

DIARY OF WHITE HOUSE LEADERSHIP
MEETINGS -- 91st CONGRESS

September 19, 1969

The special meeting convened for breakfast at 8:00 a. m. in the West Room. Tables arranged in a semicircle faced the charts used the last meeting. The menu consisted of choice of juice, choice of scrambled eggs or Eggs Benedict, bacon, sausage, kippers, and toast, sweet rolls and coffee. At 8:40, the President recognized Laird, who said that the November and December draft calls will be canceled, and the October quota (29,500) will be spread over the 3-month period by administrative action. He hopes to narrow the selection group and employ the moving age group system. To facilitate this, we will press for legislative action that will make possible the random selection system. That is not a lottery system but a system which bases draft calls on birth dates arbitrarily chosen from the 12 months following each draft call.

Mrs. Smith said that this would be extremely helpful to the Party on campus, but she is afraid it will be impossible to avoid a dozen difficult amendments on the floor of the Senate. Tower agreed that the bill would become a "Christmas tree" on the floor. Arends reported that Rivers has agreed to hold hearings on draft reform following action on the procurement bill scheduled next week. RMN said that the Party should strive to make draft reform a major issue. It involves either directly or indirectly nearly every family in America. At this point, he expressed concern about a news story following the last meeting. It said that the White House had already written off part of its own legislative program as hopeless. He expressed the hope that there would be no similar statement to the press which could be the basis of such a misstatement. The President takes the position that the Congress will do its duty and enact legislation in all of the fields covered in legislative proposals made by the President.



Before introducing Blount, RMN said again, as he has said each time the opportunity has arisen, that he fully supports the Postmaster General in the postal reorganization fight and would continue to support him even if he had not a single ally in the Congress. Blount said that on Tuesday the Committee will vote to decide whether to take up the Dulski bill or the Administration bill. Fourteen of the 26 members have committed their support to the latter. He discussed the pay bill in much the same terms as he did at the last meeting but ventured the prediction that passage of H. R. 13000 would have the effect of killing all chance for postal reform. He criticized the Pay Commission proposal in the pay bill and suggested that the decision will soon have to be made whether to attempt to amend the pay bill into acceptable form or to allow the bill in its present unacceptable form to be passed and incur a veto. Three hundred editorials favor postal reform; 19 oppose. RMN concluded the subject by observing that his Administration was not elected to manage the mess better but to change the system so that there would be no mess and so it would better serve the people.

Ford agreed that what happens to the reorganization bill depends in great measure upon what happens to the pay bill and the rate bill. Mayo said that the pay bill would cost \$1.25 billion for the balance of FY70 and for FY71, \$4 billion.

Before recognizing Mitchell, RMN said that the Chief of Police of the City of New York has told him that there is a new spirit in the department based upon a conviction that local police departments will have the backing of the Justice Department and the cause of law enforcement has therefore "turned the corner." He warned, however, that with the coming of new disorder in the streets and on the campus, the law and order issue which is now relatively quiescent will become vital again. He attributed Reagan's unprece-



mented gubernatorial popularity to the hard line Reagan has taken on campus revolts.

Mitchell reported that the most recent FBI Crime Index report shows that for the first half of 1969, the rate of increase in crime is down. Turning to the charts, he said that so far as the District of Columbia is concerned, "we will never reduce the statistics until we get the criminals in the clink." He emphasized the need for more police, more judges, speedier trials and pretrial detention. Specifically, he believes that passage of legislation will be necessary for the progress already made to be advanced. He called attention to the fact that while the Senate Judiciary Committee has completed hearings, there has been no final action on the Organized Crime bill and that the House has been inactive on all crime legislation.

RMN asked me (Poff) what the prospects are in the House. I began by saying that I felt we should consider the policies and politics of tactics. At the last meeting, there seemed to be a feeling that the Judiciary Committee should be attacked for inaction. However, I reminded the group that more than the Judiciary Committee is involved in the administration of the 7-point crime package. In addition to the Judiciary Committee, the Committee on the District of Columbia, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Ways and Means Committee have jurisdiction over some of the Administration's crime bills. I reported that a House subcommittee has already completed hearings on witness immunity; that another Judiciary subcommittee has scheduled hearings on obscenity legislation for September 25; and that still another has scheduled hearings on bail reform for October 15. In the Senate, the Judiciary Committee staff has completed a redraft of S. 30, which tentatively the Committee expects to begin considering sometime in the middle of the month. I agree with the Attorney General that we need the laws the Administration has requested if we are to be successful in reducing the crime



statistics and that this will be the best political posture we can present to the electorate next year. For that reason, I counseled caution in making a frontal attack upon the legislative committees, at least until next January, when the issue will be more visible to the electorate.

RMN agreed that we should not make individual attacks upon individual chairmen, but he felt that Congress as a whole should be attacked in general for dragging its feet on the legislation necessary to deal with the crime crisis. He suggested that the message should be that we will finish the job if the Congress will give us the tools. Scott said that the Democratic Policy Committee in the Senate controls the progress of legislation and that it is obvious the Policy Committee has instructed the Democratic leadership in the Senate to halt the legislative process with respect to crime legislation and all other legislation recommended by the Administration.

RMN then reviewed the subjects discussed at the last meeting, including Vietnam, inflation and the legislative stalemate. He was in rare form. He was intense and yet relaxed; vocal yet anxious to listen; obviously acutely aware of the political significance of each of the issues reviewed and yet concerned for the impact of each upon the welfare of the nation.

The meeting adjourned as the President arose at 10:40.

RICHARD H. POFF

RHP:MJ



K - Send to Bob
Hartmann

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 19, 1969

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

SENATOR GORDON ALLOTT

AND

REPRESENTATIVE GERALD FORD

FOLLOWING REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP MEETING

THE ROOSEVELT ROOM

10:50 A.M. EDT

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Good morning.

The first news conference of the leadership since before the trip to California of the President finds Senator Allott and myself appearing. I don't want to pre-empt what a Senator might say, but I think in order to explain the situation, Senator Scott had to catch a plane for Pennsylvania, someplace in his State, and as a result, Senator Allott is standing in for him in the Senate Leadership at this time.

We had the second of two meetings with the President and went into, again, in greater detail, more comprehensively, the long list of legislative recommendations made by the President since he took over in January.

As all of you know, it is an extensive list of some 40 programs. The conclusion is that the Administration wants action on the whole program, or all of the various programs. There is some disappointment that there has not been more affirmative action across the board.

There were extensive discussions in three areas, which I think all of us agreed need immediate action. One would be the wide variety of crime bills that the Administration has sent to the Congress. I think there are seven in all. The Attorney General was there and he was encouraged by the recent statistics in the City of New York.

The FBI will make an announcement, I think on September 23rd, where Mr. Hoover points out that while the rate of increase in crime for the first half of 1969 was less severe than the two preceding years, the President, and all of us, feel that the Administration must be given these new legislative tools so that we can do a better job in the area of law enforcement.

There was discussion of the need and necessity for the President's recommendation for draft reform. It does look encouraging that action will be taken in the House committee, and hopefully in the Congress as a whole.

There was a discussion of the need and necessity -- and this is very high on the priority list -- of postal reform. The Postmaster General was there. We are a bit optimistic that that legislation, hopefully, will move in the near future.

MORE



That is, in broad outline, the situation. Senator Allott may want to add to it or expand.

SENATOR ALLOTT: I don't think there is much to add to it, Gerry. I think you will all be interested in the announcement made by the President this morning. It is a reform of the draft situation which many of us have been calling for for a long time, which I think will give our young people much encouragement and much hope for their own futures. This has been the fruit, in my opinion, of a lot of the unrest among our young men and women particularly.

I might say that the fact that I am here doesn't mean that we have had an election in the Senate yet. I am just merely filling in for Senator Scott.

The emphasis we want to put on this today is that we have a broad area of legislative proposals by the President and we believe that those are all necessary -- every one of them, not only in the area of postal reform, which has been a mess a long time, but in social welfare and all of these other areas -- are necessary if we are going to turn this country around and really get hold of the Government and eventually control inflation.

Q Gerry, you say the whole program. At this late setting, is it realistic to expect that kind of action?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Naturally, we would be optimistic, but we are realistic and cannot really expect the total program to be approved during this session. It is such a broad program, it has so much meat and substance in it, that the Congress would be here until New Years Eve if we were able to do the whole job.

But the President's emphasis will be on getting the Congress, from subcommittee to committee to Floor action, in getting movement, and we are a little disappointed that there has not been quite the response that I think the public wants and certainly we want.

Q Gerry, just so we don't make a misinterpretation of this, would I be right in understanding that this lack of accomplishment is due solely to the Majority opposition in Congress?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not say that the view of the Administration, including myself, is that the blame at this point should be placed on any part of the Majority party. I say for myself, the cooperation I have gotten from the Democratic Leadership in the House has been excellent. But there are elements in the Democratic Party, and I think they are among those in the more liberal part of the spectrum, that have not given as much cooperation in getting some of this legislative movement as I think we should.

Q Senator Allott, did the President indicate in any way his preference for someone for Minority Leadership?

SENATOR ALLOTT: No, he did not. I am sure that it is the attitude of the President, he having had long experience with the Congress, that he knows well that this is the prerogative of the Senate, and I am sure that the last thing he would do would be to try to interfere in any way.



Q Would you care to voice a prediction on who will win?

SENATOR ALLOTT: No, I would not.

Q Congressman Ford, beyond the three topics you mentioned, crime control, the draft and postal reform, are there any other priorities that have been set forth by the President as far as the legislative program for the year is concerned?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: As I said at the outset, there are about 40-plus programs that are on the agenda submitted by the President. I think they want them all. These were the three that got the most attention this morning. I would not want to pick and choose any further at this point.

Q There was some suggestion that a priority list, in effect, of those things to which you wanted to give the most attention was likely to come out of this meeting. Did it?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: There was no such decision made this morning. There may be subsequent discussion, further refinement in our regular meeting next Tuesday. This is something that has to be done on a day-to-day basis because some action may be taken in the House or Senate that changes the situation.

All we can say right now is, the whole program is backed by the President and the Leadership, but we are, at this precise moment, concentrating in these three areas.

Q Do these three areas constitute what we often hear described as a "must list"?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: That term wasn't used, but the mere fact that these three were discussed in perhaps greater detail than some of the others might indirectly indicate that was what was intended.

Q Senator Allott, has the President given up on separate action on the investment tax repeal?

SENATOR ALLOTT: I could not answer that because that matter was not discussed.

Q Is tax reform on the priority list?

SENATOR ALLOTT: I would not say that there was a priority list. I think it is a mistake to get this idea out. As Gerry Ford has discussed here, we went over several items this morning. The three that got the highest attention were the ones he named, but there is no such thing as a priority list. These were discussed at length and, therefore, deemed to be of very great importance.

But there is no such thing as putting 1, 2, 3, 4 on any list. We think the whole program is important.

MORE



Q The electoral reform bill swept through the House yesterday. Would both of you gentlemen address yourselves to its prospects in the Senate?

SENATOR ALLOTT: I will have to refer to Will Rogers at this time: It is not what I read in the papers, but what I hear in the halls.

I think there will be a great deal of discussion on it in the Senate, and I do think there will be electoral reform in this Congress, not necessarily this fall. But in the Senate I believe that the district plan, one of two or three that are being offered, will receive much more thorough support than it received in the House. So it could well be, although I don't say it will happen, it could well be that when the Judiciary Committee finishes with this, that there would be a considerable difference between the House and Senate versions, although there is strong support in the Senate, as you all know, for the version which the House passed.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would be the last one to estimate what the Senate might do on a matter of this importance, but I can say that in the House of Representatives the vote was unbelievably good, 339 to 70, as I recall. In January of this year I never would have forecast that as a possibility. But the merits of the system vis-a-vis the existing method of selecting the President, and the other alternatives, the evidence was accumulated over the time in the committee and elsewhere, and I think the House felt under all the circumstances this was the best way to do it.

I hope the Senate will go through the same experience and we can do something in this Congress so we can get on with the job of getting State ratification, if not by 1972, certainly for '76.

MORE



Q Was tax reform discussed at all this morning?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Not tax reform in detail. The President reiterated his support for tax reform, but the details of the bill were not discussed.

Q Congressman Ford, we are now almost a quarter of the way through the fiscal year of 1970 and not a single appropriations bill has cleared the Congress. Is there anything the President can do or is contemplating doing to get the Congress to pass the bills that keep the government running?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: As a former Member of the Committee on Appropriations, I am disturbed that there has not been final action, that there has not been more action, on bills in both the House and Senate. I think this is caused by two problems: One, the expansion of authorization proposals on a one-year basis; and two, the transmission from one Administration to another.

I hope that we can get over this hump in 1969 and in 1970 do a better job. I believe that pressure has to come from Congressional leaders primarily in this area.

Q Has the President expressed himself about this?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Not in my presence.

Q I mean this morning.

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: No.

Q Does the President plan anything so far as either of you know to light a fire under this Congress?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I would not want to say, in the first place I don't know, just exactly what the President is going to do in this regard. I say again, there is a disappointment shared by myself and the other leaders, along with the President, that more has not been done. But how he will approach the problem, I cannot say at the moment.

Q Congressman Ford, you mentioned these three areas, that there was more discussion on these, and you said postal reform was a very high priority. Do you regard all these three as something for action in this Session of Congress, for final passage?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: Well, if not final passage, substantial action. What distresses me is that the President sent a program in the area of crime up 5, 6 or 7 months ago. For example, witness immunity was sent up April 23; a message or program on illegal gambling on April 23; a message on organized crime, April 23; proposals in the area of obscenity in May of 1969; drug control a month or two ago; wage earner tax amendments, a long time ago. Very little has come out of either subcommittees or committees yet.

These are highly important legislative tools that the new Administration badly needs to get more results in fighting crime across the board. I hope and trust that the Committee on the Judiciary in both House and Senate will move more quickly than they have in these particular areas. This is most important from the point of view of law enforcement around the country.



Q Is the Democratic Study Group in the House opposed to these measures? Are these the liberals you are talking about who are blocking this legislation?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I think in some areas that is accurate. The bail reform legislation has meet with some resistance by some of the liberals. The preventative detention program of the Attorney General has been opposed by some of the liberals. Yet, the Attorney General spoke this morning and he said in many instances when a man is before the courts in the District of Columbia he will be up there not on one charge, one alleged crime, but four or five. It is the existence of these known criminals roaming around the District of Columbia that has caused a good bit of our current crime problem right here in the District of Columbia and it is probably true elsewhere.

The liberals in this case have been a roadblock in this legislation.

Q I wonder if I could ask one last question, Congressman Ford. You keep talking of being disappointed and you talk of putting pressure, which, of course, is an old weapon. Yet, nothing is being done.

I wonder if you could be objective. Would you accept that this is a do-nothing Congress? On the record, Gerry, is this a do-nothing Congress?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD: I will not pass judgment on this Congress at this point. My feeling is, and I have said it before, that on the things we have done, I think a quality job has been accomplished. There are many things left undone, but I will pass final judgment on it when we adjourn in sine die.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 11:05 A.M. EDT)



SUMMARY OF HOUSE ACTION ON ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM

The House and Senate have enacted and the President has signed into law:

1. Reorganization Authority
2. Debt Ceiling Increase
3. Commodity Credit Corporation
4. I. D. A.
5. Six-month Surtax Extension

The House completed Congressional action and sent to the President on September 3rd:

6. Older Americans Authority

House action has been completed on the following:

1. Water Quality Improvement Act (April 16th)
2. Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments (April 23rd)
3. Maritime Authorization (May 15th)
4. Hill-Burton Extension (June 4th)
5. Military Construction Bill (August 5th)
6. Interest Equalization Tax (August 7th)
7. Tax Reform Bill (August 7th)
8. Peace Corps Authorization (September 8th)
9. Student Loans (September 15th)

The House has also passed six Fiscal 1970 Appropriations Bills, as follows:

1. Treasury, Post Office and Executive Office
2. Agriculture
3. Independent Offices and H. U. D.
4. Interior and Related Agencies
5. State, Justice, Commerce, the Judiciary and Related Agencies
6. Labor and H. E. W.

The Legislative Appropriation Bill will be on the Floor this week (September 15-20th)

The Public Works Appropriation Bill is due for markup soon.

Hearings are underway on the Department of Transportation Appropriation Bill.

Defense, Military Construction and Foreign Aid Appropriations Bills are waiting upon authorization. District of Columbia is awaiting revenue legislation. There probably will be the usual supplementals.

(The Senate has passed the Treasury, Post Office etc. Appropriation Bill, which is now in conference; and the Agriculture Bill, not yet sent to conference.)



The House will vote this week (September 15-20th) on Electoral Reform Constitutional Amendment.

Thus the House will have completed action this week on 23 major items.

The progress of major Administration proposals pending in House Committees is as follows:

Agriculture: Hearings are underway on Food Stamp program; Hardin is being pressed by the Chairman for Administration farm bill recommendations on September 24th.

Armed Services: Markup started August 12th on Military Procurement (includes Safeguard.) There has been no action on Draft Reform.

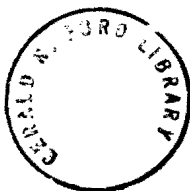
Banking and Currency: Bank Holding Companies compromise bill was reported July 23rd. Rule was sought September 1st. Export Control hearings are completed. Straight extension for two years seems likely. Housing Bill markup is underway. Interest Control Authority is expiring September 21st; temporary 90-day extension likely.

District of Columbia: No action on Court Reorganization Bill. The Revenue Bill was passed August 11th.

Education and Labor: Coal Mine Safety: Hearings are completed; it is now before full committee.
Manpower Training: Nothing is scheduled.
Occupational Safety: Hearings are scheduled to start September 16th.
O. E. O. Extension: Hearings are completed. Nothing is scheduled.
Equal Opportunity Enforcement: Nothing is scheduled.

Foreign Affairs: Foreign Aid authorization hearings are completed; markup is underway. Administration asked \$2.6 billion; dollar amount is in doubt.

Government Operations: Grant Consolidation: Hearings completed. Republicans may try to add Roth catalog amendment in committee. Prognosis good.
I. C. C. Reorganization plan is stuck on technical point; how can you transfer function (naming chairman) not expressly authorized by statute?
Consumer Affairs hearings are due in mid-September on perennial Department bill. Fountain subcommittee plans Medicare-Medicaid probe; Moss subcommittee is set to investigate A. I. D. operations in Viet Nam; Thailand; Phillipines etc. (Committee would like to get Revenue Sharing and Population Control recommendations away from Ways and Means. Holding own hearings on Population Growth.)



Interior and Insular Affairs: Field hearings on Alaskan Native Land Claims scheduled for October 12-19th. Committee is awaiting Administration recommendations on water resources, recreational areas and Trust territories.

Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Airport-Airways Bill hearings were completed September 9th; it must go to Ways and Means. Public Broadcasting Corp. rule was granted.

Judiciary: Obscenity hearings are scheduled September 25th; prognosis for 1969 is good.
Voting Rights: Administration substitute was rejected in committee; rule has been asked.
Preventive Detention: Hearings scheduled for October 15th.
Organized Crime: Nothing is scheduled.

Merchant Marine and Fisheries: Awaiting Administration recommendations. Hearings are scheduled September 16th on National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency.

Post Office and Civil Service: Postal Reform bills: Hearings are completed. Postal Rates hearings began September 10th. Udall Pay Bill was reported September 9th; awaiting rule.
Obscenity hearings are underway.
Eliminating Postmaster Confirmation: Awaiting subcommittee action.

Public Works: California Disaster Relief conferees considering Camille add-on. Truck and Bus Size and Weight Bill: Markup underway.

Ways and Means: Airways Users Tax hearings are scheduled September 16th. Tariff/Trade revisions may be next.
Unemployment Insurance: Nothing is scheduled.
Narcotics Control: Nothing is scheduled.
Population Growth: Nothing is scheduled.

There are no reports from the Committees on House Administration, Internal Security, Rules, Science and Astronautics, Small Business, Standards of Official Conduct and Veterans Affairs.

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Presidential messages, but no draft bills, have been received on Welfare Reform, Revenue Sharing and Social Security.



HOUSE ACTION, PERIOD SEPTEMBER 16 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 18, 1969

Tuesday, September 16, 1969

INTEREST RATES, DIVIDENDS - TIME EXTENSION

The House passed S.J.Res.149 by voice vote, to extend for three months the authority to limit the rates of interest or dividends payable on the time and savings deposits and accounts, thus clearing the measure for the White House.

Wednesday, September 17, 1969

STUDENT LOANS

The House disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to H.R.13194, to amend the Higher Education Act of 1965 to authorize Federal market adjustment payments to lenders with respect to insured student loans. The House asked for a conference with the Senate and appointed as conferees Congressmen Perkins, Green of Oregon, Brademas, Carey, Hathaway, Burton of California, Thompson of New Jersey, Scheuer, Stokes, Clay, Ayres, Quie, Reid of New York, Erlenborn, Esch, Dellenback, Scherle, and Steiger of Wisconsin.

Tuesday, September 16 through Thursday, September 18, 1969

ELECTORAL REFORM

AMENDMENTS REJECTED

The Dowdy substitute, "THE DISTRICT PLAN", by a teller vote of 159 yeas to 192 nays. Under this plan a candidate would have received one electoral vote for each congressional district he carried and two for each State. If a candidate got less than a majority of the electoral vote, the decision would go to a joint session of Congress with each Member casting one vote.

By a teller vote of 147 yeas to 179 nays, the House rejected the Poff substitute, "THE PROPORTIONAL PLAN", under which the electoral vote of a State would be divided among the candidates in proportion to their share of the popular vote. In the event of no electoral vote majority, the decision would go to a joint session of Congress, with the choice being between the two highest contenders, each Member having one vote.

By a teller vote of 64 yeas to 98 nays, the Eckhardt substitute was defeated which would have eliminated the "FAITHLESS ELECTORS".



AMENDMENTS REJECTED

By a voice vote the Wylie substitute which would have incorporated the winner-take-all, district, proportional and direct popular vote plans, was rejected. This substitute would have allowed the States to select the plan of their choice.

The McClory amendment that would have provided for the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment by State Conventions was defeated by a division vote of 9 yeas to 63 nays.

The Ryan amendment which provided that the voters vote separately for the President and the Vice President was defeated by voice vote.

The Hutchinson amendment that provided that both candidates for President and Vice President of the same party could not be from the same State, was defeated by a division vote of 40 yeas to 53 nays.

The Coughlin amendment which provided that in the case of a run-off the House would choose between the highest two candidates and each Member would vote, was defeated by voice vote.

The Ryan of New York amendment providing that Congress establish uniform residency qualifications for voting, and the Conyers amendment to this eliminating the word "residency", were both defeated by voice vote.

The Fish amendment providing that the winner should receive at least 35% of the votes was defeated by voice vote.

The Waggoner amendment providing that the winner receive at least 50% of the votes was defeated by a teller vote of 71 yeas to 91 nays.

The Rogers of Colorado amendment providing that the winner receive at least 45% of the votes was rejected by a teller vote of 67 yeas to 87 nays.

The Pucinski amendment providing that the total electoral vote of a State would be proportioned by the ratio of the popular vote to the total electors of that State, was defeated by voice vote.

The Ryan amendment which stated that Congress set the time, place and manner for a run-off election was defeated by voice vote.

PASSAGE

The House passed H.J.Res.681, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President and the Vice President, was passed by a roll call vote of 339 yeas to 70 nays.



PASSAGE Continued

Prior to passage, the Poff amendment which provided that Congress could provide for the case of the death, inability or withdrawal of any candidate before election, was passed by voice vote.

RECOMMIT

The Dennis motion to recommit with instructions to include the "DISTRICT PLAN", was defeated by a roll call vote of 162 yeas to 245 nays.

Thursday, September 18, 1969

CALIFORNIA DISASTER RELIEF

The House passed by voice vote the conference report to accompany H.R.6508, the California Disaster Relief Act.

