was. To my amazement, the first 10 lobbyists who came to see me were from the 10 executive departments, offering assistance, literature and advice on their legislative programs."

Eisenhower set up the first extensive White House liaison team, consisting originally of Bryce N. Harlow, Wilton B. Persons and Gerald D. Morgan. It was patterned on the Pentagon system, which Harlow and Persons had developed in 1942.

While the Eisenhower team was regarded as low-key and a "model of restraint," the aggressive Kennedy and Johnson liaison staffs under Lawrence F. O'Brien "very nearly became a fourth branch of government," according to Maura E. Heaphy in a monograph, "Executive Legislative Liaison," published in 1975 by the Center for the Study of the Presidency.

But Johnson, like President Ford a veteran power-broker in Congress before becoming President, kept up his close personal contact with members while in the White House. One Johnson aide recalled that the President had a habit of telephoning relatively obscure, junior members at home during the dinner hour and asking for their support on a close vote. "That impressed them," the aide said.

Retired veteran Rep. Porter Hardy Jr. (D Va. 1947-69) told Congressional Quarterly that Johnson once called him asking for support on a bill.

"He was really raring for it, and he said in effect, 'You may need me some time, and I'll remember this if you'll do it.'"

Porter said he already had decided to vote for the bill but pretended he was giving in as a favor to Johnson.

"And there did come a time when I didn't let him forget his promise," Hardy said.

—By Donald Smith

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date

May 5

TO: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: CHARLES LEPPERT

Please Handle \_\_\_\_\_

For Your Information  \_\_\_\_\_

Per Our Conversation \_\_\_\_\_

Other:

*Imp  
File*

HOUSE CONTACTS FOR REPUBLICAN MEMBERS

MINORITY LEADER	JOHN J. RHODES	Staff Director: John J. Williams	50604	H-230
		Legislative Counsel: Dennis J. Taylor	50608	H-228
MINORITY WHIP	ROBERT H. MICHEL	Ralph Vinovich	56201	2112
REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE	JOHN B. ANDERSON	Mike MacLeod	55107	1618
		Legislative Digest: Joan Reed	55396	322 HOBA
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE	GUY VANDER JAGT	Steve Stockmeyer	51800	512 HOBA
REPUBLICAN PERSONNEL COMMITTEE	JOHN H. ROUSSELOT	Helena Hutton	56168	1620
REPUBLICAN POLICY	BARBER B. CONABLE	Martha Phillips	56168	1620
REPUBLICAN RESEARCH	LOUIS FREY	Tom Raines	50871	1616
Minority Floor Assistant		Joe Bartlett	58888	H-220
Minority Floor Assistant		Walt Kennedy	52139	HB-13
Minority Floor Assistant		Tom Winebrenner	54768	HB-13
Minority Floor Assistant		Ron Lasch	54768	HB-13
Minority Cloakroom Phones - Manager		Bill Pitts	57350	H-223
	Assistant Managers	John Tuck, Bill Fritts		
Chief Minority Page		Tom Tear	57350	H-223
Reading Clerk		Bob Berry	54260	H-324
Minority Journal Clerk		Lee Thomas	54110	H-324
Minority Tally Clerk		Maxine Snowden	54710	H-324
Minority Enrolling Clerk		Dan Weaver	55848	H-157
Minority Bill Clerk		Paul Hays	54470	H-324
Minority Finance Officer		Bob Coleman	56515	263
Clerk, House Minority Room		Tom Lankford	52641	WA26

## COMMITTEE CONTACTS

Only the senior Republican counsel or staff director is listed in the main Minority Office.  
Please indicate the subject matter of your call for referral to the appropriate Minority staff.

COMMITTEE	RANKING MEMBER	PHONE	ROOM	COMMITTEE STAFF	PHONE	ROOM
AGRICULTURE	WAMPLER	53861	2422	Hyde Murray	52171	1301
APPROPRIATIONS	CEDERBERG	53561	2306	Mike Hugo	53481	1018
ARMED SERVICES	WILSON	53201	2307	Paul Tsompanas	57120	2120
BANKING, CURRENCY & HOUSING	JOHNSON	55121	2233	Orm Fink	52258	B-371-A
BUDGET	LATTA	56405	2309	Mel Miller	57270	210 HOBA
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	GUDE	55341	104	Mark Mathis	57158	1307
EDUCATION & LABOR	QUIE	52271	2182	Bob Andringa	53725	2179
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	BROOMFIELD	56135	2435	Everett Bierman	56735	B-359
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS	HORTON	54916	2229	Phil Carlson	55074	2153
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION	DICKINSON	52901	2436	Louis Ingram	52060	H-330
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS	SKUBITZ	53911	2211	Mike Marden	56065	1329
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE	DEVINE	55355	2206	Lew Berry	53641	2322
JUDICIARY	HUTCHINSON	53761	2336	Frank Polk	56906	B-351-C
MERCHANT MARINE & FISHERIES	RUPPE	54735	203	Pat Morris	52650	1337
POST OFFICE & CIVIL SERVICE	DERWINSKI	53961	1401	Ted Kazy	54054	309-D
PUBLIC WORKS & TRANSPORTATION	HARSHA	55705	2457	Clif Enfield	59446	2165
RULES	QUILLEN	56356	102	Bill Crosby	56991	H-306
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY	MOSHER	53401	2368	Mike Superata	58772	2321
SMALL BUSINESS	CONTE	55335	239	James Phalen	54038	B-343-C
STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT	SPENCE	52452	120			
VETERANS AFFAIRS	HAMMERSCHMIDT	54301	2453	John Holden	53551	338
WAYS & MEANS	SCHNEEBELI	54315	1336	John Meagher	54021	1105
JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING				Paul Beach	45241	S-151

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Cebry

May 24, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JACK MARSH

What are we doing to get inserted in the Congressional Record the speeches and statements which the President makes which might be of broad national interest?

I particularly make reference to speeches which set out significant policy issues.

JOM/dl



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 9, 1976

TO

MEMORANDUM FOR: ~~MAX FRIEDERSDORF~~

FROM: ~~JACK MARSH~~

Would Richard Quick be a possibility for the GSA Legislative job?

I don't know Quick that well, having only a slight acquaintanceship with him.

I would prefer talking to Quick before giving him my recommendation.

Max

JUL 30 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*

When the President boards the helicopter on the South lawn Friday for departure to Mississippi there will be a large contingent of Christian youth fellowship bicyclists who started a trip to Washington from the Gerald R. Ford Parkway in Grand Rapids, Michigan on July 14 in honor of the President and America's Bicentennial observation.

The group arrived at the White House yesterday and will be on the South lawn Friday to witness the President's departure and then take a guided tour of the White House.

The approximately 40 young men represent 11 states including a large contingent from the President's home state.

The leader of the group is Bob Hardley who is a native of Traverse City and a graduate of Grand Rapids School of Bible and Music and now resides in Indiana.

If the President has any time it is hoped that he can say hello to the delegation.

bcc: ~~Marsh~~  
Cheney  
O'Donnell



AUG 12 1976

August 12, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CONNOR

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF

SUBJECT:

Senator Goldwater/Sequoia

I would like to assist Senator Goldwater with the attached request.

He is being advised that the maximum load for the Sequoia is 40 persons.

I would like to accommodate him on one of the dates requested and give him a cost per couple.

Many thanks.

cc: Jack Marsh  
Bill Kendall  
Joe Jenckes



*DIT*  
*want to see re files.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF  
FROM: JOE JENCKES *JJ*  
SUBJECT: Senator Goldwater Request

Senator Goldwater would like to use the Sequoia on either September 23 or 24 to entertain approximately 50 - 60 people. The Senator and Mrs. Goldwater will be celebrating their 40th wedding anniversary.

He would like to know the cost per couple if, in fact, it is possible for him to use the yacht. I told him I would check with you.



AUG 13 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 13, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY

FROM:

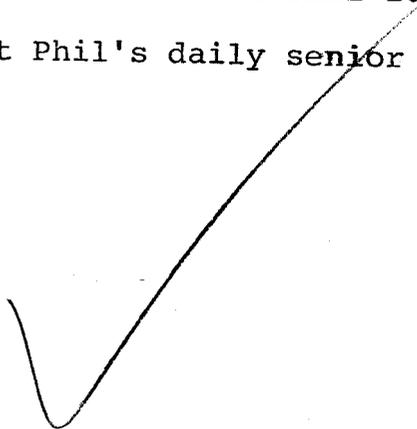
MAX FRIEDERSDORF

*M.G.*

During the convention next week, Bob Wolthuis will be in charge of our office and will coordinate any possible Congressional problems and activities with Phil Buchen.

Bob will also represent us at Phil's daily senior staff meeting.

cc: / Jack Marsh  
Phil Buchen  
Bill Kendall  
Charlie Leppert  
Bob Wolthuis



SEP 10 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BILL GREENER

FROM:

MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*

SUBJECT:

M.C. Marjorie Holt (R-MD)

Mrs. Holt requests one of the First Family visit the bullroast at Mago Vista Beach, North of Annapolis, on September 19th, between 1:00 and 5:00 p.m. (no speeches, just mingle).

cc: Jack Marsh  
Charlie Leppert  
Bob Wolthuis  
Susan Porter

