3/29/77

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Revised:
3/29/77
8:45 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday - March 29, 1977

8:30	Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.
8:45	Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.
10:00	Mr. Charles Schultze - The Oval Office.
10:30	Mr. Jody Powell - The Oval Office.
10:45	Secretary Michael Blumenthal. (Mr. Jack Watson) - Oval
11:30	Vice President Walter F. Mondale, Admiral Stansfield Turner, and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.
12:00	Lunch with Representative Phillip Burton - The Oval Offi
1:30 (15 min.)	Secretary Michael Blumenthal, Mr. Bert Lance et al. (Mr. Jack Watson) - The Oval Office.
2:00	Drop-By Meeting of the President's Commission on Ment The Roosevelt Room.
2:30 (10 min.)	Drop-By Meeting of Representatives of Small Business. (Ms. Midge Costanza) - The Cabinet Room.
3:00 (30 min.)	Secretary Harold Brown - The Oval Office.
7:00	Speedreading Course - The Cabinet Room.

OMB
Treasury
Commerce
W House
OSHA
SBA
Science

Tax - 2500 Reorg
Regulatory
Reports / regulations

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 29, 1977

Mrs. Carter

The attached is forwarded to
you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Meeting with Bill Milliken
March 30, 1977.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Meeting with Bill Milliken
Wednesday, March 30
2:30 p.m.
15-30 minutes
The Oval Office

(by: Fran Voorde

I. PURPOSE: to review proposal for Integregated System of Human Service Delivery

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN:

A. Background: Mrs. Carter requested this meeting be scheduled for Mr. Milliken with the President. It is a follow up to an initial meeting held in Plains during the Transition Period.

B. Participants: The President, Mrs. Carter and Mr. Milliken.

C. Press Plan: None

III. INFORMATION:

A. Attached are two memos relating to subject.

1. The 1st is a 2-page summary of Proposal. (Rick Hutcheson has 73 page comprehensive notebook on proposal if further information is needed.)

2. The 2nd memo is a 2-page proposal relating to the first requesting creation of a new position.

B. Input from Eizenstat, Watson, Lance and others apparently has not yet been obtained.

MEMORANDUM

Memo # 1

March 29, 1977

TO: President and Mrs. Carter

FROM: Bill Milliken

SUBJECT: Proposal for an Integrated System of Human Service Delivery

Attached is our proposal for an experiment leading to an Integrated Human Service Delivery System. This system begins with the creation of prototypes of coordinated services and specifies steps toward replication. This proposal has evolved out of our experience in developing the Cities in Schools model of integrated services centered in schools in Atlanta, Indianapolis and New York City.

A. Structure of the Integrated System

- The proposal recommends that we refine and expand the Cities in Schools model to develop prototypes in three cities which unify most of the human services delivered to a neighborhood's residents. These prototypes will then be replicated in seven other cities.

- The prototypes will combine local institutional personnel into a new management configuration. This configuration will be comprised of small staff units, coordinating their services to specific named service consumers.

- At the Federal level of Government, the System will center around an Interagency Committee on the Integration of Human Services comprised of the Secretaries and Directors of certain agencies concerned with the delivery of human services. The Committee will have (a) a Federal official designated as chairperson, (b) a working staff comprised of personnel assigned (for 2 hours/week) from each agency, and (c) a Special Assistant reporting to the chairperson. The staff's functions will be to: coordinate Federal support; assist in incorporating the principles or structures of other local projects into the prototype; and translate what is learned into social policy.

- Representatives of State and local governments, a local Advisory Board of private and public members, and private sector services (including volunteers) will participate in the System as partners with the Federal Government.

B. Operations of Integrated System

- Working in close cooperation with the different levels of Government and the private sector, the privately funded Institutional Development Corporation ("IDC") would undertake the following local activities:

1. In Atlanta, Indianapolis and New York City, where the Cities in Schools model is presently operating, IDC would supervise the refinement of that model of integrated services and attempt to unify additional human services into a more comprehensive neighborhood prototype.
2. In seven other cities, */ IDC would initiate actions necessary to begin replication of the neighborhood prototype.

- The refined Cities in Schools model, the developed neighborhood prototype and the replication will all be subject to an on-going, thorough evaluation process. If the evaluations so indicate, the developed prototype and its replications could become significant components in a national effort to integrate the delivery of human services.

C. Presidential Action

- The proposal recommends the following initial Presidential action:

1. A direction to the Office of Management and Budget to secure funding ($3,245,000) from Federal agencies (HEW, DOL, Justice's LEAA program, ACTION, CSA, HUD, etc.) for the following purposes:

   a. Development of prototypes in the three cities ($2,674,000).

   b. Prototype evaluation ($400,000).

   c. Committee and Special Assistant ($62,000).

2. The appointment (by Executive order or otherwise) of the Interagency Committee, the designation of a Federal official**/ to chair the Committee, and the convening of first Committee meeting.

3. The designation of a Special Assistant reporting to the chairperson of the Interagency Committee.

4. A direction for office space in the building of the chairperson of the Committee. (Our use of the Old Executive Office Building space terminates tomorrow.)

*/ Such cities might consist of: Hartford, Connecticut; Canton, Ohio; Fayetteville, North Carolina; Minneapolis, Minnesota, Houston, Texas; Los Angeles, California; and Washington, D. C.

**/ We suggest consideration of the following: Rosalyn Carter, Bert Lance, Jim Parham, Sam Brown or Jack Califano.

Memo #2

MEMORANDUM

March 29, 1977

TO: The President

FROM: Bill Milliken

SUBJECT: Relationship Between the Reorganization Project and the Integrated System of Human Service Delivery

- The President's Reorganization Project is structured to involve the American people. The plan for the Reorganization Project proposes a Reorganization Advisory Group to provide independent advice and take an active role in assisting the Public Awareness Staff. I am certain that this Group and the Public Awareness Staff will be successful in achieving two-way communications with the American people.

- My concern, however, is focused on communication with poor people. Poor people have never really had an opportunity to be heard in a Federal reorganization effort. They have never had access to Federal officials involved in reorganization, or the skills necessary to document their problems with Federal agencies and translate their concerns into sophisticated proposals or recommendations.

- The proposed Integrated System can assist in including the concerns of the poor in the Reorganization Project. By its very nature, the process of integrating service providers at the local level provides substantial grass-roots information on Federal agencies and programs.

- The Reorganization Project should have the benefit of a channel of information from the grass-roots personnel who are building service integration models. The proposed Integrated System could attempt to translate what is learned in the construction and replication of the prototype into social policy (i.e., reorganization, legislation, regulations, and budget priorities).

- However, our efforts to translate the concerns of the poor and develop recommendations cannot occur in a vacuum. To be effective, we must be fully informed of the Reorganization effort so that our recommendations will be relevant. Otherwise, our proposals will be out-of-step with the Reorganization Project and merely be a nuisance to the Reorganization staff.

- Accordingly, we suggest the following two alternatives:

  1. Participation on Interagency Committee

     -- that staff of the Reorganization Project be directed to participate on the Interagency Committee proposed in our plan for the Integrated System;

     -- that the staff of the Reorganization Project structure a procedure for informing the Committee of the progress of the Reorganization effort.

2. Creation of a New Position - Associate Director for Special Projects

-- The first responsibility of this person would be to document, translate and prepare proposals concerning the problems of the poor with Federal agencies and programs. This responsibility would be carried out in conjunction with the Integrated System and with other presently operating local service integration projects.

-- Additional special assignments (troubleshooting, etc.) could be given to this Associate Director to facilitate the Reorganization effort.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore
Jim Free

Re: The Role of Rep. Philip Burton in Social Welfare Program

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
	X	EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
	X	MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

cc Jim Free

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
	Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI	
		ARAGON
		BOURNE
		BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		GAMMILL
		HARDEN
		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING
		KRAFT
		LANCE
		LINDER
		MITCHELL
		POSTON
		PRESS
		B. RAINWATER
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 28, 1977

Stu -
Excellent memo
J

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: FRANK MOORE

FROM: JIM FREE JF

SUBJECT: The Role of Rep. Phillip Burton in Social Welfare Programs

Political Profile

Rep. Phillip Burton came to Congress in 1964 to represent both the wealthiest and the most impoverished parts of San Francisco. His initial committee assignments (which he retains) were Interior & Insular Affairs and Education & Labor. He now ranks second on Interior and chairs the most powerful subcommittee -- Public Lands and Territories. He is very concerned about moving too quickly on statehood for Puerto Rico and any offshore possessions. Prior to his election to Congress, he chaired the Welfare Committee of the California Assembly. On the Education & Labor Committee, Rep. Burton ranks second behind Rep. John Dent on the Labor Standards Subcommittee.

During the 94th Congress, Rep. Burton chaired the Democratic Caucus, which in that Congress brought to pass the reforms initiated by the Democratic Study Group. The organizing Caucus deposed three standing committee chairmen, modified the legislative authority of the Ways & Means Committee, strengthened the Steering & Policy Committee (the executive committee of the Caucus) by assigning to it the committee assignment function, and abolished the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In the 95th Congress, Rep. Burton is almost unique in that his power base in the House (the Public Lands chairmanship) is unrelated to his political interest (helping poor people).

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Rep. Burton has a way of putting together Congressional coalitions on seemingly unrelated issues. For example, he has been known to extract votes from southerners who support high farm subsidies for issues like minimum wage and black lung benefits, and in turn extract votes from the liberals for farm subsidies.

An intelligent legislator such as Rep. Burton, if he feels his interests are not being dealt with, can retaliate in a fashion which can cause a great deal of budgetary problems. He can do this by knowing in a way that few policymakers in either the executive or legislative branch do -- the ins and outs of virtually all the major benefit entitlement programs with their now well-known budget-breaking potential.

SSI (Supplemental Security Income)

This federal minimum income program for the aged and disabled is the portion of former President Nixon's welfare reform which quietly passed while everyone was busy arguing over the far more modest family part. Rep. Burton was undoubtedly the key legislative mover (along with Sen. Russell Long) in federalizing SSI, and one of the few who understood its importance.

The aged portion of SSI has grown to substantial, but not unanticipated, proportions. The surprise has come in the disability segment. Disabled recipients, contrary to all expectations, now constitute a major and growing proportion of the SSI caseload, for reasons as yet unknown. There is some feeling that through liberal interpretation of the definition of disability, SSI is becoming a guaranteed income for anyone with a short- or long-term labor market impediment, including drug addicts and alcoholics. The potential inequity is that SSI benefits are generally considerably higher than AFDC benefits for ordinary poor families. Any attempt to liberalize further the disability definition would have substantial budgetary impacts which would be politically difficult to reverse.

Black Lung Benefits

Rep. Burton was the prime mover in the establishment of this entitlement program which has, again, grown well beyond expectations. His latest effort to expand it further involves incorporating a provision which creates a presumption that any non-accidental death of a coal miner was attributable to black lung disease. Obviously, this could be a pretty expensive presumption.

UI (Unemployment Insurance)

The Unemployment Insurance program is clearly the biggest sleeper among the entitlement programs. While everyone has been arguing about the so-called "means-test" welfare programs, legislators like Rep. Burton have been transforming the UI program into a major income maintenance program dwarfing the AFDC program (UI is almost twice AFDC in cost).

This is happening because recent recessions afforded the excuse to enact major extensions of general revenue-financed benefits to otherwise uncovered beneficiaries and further reduced the already tenuous link between past contributions and subsequent benefits. Despite the fact that recent studies show that a substantial portion of these benefits go to the sorts of people the general public probably would not consider "entitled" (retired persons, school employees during the summer, and housewives in relatively high income families with short-term jobs), there is a great deal of political pressure on Congress to retain and even to liberalize these "temporary" provisions. The budgetary consequences of these efforts could easily eclipse any welfare reform initiatives (and since other studies suggest that UI receipt both increases the duration of unemployment and reduces job search, the implications of UI extensions for aggregate economic policy may be even more serious).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Ham Jordan -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: NATIONAL JOURNAL
"Carter's Relationship with Congress
Making a Mountain out of a
"Moorehill"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
	X	JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

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	AGENCY BILL
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		FALLOWS
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		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING
		KRAFT
		LANCE
		LINDER
		MITCHELL
		POSTON
		PRESS
		B. RAINWATER
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

MR. PRESIDENT -

FRANK HAS GOTTEN BANGED AROUND SO MUCH IN THE PRESS THAT IT IS GOOD TO FINALLY SEE A BALANCED PIECE THAT CRITICIZES YOU AND HIM.

H.J. THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

Hamm -

You should join up -

J

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Carter's Relationship with Congress — Making A Mountain out of a 'Moorehill'

Carter's sometimes shaky relationship with Congress may be less the fault of his congressional liaison staff than it is the result of what he wants to accomplish.

BY DOM BONAFEDE

The time is shortly after five in the afternoon; outside, the shadows are lengthening and, as they always do at dusk, massive flocks of chattering, black starlings are descending on the tall trees surrounding the White House.

In a second-floor office, Frank G. Moore is vainly trying to stifle a fatigue-induced yawn as he talks on the telephone with a Member of Congress. With the patience of a professional who has been listening to politicians for a good part of his life, Moore's responses are embroidered with "yes, sirs" and "no, sirs." As he cradles the phone to his ear, he lies halfway on a couch, exposing a paunch that has spent too much time behind a desk. With the dexterity of a juggler, he simultaneously gives instructions to his secretary, scans a pile of working papers before him on a table and submits to an interview.

It is apparent that Moore, President Carter's 41-year-old chief emissary to Capitol Hill, is over-extended. Yet, he retains his aplomb and rejects the notion that the White House is any busier than the Georgia state capitol when Carter was governor and Moore was his executive secretary. "He was a very active governor," Moore explains.

After only two months on the job, Moore, alone of the Carter circle, has come under heavy criticism, a situation that perplexes and disturbs him. Yet, reports of his political demise are evidently premature. Moore is alive and well, commanding a pride of White House lobbyists and meeting frequently with the President, whose confidence he reportedly retains.

Numerous officials come to Washington preceded by their reputations; Moore's arrival, unfortunately, was preceded by criticism 2½ months before he formally became assistant to the President for congressional relations. According to these reports, he was insensitive to the unwritten laws of protocol that help determine the relationship between the executive and legislative branches. It was alleged that he often failed to return phone calls, neglected requests and missed appointments with Members of Congress. To an outsider, such improprieties may seem like social misdemeanors, but to most Members of Congress, they are political felonies.

Moore concedes that mistakes of misjudgment and oversight have been made in the new White House's dealings with Congress and that the Carter group may have been remiss in observing the amenities that members of the legislative branch expect.

But he insists that the criticism was unwarranted, distorted and exaggerated and that it was perpetuated by the tendency of the news media to repeat a story until it is accepted as fact. "They were referring to things that happened in July but wrote about it in November as though it had just occurred. At that time (July 1976), we weren't lobbying, we were trying to get elected," Moore declared.

Thus, Moore's most grievous sin may have been ignorance of the long memories of most Members of Congress.

In his defense, he produced written testimonials to him from legislators such as House Majority Leader Jim Wright, D-Texas, and Rep. Daniel J. Flood, D-Pa. He also cited the brief period of time he and his staff have had to establish a *modus operandi* with Congress.

Lawrence F. O'Brien, the highly effective White House lobbyist for President Kennedy and current commissioner of the National Basketball Association, observed, "It is a very difficult task. You have a small staff, work seven days a week and are always overloaded. . . . It takes a few months to get the operation in shape."

Another former White House lobbyist, Richard K. Cook, who served during President Nixon's first term, contended that early misunderstandings between the White House and Congress are "predictable and ritualistic . . . Bryce (N.) Harlow in the Eisenhower Administration and later Larry O'Brien in the Kennedy Administration got off to bad starts."

Cook, now a Washington representative for Lockheed Aircraft Corp., said, "Congress and its staff has gotten lazy and must be weaned from thinking that the White House has to cater to their every whim. If the White House congressional liaison people answered every call and every personal request, that's all they would be doing. The final test is what is getting done—not how cordial they are to each other."

Though some officials at either end of Pennsylvania Avenue maintain that the relationship between the White House and Congress is becoming smoother, it is not as ideal as might be expected, particularly with one party controlling both branches. Moore admits he has not been able to wholly shake what he considered an unfair image. "This early impression has to hinder my effectiveness to a degree," he said.

More important than Moore's personal situation is the impact on the President's legislative program. "The President takes a long-range view of this, judging it by the amount of legislation that is passed," Moore said.

To report that the relationship between the White House and Congress is not as good as it could be, is to state the obvious. The more pertinent ques-

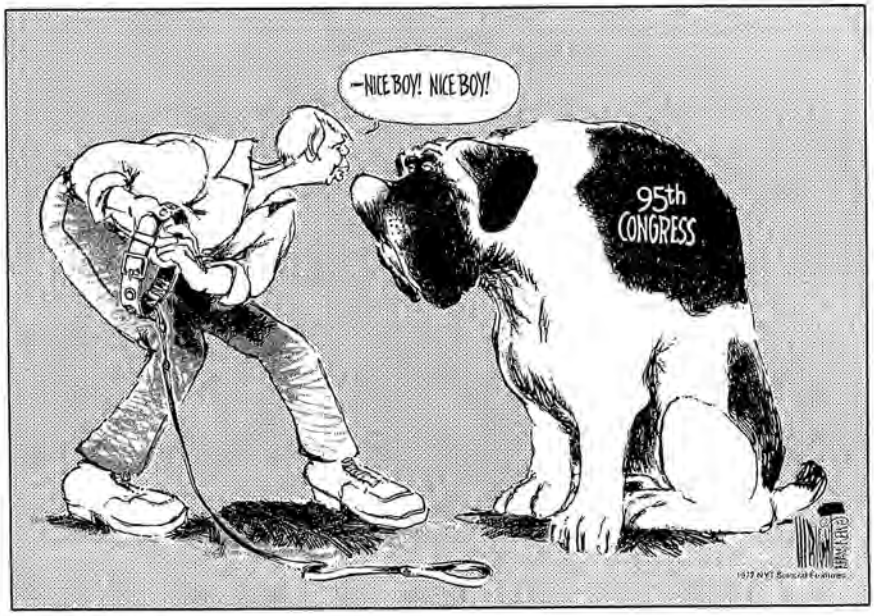
tion is why? The reasons are more complex than complaints of unanswered phone calls and personal slights.

Some involve the inherent difficulties that confront every new Administration when it enters the White House. Others are found in institutional and political changes affecting each of the two branches of government and their interaction with one another.

As suggested by academicians and specialists in and out of the Administration, they include:

- The dispersal of power and leadership in Congress, making it difficult for the White House to deal with the legislative branch. "Reforms over the last 10 years have decentralized congressional control and no longer can the White House simply negotiate with a Sam Rayburn or Richard Russell or Wilbur Mills to get what it wants. Now, it must contend with a great many more people; there are, for instance, subcommittee chairmen and opinion makers who are important," said Thomas E. Cronin, an expert on the presidency and a Brandeis University professor of government.
- The tense adversary relationship between the executive and legislative branches, sharpened by eight years of divided party government during the Nixon and Ford Administrations. "It's become a habit with Congress to oppose the Administration from the top on down," said a White House aide. Another noted, "There is a willingness to cooperate and compromise, but as yet, neither side knows how to implement it."
- The heightened expectations of the Democratic majority in Congress over the prospect of "one-party government"—expectations that predictably are too high and will result in disillusionment. This is already expressed in the dissatisfaction of some Members of Congress over the failure of their candidates to be appointed to Administration jobs.
- The prevailing sense of independence and assertiveness that infused Congress as a result of the excesses of the "Imperial Presidency" in the Watergate scandal. A tendency to check the dominance of the presidency in keeping with the doctrine of the separation of powers is still strong in Congress.
- Carter's reputation—justifiable or not—as a single-minded advocate opposed to compromise. Not unnaturally, this is likely to stiffen the resolve of Congress in its negotiations with the President. As one presidential assistant put it, "Some Members of Congress are going to try to test and bully him as the new boy on the block. But they will find that the quickest way to have him set his feet in concrete is to threaten him."
- The feeling of uncertainty that exists in Congress over the kind of President that Carter will be. "He is an enigma to them," a White House aide said. "Tip O'Neill (House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass.) doesn't know him." Inevitably, it will take time for Congress and the President to become acquainted with each other and take one another's measure, like two boxers dancing and feinting in the early rounds before getting down to serious competition.

Meanwhile, in these early, formative months, the burden and the blame for the problems that arise between the White House and Congress fall on the President's messenger. But taking the onus off the President is just one of the jobs consigned to his assistant for congressional relations, as Frank Moore is acutely aware.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Constitution clearly states in Article I that all legislative powers "shall be vested in a Congress of the United States," and proclaims in Article II that "the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." This separation of powers evolved into what Harvard professor Richard E. Neustadt referred to as "a system of separated institutions sharing power."

More recently, there has developed what could be called a diffusion of powers, in which each branch assumes authority generally considered the province of the other. For example, Congress with increasing frequency has granted itself legislative veto power, the constitutionality of which is in question is some cases. This authority has been incorporated in 37 different statutes. *(For more detail, see Vol. 8, No. 22, p. 745.)*

Congress also has reaffirmed its position in areas that had virtually been abandoned to the President by adopting legislation such as the 1973 War Powers Resolution (87 Stat 555) and the 1974 Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act (88 Stat 297).

For the most part, congressional action of this sort was an attempt to achieve some sort of parity with the modern presidency, which had usurped the role of initiator of legislation. Similarly, strong Presidents have extended their influence over federal agencies that originally were established as independent bodies chiefly accountable to Congress.

Woodrow Wilson observed in speaking of the President, "His is the only national voice in affairs. Let him once win the admiration and confidence of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him. His position takes the imagination of the country. He is the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people."

Nonetheless, as Nelson W. Polsby wrote in *Congress and the Presidency* (Prentice-Hall, 1971), "There are practical limitations to the President's powers. Deadlines must be met. Routine business hems him in. Although very little legislation can pass over his veto, well-placed and determined groups in Congress can thwart his desires as surely as he can thwart theirs."

Consequently, in their role as legislative architect, modern Presidents have



Frank Moore says that criticism of the White House's dealings with Congress has been blown out of proportion by the media.

felt compelled to appoint White House representatives to promote, seek support and help guide their legislative programs through the congressional thicket. Some Presidents, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, were their own best lobbyists; others designated friends in Congress or Administration officials to act in their behalf. Not until the term of President Eisenhower, whose White House structure was neatly compartmentalized, was a White House congressional affairs office created, first under Wilton B. Persons, a retired army major general, and then under Bryce Harlow, who later held the same post in the Nixon Administration.

President Kennedy formalized the congressional liaison office as an integral part of the White House. His chief lobbyist, Larry O'Brien, is credited with giving a distinctive political sophistication to the activity and setting a pattern that is generally followed today. O'Brien was punctilious in observing the line dividing the executive and legislative branches. Hence, White House lobbyists are not officially assigned Capitol offices; instead they operate informally out of the Vice President's office in the Senate and from "hideaway" offices made available to them by the House Speaker or the Minority Leader if their party does not enjoy a congressional majority.

White House lobbyists take their lead from the President and from his philosophy of government; their effectiveness is determined mainly by their accessibility to the President—or, at least, by the degree of accessibility that Members of Congress *think* they have. During Nixon's second term, his congressional liaison aides were severely handicapped because of Nixon's well-known isolation from all but a few favored aides and the disregard, even contempt, for traditional congressional procedures that Nixon and some of his senior White House aides exhibited.

At this early stage, Carter has indicated proper respect for the legislative branch and evaded direct criticism for such errors as failure by the White House to notify Members of Congress of appointments and other decisions that affect them. He welcomed congressional leaders to Plains, Ga., before he took office and now meets with them every other Tuesday in the White House and invites them to confer with him as the need arises. He has not, however, made effusive overtures to Congress—nor was he expected to—as did President Ford, who served 25 years in the House. Ford hoped to engage in a "working partnership" with Congress but ended up vetoing 66 bills, a symbol of the natural hostility and the political realities that dominate the relationship between the White House and Congress even when the President is "one of their own."

Carter also relies on the art of personal persuasion by making telephone calls to Members of Congress and writing notes to them.

Despite some press speculation, there is no indication that Moore's standing with the President has suffered much or that he is likely to be replaced. Moore has a standing appointment with Carter every morning at 8:15 and it is not unusual for him to confer with the President four or five times during the day.

"I show him every critical story, some of which he just reads," Moore said. Sometimes, late in the evening when Carter is working alone in the Oval Office, Moore and presidential assistant Hamilton Jordan may drop in on him and the three will talk shop in an informal manner. On at least three occasions, Moore and his wife have been invited to the White House residence to view movies with the Carters and their children have come on Saturdays to play with the Carters' daughter, Amy.

Members of his staff vigorously support Moore. Said one: "Anyone who says we haven't made mistakes is a fool or a liar. But they have been mistakes of the head, not the heart, and were not the result of incompetence, ignorance or arrogance. We take the heat for everyone else's errors in the Administration. Congress might feel more comfortable with a creature of Congress as the President's chief liaison agent. But in Frank Moore, they have a man who has the ear and confidence of the President and one who can speak for him. Frank can deliver; he can tote a lot of water."

Interestingly, historical precedent suggests that Carter will be in the mold of Presidents protective of their con-

The President's Team of Congressional Lobbyists

Presidential lobbyists are generally a breed apart from their White House colleagues. They are pragmatists attuned to what is possible in human and political terms. They serve in the trenches during the thick of the legislative battles and not as spectators ensconced in the lofty reaches of the Administration. They harbor few idealistic notions of the power of the President to work his magic. They deal in the objective world of numbers and compromises and services that must be rendered to affect those compromises. They understand that the *quid pro quo* principle is the main medium of exchange in the political marketplace where neither an endorsement nor a vote is given freely.

They possess a hustling persuasiveness, a tolerance for political jabberwocky and a storehouse of minutiae on the personal habits and political instincts of 535 Members of Congress.

Lawrence F. O'Brien, who was President Kennedy's chief congressional lobbyist, commented, "It becomes a way of life in which you are engaged in human relations and constantly working out compromises. You listen to and solicit support from everybody on the Hill. You cajole, urge and plead. There's always the hot breath of opposition; don't resent it, understand it. You have to appreciate that at times there are those, even among your friends, who can't go along with you, that there is a line that they can't cross. Just remember, there is always tomorrow."

Frank G. Moore, President Carter's chief congressional lobbyist, conferred with O'Brien before joining the White House staff and presumably benefited from his counsel and experience, especially since Carter, like Kennedy, assumed the presidency after eight years of Republican rule in the White House. In effect, both Carter and Kennedy were required to sail in uncharted legislative waters.

Notwithstanding a significant growth in White House personnel over the past several Administrations, Moore's staff is not much larger than Bryce N. Harlow's 20 years earlier.

It includes **Dan Tate** of Atlanta, former legislative aide to Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., who handles the Senate side; **Valerie Pinson,** a one-time aide to Rep. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, D-Calif., and an official with the National Association of Counties, and **Jim Free,** a former official of the Tennessee legislature, specialists in House affairs; **Joseph A. Mitchell** and **Ron Royal,** special projects; **Bob Russell,** administrative aide to Moore; **Ronna Frieberg,** congressional correspondence; **Nancy Willing,** White House visitors center; and **Patti DeSouza,** personal secretary. Recently, **Leslie C. Francis,** former administrative assistant to Rep. Norman Y. Mineta, D-Calif., was added to the staff as legislative projects coordinator.

Rick Merrill, formerly associated with the Democratic Study Group, had been in charge of the House group but recently was dropped from the staff.

While Moore's own office is in the West Wing of the White House, his staff is quartered in the East Wing. They easily communicate, however, by a "hot line" connecting their offices.

As part of an innovative plan, the House group is assigned, not according to geographical lines, as with such staffs in past years, but by jurisdictional areas. Merrill, for example, was responsible for the State, Defense, Treasury, and Commerce Departments, the Office of Management and Budget, the Small Business Administration and the CIA, plus fiscal and monetary institutions; Pinson handles the Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Labor and Justice Departments, the Community Services Administration, and the Veterans Administration, as well as civil rights and consumer agencies; Free is in charge of the Interior, Agriculture, and Transportation Departments, the National Aeronautical and Space Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the General Services Administration, the energy and maritime agencies and the Army Corps of Engineers.

"It strengthens our liaison operations in the departments and agencies, where the burden of lobbying should be done," said an aide to Moore.

Each of the federal departments and major agencies employs its own chief legislative lobbyist, whose activities are coordinated with Moore's office. There is little conformity, however, between the congressional liaison operations of each agency. Titles and rank vary. In addition, many department subdivisions have their own lobbyists. HEW has about 54 congressional liaison officials, who are supposed to work in concert as a centralized operation. In contrast, subdivisional lobbyists at Commerce and Interior are said to operate independently of each other.

Moore schedules a breakfast meeting with his staff each Friday, later followed by a session with the chief department lobbyists in the White House's Roosevelt Room.

The sluggish pace of confirmation proceedings, however, delayed the involvement of many department lobbyists in Administration activities on Capitol Hill. This is one of the factors responsible for Moore's heavy workload and indirectly a reason for the admitted slip-ups.

Besides his daily meeting with the President, Moore also consults each day with presidential assistant Hamilton Jordan on political and patronage matters. But, as underscored by a Moore staff aide, "Frank is not one of Jordan's lieutenants. They work closely together, but Ham does not get involved in congressional relations and Moore doesn't report to him."

Although not officially a member of the congressional relations staff, Vice President Walter F. Mondale figures prominently in its operations. "He's been an awful lot of help to me," said Moore. "He knows the Senate and the congressional voting procedures. He doesn't get involved in day-to-day affairs, but when the big push comes, we work together. He can talk to some Senators better than I."

One of Mondale's special lobbying assignments, Moore said, was the confirmation fight over Carter's nomination of Paul C. Warnke as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and chief U.S. negotiator in strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union. After a hot Senate debate, Warnke was confirmed for both posts on March 9.

Moore's deputies believe that once Members of Congress become better acquainted with and have more confidence in them, they will not feel obligated to go only to Moore with all of their requests. "Frank's phone should begin to quiet down then," said Tate.

If Moore and his staff are uptight over the reported uneasiness between the White House and Congress, they don't show it. Recently, they presented Carter with an original *New Yorker* cartoon by Joseph Farris which depicts two legislators standing before the Capitol, as one says to the other, "You can't legislate morality, thank heaven."

stitutional prerogatives and conscious of their leadership role. Presidential scholar Edward S. Corwin has said, "The present-day role of the President as policy determiner in the legislative field is largely the creation of the two Roosevelts and Woodrow Wilson, each of whom came to the presidency following a notable and successful experience as governor of his state"—as indeed Carter did.

THE LEADERSHIP

Despite a rather unpromising beginning, Moore and his staff seem to be developing a harmonious working relationship with the congressional leadership, notably Speaker O'Neill and Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va. "They're doing okay now," said an aide to O'Neill. "They check with us and coordinate on legislation and appointments. There were some misunderstandings at first, but remember, you have to deal with a lot of egos up here, you've got to know where the power is, who has it and how to ask and how to tell."

He noted that, although Carter's nomination of Theodore C. Sorensen as CIA director was rebuffed, his early legislative proposals were adopted or moved toward adoption without serious trouble, including the emergency gas bill, the jobs bill, and the tax package.

In their dealings with Congress, Moore and his staff are obliged to focus on 291 Democrats in the House and 61 in the Senate. "We have to give them extraordinary treatment," an assistant to Moore said. "They don't know what kind of treatment, but they expect it since they have been under the Republicans for so long. It's the little things we have to be mindful of, they are the chips we have to deal with."

Another White House lobbyist pointed out there are now about 20,000 congressional staff aides, "most of whom have never served under a Democratic President and are accustomed to their adversary role."

At one point, Carter even thought of setting up an office for himself in the Capitol building. But after exploring the idea for him, White House aides decided it might be interpreted as a symbolic infringement of the separation of powers doctrine and abandoned it. There is a "President's Room" in the Capitol, but it mostly is used by the President for ceremonial occasions.

With the convening of the 95th Congress and the inauguration of Carter in January, there were high expectations among Democrats for "one-party rule" and the end of "divided government" and "government by veto." Now, in the cool light of reality, such talk appears to have been induced by the euphoria of Carter's victorious drive for the presidency. Less than a week after Carter was sworn in on Jan. 20, Byrd publicly complained that the White House had committed a breach of political etiquette by failing to consult with the leadership and warned that there might be a "slowing down" of Administration legislation. Shortly afterward, O'Neill made no attempt to hide his anger when he learned that Carter's first two appointments from the Speaker's home state of Massachusetts were Republicans, Elliot L. Richardson as head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations' Law of the Sea Conference and Evan S. Dobelle, former mayor of Pittsfield, as chief of protocol, both in the State Department.

> "The main thing is to represent the President fairly and honestly, to put it all on top of the table, the good news and the bad news."—Frank G. Moore

O'Neill's aide recalled, "Some reporter telephoned and asked the Speaker what he thought of the Richardson appointment. That was the first he heard about it, and he blew his stack to think that the first appointments from Massachusetts were Republicans and he wasn't even consulted or informed in advance! It seems that Hamilton Jordan had told the Cabinet members that there would be no Ehrlichmans or Haldemans in the Carter White House and they could make their own appointments, which (Secretary of State Cyrus R.) Vance did."

When news of O'Neill's displeasure reached the White House, Vance called the Speaker and attempted to placate him. In short order, Jordan, who oversees presidential appointments, made a trip up to the Capitol to meet with O'Neill. "Since then he has checked with us every time," said the aide.

Despite the return to normalcy, it is unlikely that O'Neill, an old-style Irish politician, and Carter, the modern technocrat, will ever be on a close, personal basis.

O'Neill once said that if Carter ever went directly to the people after failing to get Congress to do his bidding, it would be "the worst mistake" the President could make. If literally interpreted, that is a surprising statement, since all strong Presidents have that recourse, which is in a real sense the basis of their power.

"It is not his (Carter's) style of operating, by bypassing Congress," said Dan Tate, who is in charge of liaison with the Senate. "He had to deal with an obstinate legislature in Georgia and went to the people only as a matter of last resort."

Perhaps, O'Neill was trying to send Carter a message—that the President should keep his lines of communication open to Congress.

In the view of one White House aide, "The problem with O'Neill is that there is a generational and cultural gap between him and an organized, disciplined President."

O'Neill reportedly was also upset with Moore for failing to hire Joel Jankowski, a former aide of the Speaker's. "O'Neill never asked that we hire Jankowski," a White House lobbyist maintained, "although someone on his staff did. He's a good man, and maybe we should have, if we knew then what we know now."

Moore said, "I have a good relationship with Tip O'Neill. It was inevitable that would develop. I think he loves everybody and I like politicians and he is a good one. I enjoy dealing with him."

Regarding Byrd, Moore said, "He doesn't waste time, there is not a lot of small talk, it takes only a few minutes to get a lot of business done. He follows up on things and reminds you when you haven't completed a task. That's a good thing."

Moore said he and his staff have filled the gaps in their operation and are careful to keep Members of Congress informed. "The main thing is to represent the President fairly and honestly," he said, "to put it all on top of the table, the good news and the bad news. Carter's decision to eliminate 19 water development projects from the budget is a good case in point. We called them (the interested Members of Congress) Friday night before the budget was released on Monday. We felt it was incumbent on us to let them know, even if it was bad news. Some appreciated it and some didn't. I'd do it all over again. Several of the staff advised against it in keeping with the maxim that 'good news is released from the White House, bad news from the agencies'."

Nevertheless, the way the White

House managed the release provoked a dispute. In part, it centers on the difference between notification after a White House decision has been made and consultation before it is made.

Several governors personally protested to the President that they had not been given a chance at prior consultation. Vice President Walter F. Mondale, once described by Carter as his "chief White House adviser," was not even informed of the decision, although one of the projects is in his home state of Minnesota. Commenting on the manner in which the White House handled the matter, an aide to Rep. William S. Cohen, R-Maine, said, "We hadn't heard one word from them since the inauguration. Then Friday afternoon, they called up with the announcement of some small grant they were giving our district. It was no big deal—a few dollars for some fish hatchery or something. Then Friday night, they called me at home and said, 'Well, we had some good news for you this afternoon—now we've got some bad news'."

In response to the President's action on the water projects, the Senate on March 10 went on record in opposition to any White House attempt to hold up funds for them in the current fiscal year. Of the 65 Senators who voted in favor of the measure in defiance of the President, 35 were Democrats.

Later, White House press secretary Jody Powell announced that Carter "stands by" his decision to eliminate the water projects and will not reverse his position unless he is convinced a project is justified. There were also indications that Carter may seek public support for his position.

The incident ultimately may serve as a test of Carter's reputed intransigence in dealing with legislators. And it may also give him a chance to challenge O'Neill's warning that it would be a "mistake" for him to try to best Congress by appealing to the electorate.

Carter made a conciliatory gesture in a letter sent to Members of Congress March 17 in which he promised to consult with them in the future before taking steps to halt construction on public works projects. He did not, however, indicate any change in his position regarding the 19 projects. Indeed, in speaking at an energy conference in Charleston, W. Va., the same day, he indicated he may go to the American people on the issue.

"I hate, as a brand new President, to have an argument with the Democratic Congress," he said. "But I'm determined to let the American people know about this particular concern. . . . I am very determined to present to the American people my side of the story."

In this connection, it is worth noting that in his book, *Why Not The Best?* (Broadman Press, 1976), Carter acknowledged one of his faults: "I don't know how to compromise on any principle I believe is right." He observed that he had been called "as stubborn as a South Georgia turtle."

REORGANIZATION

A classic case of White House lobbying and how it interacts with Congress involves the President's request for authority to reorganize the federal bureaucracy—a main plank in his campaign to which he is irrevocably committed.

As the first step, Carter sought authority similar to that granted Presidents for about 25 years before it was allowed to lapse in 1973 during the Nixon Administration. Under his proposal, reorganization plans submitted by the President would become effective automatically within 60 days unless vetoed by either the House or the Senate. The authority would not permit the President to create or abolish Cabinet-level departments or regulatory agencies, nor would he be permitted to discontinue or otherwise alter federal benefit programs, as social security and aid to schools. Such revisions require an act of Congress. Instead, he would be limited to consolidating and shifting federal agencies and bureaus and restructuring their functions.

In pursuit of his plan, Carter solicited the support and assistance of Rep. Jack Brooks, D-Texas, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee. On several occasions prior to his inauguration, Carter invited the chairman to Plains to discuss the issue. Other high Administration officials, including Moore and Bert Lance, director of the Office of Management and Budget, talked to Brooks, who was unhappy with Carter's reorganization proposal. Eventually, Brooks announced that he opposed the plan because he was convinced that a "one-house legislative veto" was unconstitutional and unwise. Instead, he favored a plan under which reorganization proposals introduced by the President would become law only if approved by both the House and Senate within 60 days of their submission.

The White House argued that the chairman's plan, if adopted, would be cumbersome and time-consuming since it would require debate and legislative action on each of the reorganization proposals offered by the President. The White House further maintained that Carter should be given the same authority granted his predecessors.



Moore meets for breakfast every Friday morning with members of his congressional liaison staff to discuss their work.

Brooks, meanwhile, remained unshaken in his opposition, causing apprehension within the White House that Carter might not be able to keep his reorganization pledge or, at the very least, that he would have more trouble achieving it than anticipated, thereby creating a strain in his relations with Congress during the early, crucial days of his Administration.

According to a committee member, when it became evident that Brooks was adamant in his opposition, Rep. Dante B. Fascell, D-Fla., a ranking majority member, went to him and suggested that "something" could be worked out, but the chairman insisted on going "the legislative route" on each reorganization plan as it came up before Congress.

Fascell relayed a report of his conversation with Brooks to White House aides and proposed that they try to settle their differences with the chairman. Brooks, however, continued to hold firm in his opposition. When Carter asked him to introduce the Administration bill, Brooks refused, noting that he was going to submit his own reorganization authority bill.

As related by a committee member: "Brooks painted himself in a corner. He never asked any of the committee members to support his bill or drew up any strategy to push it. Normally, when a committee chairman opposes an Administration bill, he will introduce it 'by request,' which is a form of courtesy allowing him at the same time to maintain his own position. But Jack refused to do even that. The next day (Feb. 9), Carter invited the committee members to the White House, all except Brooks. The President said, 'I want this authority, I'm committed to it, I've made some compromises and my mind's not closed to other changes, but if you force me to go the legislative route, it will hamper me.'

"He asked about sponsors for the bill. Fascell said he was willing to go along, but not until he had talked to Brooks. After leaving the White House, we went directly to the floor of the House and Fascell asked Brooks if he would introduce the President's bill by request and Brooks replied, 'Hell no, I don't want to do it. You guys go ahead if you want'."

About 10 days later, Carter again invited the committee members to the White House to discuss the bill, again without Brooks.

Fascell later told *National Journal*, "The man (Carter) ought to have the right to reorganize his own Administration. There is nothing unconstitutional about his bill. We have been doing it since 1949, and 93 reorganization plans have been introduced under the authority."

An aide to Brooks said that the chairman's split with the White House on the bill was legitimately based on a constitutional interpretation that happened to be at variance with that of the White House. "Brooks," he said, "had nothing to gain by his position; it was a matter of principle with him. It should be looked at as a matter of courage, not of defiance. The ones playing politics are those who jumped on the Carter bandwagon to curry favor with the President. If Brooks wanted to be an obstructionist, he would not have held committee hearings on the bill and it would have been difficult to get it out of committee except by discharge resolution."

Another Brooks aide conceded that in all probability, the White House "has the votes" to assure passage of the reorganization authority measure favored by Carter, or something close to it. He said, however, that Carter showed disrespect for congressional tradition by "going around the chairman" when he twice invited the committee members to the White House without Brooks. Some committee members who attended the White House meetings said that the propriety of the President's invitation was raised in their talks with him. But the consensus seemed to be that Brooks had brought the action upon himself.

"He asked for it," said an aide to Speaker O'Neill. "He understands and is not mad. Brooks is too smart for that."

A White House aide commented, "When rolling the chairman, you ignore protocol."

Subsequently, Brooks, realizing that he was out-maneuvered, conceded to the White House and agreed to a bill that left him a small measure of satisfaction. It limits to three the number of reorganization bills that may be pending before Congress at any one time and makes it easier for Members to ask for a vote on any of the proposals.

Equally important to the White House, the President got virtually what he wanted, without completely alienating Brooks.

APPOINTMENTS

Presidential appointments—including the selection, checking and public announcements—consume more time and cause more frustration for Moore and his staff than possibly any other single activity. "I'm up to my neck in appointments," said Moore in exasperation. With the tenor of one who speaks from experience, he remarked, "Nothing makes a Congressman madder than for his home state paper to announce a nomination he doesn't know anything about."

Of necessity, the White House congressional relations staff of a new Administration is thrown into the appointments process before it has had time to become organized and before it has learned the procedures and the players of Capitol Hill.

Upon taking office, Carter had about 2,000 appointments at his disposal. One White House lobbyist reported, "About half of our time is spent on appointments, and that's a conservative estimate." The process, he said, works like this:

"The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, let's say, sends a recommendation for assistant secretary to the President. He turns it over to the White House personnel office. A political check is run. Is he a Democrat? Or how strong a Republican or Independent is he? Once personnel is satisfied he can pass a political check, they send his name to us. We check him out with Senators and Representatives of his state and home district and with Congressmen on key committees. Unless they reject him as totally unacceptable, his name is sent back to personnel. An FBI check is run on him and he is asked to make a financial disclosure to avert any possible conflicts of interest. If he clears everything, the appointment papers are sent to the President for his signature.

"Ideally, announcement of the ap-

"Congress and its staff has gotten lazy and must be weaned from thinking that the White House has to cater to their every whim. If the White House congressional liaison people answered every call and every personal request, that's all they would be doing. The final test is what is getting done—not how cordial they are to each other."—Richard K. Cook, Nixon lobbyist

pointment will not be made until the President formally approves it. But we've had all kinds of trouble with announcements; they've been prematurely released from the Hill, in the newspapers, from within the departments and even leaked from the White House. Rather than get a lot of flak from Senators, we now avoid calling them if the names of nominees in whom they have an interest are already published in the newspapers."

White House lobbyists admit they do not have a good system for plugging in the names of job prospects whose names are forwarded to them by Members of Congress. "Some of the names have been lost in the shuffle, and only recently have we begun to computerize them," said a staff aide to Moore.

Responding to criticism that the Carter White House has been slow in putting its appointees in place, particularly at the sub-Cabinet level, he said, "The delay has chiefly been with the FBI; they can't physically complete all the checks in such a short period of time. There's also a holdup in the vast amount of paperwork involved. If there is anything we could do to speed up the process, we'd be glad to do it."

A White House lobbyist, who has been working for the President since shortly after the inauguration, reported that the FBI had been conducting a check on him for six weeks and still had not completed it.

Once the bulk of the political nominees are confirmed, the appointments process will be less of a burden to members of the congressional liaison staff and they can devote more time and effort to legislative affairs.

Dan Tate leads the White House lobbying effort in the Senate.





Rick Merrill, a former Democratic Study Group aide, had been in charge of House liaison before he was released from Moore's staff.

OUTLOOK

Proof that Moore's operation is still undergoing organizational strains was the recent departure of Rick Merrill, chief assistant for House affairs. Merrill, who served with the Democratic Study Group before joining the Carter campaign in June, suddenly was released from the White House amid reports that some congressional leaders were dissatisfied with him and blamed him for some of the lapses in the President's relations with Congress.

One White House aide reported, "There have been problems for sometime and they just came to a head." Moore said that Merrill felt that "the time and pressure" of the White House job was "too much and he wanted to step down." He said that Merrill would probably remain with the Administration in an agency position.

After two months of the new Administration, it has become clear that Congress does not intend to become a junior partner to the White House and that Carter's relationship with the legislative branch is more likely to be on a cordial but business-like basis.

Atlanta attorney Charles H. Kirbo may have been speaking both as a prophet and a friend of the President when he told *The Washington Post's* David S. Broder that Carter probably would have "a continuing problem" with Congress. Kirbo also said that Carter would not hestitate to take his case to the people when he felt it was necessary.

White House aides maintain that Kirbo was referring to the traditional adversary relationship between the White House and Congress and was not suggesting that the potential for warfare already existed between the two branches.

Moore observed that the Carter forces had not been part of the established Democratic Party network before the election and that Carter brought people to Washington "whom they never heard of; that has caused us some problems."

He acknowledged that Congress is represented by strong leadership and is not expected to "rubber-stamp the President."

In an effort to become better acquainted with congressional staff aides, Moore has held a series of wine and cheese parties. "Some of them told me that they hadn't been in the White House since Lyndon Johnson's time," he said. "Actually, we're all in this together." □

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

original to
Eisenhower

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Hamilton Jordan

The attached was sent to Jim Schlesinger today. This copy is for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3-29-77

To Jim Schlesinger

We got to tie together

four major Concepts:

a) Balanced FY81 budget

b) Energy policy

c) Tax reform

d) Welfare reform

You, Stu, Mike, Charlie, Bert & others have to work together with me on this. Yours is first to be addressed, & you've done an excellent job. Both I & the person in the street have to see the whole picture -

Jimmy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Bill Heckman

The attached letter was sent to
The Thompson Family today.
This copy is for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

3-28-77

To the Gunner Thompson Family

Again, let me thank you for taking me into your home. Your family represents the real strength of America, and it was an inspiration for me to be in your home.

I hope you've received the photographs I sent.

Rosalynn and I look forward to your visiting us when it is convenient for you to come to Washington.

Your friend,

Jimmy

Mr + Mrs Edw. J Thompson, Jr.
309 Chestnut St.
Clinton, Mass. 01510

WORCESTER, MA 016
PM
25 MAR
1977

E PLURIBUS UNUM
13c



President Jimmy Carter
White House
Washington, D.C.

Attn: Mr. Tim Kraft

977 MAR 28 PM 4 17

March 24, 1977



Dear Mr. President - Jimmy:

Never in our wildest dreams did Gunner and I think we would ever meet the President of the United States much less entertain him in our home. Being very much aware of the honor bestowed upon us as Clintonians, we were very proud to have our town chosen for your first visit fulfilling your promise to keep in touch with the people. When we were chosen to be your host, we were both in a state of shock.

It was a delight to have you as our guest. Being in awe of the great office you hold, Gunner and I, hopefully, made you feel comfortable in our home. I can honestly say I was more nervous than you realize, but once you were "home" you made me feel very much at ease.

We have told all our friends and fellow Clintonians what a wonderful warm human being you are and I sincerely believe no other President

other than Jimmy would come to the people as you did. We also feel if they did, they would not be as humble and unassuming as you. Our whole family feel you are really one of us.



The town of Clinton and many other people who were fortunate enough to be outside of the Town Hall showed their love and trust in their President. What a wonderful feeling to have for the first time in my memory, a President who is truly of the people and for the people. How comforting!

There is an expression, one of many, that is said in our family and I in turn say it to you as Jimmy:- Rosalyn and your children are twice blessed to have a husband and father like you. That is the highest compliment I can give you as I feel that way about Hunner and my children. You have given to us, our children and grandchildren an experience we will treasure all our lives.

Our Dear Lord in His Wisdom had a hand in choosing our great town of Clinton and the Thompson family at 309 Chestnut Street to

be the first to host you as President and have you listen to our problems. Hunner and I only pray we can honor Him by using our family as His instrument telling, in our humble way, how you are really dedicated to the needs of the people.



As Hunner and I would say to any one of our good friends - Jimmy, if you and your family are ever in or around Clinton in the future, please drop in and say hello. You will be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Kay Thompson
(Mrs. Edward "Hunner" Thompson

309 Chestnut Street
Clinton, Mass. 01510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Jack Watson

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. This copy is for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: Telephone Call with Governor James Exon of Nebraska

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc
Jack Watson

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

done

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jack Watson

RE: TELEPHONE REQUEST FROM GOVERNOR JAMES EXON OF NEBRASKA

PURPOSE: To discuss the Administration's Farm Bill.

WHEN: The call should be made as soon as possible.

Governor Exon called this morning to express his distress with the Farm Bill generally and, specifically, with our definition of cost of production and the price support levels on various crops. Governor Exon is Chairman of the National Governors Conference Agriculture Committee and, therefore, has standing to speak on the bill over and above his being Governor of a major farming state.

Governor Exon was talking in the alternative about flying to Washington for a meeting with you. I suggested that a telephone call would give him the same opportunity to express his reactions and opinions to you as a meeting would.

I respectfully recommend that the telephone call be made. He had a meeting with Bergland last Friday and does not think that a further telephone call to Bergland would be helpful.

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Hamilton Jordan -

The attached was returned in the President's outbox. It is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Re: William W. Scranton &
People's Republic of China

cc

HS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
X		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY BILL
	Staffing comments should go to Bert Carp within 48 hours; due from Carp to Staff Secretary next day.

	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Staffing comments should go to Doug Huron within 48 hours; due from Huron to Staff Secretary next day.

ACTION	FYI	
		ARAGON
		BOURNE
		BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		GAMMILL
		HARDEN
		HOYT
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		KING
		KRAFT
		LANCE
		LINDER
		MITCHELL
		POSTON
		PRESS
		B. RAINWATER
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		SCHULTZE
		SIEGEL
		SMITH
		WELLS
		VOORDE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN. cc: Ham - See me J

William W. Scranton
Scranton, Pennsylvania 18503

March 24, 1977

PERSONAL

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Undoubtedly by now Cy has told you about our telephone conversation of this morning. Not to be dramatic but utterly honest, this has been the most difficult decision I have ever had to make. Quite frankly, I wanted to say yes for the task and the undertaking; it appealed to me more than any single offer that has ever been made to me.

The reason that we have taken so long in making this determination is that both Mary and I felt the tremendous importance of the task and were deeply impressed by you and also by Cy in your very interesting and deeply appreciated comments to us.

Unfortunately we have come to the conclusion that we should not accept your suggestion that I go to the People's Republic of China as Ambassador because of our strong commitments to our family in various ways, the details of which are very important to us, but I need not take your time to recount them. In short, we felt that Peking was just too far away for too long a time to carry on our family obligations and relationships the way we thought they should be carried on for the next couple of years.

Needless to say, I would be delighted to do anything that I possibly can for you and the Administration on any short-term mission or any task that involves less geographical distance from the United States. I believe very strongly in doing everything possible to help this wonderful country of ours and also I happen to be one of those

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

The President

who is a strong advocate of human rights as the basic difference between our free world and that of the communist world and some other nations as well. I do congratulate you on your work, especially in this regard, and you have my strong support.

Once again, many thanks for the consideration you have given to this personally and through Cy. I am eternally grateful.

Most sincerely,

Bill

William W. Scranton

CC: C. Vance

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Probable notes from Meeting with

Bert Lance & Secretary Blumenthal

3/29/77

Duplicate soc security nos
Positive ident of welfare recipient - (MD)
Value added tax - refund for exports

Deny need gas
Geography book
Consulting firms
Tax - welfare d/G
Sent finance program - expenditure (Expenditure no) tax credit

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(MEMORANDUM) THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

MEMO FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE FM

SUBJECT: Reorganization Authority Votes in House

1. Walker (R-Pa) Amendment. An amendment in the nature of a substitute bill that sought to require that the House and the Senate pass approval resolutions for reorganzation plans. Rejected by vote of 87 ayes to 329 noes, 16 not voting.

Members Voting For the Walker Amendment

Democrats (26)

*Beilenson, Cal
*Benjamin, Ind
*Bonior, Mich
Brodhead, Mich
***J. Burton, Cal
*Cavanaugh, Neb
***Conyers, Mich
*Cornell, Ind
D. Daniel, Va
Davis, S.C.
Dellums, Cal
**Dent, Pa
**Dingell, Mich
Duncan, Ore
*Ertel, Pa
Holtzman, NY
Krueger, Tex
McDonald, Ga
***Moss, Cal
*M. Myers, Pa
Oberstar, Minn
Satterfield, Va
Scheuer, NY
Spellman, Md
*Stump, Ariz
Yates, Ill

Republicans (61)

Abdnor, SD
Andrews, ND
Armstrong, Col
Ashbrook, Ohio
Bauman, Md
Burgener, Cal
Caputo, NY
Clawson, Cal
Cleveland, NH
Cochran, Miss
Cohen, Maine
Coleman, Mo
Collins, Tex
Coughlin, Pa
Crane, Ill
R.W.Daniel, Va
Derwinski, Ill
Devine, Ohio
Edwards, Okla
Evans, Del
Frenzel, Minn
Gilman, NY
Goldwater, Cal
Goodling, Pa
Grassley, Iowa
Hammerschmidt, Ark
Hansen, Ida
Hollenbeck, NJ
Jeffords, Vt
Kemp, NY
Latta, Ohio
Lujan, NM
Marks, Pa
Marlenee, Mont
Marriott, Utah
Miller, Ohio
Moorhead, Cal
G. Myers, Pa
Myers, Ind
O'Brien, Ill
Pressler, SD
Pursell, Mich
Quayle, Ind
Robinson, Va
Rousselot, Cal
Rudd, Ari
Sarasin, Conn
Sawyer, Mich
Schulze, Pa
Sebelius, Kan
Shuster, Pa
Steers, Md
Steiger, Wis
Treen, Lou
Trible, Va
Vander Jagt, Mich
Walker, Pa
Wampler, Va
Wiggins, Cal
Winn, Kan
Wydler, NY

*freshmen Members, 95th Congress (8)
(17% of the freshmen Democrats)
**influential Members (2)
***Gov't Ops Members (3)

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2. Final Passage. The bill, as amended by the Government Operations Committee, passed the House by vote of 395 yeas to 22 nays, 15 not voting.

Members Voting Against Final Passage

Democrats (11)	Republicans (11)
Beilenson, Cal	Ashbrook, Ohio
Benjamin, Ind	Bauman, Md
*Bonker, Wash	Caputo, NY
Conyers, Mich	Collins, Tex
Cornell, Ind	Hansen, Ida
Duncan, Ore	G.Myers, Pa
Holtzman, NY	Myers, Ind
McDonald, Ga	Steiger, Wis
Moss, Cal	Treen, Lou
Satterfield, Va	Walker, Pa
Stump, Ari	Wydler, NY

* voted against Walker amendment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

Mtg 3/29

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM STU EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT: Talking Points for Luncheon Meeting with Representative Philip Burton

Background: Burton is former Majority Whip, narrowly missed election as Majority Leader, and is chairman of the Subcommittee on Parks and Territories of the Interior Committee. His district is in San Francisco City and County, California.

Three issues which you should discuss with him:

1. Water Projects. Burton could be very helpful on this issue. He signed the letter to you in February supporting budget cutbacks in this area; he has stayed silent on the Auburn Project (the only project we have targeted in California); he has also opposed the Bureau of Reclamation regarding subsidies of agribusiness in California.

   I think you should ask his advice on strategy and for his assistance on this issue. He would be an ideal person to carry this issue for us in the House. We are developing solid data on each of the projects and could keep him supplied with reliable information.

   We are beginning to make some progress already on the Hill. The House Budget Committee yesterday deleted $280 million from the water project budget in an amendment offered by Butler Derrick of South Carolina (district where the Russell Dam is sited).

2. Redwoods Issue. Burton has introduced legislation to expand the size of the Redwoods National Park which is being adversely affected by timber cutting on adjacent private lands. During the campaign, you pledged to call for a moratorium on logging and support for legislation to resolve the problem. Secretary Andrus

will telegram the logging companies today calling for them to halt cutting of old growth timber for 180 days to give the Congress and Administration time to consider legislation to expand the park. Congressman Burton's bill is larger and more expensive than the legislation currently being considered by the Interior Department. Andrus has been in communication with Burton on this issue.

3. Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area. The Interior Department recently testified in opposition to Congressman Burton's bill to increase the authorization for the Land and Water Conservation Fund from $650 million to $900 million in FY1978. The Department believes this bill is not consistent with your budget request. As a result of the Administration's opposition, Congressman Burton has said he will not move legislation to establish a Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area, a bill which the Administration supports.

   The Interior Department's testimony was not cleared by the Domestic Policy Staff, and you may wish to tell Congressman Burton that you will review the position on his bill. It is possible that we could reach a compromise.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

FROM: Jack Watson

SUBJECT: Kick-off Meeting and Filming for U.S. Savings Bond Drive
1:30 p.m., Tuesday, March 29, 1977—Oval Office

There are two purposes for this meeting:

(1) to make a film that can be used in both public and private sector savings bond campaigns this year and next year; and

(2) to establish the Interdepartmental Savings Bond Committee and appoint Bert Lance chairman of it, thereby kicking off the federal government's 1977 campaign.

Scenario

1:29 p.m. The following people will be in the Oval Office:

Secretary Blumenthal--Cabinet Secretary with responsibility for savings bond
Bert Lance—Chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bond Committee
Don Haider—Special Assistant to Bert Lance
Gilbert Goff—Federal Payroll Savings Director (Treasury Department)
Noel Bride—Assistant Federal Payroll Savings Director (Treasury Department)
Edward Segal—Savings Bond Photographer

1:30 p.m. You go to your desk and sign the following documents:

(1) Executive Order establishing Interdepartmental Savings Bond Committee (attached)

(2) Memorandum to department and agency heads informing them of campaign and requesting their help (attached)

(3) Letter to Bert Lance naming him chairman of the Committee (attached)

(4) Brief statement to go on brochure to be used in the Savings Bond campaign (attached)

A photograh of you, Bert, and Mike will be taken for the campaign brochure (see last year's brochure attached).

1:35 p.m. A 16 mm film will be made for use in the 1977 and 1978 savings bond drives. In the first part of the film, you will talk generally about savings bonds (see attached script; this can be used for industry and business campaigns, as well as for the government drive).

In the second part of the film, you introduce Bert Lance as chairman of the Interdepartmental Savings Bond Committee (see attached script), and then Bert is filmed. This second part of the film will be added to the first part when it is being used in the government campaign.

1:40 p.m. Session concludes

Note: A press release will be issued today