

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP AGENDA

March 11, 1969

Kennedy / Rogers / Mays

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|-------------------|---|
| 8:30 - 8:50 a. m. | I Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty |
| 8:50 - 9:10 a. m. | II Debt Ceiling Increase |
| 9:10 - 9:30 a. m. | III International Development Association |
| 9:30 - 9:40 a. m. | IV Senate Report |
| 9:40 - 9:50 a. m. | V House Report |



DIARY OF WHITE HOUSE LEADERSHIP
MEETINGS -- 91st CONGRESS

March 11, 1969

The President entered at 8:40 a.m. The first item on the agenda was the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Aiken said that it was in better shape than a month ago and that he expected it to be ratified by a substantial vote. He said the problems arise as to Article 3 concerning inspection, Article 5 concerning subsidies to international mining enterprises, Article 6 involving the ABM and a question concerning the right of nonsignatories to pursue development of peaceful applications of nuclear energy."

RMN inquired about the Stennis reservation and said that he hoped that it would not pass. Aiken said that he felt it would not if a vote could be reached this week before some of the Treaty's supporters leave for Bermuda next week. Rogers said that in any event, the treaty involves no additional commitment in the security field. Dirksen guessed that Republican Senators would support the treaty 2 1/2 or 3 to 1. Tower may offer a reservation to maintain the NATO option, but he will vote against ratification.

John Byrnes explained the action of the Ways and Means Committee on the debt ceiling increase and the facts more fully set out in the attached data sheet. Dirksen asked Williams if there would be any trouble in getting action in the Senate Finance Committee. Williams said there would be no trouble in getting action. He did not say what kind. Byrnes pointed out that the \$5 billion cut in the President's temporary ceiling request was in contingencies. He traced prior votes of Republicans in Congress during Democratic administrations; this showed almost all Republicans in opposition to requests for debt ceiling increases. Ford said that a current whip check shows among Republicans, 69 for, 47 against, 38 undecided and 36 absent. Hopefully, among the undecided and absent, enough votes can be found



to increase the Republican contribution to 110. This means that we will need about 100 Democratic votes. Byrnes recalled that the Committee vote was unanimous and feels that we could expect Democratic support. Arends inquired if anyone knew what attitude the 100 Democratic liberals can be expected to take. No reply. Kennedy underscored the importance of favorable action. He said that present figures show that we will pierce the present ceiling April 15, in which case, it will be impossible even to pay employees' salaries. Dirksen said that Republican votes during the Democratic Administration were not so much votes against the debt ceiling increase as votes in protest of unnecessary spending. RMN noted that this is the moment of truth for Republicans in the House, and the question is whether we would rather switch than fight. Rhodes expressed the hope that the Administration could make a public announcement of some economy measure to give Republican House Members something to hang their hats on when they support a debt ceiling increase. Mayo said that cuts will be made but that they will look small, because Johnson's spending projections were deliberately underestimated and revenue projections deliberately overestimated. RMN said that the public must be made to understand the true budgetary picture. This means that any Budget message he sends to Congress must correct the Johnson underestimation and overestimation and then show cuts from that. Otherwise, we can "cut a billion dollars and still come up with the same net figure." Williams will support the debt ceiling increase, but he criticized the Secretary of the Treasury and Budget Bureau Director for "carrying on the farce that the budget will show a surplus." Rather, he said that leaving aside the surplus in trust funds, the administrative budget for FY69 shows a \$7 billion deficit, and for FY70, a \$10.5 billion deficit. He said that Democrats in the Senate will try to hold the ceiling increase to \$6 to \$8 billion in order to make it necessary for the Administration to come back several times for additional increases. Kennedy said that the Administration must take a stronger position and cut spending deeper to control inflation.



Professor Burns suggested that prefatory work begin now on a fiscal message to the Congress explaining the true picture the Administration faces. Smith said that the Rules Committee will meet this afternoon to decide whether the bill would be considered this week or next. He suggested that it is inconsistent for the Administration to support an increase in IDA in the House one day and ask for a debt limit increase the next. Ford suggested that the Administration should propose some realistic reduction in AID before debate begins on IDA. He said that the Congress was certain to cut any request that might be made and the Administration might as well make the cut first.

Widnall said he was more optimistic about the prospects of the IDA bill than Ford. The vote in Committee was 30 for, 2 no and 1 absent. Since then, two Republicans have indicated that they may vote no. He reminded that IDA had been established originally under Ike. All funds are now committed. America's share is dropped to 40%.

Ford reviewed votes cast by Members of the 91st Congress during previous Congresses; the conclusion was that a small majority were opposed to IDA. He said that 84 new Republicans have never voted on the issue. RMN said that the multilateral approach provided by IDA is better than the individual-grant technique and urged that Republicans support the legislation this week. Adair said that some Republicans regard IDA as backdoor foreign aid, essentially for the benefit of India and Pakistan. Currently, they receive 71%. Under the new bill, the share they receive will drop to 51%.

The President asked what the Senate cared to consider. Dirksen mentioned ABM and Peru. Rogers said that he is encouraged by his talk with President Valesco Alvarado concerning the new American emissary, Jack Irwin. The problem is that Peru does not think we are serious about the Hickenlooper Amendment. RMN said that had he been in



the Senate, he would have supported the Hickenlooper Amendment because he believed in its concept and purpose. America must be firm in insisting upon fair payment for American property expropriated by foreign governments.

Dirksen raised a question about S. Res. 85 introduced by Fulbright. This resolution requires legislative approval of foreign commitments made by the President and Secretary. He said that this violates the Constitutional concept of separation of powers. RMN said that having served in both Houses of the Congress, he can appreciate this concern about the executive branch committing the nation to secret obligations. Aiken said that the concern is not that such agreements will be made by the President or Secretary but by lower echelons. Rogers said that if the Senator would give him the name of such a person at such a level, he would not be working the next day.

The President asked for a House report. Ford said that he hopes the ~~House~~ bill will pass the Reorganization Act Extension by the end of next week.

RMN said that he realizes that the Administration's legislative requests pose many difficulties for the legislative leadership. He said that he would not "ride hard" on individual Republican Members because he knows their problems. He suggested that the leaders appeal to individual members to support the Administration on the first battles, even if this involves "turn-arounds" and requires them to "hold their noses."

RMN said that Dirksen and Ford could tell the press that we had discussed the items listed on the agenda but that the subject of ABM had not been raised. However, a decision is expected to be announced this week. Dirksen asked if this means that we should "just weazle out"? RMN inquired, "Is this too difficult for you, Ev?"

RICHARD H. POFF



MARCH 11, 1969

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN,
CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD, AND
RON ZIEGLER, PRESS SECRETARY TO
THE PRESIDENT

AT 10-08 A.M. EST

SENATOR DIRKSEN: We will talk about three things that have been submitted by the President to the Congress.

I shall allude to the Treaty and Representative Ford will talk about the debt and the International Development Association.

There is not too much to be said about the Treaty that you don't already know. It is in the course of discussion now. Just when that will be completed on the Senate Floor remains to be seen. It could conceivably go over into next week, partly because there will be some absentees on some official missions at the end of this week.

I have had a bit of a nose count made so far as our side goes, and I would guess that we will have at least a 2-1/2 to 3-to-1 vote in favor of the Treaty. So, unless all signs fail, I anticipate no difficulty in getting the necessary two-thirds for its ratification.

So that is about the whole Treaty story for the moment.

Q Are you speaking just of the Republicans?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: That is correct, because I don't undertake to count noses on the other side. That is not quite my function and it might very well be resented. But I think the Treaty is in a comfortable position now and it ought to be, because I think it is an acceptable Treaty.

There is one reservation pending, one understanding both by Senator Ervin -- and I believe Senator Tower proposes to over a reservation; perhaps, he may finally decide not to do so.

But that is the whole Treaty story for the moment.

I will let Jerry tell you about what is taking place over on the House side so far as the debt ceiling is concerned and the International Development Association.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: Thank you very much, Ev.

According to the Whip Notice, we have an International Development Association program for tomorrow and the debt limitation legislation for Thursday.

MORE

(OVER)



I understand there may be some delay until next week on the Debt Limitation Bill. But, taking that up first--because it was programmed in the discussion initially--under the budget submitted in January by the outgoing Administration it was perfectly obvious as a mathematical fact that there had to be an increase in the debt limitation.

The House Committee on Ways and Means has recommended a debt ceiling on a temporary basis up to \$377 billion--\$5 billion less than that recommended by the Administration--with a fallback to a permanent debt limitation of \$365 billion a year from this June 30.

It is our feeling that the Republicans in the House will, in better than a majority, vote for the increase in debt ceiling as recommended by the Committee on Ways and Means. It is just a mathematical need and necessity.

We are still operating, as all of you know, with the fiscal situation in the past and the budget as recommended by the outgoing Administration.

The International Development Association calls for a \$480 million subscription by the United States over the next three years. This legislation was initiated by the Eisenhower Administration in 1960. It was reaffirmed again in 1964. It is a bilateral approach to the Foreign Aid Program.

Under the bill, as we have before the House tomorrow, it will call for a reduction in the United States' contribution from 42 percent to 40 percent, which is an improvement even though the United States still makes a substantial contribution.

Here again, I think we will get good Republican support for the legislation and I think it will be approved.

Q Congressman, when will the President have to ask for another debt increase?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: The reduction from the President's request from \$382 billion to \$377 billion, I think, makes it very, very tight as far as the handling of our Federal fiscal affairs is concerned for the next 18 months.

If we are able to make some reductions in expenditures and if the estimates submitted in the budget in January for revenues are valid, the Administration can get by, although it is going to be very tight.

But under even the most optimistic circumstances, using the figures coming out of the Committee on Ways and Means, I think we will have to have another increase, probably a year hence.

Q Congressman Ford, what were the leaders told this morning about the ABM?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: We were told, Mr. Oberdorfer, that we will have a message from the President sometime this week, but we were given none of the details as to what to anticipate.

MORE



Q Is that a message to Congress?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I understand it will be a statement, not a message to the Congress.

Q Will it be a statement made to the Congress or will it be made to the general public?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I would rather have Mr. Ziegler answer that.

MR. ZIEGLER: As we firm that up we will be giving you that information.

Q I wonder if the two leaders would care to give us their opinion on the ABM and how they feel about it?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: Speaking for myself, in the past I have supported the decisions of the previous Administration. I am reserving judgment to see what the new President recommends in this regard. I can trace the history, having been on the Defense Subcommittee on Appropriations for 12 years, going back as far as 1953 when we started the first studies in an anti-ballistic missile system. I would prefer to make no further statement until we have heard what the President, himself, is recommending.

Q Senator Dirksen?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I think there ought to be a little clarification. There was a tendency to believe that the money that was provided heretofore was "no-year" money. I think that is a mistake. They are going to ask for authorizations for military construction and procurement and then ask for appropriations. There is roughly \$1-1/2 billion in the instant budget, assuming, of course, they are going to go along with the program as originally laid out. But that is a matter for the President to first determine, I believe.

There may be variations of what has been submitted heretofore. Consequently, I don't think anything authoritatively can be pronounced on the subject at the moment.

Q Did the President indicate when the statement might be coming?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: No, he didn't. He just said "this week." And I think you ought to make allowances there, too. Let's assume, for example, that he is going to meet with the National Security Council or take counsel from other sources. Obviously, that takes a little time. It is a highly important matter.

So, when you say "this week," it could go over into next week. So, I think, due allowance has to be made.

Q Senator, I don't fully understand your clarification on the budget considerations on the ABM. Are you saying if the President decides to go ahead with the manufacture and deployment, it will take a considerable increase ---

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I didn't say that, no.

Q --- in the appropriation or would the billion and a half that is now in the instant budget be sufficient to cover that?



SENATOR DIRKSEN: That I can't answer. I am trying to make clear that you can get information from various sources. There was some belief that it was "no-year" money and they needed no new authorizations. Well, you do need authorizations for both construction and procurement. Then, of course, you have to set yourself to the amounts that are in the budget at the present time.

Q Have either of you taken soundings in the Senate or the House as to what the sentiment is on these various aspects?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: You can take informal soundings, but obviously you can get no conclusive answer.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: My judgment in the House is that if the President recommends the procurement and the deployment of a system -- without pre-judging what the system will be -- that the House will support the decision.

Q Did the President indicate whether he has made up his mind yet about the ABM?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: He did not.

Q Mr. Ford, I am sorry, if the President comes in and doesn't specify which kind of system he wants, the chances of getting it through the House would be increased?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: The chances would be improved if we had a categorical determination as to the kind of a system. I think it would be unwise to go any further in commenting than that.

Q I didn't quite understand what Senator Dirksen's view was, himself, towards the ABM.

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I uttered no view. I am like a man on a jury, I wait for all the evidence to be in, because it is a highly sensitive and extremely important matter. So wait until all the evidence is in and then I will tell you.

Q I wondered, in the light of what Senator Dirksen has said, if we could move up the 11 o'clock briefing and ask one question of Mr. Ziegler.

MR. ZIEGLER: I will be happy to answer your questions as soon as Congressman Ford and Senator Dirksen conclude. The schedule is very tight.

Q Did you talk about Vietnam?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: There was no discussion about Vietnam.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I would assume that when Secretary Laird comes back there will be some briefing by him as far as leadership is concerned.

MORE



Q Two or three weeks ago you said you would be getting a tax reform message in two or three weeks. Did you find out where you stand on that?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, you know a week is a relative thing. I will remind you of the Scriptures. It says; One day is 1,000 years and 1,000 years is one day.

CONGRESSMAN FORD: I think it is fair to say that we were told that within the next month there would be a number of messages for the legislative program.

Q On what?

CONGRESSMAN FORD: There was no discussion of the details.

Q Did you talk about extending the surtax?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: We only alluded to it virtually.

Q How was that alluded to?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: When you discuss the debt limit, obviously you mention or don't mention that the surtax is included in the receipts that you expect. Beyond that we did not go.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

Q Can we have Mr. Ziegler for one minute?

Q Ron, Senator Dirksen seemed to be indicating that we would not get a statement on the ABM today ---

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Are you going to talk about me behind my back? (Laughter)

Q Ron, do you accept Senator Dirksen's definition of time?

MR. ZIEGLER: I read the Scripture and I am devoted to it.

On the whole matter on the ABM statement -- the President has indicated that he will make a statement on his decision on the ABM sometime this week. That is where it stands and as we firm it up and as the President makes final determinations on this, then, we will provide that information to you.



Q Ron, originally he said "early" this week. I am not trying to accuse him of missing his deadline, but from our planning point of view, is it still likely to be early this week, i.e., before Wednesday?

MR. ZIEGLER: For your planning, the President will make a statement on the ABM sometime this week.

Q What is the chance of slippage into next week?

MORE

(OVER)

MR. ZIEGLER: The President has just said a short time ago that he will make a statement on the ABM sometime this week.

Q But the Senator said it might pass over.

MR. ZIEGLER: The Senator went on to reflect his personal point of view.

Q He said it might go into next week.

MR. ZIEGLER: But I am making it very clear, I think, that the President will have a statement on the ABM sometime this week.

Q Can we rule out today?

MR. ZIEGLER: Yes, you can.

Q Have you decided on a format?

MR. ZIEGLER: No, As soon as we firm up these matters we will be providing that to you. As soon as a decision is made you will be informed immediately.

Q Will you have another NSC meeting on the subject?

MR. ZIEGLER: There is an NSC meeting scheduled for this week where I am sure it will be discussed.

Q When is that?

MR. ZIEGLER: I believe it is Wednesday. I will firm that up at the regular 11 o'clock briefing.

Q Are you waiting for Laird to return?

MR. ZIEGLER: As you know, Secretary Laird does return, I believe, Wednesday evening.

Q Has the President made up his own mind?

MR. ZIEGLER: I would not expand on this subject any further than I have.

Q Ron, the leaders spoke not only of the NSC meeting, but Senator Dirksen suggested he might want to confer with other groups before making his announcement.

MR. ZIEGLER: I think the President made this clear, Smitty, the other day in his Press Conference, that he wanted to discuss it with members of the NSC and also he would be conferring with other parties on the subject.

Q Like who?

MR. ZIEGLER: I would not want to go into precisely who the President confers with on these matters.

MORE



Q Did the President study the report that was given to Dr. DuBridghe that was supposed to be completed, the scientific report?

MR. ZIEGLER: I am not sure if this was in the matter that he has reviewed or not, Herb.

Q But in any case, the President's public announcements would not come prior to the NSC meeting; is that a correct assumption?

MR. ZIEGLER: I would not necessarily indicate that that would be a fully correct assumption. I understand your questioning on this. The only thing I can give you is what I said earlier, and that is that the President will make a statement on the ABM sometime this week. Because the decision as to the precise date that he will make this statement has not been made, I cannot give you any further guidance on this. If I would, I would be speculating along with you.

Q You may have an announcement this afternoon?

MR. ZIEGLER: When the decision is made, we will provide you with the information, yes.

Q What will be the format on that statement, Ron? Do you expect him to go before live TV?

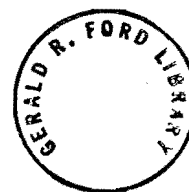
MR. ZIEGLER: I just don't know. The decision on this matter, as I said, has not been finalized by the President.

At 10:45, the President will greet the Easter Seal Girl.

At 11 o'clock, we will have the regular 11 o'clock briefing.

END

AT 10:35 A.M. EST



THE WHITE HOUSE

3/11

Honest differences - underestimates

Johnson budget revised.

More prestige from White House.

NO surplus - 7 billion
deficit
"69"

7 + in 69

Raise debt limit to
finance a surplus
"credibility gap"



Unified Budget / Administrative
budget.

Tax Return - no 10% surcharge.

THE WHITE HOUSE

NEXT
WEEK

Pay Increase -
Executive Reorganization



PERU - Spec. Embassy
\$80 million

Kennedy / Rogers / Mayo

Legislative Program - next month

ABM - not subject of discussion
this week

PERIOD - February 18 to March 10, 1969 (inclusive)

HOUSE ACTION

Tues. Feb. 18 - Un-American Activities

By a record vote of 305 yeas to 79 nays the House adopted H. Res. 89, to change the name of the Committee on Un-American Activities to the Committee on Internal Security. The previous question was ordered by a record vote of 262 yeas to 123 nays.

Tues. Feb. 18 - Internal Security

The House adopted H. Res. 251, electing Members to the Committee on Internal Security and referred matters formerly before the Committee on Un-American Activities to the Committee on Internal Security.

Wed. Feb. 19 - Investigative Authority

Resolutions regarding committee investigative authority were called up and agreed to for the following committees: Public Works, Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Education and Labor, Science and Astronautics, Banking and Currency, Agriculture, and Foreign Affairs.

Wed. Feb. 19 - Communications Satellite

Under a unanimous consent request, the House passed, with an amendment, H.R. 4214, to amend the Communications Satellite Act of 1962 with respect to the election of the board of directors of the Communications Satellite Corp. This passage was subsequently vacated, and a similar Senate Bill, S. 17, was passed in lieu, after being amended to contain the language of H.R. 4214 as passed.

Wed. Feb. 19 - Beauty Parlor

The House agreed to H. Res. 258, providing for a Select Committee on the House Beauty Parlor Operation. Subsequently, the Speaker appointed as members of the select committee Representatives Griffiths, Green of Oregon, and May.

Tues. Mar. 4 - Manpower and Training Act

Under unanimous consent, but considered as if in the Committee of the Whole House, the House passed by voice vote H.R. 497, to amend section 301 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.



PROGRAM AHEAD

Wednesday

- Committee Funding resolutions from House Administration

H. R. 33 - To provide for Increased Participation by the United States in the International Development Association, and for other purposes (subject to a rule being granted)

Thursday

H. R. ___ - Establish limitation on National Debt (subject to a rule being granted)

