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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE
DAN TATE
BILL CABLE

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

I. INTRODUCTION

You have asked us to respond to you regarding points raised at the recent House Whips' meeting, and again during a subsequent conversation you had with Mr. Brademas, as well as the letter from Jim Mattox.

The Whips' meeting in question was held on the morning of Thursday, February 9. It came in the immediate wake of the defeat of our Consumer Agency bill. The meeting began with the Speaker severely chastising the Democrats for not having adequately supported either the bill, the Leadership, or you. His remarks generated a heated outburst of rebuttals, most of which were aimed at the Administration.

Although the meeting itself has precipitated much discussion and debate, it is important that we not view it as a single event or as the expected consequence of losing the Consumer bill. For it is true that the frustrations which

produced the vehemence at that meeting have been simmering for quite some time; it is equally true that no single meeting will vent all those frustrations, and no simple way can be found to overcome them.

We must remember, as well, that not all of the factors which have produced the current level of disharmony originated in the Administration. In fact, many of the tensions have a Congressional ancestry rather than a Presidential one. The growing institutional independence of Congress, the "democratization" of the House and the reduced power of committee chairmen, the evaporation of party loyalty, and the growing political independence of individual Members have all contributed to the current situation. Many seeds of difficulty were sown long before your campaign for President was announced, let alone the advent of your Administration itself.

Nevertheless, we do have some very serious problems facing us; some of those problems are inherited from previous administrations, but others are of our own making. All of them must be addressed, however, and immediate consideration is warranted.

WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS?

Brademas has grouped Congressional complaints into three (3) categories:

1. Logistical Failures. This category includes the obvious but persistent irritants such as unreturned

phone calls, lack of notification on grants, and appointments, etc., lack of notification of visits to Members' districts by high-level Administration officials, and so forth.

2. Political Failures. Many Members believe that this Administration has failed to use discretionary powers of the Executive Branch to benefit our Democratic allies in Congress. Again, grants and appointments are the items most frequently mentioned.

3. Esprit. Too many, perhaps a majority of Democrats, in Congress do not feel they share common goals with you or the Administration generally. They lack a feeling of camaraderie and common purpose. Some apparently have gone so far as to suggest that we are aloof and arrogant, but most just do not feel as close to us, and you personally, as they would like.

In meetings and discussions that we have had with Members and Hill staff in the past week to ten days, the serious nature of the problem has been brought home time and again.

For example, we have been told that the Administration is viewed merely as another "interest group", not unlike organized labor, business or environmentalists. We have been told that one consequence of "Cabinet government" is that the

Administration's program lacks coherence, that too often departments pursue their own interests even if those interests conflict with stated Administration goals. We have been told that the White House Congressional Liaison staff is "unable to deliver," that it "lacks clout."

One of the most frequently heard criticisms is that there seems to be no distinction between good performance and bad performance, either by people within the Administration or on the Hill. Good performance by an Administration official goes unnoticed, but so does poor performance. On the Hill, we hear it said that Members who support us consistently are not rewarded and, to make matters worse, there are no sanctions against those who regularly oppose us.

Regardless of the relative accuracy or the fairness of these complaints, it is the perception with which we must deal and the perception on the Hill is not good. In fact, our friends in Congress consider the situation to be very serious; they are saying that we are at a critical point in the life of this Administration.

SOLUTIONS ALREADY UNDERWAY

We are already working on ways to improve our relations with Congress:

1. We have scheduled informal meetings at Blair House with small groups of House Members and senior

White House staff to give them a chance to get to know each other socially.

2. We are continuing the series of individual meetings with Members which you began in January. The purpose of the meetings is to have a brief exchange on legislative priorities as well as to enlist their support for our program.

Could expand - to 4 or 5 at a time

3. The process of "prioritizing" our legislative agenda is an ongoing one and is designed to (a) give clear signals to the Hill as to what is most important and, (b) inform the Leadership of our views on the preferred timing of priority issues. This should be updated soon.

Agree - get to VP

4. The Congressional Liaison office is coordinating an ambitious program to assist Democratic incumbents in securing top-level officials to appear in their states and districts to help with re-election efforts. This effort is beginning to work.

5. We are constantly trying to find better ways to coordinate with the Domestic Policy staff, OMB, and NSC to ensure that "our own house is in order" and to see to it that confusion is minimized. We have done a good job of making sure that "mixed signals" do not emanate from the White House.

ADDITIONAL STEPS TO BE TAKEN

While we have already moved on several fronts to improve the situation, additional steps are recommended:

1. We need to create several new staff positions in the Congressional Liaison office as follows:

- Notifications Unit. We need three (3) people to track, monitor, and process a portion of the discretionary grants available to the Administration. So long as this process remains solely within the departments, we are prevented from gaining any political capital whatsoever. A "notifications unit" would permit the White House to use such grants, and their announcement, in a timely and productive way. This could possibly be done from outside the White House staff.

- Personnel. We need one (1) additional person whose sole function it would be to handle Congressional recommendations for Executive Branch appointments. It would be this person's responsibility to work with the White House Personnel Office on processing recommendations, to expedite Congressional clearances, to do Congressional notifications and to track our nominations in the Senate. The appointments and nomination situation is so important to Congressional relations generally that it merits at least one person who has that as his/

We must discuss Cabinet first

What does Gammon have now? How good is coordination?

her only responsibility, and that person should be assigned to Congressional Liaison.

• Legislative Coordination. We need two additional persons, to help review legislation currently moving through the process, to help assign priorities, to coordinate timing, to establish and monitor the legislative teams, and to "trouble-shoot" wherever necessary. There is simply too much legislation involved to have this important function handled by the current staff of two. This does not overlap with Stu's function.

See me re your staffing, assignments after my trip immediately

• House and Senate Liaison. To do our job effectively, we need two additional persons to work the House side (plus a "back-up" person for each) and one more on the Senate side (plus a "back-up" person).

While it is true that our "Hill staff" is now the same size as that which existed under the previous Administration, our staff functions in an entirely different situation and atmosphere.

For one thing, the Nixon/Ford CL staff was not pushing an ambitious legislative program. Secondly, the majority in the Congress (which is now 2 to 1), expects special treatment when its party controls the White House. Under Ford, the CL staff had to please only 145 Republicans. We have to cater to 288 Democrats.

DRAFT

- 8 -

Finally, our job is to garner majority votes to secure passage of our legislation, whereas the previous CL staff merely had to get one-third plus one to block veto overrides.

With our liaison staff taking the lead on most of the top legislative priorities, there is simply more to do than our current "Hill staff" can adequately handle.

ALLOCATION OF YOUR TIME

Tim Kraft and the entire scheduling staff have done a superb job in meeting our scheduling needs up to this point; they have been particularly willing to maintain the flexibility necessary for appointments that are generated on short notice or in "crisis" situations. It should be noted, as well, that you spend more time meeting with Members of Congress than did previous Presidents.

*Jin
Willing*
Not only do we need to continue "substance meetings," we also need to block out time each week for photo opportunities for Members and their constituents; we need to increase the number of bill-signing ceremonies in order to include seemingly minor bills that take on great importance to individual Members. These suggested uses of your time may seem frivolous at first glance, but they represent one excellent way of saying "thanks" to our supporters.

DRAFT

- 9 -

COORDINATION OF DEPARTMENT CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON OFFICERS

We intend to substantially alter the relationship that we have with agency CL officers. Instead of using our weekly Friday meetings to receive oral reports from each of them, we will start holding meetings with smaller groups, making assignments of specific Members on individual pieces of legislation, and then following up with a review of their performance. We hope that this will make some progress in alleviating one of the major problems we have -- that is there is little accountability for any actions taken by that level of the Administration. There is no reward or recognition for people who do well and there is no accountability for mistakes, inept performance or for those individuals who go out and pursue a strategy that is directly contrary to a stated Administration position. This must be stopped and we intend to do so.

*may
assign
those to
you*

You asked me to comment on the Jim Mattox letter. As you know, Jim McIntyre has begun a study of this subject. I would like to meet with his people this week and review progress of this study before I comment.

DISCUSSION WITH CABINET

At the appropriate time, we think it is important that you perhaps call a special session of the Cabinet to discuss

*I
agree*

the ways in which we can increase coordination and cooperation to ensure that the Administration as a whole pursues and achieves its goals. We believe that if this is done properly, the concept of Cabinet government can remain intact, but at the same time we can ensure adherence to overall Administration goals.

Mr. President, we know that these proposals are extensive. However, they have been discussed at considerable length within our staff, and we are in complete agreement that these changes are essential for us to be able to perform our function, to serve you as best we can.

THURMOND - EPA

Morris College Gets \$435,000 Grant

Morris College has received a \$435,000 grant from the Economic Development Administration. The money will be used as matching funds for a 1.2 million dollar loan for the construction of a new library and fine arts center.

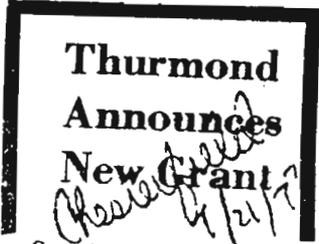
Dr. Coolidge M. Johnson, pastor of the Majority Baptist Church, Spartanburg, South Carolina, was the guest speaker for the affair. Senator Strom Thurmond was a special guest at the day's activities. He praised the College highly for the fine work it is doing and pledged his continued cooperation in helping the institution acquire funds such as the EDA grant.

grateful and pleased at receiving these funds. Hopefully, we will proceed with construction in late January. The Morris College Family is indeed proud of this milestone in the institution's continued development."

The Baptist Educational and Missionary Convention are the owners and operators of the institution. Other activities on Thanksgiving Day included an alumni reception, a special sunrise service, and the annual homecoming parade. Over 5,000 persons were present for these activities.

Announcement of the funds was made on Thanksgiving Day at the Annual Baptist Family Thanksgiving Rally Program. Baptists from all over the State of South Carolina were present and raised an additional \$215,000 for the Sumter Institution.

According to Morris College President, Dr. Luns C. Richardson, "we are very



Senator Strom Thurmond, Rep. S.C., announced yesterday that a federal grant of \$17,205 will be awarded to the Chesterfield County Board of Commissioners for wastewater treatment works construction.

Thurmond said the funds were awarded by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The grant will be used to increase performance of a sewer system evaluation survey for the Town of Chesterfield.

THURMOND - HUD

Sen. Thurmond

Announces

Grant

Senator Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) announced Monday, a Federal grant of \$58,155.00 to Edgefield County, South Carolina, for Community Development.

Thurmond said the funds were awarded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Dev. The funds will be used for completion of water treatment facilities and distribution system.

THURMOND - EPA

\$225,000 Grant Announced

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Town of Ellore, S.C., will receive a grant of \$225,000 from the Environmental Protection Agency for waste water treatment construction, according to Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

Thurmond said Tuesday the EPA grant would be used to upgrade the existing stabilization pond and spray irrigation.

Ellore Mayor Ralph T. Crim said details regarding the project would be announced at a later date.

THURMOND - DOD

Review Team Will Visit Charleston

Washington Bureau WASHINGTON — A federal review team will be in Charleston, S.C., soon doing preliminary studies on the environmental consequences of possibly building an East Coast Trident base at Charleston.

That information has been relayed to Sen. Strom Thurmond's office, but Thurmond, R-S.C., stresses that the environmental study does not mean a Trident base is coming to Charleston.

Thurmond still believes the Navy has taken actions which indicate that King's Bay, Ga., is the Navy's preferred location for a Trident base, if one is built on the Atlantic seaboard.

THURMOND - EPA

Grants announced

Sen. Strom Thurmond announced today federal grants of \$138,342 to the Western Carolina Regional Sewer Authority for wastewater treatment works construction.

Thurmond said the funds were awarded by the Environmental Protection Agency.

The funds will be used for designs to upgrade and expand existing Taylors lagoon facility, \$39,600; design of interceptor sewer for Rock Creek, \$24,000; and design for treatment plants and interceptor sewer for Parker lakeside area, \$74,742.

Norway Water Grant Approved

*James + v
Democrat
8/2/77*

By JOYCE W. MILKIE
Of The Times and Democrat

NORWAY, S.C. — The Town of Norway will receive federal funds to assist in much-needed water systems improvement, according to the office of Sen. Strom Thurmond, R.-S.C. Thurmond announced Monday morning that a federal grant of \$92,500 has been approved for Norway for community development.

The funds, awarded by the U.S. Department of Health and Urban Development, will be used for a water system improvement project.

Norway Mayor Jimmy Williams said Monday that this is "the best thing that ever has happened here in 20 years, at least financially."

Williams said \$76,000 of the grant will be used for a badly needed expansion of the water system.

"This will be out of the corporate limits of the town," Williams said, "where an area has been developed with about 100 families and they need water badly."

"It is so crowded there, with no water supply, building permits are being refused until water can be supplied to the area."

"This expansion of the existing system will tremendously benefit the people living in that section," the mayor said, "but it will also be a tremendous boost for the Town of Norway."

Williams said Norway has a completely adequate supply of water for the town and also good pumping facilities, which supply the 225 customers in Norway.



MAYOR JIMMY WILLIAMS

Williams said another \$6,500 of the grant will be used for a comprehensive planning program which involves several studies the town is required to make in order to remain eligible for further federal grants.

"This will include housing assistance planning and a general comprehensive community plan which we would have had to do anyway. With the government grant, we are able to do it now at no cost to our taxpayers," Williams said.

"The remaining \$10,000 will go for administration of the other two programs."

The mayor said there has been some criticism that the town is not providing sufficient recreational facilities, but he said for the past three years, they have asked for funding for such a program and each year, he said, it has been turned down.

THURMOND - HUD

Christopher Towers Gets Solar Grant

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A \$189,325 grant was awarded Thursday by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for a solar energy heating project in a Columbia, S.C., complex for senior citizens.

The money will go to Christopher Towers. The purpose of the project, announced through the office of Sen. Strom Thurmond, R.-S.C., is to reduce energy costs through the use of a solar heating system.

THURMOND - EPA

Sewer Grant Is \$297,804

Senator Strom Thurmond (R-SC) has announced federal grants totaling \$297,804 to Pickens County Water and Sewer Authority, Easley, for wastewater treatment works construction.

Thurmond said the funds were awarded by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The funds will be used as an increase for performance of a sewer system evaluation survey for the following towns: Easley, \$144,096; Liberty, \$77,769; Central \$44,531; and Clemson \$30,408. *Thurmond 8/17/77*

4/4/78 STATE

Army Won't Make Drastic Cutbacks At Fort — Thurmond

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Army has decided against making any drastic personnel cutbacks at Fort Jackson, according to Sen. Strom Thurmond, R-S.C.

After talking with "responsible officials" at the Pentagon, he said he had been advised that the deep personnel cuts originally planned would not be made.

The Army did not mention the size of the reduction. However, the senator's fears of a huge cutback were allayed.

Earlier projections ranged anywhere from 3,200 and up. There was talk of relocating five companies at Ft. Benning, Ga., the current site for one-station unit training testing.

The Army stresses, however, there

will be cutbacks across the board at all training installations.

Last month, Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., protested Army plans to make what he called a "disproportionate" cut at Fort Jackson. He termed it "unjustified" to propose such a large reduction "at the most efficient base."

Instead of suggesting a 24 percent cutback at Fort Jackson, as originally planned, it now appears the Army will recommend a reduction of between four and six percent.

The realignment is being caused by fewer personnel to train and the new one-station training concept approved by Congress.

Thurmond, a ranking Republican on the Senate Armed Services Committee, said he was "highly pleased" to get this preliminary report from the Army.

THURMOND - FmHA

Hampton County Quarles
Gifford 5/11/77

Water \$'s Okayed

Senator Strom Thurmond announced Monday, May 9, a federal loan of \$53,200, and a federal grant of \$70,600, to Town of Gifford. Thurmond said the funds were awarded by Farmers Home Administration.

The funds will be used to drill a deep well and provide a water system to serve 104 users. The community also plans to provide a storage

(Cont. on Page 3)

THURMOND - HUD

ESTILL GETS \$500,000 Sewer Extension Aid

David Quisenberry
1/28/77

A \$500,000 grant for a project designed to extend Town of Estill sewer system to serve an additional 300 low-income residents has been approved by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). This Community Betterment Block grant will make possible town sewer services in three low-income housing areas, including a section of Morrison Avenue, according to Mayor Ralph Winn.

Confirmation of the HUD grant came to the newspaper last Thursday from both the offices of First District Congressman Mendel Davis and U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond.

MAYOR WINN PLEASED

Mayor Winn told The Guardian, "This is a good thing for the Town of Estill, because expanding our sewer system will help to correct some existing condi-

Gifford Water \$'s

(Continued From Page 1)

tank, pump, treatment equipment and pump house as well as distribution lines to serve residents west of the town.

In a special appearance before Hampton County Council May 2, Gifford Mayor James Risher advised council

this Fm.H.A. grant had been assured to the town for waterworks. He asked county assistance to obtain supplementary funding to extend the system to 21 outlying houses and buildings (outside town limits). Council took the request under advisement.