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JOURNAL

OF

WILLIAM H. NATCHER

MEMBER OF CONGRESS

2ND DIST. OF KENTUCKY

VOLUME XXIII

Former President Nixon's statement following the pardon is as follows:

"I have been informed that President Ford has granted me a full and absolute pardon for any charges which might be brought against me for actions taken during the time I was President of the United States.

In accepting this pardon, I hope that his compassionate act will contribute to lifting the burden of Watergate from our country.

Here in California, my perspective on Watergate is quite different than it was while I was embattled in the midst of the controversy and while I was still subject to the unrelenting daily demands of the presidency itself.

Looking back on what is still in my mind a complex and confusing maze of events, decisions, pressures and personalities, one thing I can see clearly now is that I was wrong in not acting more decisively and more forth-rightly in dealing with Watergate, particularly when it reached the stage of judicial proceedings and grew from a political scandal into a national tragedy.

No words can describe the depths of my regret and pain at the anguish

my mistakes over Watergate have caused the nation and the presidency-- a nation I so deeply love and an institution I so greatly respect.

I know many fair-minded people believe that my motivations and action in the Watergate affair were intentionally self-serving and illegal. I now understand how my own mistakes and misjudgments have contributed to that belief and seemed to support it. This burden is the heaviest one of all to bear.

That the way I tried to deal with Watergate was the wrong way is a burden I shall bear for every day of the life that is left to me."

The first major appointment made by President Ford after he was sworn in as President was to appoint his old friend J.F. TerHorst as his Press Secretary. Mr. TerHorst is a well-known newspaper man and handled the Congressional District formerly represented by Jerry Ford. They have been close friends for many years and immediately after President Ford pardoned Mr. Nixon, White House Press Secretary J.F. TerHorst resigned in protest saying that he could not defend President Ford's decision to grant former President Nixon a pardon. Mr. TerHorst said that when the President made his decision to pardon in

good conscience, he felt that it was his duty to advise the President that in good conscience, he could not defend this position as the spokesman for the President. Mr. TerHorst further said that he felt that mercy, like justice, should be even-handed.

Following announcement of the pardon, thousands of telephone calls were received by the White House and telegrams started in at the rate of some 700 an hour. Coming from all sections of the United States, and according to the White House staff, 6 to 1 objected to the President's action.

Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski said immediately after the President's pardon that he had not been consulted about the blanket pardon granted to former President Nixon. Mr. Jaworski said that this is a matter that was decided by the President on his authority under the Constitution. Jaworski also said that he doubted if this decision would have any impact on the Watergate cover-up trial that he expects to start on schedule, September 30.

According to reports that we received on the Hill after the pardon, President Ford's decision to immediately pardon the former President came after he was advised that delay

would have damaging consequences both to White House political policies and to Mr. Nixon's emotional state. Two of Mr. Nixon's friends advised President Ford, according to the White House that the former President was so emotionally depressed that he would have been unable to withstand prolonged indecision as to whether or not he was to be indicted and tried.

Congressional reaction to the pardon was mixed with Republicans generally defending, in a luke-warm fashion, the pardon and with a number of influential Republicans joining most Democrats in raising strong objections.

For instance, Senator Clifford Case (R-N.J.) said he completely disagreed with the President's actions. Senator Robert Packwood (R.-Ore.) said he did not believe that President Ford should have pardoned Nixon because no man is literally above the law. Senator Howard H. Baker (R-Tenn.) a member of the Senate Watergate Committee, said that he had a great deal of apprehension about the pardon and that in his opinion it would re-open a caustic and divisive debate in the country. Senator Muskie (D.-Maine) said that the President's decision was unwise and that pardons are usu-

ally granted at the point where the accused is in jeopardy of punishment and that point has not been reached in Mr. Nixon's case. Senator Weicker of Connecticut said that the President made a mistake. Representative Don Edwards (D-Cal.), said that the President had made a mistake and that he knew he would make many mistakes and that was the main reason why he voted against his election in the House for Vice President.

Immediately following the pardon the White House announced that a negotiated agreement had been made with Richard M. Nixon under which the former President and the United States Government would have joint custody of White House tapes and Presidential documents, but with Mr. Nixon determining who should have access to them. In a letter of agreement making him the sole legal owner of the papers and tapes until their future donation to the government, Mr. Nixon specifically asserted his legal title to all literary rights accompanying publication of the materials. It is reported at this time that Mr. Nixon has been advised that a book of memoirs would be worth at least \$2 million. On September 1, 1979, the tapes and materials will be donated to the government.

For days now we have received information on the Hill that President Nixon seldom left his home in California and refused to see anyone except Rebozo and one or two other close friends, together with members of his family. The word was received back here that he was in a very depressed state and was sleeping very little, arising at all hours during the night and after playing the piano for a while would then attempt to go back to sleep. All kinds of rumors have been circulating and some of course were premeditated.

My old friend, Jerry Ford, has made his first serious mistake and this mistake, in my opinion, eliminated all hope of his being elected President in the year, 1976. I know Jerry Ford real well and I again recall former President Johnson's statement that Jerry Ford was the only man that he knew in the United States who could not chew chewing gum and walk at the same time. This is the way that former President Johnson ridiculed Jerry Ford.

President Ford had a press conference about ten days ago. President Ford said that it would be unwise and untimely of him to make any commitment on a pardon until legal action

was taken. It now appears from all reports that President Ford concluded that he had made a political miscalculation in his original decision to wait until the legal process had been completed before issuing any pardon. I understand that the pardon had been in the works since August 30th, when President Ford told his attorney, Mr. Buchen, at a private meeting, to research historical and legal precedents. It now appears that Buchen worked on this assignment over the Labor Day weekend while Mr. Ford and his family relaxed at Camp David.

I simply believe that our new President should have permitted the legal processes to have been completed before issuing any pardon. 56% of the people in this country according to a recent Gallup Poll, said that Mr. Nixon should be prosecuted the same as the other 20 or so others that are now in the process of being prosecuted or are serving out sentences following pleas of guilty.

The Washington Star-News, in its issue of September 9th, in an editorial entitled - "The Pardoning of Richard Nixon" - said:

"President Ford's honeymoon period may be considerably shortened,

if not ended, by his pardoning of Richard Nixon yesterday. But we believe his action was justified and was in the national interest.

Ford's move may have seemed abrupt, even premature to many, particularly since he gave the indication at his recent press conference that he would wait until Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski followed whatever action he intended to pursue in the legal arena. Ford evidently believed that the matter of Nixon's fate needed to be decided quickly so that he (Ford) and the nation could concentrate on other serious problems facing the country. While Nixon's resignation took the fire out of Watergate and impeachment, it did not remove national attention entirely from this emotional matter that has bedeviled the country and sapped its energies for an overly long time. There were daily indications in the nation's news media and elsewhere that the whole thing was beginning to heat up again, with the controversy over whether Nixon should be prosecuted in the courts and punished with a prison sentence if found guilty. Ford has acted, wisely, we believe, to set that issue at rest.

Certainly there will be debate over whether Ford did the right thing.

Many people believed that Nixon should have been prosecuted and punished. But that debate will be short lived, and we believe that the public will accept Ford's decision; indeed, they probably will be glad that the matter is settled.

There may be some adverse political consequences to Ford, at least in the short run. Very likely he will be heavily criticized by columnists and commentators, and no doubt there will be suspicions that it all was arranged between him and Nixon before Nixon left the White House. It probably will damage him somewhat on Capitol Hill, particularly among the more liberal members of Congress who won't need much to prompt their divorce from the conservative Ford.

The resignation of White House Press Secretary Jerry TerHorst, who quit as a matter of "conscience" because of the pardon, will hurt. Ford also had a honeymoon going with the working press, most of whom had a high regard for TerHorst and many of whom share TerHorst's opinion of the pardon.

Ford undoubtedly considered the political impact, and it is something he will have to live with. We doubt, however, that the pardoning of Richard Nixon is likely to be an issue of great moment in the 1976 presidential race. We do not believe the people wanted to

send Nixon to jail, that they wanted to exact the last pound of flesh from him.

We agree with Ford when he said that Richard Nixon and his family "have suffered enough, and will continue to suffer" regardless of whether he was pardoned.

The stickiest question in all of this involves the admitted inconsistency of freeing the former president from the legal consequences of his acts while others have gone or will be going to jail for offenses that were part of the Watergate cover-up and power abuses for which Nixon was accused. It is a fact that John Dean went to jail the other day while the man he blew the whistle on--Nixon--now is assured of no prosecution.

To our mind, it would have been unthinkable to put Nixon in jail, for the reasons that it would have been divisive to the country and would have meant a diminution of respect for future holders of the presidency. Perhaps Ford, now that he has pardoned the former president, will consider some form of leniency for those who served Nixon and got caught up in the legal web of Watergate.

We wish Nixon, in his statement

yesterday, could have brought himself to admit that he bent or broke some laws. He merely said that he was wrong in not acting more forcefully after Watergate was disclosed but he still did not admit trampling on the Constitution. The record compiled during the impeachment investigation shows clearly that he was guilty of unconstitutional and illegal acts.

At least now, we can close the legal book on Richard Nixon and leave the final judgment on him to the higher authority before whom we all must pass in review."

I do not agree with this editorial and this is another reason why this newspaper is just hanging on the ropes.

It seems to me that the price President Ford paid for freeing Nixon is a high one. Certainly this ends his honeymoon with the Congress.

I presume that the President believes that his gamble in issuing the pardon will of course bring on quite a furor for a few days but that his plea of getting Watergate out of the way completely so that inflation, the energy crisis, and the serious problems of agriculture can be resolved will suffice.

I believe that he has misread the national mood.

The pardon of course does not prevent Mr. Nixon from testifying, under the subpoenas that have been issued.

Yesterday, President Ford got a first hand taste of public displeasure over his Sunday action when he spoke in Pittsburgh and was booed by hecklers as he left a downtown hotel after making a speech.

Ford's statement on the pardon is as follows:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have come to a decision which I felt I should tell you, and all of my fellow American citizens, as soon as I was certain in my own mind and in my own conscience that it was the right thing to do.

I have learned already in this office that the difficult decisions always come to this desk. I must admit that many of them do not look at all the same as the hypothetical questions that I have answered freely and perhaps too fast on previous occasions. My customary policy is to try and get all the facts and to consider the opinions of my countrymen and to take counsel with my most valued

friends. But these seldom agree, and in the end the decision is mine.

To procrastinate, to agonize and to wait for a more favorable turn of events that may never come, or more compelling external pressures that may as well be wrong as right, is itself a decision of sorts and a weak and potentially dangerous course for a President to follow.

I have promised to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best, that I can for America, I have asked your help and your prayers, not only when I became President, but many times since.

The Constitution is the supreme law of our land and it governs our actions as citizens. Only the laws of God, which govern our consciences, are superior to it. As we are a nation under God, so I am sworn to uphold our laws with the help of God. And I have sought such guidance and searched my own conscience with special diligence to determine the right thing for me to do with respect to my predecessor in this place, Richard Nixon, and his loyal wife and family.

Theirs is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part. It

could go on and on and on, or someone must write "The End" to it.

I have concluded that only I can do that. And if I can, I must.

There are no historic or legal precedents to which I can turn in this matter, none that precisely fit the circumstances of a private citizen who has resigned the presidency of the United States. But it is common knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President's head, threatening his health, as he tries to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the service of this country and by the mandate of its people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States under governing decisions of the Supreme Court.

I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or divine, is no respecter of persons but the law is a

respector of reality. The facts as I see them are that a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in preserving the presumption of his innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.

During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused, and our people would again be polarized in their opinions, and the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad. In the end, the courts might well hold that Richard Nixon had been denied due process and the verdict of history would even more be inconclusive with respect to those charges arising out of the period of his presidency of which I am presently aware.

But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me-- though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country. In this I dare not depend upon my personal sympathy as a longtime friend of the former President nor my professional judgment as a lawyer. And I do not.

As President, my primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States, whose servant I am.

As a man, my first consideration is to be true to my own convictions and my own conscience.

My conscience tells me clearly and certainly that I cannot prolong the bad dreams that continue to reopen a chapter that is closed. My conscience tells me that only I, as President, have the constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book. My conscience says it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquility, but to use every means that I have to ensure it.

I do believe that the buck stops here, that I cannot rely upon public opinion polls to tell me what is right. I do believe that right makes might, and that if I am wrong 10 angels swearing I was right would make no difference. I do believe with all my heart and mind and spirit that I not as President, but as a humble servant of God, will receive justice without mercy if I fail to show mercy.

Finally, I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough, and will continue to suffer no matter what I do, no matter what we as a great and good nation can do together to make his goal of peace come true.

Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969, through August 9, 1974.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 8th day of September in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred Seventy-Four, and of the independence of the United States of America the 199th."

Mary McGrory, who writes for the Washington Star-News, in her article entitled - "But Nobody Expected It As A Sunday Sneak Attack" - said that everybody was expecting a pardon but nobody expected Jerry Ford to make a Pearl Harbor of it, leaving legal, moral and political devastation in his wake. She went on to state that President Ford chose a Sunday for a sneak attack on the due process and common sense hoping perhaps that people just home from church, as he was himself, would be shamed into endorsing his witless show of Chris-

tian compassion. It seems, according to Mary McGrory, that Ford's proclamation was suitably given on the day that Evel Knievel, who was also defying common sense and the laws of gravity, attempted to zoom over the Snake River Canyon. Knievel ended up in the ditch and, according to Mary McGrory, so did Jerry Ford.

Evel Knievel, the dare-devil, attempted to ride his skycycle across this great divide but ended up in the Snake River Canyon after he inadvertently tripped the parachute on the way across. Nevertheless, he earned some \$6 million for his boo-boo.

Sunday was a right bad day for some people but it was not a bad day for Virginia and me. We spent two weeks in Kentucky and had a wonderful time. This was the Labor Day recess period and on the way back from Kentucky we stopped by and visited Celeste and her family. Our five little grandsons are doing fine and William Natcher Jirles was still trying to be a second Evel Knievel. I traveled into a number of counties and had fine meetings in Meade, Warren, Hart and Daviess Counties. I attended the funerals of two of my old friends, Levi Baker and Carlos Embry, Sr. while I was in Kentucky. Prior to the pardon it was estimated

in Kentucky that the Cook-Ford race for the Senate had warmed up and was about even. The pardon, in my opinion, will change this situation considerably.

In today's Washington Post appears an editorial entitled "The Presidential Pardon". This editorial is as follows:

"BECAUSE HE APPROACHED the problem of disposing of the Watergate scandals from the wrong direction, President Ford came out in the wrong place. The issue has never been the personal fate of Richard Nixon--either as a figure some wished very much to 'punish' and others wished equally strongly to spare further 'suffering'. The proper approach--and one we had thought had been accepted by President Ford as recently as the week before last--would have been to begin with the objective of sparing the country and its constitutional system of any further losses from the unprecedented scandals and crimes that have come to be known by the general name of Watergate. President Ford was in no danger of losing his power to pardon Richard Nixon for any offenses with which Mr. Nixon might have been charged. And he had already indicated a disposition to come down on the side of personal leniency in this matter. By acting prematurely and abruptly he has thus not added measurably to anything but Mr. Nixon's immediate ease of mind. And he has done so at a terrific cost.

That cost has, first, to do with the dignity and vitality of our system of government. One way and another Mr. Nixon managed to use the powers of his office to abort and/or subvert every solemn and orderly process undertaken in the past two years to make a full public accounting of the Watergate misdeeds. If you believe that those misdeeds were somehow the private personal business of Mr. Nixon and his aides and that they had no effect more important than the suffering their disclosure might have caused him, then Mr. Ford's summary grant of a preemptive pardon might make sense. But for those of us who believe that the consequences of Watergate were public consequences having to do with an office and a system of government which were not Mr. Nixon's personal property, then this newest use of the powers of the presidency to curtail inquiry and to relieve Mr. Nixon of responsibility for this action will strike you as nothing less than a continuation of a cover-up. We do not believe Mr. Ford intended his action to have that as its primary purpose. But that will be its primary effect. This is the more so when you consider that in connection with the pardon, Mr. Ford also granted Mr. Nixon ultimate control over access to tapes, documents and other presidential papers which almost certainly would shed further light on one aspect or another

of the Watergate scandals.

In return for this very special treatment, the former President appears to have yielded nothing in relation to the grave charges that have been leveled against his conduct of the presidency. Elsewhere on this page today we present For The Record some material demonstrating how stark is the discrepancy between what Mr. Nixon has been prepared or obliged to acknowledge and what responsible Members of Congress of both parties, including some of his most devout supporters, have been prepared to charge him with having done. It is true that the very concept of pardon presumes at least a very strong likelihood of guilt. There is no need to pardon the innocent. Still Mr. Nixon once again showed, in his miserly and misleading statement of 'acceptance' of the pardon, that he is either unwilling or unable to acknowledge facts that everyone else has agreed on. We are aware of an undercurrent of rumors and half-stated hints that Mr. Ford in fact acted when and as he did because of his predecessor in office was actually in a state of mental and emotional distress. Mr. Ford, indeed, made reference to a concern for Mr. Nixon's health. Like many other people, we are inclined to believe that this or some other unknown reason propelled President

Ford into his precipitous action; the consequences of his acting now are too numerous and too serious to believe otherwise.

Just to begin with, there does not seem to be any other reasonable explanation for announcing a pardon for Mr. Nixon only three weeks before the scheduled beginning of the Watergate cover-up trial. That announcement is bound to have an impact on the Special Prosecutor's ability to prosecute that case. Nor can it conceivably be argued that Mr. Ford was under any pressure from the prosecutor himself in terms of some imminent move against Mr. Nixon. Mr. Jaworski had made plain that he would do nothing, and that he wished nothing to be done, that could affect that trial until a jury had been impanelled and safely sequestered. Again, Mr. Ford's action aggravates the problem of dealing fairly with all Watergate defendants--both in terms of their individual legal liability and of the public's unquestioned interest in seeing that justice is done. Is it fair to continue to prosecute Mr. Nixon's aides while sparing Mr. Nixon himself? And if it is not, what is the justice of others'--who cooperated with the authorities--continuing to serve sentences for crimes committed in Mr. Nixon's name and in his behalf? What of the 'suffering' of these men and

their families? And what of the 'suffering' of those who have been disbarred and/or have completed their prison terms?

There are problems raised by what Mr. Ford has done, especially in relation to the deal on the disposition of the presidential papers, for which there may still be some remedies and to which we shall return shortly. But there are other issues for which there is no remedy, or at least no rolling back of the impact of Mr. Ford's precipitous act. One such problem is the undermining of the rule of law. Just in case it is necessary, we will state once again our own sense that the rule of law would not have suffered from an ultimate show of mercy in relation to Mr. Nixon. There would have been a proper time in the orderly development of judicial proceedings for intervention by President Ford, if in fact the courts themselves had not seen fit to spare Mr. Nixon the ultimate consequences of any conviction. To spare Mr. Nixon any of the legal consequences that would have confronted an ordinary citizen, however, is to misread and misjudge what Watergate has been all about from the beginning: an arrogant, arbitrary distinction between common people and their government leaders when it comes to the faithful

observance of the law. And in the case of government leaders who are also expected to execute the laws--not merely to abide by them--the lapse is all the greater. Richard Nixon and his fallen fellow conspirators seem to believe that government office afforded them a license to disregard the law rather than an obligation to observe and enforce it. Not surprisingly, the public's perception of this fact went a long way toward eroding peoples' confidence that ours is in fact a government of laws and not of men. That erosion can only have been compounded by President Ford's premature pardon of Mr. Nixon."

According to reports that we received on the Hill today, President Ford pardoned former President Nixon after Watergate special prosecutors told the White House that there were about ten different areas of possible criminal liability on Mr. Nixon's part.

Immediately after accepting the pardon, former President Nixon resigned from the California State Bar and is now in the process of resigning from the New York State Bar. His resignation from the two State Bars where he practiced at different times may prevent action from originating which would be in the form of disbarment proceedings.

Shortly after the pardon was issued word was received from the Nixon home in California that the former President had suddenly moved from a spirit of depression to one of enthusiasm and good spirits. His valet who left Washington with him and is now with him in California, Manolo Sanchez said yesterday that his boss was in good spirits and is working on his papers. He further said that President Ford's pardon of the former Chief Executive was a big relief for all of those in the Nixon home. This valet went on to state that after the President resigned, it was a hard time for all of them and that someday he was going to tell everything the way it happened and just how they had framed Richard M. Nixon. The former President went swimming and golfing immediately after accepting the pardon and apparently Richard Milhous Nixon has really convinced his valet that he is one of the great martyrs of all times.

September 11, 1974

During the Labor Day recess period, Charles Lindberg died and was buried in Hawaii. He died of cancer and at his own request was buried within nine hours after he died. Only two of his children were

present at the burial and he was buried in a real deep grave. This was an unusual man in many ways. The kidnapping of his child, his bitter attitude concerning World War II and our entrance into the war along with Vietnam and other matters really changed this man. Those who knew him best said that just before he died he had, to a certain extent, obtained peace of mind which he did not have for many years.

The first election of a mayor in 104 years was held yesterday and it appears that Walter E. Washington is the city's newly elected mayor. Washington has served in this capacity under appointment from two Presidents and the vote count at this point is 53% for Washington and 47% for his opponent Clifford L. Alexander, Jr. The returns are incomplete but it appears that Washington will go all the way. He will be joined on the city council, which was also elected, by Marion Berry, one of the dissidents in Washington and several others. Now the responsibility for acts in the city can be placed without any difficulty and we will have a merry old time from now on.

A White House spokesman said yesterday that President Ford is weighing the matter of pardons for all Watergate defendants and this announcement sets off the second controversy in three days concerning the pardon issue. Our Speaker, Carl Albert, is very fond of Jerry Ford and did not express himself concerning the President's action in pardoning Nixon. However, he said yesterday after we received word concerning the President's decision to consider other pardons, that additional pardons and action along this line in his opinion, would be viewed as an abuse of Presidential power. Similar statements were made by Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Democratic Whip and other Members in the House and the Senate.

I do hope that my old friend Jerry Ford does not make additional mistakes in the Watergate case.

In the House, we have a man by the name of Lawrence J. Hogan, who represents Prince Georges County and he decided to run for the Office of Governor. He gave up his safe seat in the House and in yesterday's primary was defeated by Louise Gore of Poto- mac, Maryland, who won in an upset victory over Hogan. With more than

75% of the vote counted, Miss Gore, the state's Republican National Committee Woman, held a comfortable 6,000 vote margin over Hogan. Hogan was on and off in his race for Governor and especially when he came out for impeachment. I guess the old-line republicans in Maryland simply taught him a lesson.

According to my information, the pardon was granted Nixon even though President Ford was informed that the former President would never enter a guilty plea or acknowledge criminal conduct in the Watergate case.

Special Watergate Prosecutor Leon Jaworski was described yesterday as being adamantly opposed to grants of pretrial pardons to any persons charged with Watergate related offenses. He has privately said that President Ford's handling of the Nixon pardon has seriously undermined the Special Prosecutor's Watergate investigation.

Hugh Carey has served with us in the House from New York City for many years. He is a Democrat and is completing his 7th term. He has made the race for mayor on one or two occasions and each time lost. He announced for Governor several months ago and in

an upset victory yesterday, beat Howard J. Samuels, the favorite and now will face Governor Wilson who took over when Rockefeller resigned. According to my information, Carey now has a good chance to go all the way.

Several days ago Senator Edward Kennedy decided that he would attend a rally in Boston which was being held for the purpose of indicating the displeasure of those present on the question of bussing of school children. He attended and requested that he be permitted to speak. He was confronted immediately by a number of irate women and for a few moments it appeared that there might be some physical damage. A number of tomatoes and eggs were tossed and one of the tomatoes struck him on the side of his head. He then turned away and said that apparently they did not want to hear from him. This took place in Boston, Massachusetts and caused quite a bit of commotion around the country. The Senator still says that he is not a candidate for President but continues to run for this office every day.

I guess that I was extremely lucky in the May 28 Primary in Kentucky.

With my opponent spending between \$90,000 and \$100,000 and carrying only 15 precincts out of the 387, I indeed was fortunate. There is so much unrest today throughout the country that a number of my colleagues have their problems in their primaries. Yesterday, Bob Tiernan of Rhode Island, who is a Member of the Subcommittee on District of Columbia Appropriations was defeated by a man that was considered unknown as far as the district is concerned. Glenn Davis, who also serves on our Committee on Appropriations from the State of Wisconsin and who served with me for a number of years on the District of Columbia Budget Subcommittee was also defeated in his primary. Shortly before the primary date, Davis had his picture taken with President Ford and on Saturday before the pardon of President Nixon, the picture was circulated by Davis throughout his congressional district for the purpose of indicating his closeness to the new President. The pardon was granted on Sunday following the circulation of the picture and the Wisconsin primary was held yesterday, on Tuesday. The republicans in this congressional district clearly indicated their displeasure and Glenn Davis was defeated. Podell, a Democrat from New York City, who has had

his troubles now for months and is under indictment, also was defeated in his primary. This was expected by most of the Members of the House.

My friend, Frank Evans of Colorado just informed me on the little train going over to the Capitol that in his Democratic primary yesterday, he got 54% of the vote in his home county. All of the vote is not in, but it appears that he will just barely win.

September 12, 1974

President Ford yesterday changed his mind concerning pardons and according to statements made by Senator Scott, the minority leader in the Senate and John Rhodes, the minority leader in the House, the President will now consider requests for pardon on a case-by-case basis. The President's new press secretary said on Tuesday that the President was then considering issuing additional pardons in the Watergate case. His pardon of President Nixon, of course, brought on a stormy protest from throughout the country and he then decided that a clarifying statement should be issued which now places pardons on an individual basis.

During the hullabaloo over the question of issuing pardons, we now hear that during the last days of Richard Nixon's presidency, former White House aides, H.R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman conveyed urgent requests that they be granted Presidential pardons. If the rumors are correct, in rejecting both pardon requests, the President became very much incensed over the tone and character of the pleas by his two former deputies. According to one source, Mr. Nixon was particularly resentful about the strenuous nature of Haldeman's request which was described as right threatening. Both Haldeman and Ehrlichman are scheduled to go on trial with four other defendants on September 30 in the Watergate cover up case. Ehrlichman now faces a jail term of 20 months to 5 years for his previous conviction on charges relating to the break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

President Ford continues to have meetings with organized labor leaders and others concerning the economy. Yesterday, he promised labor that he would see to it that a cushion would be established for

rising unemployment while the government is trying to squeeze inflation out of the economy. George Meany, who was present at the meeting spoke up immediately and said that in his opinion, all Americans agree with the President's objective of breaking the back of inflation but that it would be bad government to fight inflation by making recession worse. Here is where we have a real serious problem. When you apply the breaks on inflation, if applied too rigidly, unemployment immediately increases and then you are confronted with all of the elements of a recession.

Walter E. Washington was finally proclaimed as the new Mayor of our Capital City. His opponent obtained 47% of the vote and this brought on an editorial from the Washington Post to the effect that Washington will now head a government that must be more responsive, not only to an elected city council, but to public opinion. They went on to state that there was no question that he was a man of great competence and stability, for Tuesday's outcome in the election showed that nearly half of the voters in our nation's capital preferred to entrust their new charter to the leadership of someone else. In this editorial

Washington's plea, that he has made for years that his hands were tied, was not recognized and it was stated that it is squarely up to him to start moving.

In the House, when we do not have a fight underway, we spend hours upon hours setting up the machinery for a real battle. It now appears that our next battle will be over the reorganization of the committees in the House as proposed by the Bolling plan, which is considerably different from the Hansen substitute. The Bolling proposal to separate the Education and Labor Committee and to take away from the Ways & Means Committee a right substantial portion of its jurisdiction, has turned this into a real battle. Those Members in the House who want to adjourn as soon as possible hope that this issue will be shelved and they are making every effort to have this done by urging the Rules Committee to delay the issuance of a rule.

We have been advised on our Committee on Appropriations that the government now plans to spend \$110,000 to install and guard a vault where former President Nixon's records will be stored near his home

in San Clemente. General Services Administrator, Arthur M. Sampson, told a Senate Appropriations Committee yesterday that the sophisticated vault will provide better security for the records, including the tapes of Presidential conversations, than is available in Washington. He urged complete security since the tapes and other records may be subpoenaed in other Watergate cases. I have my doubts that this proposal will be accepted by the House.

Several of the Senators are supporting a resolution which would express the Senators' opposition to blanket pardons of Watergate defendants and would favor publication of all White House tapes and other materials on the Watergate scandal that so far have not been made public.

The Central Intelligence Agency is making every effort to refuse to deny or confirm the fact that this agency spent some \$11 million in helping to bring about the downfall of Chilean President Salvador Allende. Allende was later assassinated or at least died in a very mysterious manner. Heart attack and other reasons were given but according to the information we received here, his casket was never opened. On our Committee on Appropriations, the Chairman of our Committee and the senior ranking minority

member are the only members of the Committee who approved the CIA funds and know to any extent as to how the funds are to be expended. I have always believed that the amounts requested, which are from \$400 to \$600 million, received blanket approval without too much delay. This agency has its accomplishments and achievements but in my opinion, the part it played in the downfall of Allende is not on the plus side of the ledger.

Our old friend, George Meany, the President of the AFL-CIO at times comes up with right unusual statements. In addressing the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Meany said that any Soviet economist with the record of Federal Reserve Board Chairman, Arthur F. Burns, would have been shipped off to Siberia long ago. Burns served as Nixon's Economic Advisor and still serves as one of our new President's economic advisors and heads the Federal Reserve System.

Several days ago, one of our new high altitude planes flew at a speed of some 1817 m.p.h. in crossing the Atlantic Ocean which set the all-time record. It required one hour and fifty-five minutes to make the crossing.

September 13, 1974

Military reformers have taken over Kenya. Emperor Haillie Selassie has been deposed after the longest reign of any Monarch in the world today. He is the world's oldest and longest reigning Monarch. He was placed under house arrest and those now in charge of this country have sent for his son, the Prince, who suffered a stroke some two years ago to simply be a figurehead Monarch for the time being. Changes and more changes throughout the world.

Inflation increased last month 3.9%. This was the second largest rise in more than 27 years according to the Labor Department. Except for August, 1973, when prices rose 6.2%, after a temporary freeze was lifted, the increase during the month of August of this year was the largest since November, 1946.

My old friend, President Ford, still holds meetings with labor leaders and others and still we are not moving as far as inflation is concerned.

Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) is now spending nearly all of his time running for the Office of President.

David Eisenhower, the son-in-law of former President Nixon was interviewed on the "Today" show and said that the former President's leg is swollen to twice its normal size and that his health is not good. The President was suffering from phlebitis just before he resigned. Eisenhower is a law student at George Washington University and although he and his wife have not seen the former President since he resigned on August 9, he keeps in touch with him by telephone.

Marcus Wayne Chenault was sentenced yesterday to die in the electric chair for the murders of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Sr., and a church deacon during services at Ebenezer Baptist Church last June in Atlanta, Georgia. The judge set November 8 as the execution date for the 23-year old, black college student from Dayton, Ohio. As the death sentence was read, Chenault blew kisses at the court. The jury found Chenault guilty after a little more than an hour of deliberations. Chenault's attorney said the sentence would be appealed.

September 16, 1974

The House adjourned at quarter after one today. With all of our problems concerning pardons, amnesty,

inflation, energy shortage and agriculture, we have to have the Congressional Golf Tournament this afternoon. This is one of the main reasons why we as Members of Congress are severely criticized throughout the United States. As I understand, the President will also participate and after making the serious mistake that he did with his pardon of our former President, he should be in the White House working on the matter of inflation.

Sometimes I get right ill when I see what we do to ourselves. We are severely criticized for our actions and we are all lumped into the same basket. For instance, in yesterday's Washington Post, we had an article concerning campaign contributions that were made by the American Medical Association to a number of Members of Congress, with two Members, Richard Fulton of Nashville, Tennessee and Omar Burleson of Texas accepting amounts when they had no opposition. Fulton's amount was \$2500 and Burleson's was \$4,000. I get so mad at times when things like this happen that I would not only vote for, but would work to pass the necessary resolution that refers matters like this to the Ethics Committee. This Committee certainly should act when Members accept campaign contributions

without opposition.

September 17, 1974

Jury selection began yesterday in Manhattan Federal Court in the influence peddling conspiracy trial of Representative Bertram L. Podell, Democrat and Martin Miller, a Florida businessman. The indictment charges that Podell received \$41,350 in bribes for his efforts to persuade and pressure federal agencies to approve an air-taxi route. This man Podell was defeated in his primary on Tuesday of last week. This is another example of a Member of the House, who by his action places all of us in a position where we are criticized.

In addition to the Podell case, we have recent newspaper stories concerning the maritime unions who have poured some \$333,300 into the campaigns of Members of Congress who reported a bill to require that a greater portion of the nation's oil imports be shipped in United States tankers manned by United States crews. For instance, Senator Russell B. Long (D-La.), the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine matters received \$20,000 and Representative Frank M. Clark (D.Pa.), the Chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in the House received \$17,600. The third

largest donation of \$16,000 went to House Democratic Leader Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts. Senator Marlow Cook of Kentucky received \$2,000. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey who announced for the bill but did not vote either way, got \$5,000. Senator Mike Gravel, (D.Alas.) got \$12,800 and a \$25,000 loan. Representative James J. Delaney, (D. N.Y.C.) who looks after maritime interests on the Rules Committee received \$6,000. Senator Warren G. Magnuson (D.Wash.) received \$12,900 and this Senator is Chairman of the Commerce Committee. The list goes on and on with some 145 Members being recipients of the \$333,000. Here again, is where Members in the House and the Senate place themselves in a position where they can be severely criticized and also cast a cloud over the entire Congress.

President Ford had a televised press conference last night and defended vigorously his pardon of former President Nixon. In answering questions, he said it was to the best interest of our country and that Mr. Nixon's acceptance of a pardon could be construed as an admission of guilt. He went on to say that the fact that Members of the House Judiciary Committee unanimously agreed that Mr. Nixon was guilty of an impeachable

offense is very persuasive evidence. I watched this televised press conference carefully and President Ford handled himself real well. In fact, he got by pretty easily.

Yesterday our new President offered clemency to Vietnam war violators in exchange for up to 24 months of alternative service and a pledge of allegiance. The President offered a program that he said would permit draft evaders and deserters to earn their return to the mainstream of American society. The 24 months of alternative service would be spent in hospital work or some other type of public service related activity. The 24-month period may be reduced if circumstances justify such a reduction. To deal with persons already convicted of desertion or draft evasion, the President established a nine-member clemency review board to make clemency recommendations to him on a case-by-case basis. The review board was requested to give priority consideration to those serving prison sentences for evading the draft or for desertion. Former United States Senator Charles Goodell (R.N.Y.) was named chairman of the clemency review board.

The veterans organizations are bitterly opposed to the President's plan and the war resisters themselves have offered their objections to this plan. Representative F. Edward Hebert (D.La.) Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who is strongly opposed to amnesty in any form for the war resisters said Mr. Ford's program is nothing more or less than existing law merely clothed in a cloak of amnesty. Our old friend Bella S. Abzug (D.N.Y.C.) called the plan punitive and not clemency.

September 18, 1974

We are still counting ballots in the District of Columbia. After a week of delay, confusion and frustration, the D.C. Board of Elections gave up yesterday and has finally ordered that all ballots be counted by hand and that there be a recount. This is the first election held in over 100 years in our Nation's Capital for the election of a mayor and city council and the D.C. Board of Elections attempted to tally the vote by using computers and within two hours after the polls closed, the computers broke down. It seems that the District building gets in over its head every time there is a major matter up for

solution. This is the first election held under our new Home Rule legislation and certainly the counting of the ballots and the recount demonstrates that a hand count is very much in order. It would be right amusing if it was determined that Walter Washington did not win after all.

Former President Nixon's attorneys are now arguing in court that he is too sick to appear for questioning in a law suit. According to Julie Nixon Eisenhower, her father will enter a hospital within a week or so for tests and treatment of a painful recurrence of phlebitis that brought about the formation of a blood clot above his left knee. The former President has been subpoenaed in a number of cases both civil and criminal and I presume that the state of his health will play a right important part as to whether or not his presence in court is ordered or if he is permitted to give his testimony by way of a deposition.

One of our subcommittees on our Committee on Appropriations cut the \$850,000 requested for the former President's allowance as a former President by more than half. The

President's pension of \$60,000 was approved and the total amount approved for the balance of this fiscal year was \$398,000. The \$60,000 annual pension was provided for in the year 1958 when we received word in the Congress that former President Harry S. Truman could use additional financial assistance. I recall that I voted for this pension without any question at that time because Harry S. Truman left the White House in about the same financial condition that he entered it. In fact, he probably had less than when he was first sworn in as President. This would not apply to Lyndon B. Johnson and Dwight D. Eisenhower. Both of these gentlemen left in right good shape financially.

The Attorney General ordered all cell doors open yesterday for imprisoned draft evaders with the evaders granted 30-day furloughs to contact their local Selective Service Boards under President Ford's clemency program. Some 95 were released immediately and prison officials said that others would be released within the next several days.

The House and Senate Conferees are really having a battle over the political campaign spending legislation. The Conferees, at their first

meeting approved government campaign subsidies of up to \$20 million for each major political candidate and approved the provisions concerning strict limits on donations and outlays in all House, Senate and Presidential campaigns. They failed to agree on the Senate passed bills federal subsidies for congressional campaigns or on the formation of a commission that would administer the new law. The Senate Rules Committee Chairman, Howard W. Cannon (D-Nev.) said that the Senate had not agreed to drop the Senate's congressional subsidies and that further meetings of the Conferees would have to be held. Representative Wayne Hays (D-Ohio), Chairman of the House Administration Committee is holding firm on congressional subsidies. The House refused to grant subsidies for House of Representative and Senate campaigns.

Our old friend, Ed Edmonson, who served in the House with us for a great many years finally succeeded yesterday in becoming the democratic nominee for the United States Senate from Oklahoma and should have a good chance in November. Clem R. McSpadden, the grand nephew of Will Rogers, is now serving his first term in the House and he was in the race yesterday,

which by the way was a runoff, for the governorship of Oklahoma. In the primary he was number one, but yesterday, his opponent Boren was the winner.

The Governor's race in Maryland may be an unusual one. Miss Louise Gore is the republican nominee and Governor Marvin Mandel is the democrat running for re-election. A federal grand jury is investigating a number of political aides to Governor Mandel and according to my information, this investigation may reach the point where Mandel may be in right serious political trouble. Politics is the damndest in Maryland and much more so than the old Kentucky poem. This state has almost reached the point where it makes New Jersey look good.

September 19, 1974

It now appears that President Ford's amnesty proposal contains a loophole through which military deserters can quickly pass to civilian status without any period of alternate service. The only penalty would be an undesirable discharge instead of a clemency discharge. The amnesty program as submitted by the President provides that military deserters must reaffirm allegiance to our country

and pledge to complete up to 24 months of alternate service. The loophole is that once the deserter makes those pledges, he receives an undesirable discharge which terminates any military jurisdiction over him and at this point, he is scot free. If the deserter decided to complete the 24 months of alternate service, he would then receive a clemency discharge to take the place of the undesirable discharge. Very few in my opinion, would do the service just to receive a clemency discharge. Here is a real boo boo and one that may be par for the course for my old friend, Jerry Ford.

Yesterday, President Ford, in a speech before the United Nations organization cautioned the oil producing countries that manipulation of energy prices can lead to counteraction using food as a political and economic weapon. Our President said that failure to cooperate on oil, food and inflation could spell disaster for every nation in the United Nations organization. The President reaffirmed his support of Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, and emphatically stated, so that there would be no question around the world, that the Secretary of State has his full support

and further has the unquestioned backing of the American people.

A big increase in overseas investments and the high cost of oil plunged our country's balance of payments into a \$2.7 billion deficit in the second quarter of this year. The 3-month deficit marked a dramatic reversal from the first quarter's \$1.8 billion surplus. As we all know, the balance of payments deficit means more money flowed out of the country than came in.

September 20, 1974

Several years ago, a lobbyist here in Washington by the name of Robert N. Winter-Berger apparently had a falling out with Gerald Ford and decided to write a book entitled "The Gerald Ford Letters". This man maintains that down through the years he and Jerry Ford had worked together on a number of matters pending before the Congress and from time to time he had made loans to Jerry Ford which were never repaid. The loans were in the neighborhood of \$15,000 each and at the time Gerald Ford's name was submitted to the Congress for election to the Office of Vice President, this man Winter-Berger was called before the Judiciary Committee to testify. In addition, Gerald Ford's

campaign election records for a number of years were also examined by the Congress to see if it was true that amounts had not been reported which were used as campaign contributions. In a good-size ad in the Washington Post on Sunday of last week, in the book section, we find the book entitled "The Gerald Ford Letters" advertised with the price being \$7.95. In the ad are statements contesting the honesty of Gerald Ford and questions such as-- "Do you believe that President Ford is a refreshing new breeze sweeping the land?" This man Winter-Berger also published the book entitled "The Washington Pay-Off" which predated Watergate.

Very few people pay any attention to this man Winter-Berger and the publishing company is a small company that is strictly on the make.

Yesterday, the Senate passed a resolution cancelling President Ford's salary increase order for federal employees and this is the first legislative act which indicates that the honeymoon may be over. Before the vote was taken, President Ford was up on the Hill and made a stop in several offices and met with some of the Members in the Senate. After

the vote was taken which now means that the increase will be paid, the President issued a statement saying that he was very disappointed with the action of the Senate and that this action would cost the Government \$700 million. The vote on the resolution was 64-35 and some 3.5 million federal, civilian and military employees will get a pay raise October 1. No action from the House is required since under present law, either House may act to cancel the President's order. Some 200,000 employees in the Washington area will be affected and about 70,000 servicemen.

Several months ago, the House passed the Consumer Protection Agency bill by a right sizable majority and sent it to the Senate. The National Manufacturers Association, the Chamber of Commerce and a great many large companies have been fighting this measure now for months. They selected Senator Allen of Alabama and Senator Ervin of North Carolina to lead the fight against the bill. It was obvious that if permitted to vote, the Senate would have passed the bill so the two gentlemen in charge of the fight decided that a filibuster was in order. The filibuster has been underway now for several days and a third attempt to vote cloture failed yesterday with the vote

being 64-34. This was two short of the required two-thirds and now it appears that the bill is dead for the time being. It just may be that the leadership in the Senate will allow the sponsors to try to break the filibuster since Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) was about ten seconds late in entering the chamber and his vote in favor of cloture could not be recorded. The Majority Leader, Senator Mansfield, explained that the warning bells for the roll call were rung about one and one-half minutes later than they should have been. As a result, Kennedy thought he had about 7½ minutes to reach the floor when he only had five or six. He protested to Mansfield, but there was nothing that Mansfield could really do and for this reason, another try may be given even though it does appear that the bill is dead. This legislation was a step in the right direction from the standpoint of the consumer in this country and although the Ralph Nader group and others who wanted a strong bill were a little disappointed with the action of the House, at least we passed a bill and one that I believe is a good bill. I recall at the time, that some of my rich friends in big business were a little disturbed at my vote.

Vice Presidential nominee

Nelson A. Rockefeller said yesterday that the immediate personal fortune of himself and his wife is \$62.5 million and in addition, he receives during his lifetime, the income from two trusts with total net assets of \$120 million. The \$62.5 million net worth figure updates an earlier report filed with the Senate Rules and House Judiciary Committees that put the former New York Governor's net worth at \$33 million. The people in this country generally understood that Rockefeller was worth about \$250 million and when the \$33 million figure was filed there was quite a discussion over the actual worth of the nominee and a number of newspapers wrote editorials stating that Rockefeller should disclose his full fortune. Mr. Rockefeller will appear before the Senate Rules Committee which will hold hearings on his nomination first and then will later appear before the House Judiciary Committee. There seems to be little hope that this nomination can either be refused or approved until after the November 5 election.

Foreign aid appropriations seems to be in trouble this year, much more so than at any time during the past

five years. In a strategy shift which reflects the administration's concern over the foreign aid program, Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, yesterday told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he preferred delaying a congressional vote on the measure at this time. The question of cutting off aid to Turkey and a number of other provisions in the bill are right disturbing to a great many of us in Congress and my guess is that the bill will go down in defeat if it is called up at this time. Time may help the bill and it may not, because this seems to be the year when foreign aid could be voted down.

President Ford has selected another White House Press Aide. Ron Nessen, White House correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, is slated to become press secretary to the President.

We are wondering just what assignment Senator Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee will accept. He was defeated in the primary by Governor Bumpers of Arkansas and this was really a setback for the Senator.

Our old friend, Admiral Hyman Rickover, is still one of the most controversial men in the Navy and at the same time, one of the ablest. For a great many years, Admiral Rickover has written to me each time we have launched one of our nuclear ships and I have all of his letters in my letterbooks. As I have said from time to time in this Journal, the brass in the Navy Department have attempted to retire the Admiral and on a number of occasions passed him over for promotion. He is 70 years old and has been promoted by virtue of his support from the Congress and now is a full Admiral. This man, all down through the years, has said just what he thought and has admonished those in charge of our Naval policy when he thought they were wrong. This past week, he said that the Navy has lost its sense of purpose and that its ships are in the worst shape in 50 years. In a speech delivered before the National Society of former FBI agents, the Admiral charged that the Navy's present organization is defective in that it keeps knowledgeable men out of the decision making processes and puts the Navy in the hands of managers who in turn depend heavily on private contractors. The Admiral says that it is time to return to the old way where technical bureaus report directly to the Secretary of the Navy

rather than to the Chief of Naval Operations, and layers of line officer managers in between. I agree with the Admiral.

For years now, Janes Fighting Ships has been one of our leading authorities on naval power of the different countries of the world. The recent issue of Janes Fighting Ships reports that the Russian Navy outnumbered the United States Navy by a two to one margin--1062 to 514. According to this publication, the Soviet Union is building a fleet of aircraft carriers, missile firing submarines, cruisers and destroyers. The fact that the Soviet Union is building a fleet of aircraft carriers may be right for the Soviet Union, but certainly would not be right for our country. Here we have sitting ducks that were recognized as such before World War II was over.

September 21, 1974

A move is underway in Congress at this time to repeal the 25th Amendment, which was used to place Jerry Ford into the Office of President. Those who sponsor H.J. Res. 857 maintain that this Resolution which would amend the Constitution, to provide for an election for the Office of President

and the Office of Vice President in the case of a vacancy in both offices or in the case of a vacancy in the Office of President if the person serving as Vice President was chosen by Congress under the 25th Amendment, should be enacted at this time. Under the provisions of this amendment, the Speaker of the House would act as President until a special election was held within 60 days under procedures established by Congress. Following the election of a President to the unexpired portion of the term, the Speaker would return to his former post. While this amendment would not affect President Ford according to the sponsors, it would assure that in the future, the people would be able to choose their President rather than be governed by a non-elected President whose actions were not subjected to the will of the people.

This move for adoption of a Constitutional Amendment Resolution is brought about as the result of the pardon granted President Nixon by our new President, Jerry Ford. Some of the Members in the Congress were so incensed over the granting of the pardon that they immediately introduced Constitutional Amendments restricting the pardon power to an amendment permitting Congress to overturn a pardon by a two-thirds vote.

In my opinion neither Constitutional Amendment will be adopted at this time. This goes to show just how incensed some of the Members of Congress are at our new President's action in pardoning former President Nixon when he did. If Jerry Ford, in my opinion, had used real good judgment, he would have very quietly called to the White House, the leadership from the House and the Senate along with the Special Prosecutor, Mr. Jaworski and four or five of his very closest friends in the House and discussed with them generally the need for a pardon and obtained their advice concerning the timing for such a move. This meeting, of course, would have later been reported, but at least the new President would have been placed in a position of seeking the advice of elected leaders in this country and thereby placing himself in a position of fortifying any future moves that he might make concerning the granting of a pardon. In addition, it would have placed him in a position of being able to tell those that he advised with that no previous commitments had been made either when he was Vice President or just immediately before he was sworn in as President to Mr. Nixon that a pardon would be granted. The majority of the people in this country today believe that there was some pre-arranged agreement

between the former President and our new President concerning the pardon.

It seems that we are just spinning our wheels in Congress. In the Senate, filibusters have been underway on the Consumer Protection Agency bill and the trade bill. Both of these bills passed the House months ago and along with these two bills, we have a controversy over the federal funding elections bill. Word has passed that we are to recess on October 12 and come back on November 11 after the November 5 general election. A lame duck Congress, meeting in November and December will create problems which will be immediately seized upon by the Ralph Nader group, the Common Cause group, the Action For a Conservative Congress group and a number of other right pious organizations that believe that they have a vested right to operate the Congress. In speaking of big business and big labor, we have no problems like we do with these little prejudiced, bias groups that have self-anointed leaders such as John Gardner, the director of the Common Cause group and when we have matters up between big business and big labor, at least we know that the interest of our country comes first and not some wild, left-wing proposal

that is so socialistic that it borders on a philosophy that is not the one under which we should operate our country.

Almost daily we find lists of amounts being spent by lobbies and in today's papers, we have articles stating that special interest political committees have spent about \$13 million in contributions to Congressional candidates and related activities in the first eight months of 1974. This is \$2 million more than such committees spent in all of 1970 which was the last non-presidential election year. Of course, there are hundreds of thousands of dollars expended that for some reason or other were not included in the list of expenditures by the different political lobbying groups.

Chief Justice Burger must be a little more careful when he rides his bicycle. He ended up in the hospital when an automobile crowded him too close to the curb and he had a right hard fall. Warren E. Burger is 67 years old and apparently rides his bicycle quite often near his home in North Arlington. He suffered a fractured rib, a dislocated finger and a facial cut. Apparently, he was unconscious for a few minutes and had to be taken to the hospital

in an ambulance. He is a right large man and balancing on a bicycle close to a curb with a fast driving automobile coming close would place him in a position where he naturally would have problems.

Well, the mayor's race is underway now for November. Walter E. Washington apparently has been elected as the democratic nominee even though ballots are still being counted and two of the present council members have won in Republican primaries along with one of the elected school board members who is also a Republican. According to news reports, the Mayor has not decided whether to back incumbent Delegate Walter E. Fauntroy and other members of the Democratic ticket in the D.C. November general election. James G. Banks, who was the Mayor's Housing Administrator is a candidate on the Independent Ticket for Delegate and is right close to the Mayor. Fauntroy endorsed Clifford Alexander, the Mayor's opponent in the primary and it now appears that Washington will do everything within his power to beat Fauntroy with Banks. There are also indications that the Mayor may back two of the Republican council members who are his personal friends as well as Rosenfield, the member of the city Board of Education who has a habit of

winning as a Republican in school board elections. I am right partial to Mr. Rosenfield and would like to see him win his race. He is an effective, aggressive member of the school board and since he represents that section of Washington which is all white, with the exception of a few instances where black people have moved in, he has had difficulties in receiving help from the other board members in obtaining funds for his section of the city. He has always tried to be fair and has so clearly demonstrated this fact that our subcommittee has made sure that the other board members in our budget treated him right.

September 23, 1974

Walter Brennan, who made a career of playing cantankerous old codgers died on Saturday. He won three Academy Awards during his film career and was one of the great movie actors of this century. He was 80 years old.

D.C. election officials yesterday finished recounting, by hand, the 93,473 ballots cast in the September 10 primary election and found the results nearly the same as the computerized count conducted immediately after the election. When they come in to get their money for the budget for Fiscal Year 1976, we will of course, go into

detail as to just how much this election cost and where the additional funds were obtained to pay for the recount.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy will hold a press conference in Boston this morning at which time he is to discuss his future political plans. At this news conference he will confirm or deny that he is a candidate for the Office of President in 1976.

I do hope that Senator Kennedy announces that he is not a candidate because if he is, Chappaquiddick will be just too much for him.

In today's paper appears a list of the jewelry owned by Mrs. Nixon and her two daughters along with Rose Mary Woods, the President's long time personal secretary. According to appraisal, some \$580,000 worth of gems was made in 1971. A great many pieces of jewelry were given to Mrs. Nixon and her two daughters by foreign countries and potentates. Pursuant to law, all gifts over \$50 in value must be turned over to General Services Administration.

I recall several years ago that the apartment of Miss Woods was robbed

and I believe this was in March of 1969. She reported that 27 pieces of jewelry valued in excess of \$5,000 was stolen. According to appraisals made while the Nixon's were in the White House, Miss Woods had some \$300,000 worth of jewels.

The Nixon story continues on and on and the standing joke now on the Hill is that President Ford should now pardon former Presidents Ulysses S. Grant and Warren G. Harding. The three most corrupt administrations in the history of this country were the Nixon, Harding and Grant administrations.

September 24, 1974

Senator Edward M. Kennedy took himself out of the race for President in 1976. At his press conference yesterday, he said that this decision is firm, final and unconditional. He also said that he would not accept the vice presidential nomination two years from now and that he will seek re-election to the Senate in 1976. He cited family considerations for his decision stating that his primary responsibilities were at home and that he could not give all of his time to making a campaign when he had problems at home concerning his wife and children and the other members of his family. I was

delighted to hear that the Senator had decided not to be a candidate because he is probably the only one that Jerry Ford could have defeated in 1976. If we succeed in 1976 in electing a democrat, this democrat will in all probability be re-elected unless we have another Watergate. This would place Senator Kennedy's hopes and aspirations too far into the future and for that reason, I believe this eliminates Senator Kennedy from all considerations for the Office of President. His background, training and experience are not in the same category with his brother, John F. Kennedy, and regardless of the name, Chappaquiddick would simply have been his Waterloo.

Nelson A. Rockefeller testified before the Senate Rules Committee yesterday on his confirmation proceedings and insisted that his family's billion dollar fortune does not constitute an economic empire and would in no way affect his conduct as Vice President. He said there would be no conflict of interest because his sole purpose is to serve his country and that he is not beholden to any interest or any person. In yesterday's Washington newspapers, we have a list of the securities owned by Rockefeller and this list is just fabulous. The stocks and bonds individually owned, along with two trusts,

bring the overall total to \$116,503,758. In one of the trusts we have \$4 million worth of Exxon stocks and \$3 million worth of Standard Oil. In addition, turnpike authority bonds in a number of states total several million dollars.

I have started receiving letters from Catholic women throughout this country urging that this nomination be refused because when Mr. Rockefeller was Governor of the State of New York, he vetoed an anti-abortion bill. A great many Catholic women are against him for this reason and I guess that I will receive a great many more letters along this line.

President Ford used strong language yesterday to warn the oil producing nations that their pricing policies threaten to bring on a world upheaval. In a speech given at a world energy conference in Detroit, our new President said that nations must turn to international cooperations as the best means for dealing with the uneven distribution of resources. He went on to state that this could effect the food supply from this country and also diplomatic relations and generally he made a strong speech.

At the same time, Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, told the

United Nations that the world cannot bear the present level of oil prices much less any increases. He went on to state that the world is on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism that accompanied the economic collapse of the 1930's and he painted a picture which was right gloomy. He went on to state that unless problems concerning energy, food and nuclear proliferation and war-like confrontations are not solved, then the world is in for more serious trouble.

Former President Nixon entered the Long Beach Memorial Hospital yesterday for a week of treatment and tests of his phlebitis condition. According to those who saw him enter the hospital, he looked ashen and drawn and when an inquiry was made at the hospital as to how he felt, he ignored the question and simply said "Good morning, no I mean good afternoon". He appeared tired and his face seemed covered with a yellowish make up powder. Mr. Nixon was always in favor of make up and especially during certain appearances and always on television.

Count Basie celebrated his 70th birthday and a birthday party was given for him in New York City and in attendance there were some 700

people from all over the United States. Sammy Davis, Jr., the entertainer and singer was there and he told Count Basie that he hoped that he noticed that he did not hug him because the last man that he hugged was President Nixon at the 1972 Republican Convention and you know what happened to him said Davis. Men like Count Basie are passing on.

September 25, 1974

For some time now, I have had my doubts that any of those in the Watergate case could receive a fair trial in our Nation's Capital. This applies regardless of guilt or innocence. With the situation as it is from the standpoint of those who serve on the juries, I have believed that the federal judges should in most instances grant a change of venue. When the question is asked of any prospective juror in the District of Columbia if they know anything about the case or if they have formed or expressed an opinion, certainly the answer could only be one way. As a lawyer, I know that we have grumbling from time to time when courts refuse to grant changes of venue when changes would be in order but never have I seen a full page ad

in a newspaper, stating in bold, two-inch letters that--"You Are Cordially Invited to a Public Lynching (No RSVP Necessary)". This is the lettering at the top of the full page ad and then following this lettering, we find:

"Judges Sirica and Gesell have refused changes of venue for the former associates of President Nixon. The claim of pre-trial publicity has been met by rejection. Requests for postponements of trials have been refused.

Immortality has always been the greatest passion of man, and the immortality history provides Sirica and Gesell may make them unwilling to resist its temptation, no matter the resultant injustices to other men.

1. Though pre-trial publicity had ruled the Sam Sheppard case be dismissed from court, the rule does not apply to those in the most publicized case in the history of the nation.

2. Though the Watergate Grand Jury of twenty-three people included but one Republican, its obvious imbalance is disregarded in cases that heavily involve partisan politics.

3. Though the District of Columbia was the only area in the country, save one, to vote against President Nixon, the trials will not even be moved to a less politically prejudiced zone that could be selected from a choice of fifty states.

Television network newscasters remain mute on those inequities, since logical analyzation would defeat their purpose. No David Brinkley commentaries. No Dan Rather capsulizations. No shaking head of Eric Sevareid.

'Equal Justice Under Law' they say. But it has been a series of the most unequal injustices this country has prescribed since black citizens were felled by water hoses and citizens of Japanese heritage were contained in barbed wired camps.

The public punishment will soon begin and it will be able to be viewed on television network newscasts through artist's conceptions and reporters and analysts. The lynching can be watched in the comfort and safety of your own living room starting October the First.

REGRETS ONLY:"

Today, we celebrated the 200th Anniversary of the first Continental

Congress. The First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774 and today, which is September 25, was selected as the date for our celebration in the House of Representatives of this event. Barbara Jordan from Houston delivered an excellent speech and she was followed by Professor Cecelia M. Kenyon, who teaches government at Smith College. Next, we had Professor Merrill Jensen, who teaches history at the University of Wisconsin and then the principle address was delivered by Alistair Cooke. Mr. Cooke delivered an unusual address and this program was televised and is to be rebroadcast tonight on NBC.

September 26, 1974

Two controversial proposals to reform the House committee system finally received a rule from the Rules Committee yesterday and according to the Speaker, floor debate will begin next week. The Committee cleared two competing proposals, one by a Select Committee headed by Representative Bolling (D-Mo) and one by a Democratic Caucus Committee headed by Representative Julia Butler Hansen (D-Wash). A move was made to defer the issue indefinitely but was voted down by the Committee. Amendments may be offered and after four

hours of general debate, it is possible that this legislation may consume several days. I presided over the House at the time of the Legislative Reform Act of 1970 and this bill required 11 days of floor action. The Bolling Committee bill is right controversial. Under the provisions of this bill, the Education and Labor Committee will be divided into two Committees; Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will be deleted; the Committee on Internal Security will be deleted and the duties and jurisdiction of these two committees will be assigned to other committees. In addition, the jurisdiction is cut down considerably on the Ways and Means Committee and the same applies to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Common Cause is very much in favor of the Bolling committee resolution and for months now have used all kinds of pressure on the Members of the House.

Dick Bolling is a right able Member of the House and at the same time a right disappointed Member. For years now, he has wanted to be Speaker of the House and at one time was a candidate for Majority Leader, but withdrew when it was apparent that he could not obtain enough votes. He has written several

books about the House of Representatives and one of his books is entitled "The House Out of Order". He is a right positive individual and one of the Members who has very few friends in the House. For some reason or other, my good friend, Mr. Rayburn was very fond of Dick Bolling.

Former President Nixon has a blood clot in his right lung and this could be right serious. He is now a patient in a California hospital and will remain there for several days. Any hope of securing his testimony other than through depositions is not too good at this time. I imagine that Mr. Nixon will take a long time to recuperate.

The fight is on now for foreign aid appropriations. After a meeting was held at the White House, it was agreed that this legislation was in such serious condition that it should be held up until after the October recess period. This is one year that this bill may be defeated and unless there is a change, I intend to again vote against foreign aid appropriations. The White House strategy to delay a final vote until a quieter political period, after the November election, may fail.

I have attended a great many conferences on appropriation bills

since I have been a Member of Congress but at no time have I attended one when the President of the United States sent up a letter and had it delivered into the conference room with the letter stating that unless the conference maintained an amount which would not exceed the budget, that he would withhold approval from the bill. We are now in conference on the bill that appropriates the money for the Department of Labor and for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This bill, counting the trust funds for social security and railroad retirement, totals a little over \$115 billion. Our old friend, Jerry Ford, served on our Committee on Appropriations for 14 years and he would have been very much incensed regardless of who was in the White House if such a letter had been sent to a conference where he was one of the conferees. The letter is as follows:

"Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to express my deep concern over the Labor, Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations Bill as the members of the Conference Committee meet to consider their action on the bill.

As the bill now stands, it would add to inflationary pressures by providing budget authority increases over the 1975 budget of \$750 million in programs for which increases are discretionary. To offset this real increase, an illusory cut in budget authority for Public Assistance has been made by both Houses. We believe that the combination of the real increases and the illusory cuts will be to produce between \$300 and \$450 million in net added spending from the Treasury in fiscal year 1975 because when the States present their bills for public assistance payments they have made, I will be forced to request a supplemental and the Congress will have no choice but to enact it. Furthermore the additions proposed in the bill would add to Federal spending commitments for fiscal year 1976, when the need for restraint will be at least as great as it is now.

I recognize that there have been serious efforts by both the House and the Senate to reduce certain discretionary programs. However, the net effect of the House and Senate action is excessive and inflationary, and I urge the Conferees to do everything they can to hold the total bill within the overall spending amounts proposed in the 1975 Budget.

Without such action, I shall have to withhold my approval from this bill.

Sincerely,
/s/ Gerald R. Ford"

September 27, 1974

President Ford has called a number of meetings and there has been considerable discussion concerning the serious problem of inflation that now confronts our people. Again, yesterday, the President conferred with his economic advisors and they informed the President that it will take from 1½ to 3 years to bring inflation under control. The President today will convene the White House summit conference on inflation and a two-day conference will be held at the Washington Hilton. The President is being pressed politically to take quick action on the economy but his economic advisors tell him that nothing he can do will have quick results. The Commerce Department handed out some more bad news yesterday when it released its index of leading economic indicators which showed the economy had declined 1.2% during the month of August.

We have inflation around the world and unless it is brought under control, a number of countries will simply become bankrupt. Summit conferences and talk will not solve this.

problem and it may be that we should now enact again wage and price control legislation and insist that this President enforce the law.

The officials of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority have finally said that the subway will cost at least \$4 billion. Beginning in 1966, I informed these officials when they appeared before the Committee that the subway would cost between \$4 and \$5 billion and that they should simply tell the truth to the people. The authorization under which they are operating provides for a total of \$2.5 billion. \$1.2 billion is in bonds which are guaranteed by the federal government and the balance is from the District of Columbia, the Maryland communities involved and the Virginia communities involved. The District's share as well as the metropolitan area is concerned, is 52%. An article appeared in yesterday's Evening Star entitled "District Coughs Up Big Metro Payment". This article is as follows:

"The District, which recently has been pressured to pay its Metro bills, has given Metro a \$37.7 million payment, it was revealed today by Metro Secretary-Treasurer, Delmar Ison.

The payment came as a surprise to District representatives on Metro's

board of directors and to other District staff members who regularly monitor Metro affairs.

Except for \$3 million in interest that the District still owes for tardy payments during the last two years, all three area jurisdictions--D.C., Virginia and Maryland--are now up-to-date in meeting their respective shares of bills for Metro rail construction, Metrobus operating deficits and the purchase of Metrobus equipment.

The \$37.7 million payment prepays part of the District's Metrorail construction costs through June 30, 1975. However, on Tuesday the District will owe \$1.9 million for its share of the Metrobus operating deficit.

The District's payment comes on the heels of a letter sent by Cleatus Barnett of Maryland, chairman of Metro's Board of directors, to D.C. Mayor Walter Washington about the District's consistent failure to pay its bills on time.

Washington replied to Barnett last week, saying that the District would have to analyze Metro's performance and the city's resources before continuing "an open-ended" financial commitment for Metrobus and Metrorail.

Metro, the area's public transit agency, also is building the 98.5 mile Metrorail system, which is expected to cost up to double the original construction price estimate of \$2.5 billion.

Maryland and Virginia officials have been worried that the District's laxity in meeting its Metro payments on time may result in a cutback in the rail system, which would penalize the suburbs since construction in the District will be mostly completed within the next three years.

Rep. William K. Natcher (D-Ky.) chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee, has said that the Metrorail system may end up being only 47 miles long because of rising costs. He has pointed out that Congress may not look favorably on Metro's request for more money to complete the system."

We start the committee reform amendments legislation on Monday and the fur will really fly.

Former White House Special Counsel, Charles W. Colson, serving a 1 to 3 year prison sentence for obstruction of justice in the Watergate case has asked President Ford for a pardon. Colson is the first major Watergate figure

to request a presidential pardon from our new President. After pardoning former President Nixon and listening to the explosions which took place throughout the 50 states, certainly Jerry Ford will do everything except grant this request.

Hearings still continue in the Senate on the Nelson A. Rockefeller nomination. A number of witnesses have appeared against the confirmation and there will be some efforts against Mr. Rockefeller. The House Judiciary Committee does not plan to take up the nomination until after the November 5 election. The main objections brought out so far against the nomination point to the fact that Rockefeller, as Governor of New York liberalized that state's abortion laws and his relationship with a dynasty of wealth and power unequalled in the history of the United States has played quite a part in the hearings. His handling the uprising at Attica Prison in 1971 has been discussed and the fact that the budget in New York State increased over 600% while he was Governor and the indebtedness of the State increased over 300% has been called to his attention by a number of witnesses.

The political pot continues to boil in Maryland and it may be that

Governor Marvin Mandell will be up to his ears before the November 5 election. The investigation now underway by federal grand juries in Baltimore is developing certain situations and facts that could be right embarrassing to the Governor.

The Visitors Center to be located at the Union Station seems to be in difficulty. Yesterday, the Interior Department halted work on the \$40.5 million national visitors center after negotiations to end a dispute over financial arrangements for a new railroad terminal broke down between Amtrak and the railroad's that own Union Station. The dispute had blocked private financing needed both for parking spaces to serve the visitors center and to help renovate the 66-year old station building and build a new terminal on the northeast Capitol Hill side. Since early September, the Interior Department has been using federal funds to keep construction underway in an attempt to meet the scheduled opening for the center in 1976 when an estimated 35 million visitors are expected for the nation's Bicentennial celebration. This is another project that could stand investigation and one that the federal government should

not be a part to. When you mention parking spaces and some other matters then you kind of uncover the pot which discloses just who is involved and why. This is one of the main reasons why I made up my mind that the Eisenhower Center project would be voted on by the people or else approved by the Mayor and the City Council as a city project to be totally funded by the city.

September 30, 1974

Our First Lady, Betty Ford, entered Bethesda Naval Hospital Saturday night for surgery to remove her right breast. Upon taking a routine physical examination, it was discovered that a small nodule was in the breast and after removing the nodule, it was determined that it was cancerous, therefore, the breast was removed. Mrs. Ford is still in the hospital and from all reports is doing fine.

The Economic Summit meeting was well attended and I hope some of the suggestions made will be accepted. Inflation is serious today and we must do something about it.

There were sharp attacks both on administrative policy and on the

organization of the summit itself by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and House Speaker, Carl Albert. Business leaders were very much disturbed at Mansfield's strong appeal for new wage, price and profit controls. We hear from time to time that proposals must be made concerning wage and price controls and I know that food chains and many of the stores are raising their prices as rapidly as possible just in case a fixed date is set.

Our major problems still are inflation, the energy shortage and problems concerning agriculture.

At the Economic Summit meeting, Secretary of the Interior, Rogers C.B. Morton sat next to President Ford. During a lull in the proceedings, Ford leaned over to Morton and asked him how he thought the summit was proceeding. Morton said it was going great and that he thought it was an exercise that the President had to go through with and that he thought generally it was good. Ford then remarked you think it's good and Morton again said that he thought that it should all be gotten together as quick as possible and to move on to something else because otherwise everybody would pick up and start sniping at Ford.

Ford then said I'm going to start. There was a microphone in front of each member of the summit and these two gentlemen thought that their microphones were off but this conversation went out over the audience and was picked up by all of the television networks that were present. Little things like this can really cause trouble.

I have served in Congress during an unusual period in the history of our country. I arrived during the first term of President Dwight Eisenhower who was one of the most popular men in this country at that time. He was not too much interested in the domestic programs and in fact, during his two terms simply established a right good record of carrying on our government without rocking the boat too much. The White House was organized very much like the Joint Chiefs of Staff are organized and most of the details in the White House were left to the staff.

During this period, we had the McCarthy era underway. This man McCarthy was the master of the big lie and was one of the big demagogues in the government at this time. All of those opposed to him were labeled as either communists or dupes

of communism. The majority of the people in this country soon learned while the Army-McCarthy hearings were underway that this man McCarthy was totally lacking in integrity. He was completely destroyed and repudiated and later censured by the Senate. This was one of the unfortunate episodes that happened during the beginning of my tenure in the Congress but the outcome clearly established the fact that we are a country of laws and not a country controlled by men.

We then started on into the space age. On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union placed its first sputnik in orbit. President Eisenhower called on the Congress to prepare a space program and to set up committees and to enact laws that would place us in a position where we would not only overtake the Soviet Union, but become the leading nation in the world in the space program. During the year 1958 I served on the Select Committee on Astronautics and Outer Space and we prepared the space law and set up the committees. The space program really started during this year and now, of course, we are the leader in the space program.

Next, we had the civil rights movement which during the 1960's brought on violence and bloodshed.

Under President Johnson, we enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and during this period clearly established that our government no longer could claim that equal treatment under the law was provided. We simply faced the facts and enacted legislation which halted the violence and bloodshed which had continued for months.

It was during the civil rights days that we also enacted major legislation concerning federal aid to education which Congresses for years had tried to enact. We had all of our health programs during this period and our environmental legislation concerning pollution of the air, water and the land.

We then passed on into the next period which was the Vietnam war era. This was the longest and most unpopular war that this country had ever engaged in. It was our most costly war and at one time was costing \$2½ billion a month. Our President had promised that no American boy would ever fight on Asian soil but later we had the Tonkin Bay resolution and other matters that simply pushed us into the war. There was considerable deceit used by our leaders and in conducting the war, we ran into many matters such as bombing in Cambodia and other events

which clearly demonstrated that at least the Congress was not advised.

We next entered into the Watergate period. Watergate demonstrated clearly that we are dedicated to the principles set forth in our Constitution and the laws of our country must be obeyed. We proceeded to carry out the provisions of the Constitution concerning impeachment and demonstrated to the world that the laws of our country must be complied with no matter who was involved or what it might cost.

I do not believe that our Nation is disintegrating and am firmly convinced that it is developing and progressing. It seems that we rarely get much satisfaction in solving problems because we are so busy searching out and confronting new problems. Our success in the field of science, technology, education, health, production of food, housing, transportation, communication, space, astounds the people throughout the world. Our initiative and drive are the envy of the world and we continue on into the future as the strongest, most prosperous and successful nation in the world. I grumble from time to time and have throughout this Journal, but I am still proud of my country and am confident of its future.

October 1, 1974

We have under consideration today in the House the Committee Reform amendments legislation. We started the bill yesterday and completed four hours of general debate. Today, we will start reading the bill under the five-minute rule and we may continue on for days because this is a right controversial measure. We have the Bolling Resolution along with the Hansen substitute and in addition, I understand that there will be another substitute offered by Representative Martin of Nebraska. The Bolling Resolution provides for a membership of at least 35 on each Committee in the House and deletes the Committee on Internal Security. There are a great many changes in committee jurisdiction throughout the bill. For instance, the Education and Labor Committee is divided into two committees and quite a bit of the jurisdiction of the Ways and Means Committee, Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee is transferred to other committees. Just before we started consideration of this bill, Carl Albert, our Speaker, called me and asked me to preside. I presided in 1970 when we had the Legislative Reform Act of 1970 before

the House and it required 11 legislative days to finish this bill. We will do right well if we finish the Committee Reform Amendments Bill in three days.

President Ford made a surprise offer yesterday to appear in person before the House Judiciary subcommittee to answer questions on the circumstances under which he pardoned former President Nixon. He is expected to appear next week.

Representative William L. Hungate (D-Mo.) the chairman of the subcommittee has written a number of letters to President Ford and has made several telephone calls insisting that the President answer questions raised by members of his subcommittee concerning the pardon. According to our information here on the Hill, this will be the first time that a President has appeared to testify before a Congressional committee since Abraham Lincoln appeared during the Civil War.

Former President Nixon is still in the Long Beach, California hospital and according to his doctors, will not be well enough to travel to Washington in the near future to testify in the Watergate cover up trial.

October 3, 1974

We are still on the Committee Reform legislation and after three days, it appears that there will be three or four more days before we have a final vote. It may be that this bill will require as much time as the Legislative Reform Act of 1970 required.

The Supplemental Appropriation bill has also been on the floor for the past three days with the House spending part of the time on each bill. After debating the Committee Reform legislation for 4½ hours, we then took up again, yesterday, the Supplemental Appropriation bill and a number of amendments were offered to that section of the bill which provides for funds for former President Nixon. The House voted overwhelmingly last night to reduce to \$200,000 the \$850,000 requested for first-year benefits for former President Nixon. Under existing law, former Presidents are entitled to adequate funds for staffing and supplies. This is in addition to the President's \$60,000 pension. President Ford requested \$450,000 to assist Mr. Nixon's first six-month transition to private life. An amendment was adopted reducing this amount to \$100,000. This

was a right positive vote in the House of 342-47. The additional request for \$400,000 as the first installment on permanent benefits including the \$60,000 annual pension plus staff and office was cut to \$100,000 on a vote of 321-62. The subcommittee on our Committee on Appropriations recommended a total of \$398,000 for both funds. A Senate subcommittee had recommended a reduction down to \$328,000. The action of the House clearly shows the sentiment of the people throughout the United States toward Mr. Nixon. Some of the speeches made on the floor that are in the Congressional Record that I received in my office this morning, set forth just what this man did to our country and to himself. I sat there and listened to some of the most bitter speeches that I have ever heard since I have been a Member of Congress. The Republicans would not answer the speeches and the Republican Minority Leader John Rhodes, which for some reason or other is never on the floor when Mr. Nixon's name is mentioned or when it is time to start carving up his party, was not present. John Rhodes served on our Committee on Appropriations for several years and I am amazed that he

has turned out to be as weak as he is. The Republicans have no Minority Leader and this is generally the feeling of the majority of the Republicans in the House.

Another defendant in the Watergate case was sentenced yesterday. Ed Reinecke, a former Member of the House and the present Lieutenant Governor of California, who resigned as Lieutenant Governor yesterday, was sentenced here in Washington to a suspended 18-month jail term with the sentence meted out within a half hour after he resigned as Lieutenant Governor. He was charged with lying to a Senate Committee about the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation case. Reinecke bitterly maintained his innocence after the sentencing and said he would appeal his conviction despite receiving a sentence that does not require him to go to jail.

Another amendment that was adopted during the Supplemental Appropriation bill was offered by Representative Marjorie S. Holt (R-Md.) and the amendment was adopted. This amendment prevented the federal government from cutting off financial aid to school systems that disobeyed desegregation orders. In substance, the amendment will nullify Title 6 of the 1964 Civil Rights Act

which permits the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to enforce school desegregation. My guess is that one of the Federal Judges will hold this provision unconstitutional and plans to go around the limitation by HEW will be accepted by the Court. For some reason or other, we simply cannot face the cold, hard facts concerning desegregation orders from the different courts throughout the country.

An unusual editorial appeared in the Washington Post today. The title of the editorial is --Mr. Allbritton's Arrival. The editorial is as follows:

"If you believe, as we do, that the free and open exchange of information and ideas is the centerpiece of American democracy, the determination of Joe L. Allbritton to keep our competitor across town, the Star-News, healthy and vigorous is good news. This metropolitan area needs and deserves two strong daily newspapers and it ought to be able to support them.

It is no secret, of course, that the Star-News has had financial problems in the last few years. Nor is it a secret that the families which have

published it for more than a century have been worried about its long-term viability. Mr. Allbritton has invested a substantial amount of money and become the chief executive officer of the newspaper in the belief that he can return it to its former state of fiscal health.

It wasn't so long ago that this city was full of daily newspapers--the Post, Star, Times, News, Herald--all scrapping hard to survive. The economics of the publishing business has brought the city down to two. Along with a good many other people, we have been apprehensive about the prospect of any further reduction in the number of newspapers here. Competition is the incentive for excellence as well as the customer's best guarantee of performance. On this, and on our general view of our competitor, we can do no better than quote what Mr. Allbritton said in a statement published Monday in the Star-News:

'...The Star-News is more than the afternoon newspaper in the nation's capital. It is a venerable, 122-year-old institution. It is a part of the history of this city and this nation.

In addition, it is imperative that our nation's capital have at least two strong daily newspapers. It has been my observation that where journalistic competition exists, both newspapers benefit and, more importantly, the public's right to know is better served and protected'."

For several years now, you could tell that the Star-News was going under. A rapid change in the policy of the paper clearly indicated desperation. I hope that this new money will keep the paper alive and that it will bring forward a policy which is similar to the one that this paper used for a great many years when it was recognized as a good, honest, alert, newspaper. Imitating the Washington Post has proved to be of no avail and simply trying to walk in the footsteps of the competing newspaper has been of no assistance.

President Ford will appear before the Judiciary Committee on Thursday of next week to answer questions as to why he pardoned Mr. Nixon. This set a new precedent insofar as the past 100 years is concerned and may be the procedure that all Presidents should follow.

October 4, 1974

From time to time we have employees in the White House who,

after many years of serving decide to make a little money and to write stories of some of their experiences as an employee. All kinds of titles, such as - "The Upstairs Maid" - and others appear from time to time. Some of the Presidents have required that White House employees commit themselves before employment that no stories will be written either during their employment tenure or after retirement. It would be right difficult to enforce such an agreement but I presume that agreements like this have prevented some right juicy stories from appearing. At times personal matters and events of a personal nature have appeared in stories that certainly must have been embarrassing to the President and the members of his family.

I have often wondered why some of the White House Police Staff Officers, and those who are not located within the White House, have not written stories of some of the unusual events that they have witnessed - not matters that are of a personal nature about the President, his family, or the White House Staff - but events that have taken place at the gates on Pennsylvania Avenue or at one of the other entrances.

Lafayette Park is right across the street on the Pennsylvania Avenue side of the White House and almost

daily some sort of meeting is held with most of those present being protesters of something or other that is going on in this country. A great many disturbances have taken place around the White House and in Lafayette Park during the past several years. On a number of occasions people have climbed the iron fence around the White House and others have dropped out of the line of sight-seers on their way through the White House to cause some sort of disturbance. A number of sit-down demonstrators have had to be removed from the White House at different times. Stories could be written of interest such as the one that appeared in the newspaper several days ago.

A little boy, six years old, by the name of Tony Faircloth and his mother appeared at the South West Gate of the White House for the purpose of turning in his dead father's Vietnam medals which included a Bronze Star with "V" for valor and Oak Leaf Cluster, and a Purple Heart, and a last tape recording of his father's voice from Vietnam. The tape was his father's message to his son on his birthday and the day following the taping of the conversation the father was killed.

After President Ford was sworn in

as President the newspapers carried stories concerning his position on amnesty and this disturbed Tony Faircloth, and he decided that just submitting a petition to the President was not sufficient. His mother had hoped that he would continue with the petition and not insist upon turning in his father's medals and the tape recording of his father's voice. Appearing at the South West Gate with his mother he turned the medals and the tape recording over to the guard who was instructed to accept them after saying that they would be turned over to the proper department of the government. I have always thought it would be a right difficult matter to be in the position of having to accept medals that were turned in, but rather than have a disturbance and a lot of stories in the newspapers the procedure for the past two or three years now has been to accept the articles with the statement that the Defense Department is sorry that its position is such that it makes the person want to turn in the articles.

Stories like this could be told almost every week about events which take place at one or more of the gates at the White House. A lot of these take place strictly for publicity purposes but the way the story was written about this little boy makes

me believe that he was really sincere.

We are still on the Committee Reform Amendments legislation and will begin again on Monday. So far only 4 Amendments have been adopted. One of the Members from Michigan has 61 Amendments to offer and there are a great many other Amendments from Members who are dissatisfied with the legislation.

President Ford will address a Joint Session of Congress on Tuesday of next week. The President entertains one of the foreign officials on Tuesday night and for two or three days next week travels into Congressional districts to help some of the Republican Members. Thursday he will appear before the Judiciary Committee and his appearance before the House comes at a bad time. We are in the process of completing a number of major bills so that we can recess on Friday, October 11th. Ordinarily the President wants to speak at night or at some time during the day when he can get his best audience. So far the time has not been fixed and since this is strictly a political speech, it may be that the President will not obtain his wish concerning prime time during the day. Proposals will be made by the President for action by the Congress as well as statements

concerning just what the Executive Department will do to curtail inflation. Since we are leaving on the 12th and will not return until November 12th, the President has decided that he had better get his licks in before the November 5th election. I have no way of knowing just what the President will propose but I do know that the situation is so serious that we must have full cooperation between the Legislative and the Executive branches, and it may be that many proposals will have to be accepted and tried before we stop this inflationary spiral.

Federal Energy Administrator John Sawhill has today submitted to President Ford a 6-point emergency energy program which includes a mandatory lowering of thermostats this winter and the imposition of a partially refundable gasoline tax of 10 to 30 percent. Sawhill admits that the proposals leave a negative impact on the petroleum, automotive, and recreational industries, and probably several others. President Ford has sent up a number of trial balloons during the past 10 days, one of which was the straight increase on the cost of gasoline of 10¢ per gallon proposal for the purpose of raising additional revenue as well as placing the price high enough to bring about conservation in the use of gasoline.

This balloon landed with a plunk. The President has called on his Cabinet and all Department heads to submit any proposals that they have which will then be carefully analysed, with the meritorious ones surviving and becoming a part of the President's message to Congress. Inflation will not just simply go away and the setting of thermostats will not play a major part in accomplishing what must be accomplished if we are to conserve energy and stop inflation. The 55 mile per hour speed limit for a while was rigidly enforced and I guess saved gasoline, but today on the Interstate Highways cars traveling at 55 miles per hour seem to be standing still with a flat tire in the process of being changed.

The recent Gallup Poll shows Governor Wallace, of Alabama, in the lead. Wallace was the choice of 27 percent of the Democrats polled compared to 17 percent each for Senators George McGovern and Edmund Muskie, and 14 percent for Senator Henry Jackson. George McGovern lost his home state and only carried one state. This of course was Massachusetts and, in addition, he carried the City of Washington. I can hardly believe that 17 percent of those polled would place George McGovern in the category of being their choice for the 1976 nomination. I wonder a lot of

times about who is actually polled, how many, and where. I can understand 27 percent of the Democrats polled placing Wallace in the top spot because he is saying what a lot of people want and need now. There is so much dissatisfaction in this country and this man has the knack of saying just what these people want to hear. At the same time, if the majority of those who are satisfied with his statements were informed that he would be our President in 1976, they would probably drop over in a dead faint. As one of the reporters said in commenting on the recent Gallup Poll - Wallace may now be the Number One Presidential choice but he has about as much chance of gaining the Democratic Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination as he does of becoming the Prince Regent of Saxony.

October 5, 1974

Former President Nixon left Long Beach Memorial Hospital yesterday and the pictures in the paper and his leaving, which was televised, made a right pitiful scene. The former President had said on a number of occasions that he did not want to go to the hospital for treatment of Phlebitis because if he did he would never come out alive. He was released after eleven days of extensive tests

and will remain at home for one to three months convalescing. In getting out of the wheelchair into the car, he appeared very weak and you could see that he had lost considerable weight. His condition will prevent his attendance as a witness in the Watergate cases that are now underway in the District of Columbia. Depositions probably will have to be taken and used in the Mitchell, Erlichman, and Haldeman trials.

Just to think that this man was at the very top and his fall was all the way down. It is still difficult to believe that all of this has transpired.

The nation's unemployment rate leaped from 5.4% to 5.8% last month. This clearly indicates to me that the United States economy is headed for a genuine recession. The September unemployment level was the highest since April, 1972 when our country was still trying to shake off the recession of 1969 and 1970. During the month of September there were 5.3 million Americans without jobs and this was 1.1 million more than in September 1973. AFL-CIO President George Meany called the jobless rate a clear result of the Nixon-Burns policy of creating unemployment in order to cure inflation.

Yesterday President Ford said that his Administration was attempting

to halt the sale of 3.4 million tons of wheat and corn to the Soviet Union. We have very little surplus wheat and corn and former President Nixon's sale of wheat to the Soviet Union has caused quite a bit of difficulty in this country. Apparently no large grain contracts will be signed in the future without specific approval of the White House.

If we succeed in finally enacting the Trade bill, and the legislation pertaining to Mass Transit, this will make the 2nd Session of the 93rd Congress a right good session. Along with pension reform, and a number of other major proposals we have, notwithstanding Watergate and our many other problems, moved ahead just a little.

The Senate Rules Committee continues its investigation of the Vice Presidential nomination. In turning over his tax returns to the Committee it was discovered that Nelson A. Rockefeller had made a gift of \$50,000 to Henry A. Kissinger at the time he terminated his employment with the State of New York and also the returns show that a former New York state official, L. Judson Morehouse, whose bribery sentence Rockefeller commuted in 1970, while in New York, received a gift of \$86,000 from Mr. Rockefeller. Upon being questioned

concerning the \$50,000 gift, Secretary of State Kissinger said that when he left Rockefeller's employment in early 1969 and before joining the White House staff, the former Governor gave him the \$50,000 as a gift at the close of their fifteen years of association. Kissinger placed the \$50,000 in trust for his two children and said that he had filed gift tax returns and that he understood Mr. Rockefeller had also filed returns. Kissinger maintains that he talked with former President Nixon before accepting the gift.

Rockefeller, of course, is a very wealthy man, and after fifteen years of service a \$50,000 gift is not exactly unbelievable. The gift to the other official whose sentence was later commuted is another matter. It seems that when the Committees make investigations concerning a great many assignments and nominations, events are discovered that simply cannot be explained. I still believe that more Members in the House will vote against Rockefeller than we had against Jerry Ford.

October 7, 1974

We are now in the process of selling Chile supersonic jet fighters in a multi-million dollar arms deal.

Chile is somewhat concerned since Peru has purchased large numbers of Soviet tanks and believes that eventually may go to war against Chile. The CIA knew a whole lot about the change in administrations in Chile and I presume that the unseating of the Allende regime cost us millions. It seems that we are always trying to interceding in every skirmish in South America.

Our Committee has received information today that the United States is quietly ceding property worth \$1 million or more to Egypt so that Sadat can build a mansion beside the Nile in Cairo. The transfer of a 6,540 square yard plot of land owned by the American Government is in addition to the \$2 million Executive Helicopter that Nixon gave to the Egyptian leader. The land is valued at \$10 million and was given by this country to Mrs. Sadat's favorite charity and will be used by the Egyptian Government to build the mansion for the Sadats. We continue trying to buy friends all around the world and the price of oil per barrel from the Arab countries continues increasing each month. Billions of dollars have now found their way into the Arab countries as the result of the energy shortage, and we are confronted daily with this money coming back into our

country for use in purchasing bonds, securities, land, and controlling interests in a number of small industries.

It seems that the Catholics are banding together in South Viet Nam and over the weekend two large rallies were held where thousands attended, cheering and applauding accusations against President Thieu and other officials. Corruption charges were hurled at the Thieu Administration and this reminds me somewhat of the situation just before Thieu took over.

October 8, 1974

Today at 4 O'clock President Ford will address a Joint Session of Congress. According to some of the reports that I have received in the last three days, our new President will offer proposals which will include both voluntary and mandatory provisions to restore economic stability and to conserve fuel. He may recommend a 5% income tax surcharge on higher income individuals and corporations and tax revision will also probably play an important part in his proposal to Congress. If the President's suggestion proposes a surtax for individuals with a \$7500 single income and families with any-

thing over \$15,000, it probably will not be accepted. Inflation is causing serious problems to those people on fixed incomes and especially to older people. The middle income tax payer for years now has carried the burden and any proposal concerning a surtax which will apply to individuals in the middle income tax category certainly should not be accepted.

A great many people believe that Watergate will not play as an important part in the November 5 election as some people thought many months ago. Inflation and problems concerning agriculture certainly will play a very important part and unless there is a change, in my opinion, we will have the lightest vote for a November election that we have had in many, many years.

It seems now that Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, is at odds with Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz, over the question of the sale of grain to the Soviet Union. Yesterday, Kissinger said that the U.S. may have misled the Soviet Union over the amount of grain America could deliver. He says that apparently there is a misunderstanding on the part of the bureaucracy. Butz says that the Soviet Union did not adhere to a gentleman's agreement to hold down grain purchases and has attempted

to keep its purchases secret from the federal government. Kissinger is very anxious to work out some agreement that is satisfactory to the Soviet Union. He should be thinking more about the wheat and corn shortage in this country because this will naturally increase the price in our country. I recall when we had over \$10 billion in surplus commodities and the Department of Agriculture along with the Congress was abused daily over having all of this money invested. I still believe that a certain surplus should be held in case of emergency such as the one that we are confronted with today.

We go back onto the Committee Reform Bill today in the House. This will be the sixth day that I have presided on this bill. An article appears in today's Washington Post entitled "Bolling House Reform Backers Gain". This article is as follows:

"Backers of a wide-ranging proposal to reform the House committee system won an important test last night as the House agreed to limit debate on two substitute proposals.

The action came on a motion by Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo), chairman of a select committee that would make

the most drastic changes in the committee system to limit debate on two milder proposals one by a Democratic caucus committee headed by Rep. Julia Butler Hansen (D-Wash.) and one by Rep. David Martin (R.Neb) to five hours for both.

Bolling's motion carried by a 274-56 vote and indicated that the House opposed, at least at this point, killing the reforms by delaying action.

'It means we have a good chance to get to a final vote in the next two days,' Bolling said.

The House spent four days last week debating and amending the two substitute proposals that must be voted on before the Bolling committee recommendations are taken up.

In that time only six amendments were disposed of, and backers of the Bolling recommendations felt opponents were seeking to kill the issue by delay.

Committee reform faces an informal deadline of Thursday, since the House hopes to recess for the election campaign on Friday and must take up an Agricultural appropriations bill before then.

The Bolling committee proposals are opposed by several powerful committee chairmen and many members whose committees would lose jurisdiction or power under the recommendations.

Many of them back the Hansen committee proposals, which generally make fewer jurisdictional changes and have been made even milder by amendment.

But backers of the Hansen proposal did not bother to vote against Bolling's motion last night. 'I think they think they have the votes' to pass the Hansen recommendations, Bolling said.

Martin, Bolling's cochairman, who has offered his own proposal in an attempt to compromise between the Bolling and Hansen committee recommendations, objected to the time limit as 'completely intolerable and completely unfair'.

He complained that since under the parliamentary rule the Hansen proposal must be dealt with first, the five hours would leave little time for dealing with his proposal.

Martin then offered a motion to kill the Bolling committee plan, which lost 295 to 39."

October 9, 1974

Shortly after midnight, we completed action on the committee reform legislation and on a final vote of 203-165, the House adopted the Hansen substitute to the Bolling Resolution which was H.R. 988. For six days, I presided during general debate on this bill and this was one of the most difficult bills that I have presided over since I have been a Member of Congress. There was so much antagonism with so many committees involved that it made it right difficult not only to keep order, but to keep up with all the amendments and all of the parliamentary moves that were made. After I had called for a vote on the Hansen substitute and the committee rose, our Speaker, Carl Albert, then took the chair. The Members in the House stood and applauded and this standing ovation really made me feel good and is right unusual in the House. As a general rule, some of the Members applaud when the chairman of the Committee of the Whole leaves the chair and if the Members feel that the chairman has done a good job, there is considerable applause. Only twice since I have been a Member have all of the Members, in a standing ovation, commended a chairman.

Mr. Rayburn, our former Speaker, had five Members in the House that he

believed were the best presiders. I was fortunate enough to be in this list and one other Member in the House, who is still present with us in the list is Wilbur D. Mills of Arkansas. In fact, for many years, I considered Wilbur Mills one of the ablest men in the House. Several years ago, I changed somewhat in my feelings toward Wilbur Mills because I found out more about him and some of the things that I heard and witnessed were not good. I remember that Virginia and I were up on the east coast at a summer resort walking along the boardwalk late one afternoon and we met Wilbur Mills and his wife together with one of the most notorious lobbyists ever to ply his trade in Washington. I had heard for some time that on all of his trips one or more lobbyist accompanied him and paid all of the bills. We stopped and shook hands with Wilbur and his wife and with the lobbyist and then as we walked on, I explained to Virginia the situation concerning the lobbyist and the money. I began losing faith in Mills when I continued to hear stories that were not good. He is one of the most intelligent men that I have ever met and is a wonderful speaker. He could, and should still be one of the great men in the House but this is not the situation today. In today's Washington Post on the front page is a story pertaining

to Wilbur Mills with the title being--"Riders in Mills' Car Involved in a Scuffle". This article is as follows:

"Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark) one of the most powerful members of Congress, was in a car whose occupants were involved in a scuffle early Monday near the Tidal Basin that led eventually to the hospitalization of one U.S. park policeman.

A Park Police report said two officers in a cruiser began following a Lincoln Continental near 17th Street and Constitution Avenue NW at 2 a.m. after they saw it proceeding without lights and "at an unreasonable speed." The car was registered to Mills.

According to the police report, the officers stopped the car near the Tidal Basin where Park Police officials said, some of its occupants alighted and appeared to begin a scuffle among themselves.

At this point, the officials said, the police cruiser pulled up near the private vehicle. Before the officers could intervene, they said, a woman occupant jumped into the Basin. She subsequently was rescued by a park police officer.

Mills could not be reached for comment. However, Gene Goss, administrative assistant to Mills, said that the 65-year-old chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee had denied to him yesterday that he was in the car, and told Goss that he knew nothing of the incident.

Five persons--three women and another man in addition to Mills--were said by police to have been in the car. None of the others could be immediately identified last night.

However, police said one woman occupant identified herself as a go-go dancer. The woman who jumped into the Basin was taken to St. Elizabeths Hospital for observation, police said.

As described by park police officials, the incident began when officers Larry W. Brent and Thomas R. Johann, cruising in the area of 17th Street and Constitution Avenue, saw the Continental running without lights, and followed it south on 17th Street.

They said that it carried Arkansas tag DOT-003. The tag is listed to Wilbur D. Mills in state records in Little Rock, Ark.

After the car had stopped at the tidal basin and the woman had plunged into the water, Brent took off his gumbelt and, wearing full uniform, leaped into the dark water.

Unable to see the woman, Brent called to her, heard her near the bridge that carries Independence Avenue traffic over the Tidal Basin, and went to her aid while Officer Johann radioed for help.

When Brent reached the woman, under the bridge, she began to struggle with him. Meanwhile, the park police watch commander, Capt. A. V. Conover and Lt. James F. Smith arrived, along with Sgt. Stephen C. Livesay.

They threw spare tires into the water toward Brent and the woman. He grabbed one, and the officer and the woman were pulled to shore.

As they were being pulled onto the bank, police officials said, the struggle among some of the occupants of the car resumed.

During the struggle, the officials reported, Sgt. Livesay was pushed and fell over some bushes, injuring his back and leg. He was taken to the Washington Hospital Center.

The woman who was pulled from the Basin continued struggling until she was handcuffed, the officials said.

They said Mills identified himself to officers on the scene.

Mills was not reported to have participated in any of the scuffling.. A spokesman for the Park Service said! police reported that Mills was not driving the car.

A report of the incident was forwarded to headquarters of the National Park Service. The service and the park police both come under the U.S. Department of the Interior.

It was learned last night that Mills had not been in his Capitol Hill office for two days.

Goss said Mills, who lives in Arlington, returned on Sunday from Little Rock. A member of Congress since 1939 and one of its most influential members, Mills is facing in November what is regarded as one of his most difficult re-election battles in many years.

In 1973 he suggested that he might retire at the end of this year because of back problems. He said he had been caused increasing pain by a degenerating spinal disk.

Ways and Means, the Committee he heads, deals with taxes, foreign trade, welfare and Social Security.

As chairman for 16 years of Ways and Means, one of the most

prestigious posts on Capitol Hill, Mills also serves as head of the Democratic Committee on Committees.

In this post he is chiefly responsible for committee assignments among Democrats who entered the House since he became chairman.

Mills is married and has two daughters.

A resident of Kensett, Ark., Mills, who represents the state's second congressional district, is a graduate of Hendrix College and the Harvard Law School.

President Ford, in his message to a Joint Session of Congress yesterday asked the Congress to fight inflation by approving a one-year-only tax increase of \$4.7 billion on corporations and what he called upper level individual incomes. Both would be effective January 1. The tax increase for corporations would be 5%. It would work out to less than that for individuals and in general, the President said that there would be no tax increase at all for families under \$15,000 a year or for single individuals with incomes under \$7500. I am against his surcharge proposal. Most of

money that would be raised by this additional tax if enacted, would be used for tax reductions for the poor and for public employment jobs for the unemployed. In addition, the President called on Congress to enact a binding \$300 billion federal spending ceiling for F.Y. 1975. He further asked Congress to expand the present program under which the government buys up mortgages. This proposal would aid the housing industry which has been particularly hard hit for the last six months by virtue of tight money and increasing interest rates. The President asked for authority to buy up an additional \$3 billion in conventional and government insured mortgages which would be enough for an additional 100,000 homes. He offered proposals mainly by voluntary action on the part of the people to slow down fuel consumption, including the goal of increasing automobile mileage 40% within four years. He also said that he was prepared to allocate to farmers under present law, all the fuel they need to assure maximum production and will ask for similar power over fertilizer if necessary. The President stressed that we need additional tax revenues to support programs to increase production and share inflation produced hardships.

Generally speaking, I think the President made a good speech. I agree with a great many of the proposals that he made and some I cannot accept. He was well received by the House and seemed to be feeling just fine.

October 10, 1974

The Administrative Assistant of Wilbur Mills said yesterday that he was advised by his employer that he was not in the car at the time of the episode near the Washington Monument. Last night the television stations, of course, were still talking about Wilbur Mills and it just so happens that one of the television stations has a cameraman who operates out of the police department and was present at the time the message came in concerning Mills' automobile. This cameraman rushed out with the police and took several pictures of the occupants of the car. These pictures were shown on television and without any question, Wilbur Mills was in the car.

It seems that quite a few of our famous people are having things happen to them this week. Joan Kennedy, the wife of Senator Edward Kennedy, was arrested yesterday charged with operating a motor vehicle under

the influence of intoxicating beverages. She was released on her own recognizance and the case will be called up within the next few days in court. This lady has had her problems and for a period of about 1½ years now, has been under the care of a psychiatrist. I guess she has just put up with all she can and I really feel sorry for her.

There is considerable talk now that we may not recess on Friday of this week since the President in his message has called upon Congress for immediate action for certain legislation which he maintains will be of assistance at this time with inflation. The leadership will meet today and decide as to whether or not we should remain in session. With all of our problems even though there is an election on November 5, a great many people in this country believe that we should stay in Washington and try to solve these problems. I talk to Members of the House every day who would like to stay here and make their campaign in Washington.

Articles still appear in the papers about Wilbur Mills. On the

front page of the Washington Post today is an article entitled -- Mills Hurt, Intoxicated In Incident, Police Say. This article is as follows:

"Rep. Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) was intoxicated and bleeding from his nose and scratches on his face when U.S. Park Police stopped his car for speeding with no lights on near the Tidal Basin at 2 a.m. Monday, a park police official said yesterday.

A 38-year-old woman in the car with Mills also was intoxicated, Assistant Chief Franklin D. Arthur said. When police stopped the car, the woman leaped into the Tidal Basin, an act that Arthur maintained yesterday was an attempted suicide. But a spokesman for St. Elizabeths Hospital said physicians who examined the woman believed it was 'not a genuine suicide attempt.' Hospital sources said she had two black eyes and identified herself as a stripper.

The woman was identified by police as Anabell Battistella, who has an apartment in the same luxurious building in which Mills resides, Crystal Towers at 1600 S. Eads St., Arlington.

She was a frequent companion of Mills at the Junkanoo nightclub, 629 Connecticut Ave., NW, according to George Bertran, the nightclub manager. He said that about five hours before police stopped the car, she and Mills were at the nightclub with five other persons.

Arthur said there were two other women and one other man in the car with Mills. He said they were not intoxicated but 'appeared to have been drinking'.

Mrs. Battistella had two black eyes when she was admitted to St. Elizabeths Hospital, according to hospital sources. She told hospital employees that she and her boyfriend were coming from a party and that they got into an argument over who was going to drive the car, according to sources.

She did not specifically say how she got the black eyes or explain clearly how she came to jump into the tidal Basin, sources said. She said she was divorced, has three children, was the equivalent of a premedical student in Argentina and was anxious to resume medical studies in the United States, sources said.

She told hospital officials that she was currently employed as a stripper

sources said, but did not say where.

Mills, 65, could not be reached for comment yesterday, the third consecutive day he has failed to show up on Capitol Hill. He is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee which handles tax and trade legislation..."

October 11, 1974

All kinds of jokes have started as a result of Wilbur Mills episode. The latest is that the signs in Rock Creek Park with the words, Tidal Basin on them, are being removed this morning and new signs erected with the words "The Old Mill Stream", going up on the signs.

Late yesterday, Wilbur D. Mills finally broke three days of silence and admitted being in the car with the people and explained it by saying that they were just returning home from a party and that his glasses were broken in a scuffle with one of the women who tried to jump out of the car. His statement, so far, has not been too well received and the television commentaries are just giving him a fit.

The sad thing about this case, as well as others that arise from

time to time is that a great many people in this country believe that this is the way that most of us conduct ourselves who are Members of Congress and Mills, up to several years ago, had established such a wonderful reputation in the country that his fall from grace has given added impetus to criticism of Members of the House and the Senate. No wonder the people feel like they do about the Congress generally when we have episodes such as this one and three or four others that I have described from time to time in my Journal.

The House gave final approval, 365-24 yesterday to the most far reaching campaign spending reform bill in history. The President is expected to sign the bill and I hope that it works. House candidates are limited to spend \$70,000 in primary and general elections and Senate candidates range from \$150,000 in the smaller states to \$1.7 million in California. Major party nominees for President automatically would be assured \$20 million for their general election campaign and minor party candidates would qualify for an amount in proportion to their party's past funding strength. Presidential candidates would also qualify for matching federal aid in primaries

after they had raised \$100,000 in contributions under \$250 spread among 20 states. The bill also imposes a \$15,000 annual limit on speaking fees received by Members of Congress. Each major party can receive up to \$2 million for the nominating convention.

Rockefeller may be in trouble. In addition to a number of gifts to former employees, it now appears that he made a gift of \$500,000 to the present director of the New York City Port Authority. Hundreds of millions of dollars are involved with this authority being in charge of the sale of the bonds and this naturally gives a bad connotation when you consider all of the Rockefeller interest throughout the banking and brokerage circles in this country. I just have difficulty understanding a gift of \$500,000 to a former state employee by a governor just because of friendship and loyal service. In addition, it appears that Lawrence Rockefeller, the brother of Nelson A. Rockefeller funded the publication of a book which depicted former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg as a right ugly character and this book was circulated during the campaign that Goldberg made against Nelson Rockefeller for the Office of

Governor. Of course, Goldberg lost but this information concerning the book just seems to add to the other innuendoes and allegations that are being made against the approval of President Ford's nomination of Rockefeller for Vice President. Both of the Rockefellers acknowledge the amount and the fact that the book was published as a result of the funding by Lawrence Rockefeller but the excuse was made that Nelson Rockefeller had no knowledge of this move and if he had been informed, would have opposed his brother's action.

Boston is really in turmoil. Nearly all of the schools have had to close because of the bussing issue and state police and local police are having difficulty managing the crowds and those who are participating in a rebellion against the bussing of children in Boston. The Mayor of Boston made a bitter attack on President Ford yesterday for his refusal to send federal help to Boston. Ford, several days ago, stated that he was against forced bussing for the purpose of bringing about integration in the schools. Several people have been arrested and a number seriously injured.

We may well be now traveling the road to a real bad recession. The nation's inflation rate abruptly

declined last night as the government's wholesale price index inched upward 0.1%, the smallest increase in nearly a year. Farm and wholesale food prices, which had risen in July and August, reversed themselves in September and fell 1.9%. All other wholesale prices in the economy, with these being in the non-farm, non-food industrial sector, lost 1% which is a huge increase by historical standards but less than half their upward movement in any other month since January.

This is the day that we were to adopt an adjournment resolution with the House adjourning until November 12. The Secretary of State is attempting to arbitrate the Cyprus controversy and the Continuing Resolution which was passed by both the House and the Senate is now on the President's desk. This resolution provides that all appropriations for departments, programs and agencies that are not funded under bills that have been enacted will continue at last year's level until the proper legislation is enacted. Turkey has been in the foreign aid program of this country now for several years and the continuing resolution provided for a continuation of the foreign aid program insofar as Turkey is concerned until a final foreign aid

appropriation bill is enacted. We have in the House, four Greek members who have contended that Turkey is the aggressor in Cyprus and that this country is furnishing materials, guns and ammunition to Turkey which are used for the purpose of killing Greeks. An amendment to the Continuing Resolution was adopted that provided for all departments, agencies and programs, with the exception of money to Turkey, and under the Resolution, all money to Turkey would cease immediately. The President and the Secretary of State have lobbied with a great many Members in the House to get them to stand with the Administration and vote for the new Resolution which was presented today known as the Mansfield Resolution which provided that aid for Turkey should continue for 60 days and during this period of time, the Secretary of State would have an opportunity to arbitrate the controversy in Cyprus. Last week, the House voted for an amendment stopping the aid and a few minutes ago, the House, by majority of 16 votes, refused to adopt the 60-day amendment for continuation of aid to Turkey. The President sent word to the Congress at noon today that unless a favorable amendment was placed in the Continuing Resolution for Turkey, he

would veto the Continuing Resolution and all agencies, departments, programs that were not funded would come to an immediate halt. Unless something is worked out this afternoon and late tonight, no recess will be taken at this time and we will have to remain over through a portion of next week. For the last three nights, we have been in session nearly until midnight and the Members are tired and simply worn out. This has been a difficult session of Congress and chances of passing anything from here on in are not good.

October 12, 1974

Today is Saturday. We had great hopes of leaving here yesterday and being away until November 12. There is a November 5 general election and certainly at least those members in the House who are running for reelection want to go home.

The vote that kept us here is the amendment to the continuing resolution on the furnishing of military assistance to Turkey. This was the strategic vote that was taken yesterday and the amendment to continue aid for sixty more days was defeated on roll call vote of 171 to 187. As important as this vote was, you would naturally assume that all of the

members in the House would be present except those who are sick. Upon checking the roll today, I find that 76 members out of the 435 did not vote. A number of these members were present, but for some reason or other just simply failed to vote. Some of the members on the Republican side would not vote to continue aid for sixty days as President Ford wanted so, rather than vote against their new President, they just for some reason or other failed to place their card in the box which operates the electronic device. Some of my Democratic friends promised the Speaker that they would not vote against the Resolution, so they kept their word by simply not voting.

My old friend, Frank A. Stubblefield was defeated in the primary and when this vote was taken, he was on a junket to Japan. Ella Grasso is running for Governor of Connecticut and probably will win. She was not recorded either way. We have in the House a man by the name of Denholm from South Dakota. He is a former FBI agent and has been with us now for about three years. On most of the hot votes you notice when you examine the roll, that he was absent. My old friend, Wright Patman, the Dean of the House was here all day presenting matters for the Banking

and Currency Committee that he is Chairman of and for some reason or other, on this particular vote he refused to take sides. Bolling of Missouri, who has written a number of books about the House, with the title of his last book being "The House Out Of Order," was present on the floor but for some reason did not vote. He was the author of the Committee Reform Bill and believes the House should be reformed so that it will have the respect of the people. Moss of California has been the "fair haired child" of the media for years because he believes in letting the sunshine in and openness in the operation of the government generally and especially the House. He was present on the floor and for some reason or other he did not believe that the window blinds should be opened up on this vote, so he failed to vote. Vander Veen, who holds Jerry Ford's old seat, must have a lot of turkeys running around his district, because he, for some reason was not recorded. Peter Peyser of New York City, the day before, attempted to have a tobacco amendment adopted which would have started the destruction of the tobacco program if he had succeeded. The Congressional Record, on page H 5599 shows that I had quite a battle with him and with the help of my friends in the House, we defeated his amendment. He was

present on the floor, but even though tobacco is not grown in his city New York district, they must have Turkey Americans as well as Greek Americans. The day before he was right brave as far as tobacco is concerned.

The action of some of the members is the reason why the polls continue to show the Congress to be in trouble with the people and I do not blame the people in this country when they hear about members failing to vote such as I have described in the past few paragraphs.

October 15, 1974

President Ford yesterday vetoed the Continuing Resolution which cuts off U.S. military assistance to Turkey after declaring that this action would undermine Administration efforts to negotiate a settlement in the Cyprus crisis. The House may today attempt to override the veto. There are not enough votes in the House to override and if the action is attempted, the leaders will, after the vote is counted, have to decide as to what procedure to follow in bringing out another resolution which changes the 60-day cut off provision that the House refused to vote. With all of the Members that

were absent, it seems to me that enough pressure can be exerted on some of them so that a change in the time or changes along some line might be forced through. I still am of the opinion that this is a good time to take a positive stand and the House should remain firm.

Special Prosecutor Jaworski announced this weekend that his mission had been completed and that he would resign, effective October 25. A right cute cartoon appeared in the Washington Post this morning showing this large, aggressive football player carrying the ball to the sideline with all of the people yelling to him that the goal line is in the opposite direction. This man did a good job and I probably would feel the same way since the President has resigned and the Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Mitchell trial that started underway in the District this weekend will require some three to five months in the process. The special assistant to the prosecutor, Richard Ben-Veniste, required several hours in presenting the opening statement to the jury. The special assistant said that former President Nixon was involved in the cover up and that more than \$400,000 went to the Watergate burglars, with

this amount raised in a massive, covert operation approved by former President Nixon and engineered by the former President's personal lawyer, Herbert W. Kalmbach. In the opening statement, the assistant said that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell even dispatched an aid to pick up \$50,000 of the money used for the cover up. My guess is that the jury will find all three guilty and in fact, I have my doubts that a fair trial can be held here in the District of Columbia. Of course, all of these men are guilty and unless something unusual takes place, the jury will find accordingly. Still, the juries selected here and with all of the people knowing so much about the case, it seems to me that changes of venue, as a matter of fairness, should have been granted.

The King of Saudi Arabia has agreed to reduce the price of oil, \$1 per barrel. Oil at this time is selling at about \$11.65 per barrel in the Arab countries. Even if the \$1 is the only reduction made, this would save our country \$2 billion a year in balance of deficit payments. Kissinger is traveling all around through the Arab countries attempting to bring about a reduction in the price of oil and also working on the Cyprus matter and the Israeli-Arab controversy.

To say the least, our Secretary of State has his hands full.

It now develops that before President Nixon left office, pressure was exerted by the federal government to bring about a trade of Air Force property located in California for a tremendous large building some 10 miles from San Clemente and about 1/4th the size of the Pentagon. This building was to be used to house the Nixon records. General Services Administration now attempts to deny most of the deal and says that the building is necessary to house federal offices in southern California. The building was acquired three years ago and it is still vacant with the exception of office furniture scattered throughout the building. A picture of this building appeared in the papers this weekend and it is quite a building.

I have just returned from the House Chamber where we had two votes on the bills that the President vetoed this weekend. The House overwhelmingly overrode the veto on the Railroad Retirement bill and failed to override on the Cyprus-Greek controversy. We will now take the Cyprus-Greek amendment back before the full Committee on Appropriations and attempt to bring out some sort of an amendment which

will be in the Continuing Resolution that will be acceptable to the Administration and to the House and the Senate. This will be an extremely difficult matter to resolve.

October 16, 1974

Former White House aid John D. Ehrlichman turned on former President Nixon yesterday accusing him of manipulating and lying to Ehrlichman about the Watergate cover up to save his own neck. This statement was made by one of Ehrlichman's lawyers in his opening statement to a federal court jury here in Washington with the attorney insisting that Ehrlichman was simply an innocent pawn in the scandal that eventually forced Mr. Nixon's resignation and the trial of his closest and most loyal subordinates. The attorney said that Ehrlichman was misused and lied to by the former President. It now appears that Nixon may not have to appear in person to testify in answering the subpoenas, but may be permitted to give a deposition under cross examination. Nixon, in a very abrupt, cold manner dismissed Ehrlichman and Haldeman and cast them aside hoping that this would re-establish the fact that he was doing something about Watergate when at the same time

everyone in this country with any sense at all believed that Nixon was simply crucifying close associates and making them scapegoats. They were all involved and instead of using good judgment and stepping out or resigning immediately when Nixon insisted that they participate in the cover up and hide the cover up, they waited until they were dismissed. Of course, any statements made immediately following their dismissal would simply have established their own guilt and all they could do was to wait and see if they were to be indicted which was a foregone conclusion. All of the dirty laundry will really be hung out on the line before this trial is over.

Nelson A. Rockefeller is real concerned now over obtaining approval by the House and the Senate. He is insisting upon prompt hearings before the House and Senate Committees to clear up any question pertaining to the gifts, loans and the book that was published against Goldberg in his race for Governor of New York state. Yesterday, Rockefeller said that his nomination was being tried in the press and not before the appropriate committees of Congress where he should have an opportunity to present all of the facts.

President Ford addressed the annual convention of the Future Farmers of America last night. He criticized Congress somewhat for failing to accept his order delaying a pay increase to federal employees and said that the program he suggested to stop inflation was not a marshmallow program but one that the Congress should seriously consider.

October 17, 1974

The recess which we have been attempting now for days to start just seems to fade away each day. The confrontation with the President over the Turkey issue is more serious today than it was last week. When the Continuing Resolution was brought out yesterday, the House again attached an amendment that all weapons and military aid to Turkey would immediately be cut off if any of the supplies are shipped to Turkish forces on Cyprus. Our Committee brought out the Continuing Resolution with a provision yesterday giving the President until December 10 before cutting off military aid to Turkey in order that the Secretary of State could complete his talks with the Turkish leaders in an attempt to bring about a settlement of the Turkey and Greece controversy. We had hopes on our Committee that the December 10 cut off date would be accepted but on a vote

of 194 to 144, the House insisted on adding a provision putting the cut off into effect immediately if at any time before December 10 Turkey transshipped any U.S. military equipment to its occupation army on the Island of Cyprus. The President was out of the city campaigning for republicans in South Dakota, Indiana and Kansas and upon being reached by telephone in his plane, said that since the Congress had again taken this action, he would again veto the bill. Our Committee goes back into session again this morning and will attempt to bring out some provision in the Continuing Resolution which the House and Senate will accept. A Continuing Resolution of course, should not contain any provisions along the line of those added by amendment in the House. A straight Continuing Resolution with no additional provisions seems to me would be in order.

As I have said previously, a great many Members in the House are well satisfied to stay in Washington and conduct their campaigns for the November election. The confrontation with the President does not bother some of them very much. I have had to cancel a number of engagements and have cancelled my plane reservations several times this week.

In speaking at a fund raising dinner in Indiana, President Ford said that the polls have been wrong in the past. The polls show that 55% of the people prefer the Democrats in the November 5 election. Ford went on to say that even if the polls are right, a veto-proof Congress is not good for this country. He stressed the fact that the defeat of 50 to 100 Republicans in the House and 4 to 7 in the Senate would concentrate too much power in the legislative branch of the government and simply bring about a legislative dictatorship. Ford, of course, is placing his prestige on the line but according to the polls taken on our new President this past week, he is not taking too much risk because he has dropped some 70% favoring his Administration down to 50%. This is a tremendous drop since the pardon of Richard M. Nixon. Also, the people do not believe that our new President is offering any program which will help us to conquer inflation.

As soon as we recess, I will go down to my district and campaign in the November 5 election. We will adopt a resolution reconvening the Congress on November 18.

October 18, 1974

Since I have been in politics, I have always hesitated to make predictions about who would run for certain offices. There is one prediction that I would like to make at this time and that is former President Richard M. Nixon will make the race for the House of Representatives two years from now and will run from Orange County, which I believe is the name of the county that he now lives in. Andrew Johnson made such a move and established the fact that his people in Tennessee could and would send him to the United States Senate. Knowing our former President as I do, I would bet just a little that he makes a House race and the odds are that he will win because there will be enough people sympathizing with him and willing to join with him in re-establishing to a certain degree his reputation as a politician and as one who can serve the people in this country in the proper manner.

Yesterday, President Ford made historic trip to Capitol Hill to testify before the House Judiciary Committee that no deal was involved in his pardon of former President Nixon and that it was done for the good of the country. His appearance was televised and last night and I watched that part which was shown and consid-

ering everything, believe that he handled himself right well. Representative Elizabeth Holzman, a member of the committee, was right persistent with her questions to the President and issued a statement after the President's appearance that too many questions raised were unanswered. Representative William L. Hungate (D-Mo) who is chairman of the subcommittee that conducted the hearing and after the hearing stated that the President very strongly denied any deal and this is what they wanted to hear. He also said that after the November 5 election recess period additional hearings would be held on this matter.

Judge Sirica is not giving up on President Nixon's appearance as a witness in the conspiracy trial now underway in Washington. Mr. Nixon's doctors say that he is improving but that it will be some time before he can travel. Judge Sirica, in passing upon the request of the attorneys for the defendants, said that nobody, including the court, wants to do anything to injure Mr. Nixon's recovery but that the attorneys might consider submitting to him a list of outstanding doctors with two or more selected to go to California to examine Mr. Nixon to see if he is physically able to travel and appear at this time as a witness. Depositions do not satisfy the attorneys

for the defendants and especially the attorneys for Ehrlichman.

We finally recessed yesterday afternoon until November 18. The only matter up was the Continuing Resolution and the amendment concerning Turkey and Greece. The House failed to override the President's second veto of this bill and the bill was sent to the Rules Committee immediately with a closed rule issued and the same bill sent back to the House. The bill passed overwhelmingly and finally President Ford capitulated and said that he would sign the bill. This did not please a lot of the republican Members in the House because it was a further sign of weakness on the part of our new President. Here we had a direct confrontation and the President finally had to back down.

Former President Nixon filed suit yesterday requesting a federal court here to force the government to live up to the terms of an agreement that gives him ownership and control of White House tapes and other Presidential materials from his Administration. The suit was filed by Herbert J. Miller, the President's lawyer here and according to the suit those tapes subpoenaed and used would not be involved at this

time but the balance of the material would and should be delivered according to the suit.

Yesterday, Mrs. Nelson D. Rockefeller underwent an operation to remove her left breast after doctors determined that three nodules in it were malignant. Mrs. Rockefeller's surgery is similar to but not as extensive as that of Betty Ford, the wife of our new President, who had her right breast removed at Bethesda Naval Hospital since becoming an occupant of the White House. At a press conference, Nelson Rockefeller made the announcement to the press and upon being questioned as to whether or not it would effect his future plans, he said that judging from the statements of the doctors she would have from 70% to 90% chance to full recovery and that of course they would have to wait and see but everything appeared to be coming along in an excellent manner.

Government statistics issued yesterday showed a third consecutive quarterly decline in the nation's total output practically assuring that the current economic slump will go into the record books as a recession. Production of goods and services dropped at a seasonally adjusted

annual rate of 2.9% in the July-September quarter following declines of 7% in the first quarter of this year and 1.6% in the second quarter. Many of our economists expect the decline to continue well into 1975.

I leave Washington today for Kentucky and will make every effort to go into all twenty of the counties in the district before the November 5 election. I have a number of speaking engagements and judging from the weather today, it should be real nice for the next several weeks. We reconvene on November 18 and my guess is that we will then remain here until just about Christmas Eve.

November 18, 1974

I have just returned from Kentucky. We recessed on October 16th and from that date until I left Kentucky, I traveled a little over 3,400 miles in the twenty counties in the Second Congressional District during the November 5 election. Following the election, I made a number of speeches to civic groups and different organizations in a number of the counties. With the exception of one day, the weather was ideal.

I had two campaign opponents in the November 5 election. Art

Eddleman was the Republican and Leland Neville was the American Party candidate. I carried all fifteen democratic counties and the five republican counties. I received 72.9% of the vote. This is the first time that I have carried all five republican counties at the same time. From time to time, I have carried all five, but not all five at the same time.

We will start again today and I presume will adjourn the Second Session of the 93rd Congress sometime about Christmas Eve. The people throughout the fifty states are very much concerned over the major problems that we are now confronted with and unless our new President, Gerald Ford, proceeds immediately to present legislation and proposals which will attempt to solve these problems, the people expect Congress to take the initiative and move on and not wait for the President. This, I am sure about and unless the leadership in the House and the Senate proceed accordingly, the people in this country will continue to be very much disturbed.

The major problems with which we are confronted today are inflation, energy shortage, food shortage, rising housing costs, high unemployment, and problems in Agriculture. Interest rates

are now over 11% and housing starts plunged to a new 4½ year low. Housing starts are 45% below last year. The President's proposal concerning the wearing of WIN buttons and a voluntary program certainly will not succeed. Reducing the budget and high interest rates alone will not control this inflationary spiral that we have underway in this country today.

All of these problems are serious and something must be done now.

November 19, 1974

We may have picked up too many seats in the House. It appears now that we will have 44 more Democrats and the total will be 292. The Republicans will have 143 and this means that percentage wise, the democrats on the Committees in the House will increase and the Republicans will have to drop off. Nine of the Republicans on my Committee on Appropriations were either defeated or retired and this will leave about the right number on the Committee so that some of them who are still with us will not have to drop off.

We picked up either 4 or 5 seats in the Senate. One seat is still close and may be contested. This is the Milt Young seat in North Dakota. Governor

Wendell H. Ford defeated Senator Marlow Cook with a majority of about 71,000. Everyone expected Cook to be defeated, including thousands of Republicans all over Kentucky. He simply spent six years in Washington and never turned his hand. This applied not only to his home state, but to members of his party. I have heard complaints ever since he has been here that when the leaders in the Republican Party wanted to see him they had to talk to someone in his office. It appeared for awhile that he would not run and if he had made a good survey of the state, would not have made the race. The Courier-Journal endorsed the present Democratic members in the House and in a left-handed endorsement, finally said that they endorsed Ford. The editorial was really a meat ax job and after accusing Ford of many acts which were clear conflicts of interest, finally said that he was the better of the two and the lesser of two evils.

Some of my good friends were defeated in the House and it will be many a day before a great many Republicans in the House forget Watergate because it certainly played a major part in this campaign. If Gerald Ford had not pardoned Nixon when he did, some 10 or 12 Republicans would have survived.

For over six years now, I have maintained during the hearings and on the floor of the House when I presented the appropriation bills that the cost of the rapid transit system here in Washington would total between \$4 and \$5 billion instead of the \$2½ billion authorized amount and the amount maintained to be sufficient by the builders of the subway and the city officials. Time after time I have said that not a single bond would be retired out of the farebox and finally this week, the city officials, including Walter Washington, the Mayor and the officials of the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority who are building the subway admitted that the cost would exceed \$4 billion and that bonds could not be retired out of the farebox. An article appeared in the November 15 issue of the Washington Post entitled "Metro Cost Goes to \$4.5 Billion--Fares Won't Pay Off Bonds." This article is as follows:

"After years of claiming otherwise, Metro officials acknowledged yesterday that the regional subway system cannot collect enough from fares to pay off the \$1.2 billion in bonds that are being sold to help build it.

The acknowledgement came only minutes after a disclosure that the

cost of building the 98-mile Metro-rail network, originally estimated in 1967 at \$2.5 billion and gradually pushed upward by inflation and other factors, has now reached at least \$4.5 billion.

Those statements are likely to have a major impact on area taxpayers, who could find themselves having to pay a substantial share of the bonds and also to raise perhaps \$300 million to \$500 million more to finish the system. Metro officials did not give details on how the money might be raised.

The bond issue, whose repayment by Metro is guaranteed by the federal government, is one part of a complex financial program that is raising \$3 billion--the now outdated official cost estimate--to build the subway. That program includes an outright federal grant of \$1.1 billion and \$720 million in bond and tax money contributed by the area's local governments.

Yesterday's disclosures came the morning after the Northern Virginia Transportation Commission, a Metro affiliate, balked at the Virginia suburbs' having to pay \$17.6 million as their share of the bus deficit in the next fiscal year. It voted to ask

Metro to increase bus fares at the same rate as the federal consumer price index.

NVTC members also voiced concern, but took no action, on the subway cost increase situation.

The Metro officials have called a three-day meeting starting next Thursday at Airlie House, a conference center near Warrenton, Va., to present a new financial plan for the subway and bus system to area officials.

After getting the word on Metro-rail finances yesterday, members of the transit authority's board of directors insisted that there is no possibility that the size of the system may be cut back to stay within available funds.

'Curtailling the system is just beyond comprehension,' Board Chairman Cleatus E. Barnett of Montgomery County declared. 'We have covenanted together to build all of it.'

Since rising costs have come to be expected, the worst news of the day was the finding by a team of consultants that the rail system cannot collect enough fares to pay for operations and still have enough money left over to retire the \$1.2 billion in bonds.

Since the start of serious subway planning in the early 1960s, even before

the Metro transit authority came into existence, officials had been unshaken in claims that the system could pay its own way. The claim was restated in a Metro study released as recently as 1971.

When that claim was jettisoned yesterday, little remained of the system's original financial program.

One reason that the early planners were optimistic about the payoff from fares was Washington's long tradition of charging higher transit fares than most other large cities, a policy that has come into disrepute in recent years.

Another reason was a decision to reduce manpower by having only one attendant on a subway train, seated in the motorman's cab, whether the train is two cars or eight cars long.

Robert A. Keith, a vice president of the consulting firm of Alan A. Voorhees & Associates--himself one of the original Washington subway planners--told the board that the estimated cost of running the subway was drastically understated. His firm made the new report in association with Louis T. Klauder & Associates.

'Inflation is the chief, but not the only, issue,' Keith reported. 'New rail operating expense estimates, without inflation, would be nearly double the prior estimates.'

'One half the added rail operating needs are due to new energy consumption estimates--train power, station air conditioning and other needs', Keith's report declared. 'The amount of power is enormous...

'Rail costs would be the highest (for a transit system) in the U.S. on a cost-per-car-mile basis,' he concluded.

Keith's team projected what would happen to ridership, revenues and costs under three sets of bus and rail fares, with or without free transfers among vehicles.

Since all figures were stated for the year 1990 in dollars at their 1976 value, Keith said, the findings would be valid only if fares were gradually raised through the years to keep pace with expenses.

The fare scheme that came out best, from the standpoint of Metro revenue, was a basic 40-cent fare to get aboard a bus or train and ride for three miles. After that, riders would pay about 7 cents a mile extra. Transfers would be free.

The average fare collected would be 62 cents, compared with 48 cents now on the Metrobus system's city and suburban lines.

With all expenses paid, the projected fare scheme would produce an operating profit in 1990 of \$21.7 million--far short of the \$96.6 million Metro forecast just three years ago.

Since the projected cost of interest and principal payments on the \$1.2 billion subway bond issue runs around \$90 million a year, the gap to be filled from unspecified sources runs close to \$70 million a year.

That figure does not even include the cost of financing the higher cost of \$4.5 billion for the subway disclosed yesterday by Joseph Edward, Metro's director of program control.

The new figure approaches the \$5 billion total subway cost forecast voiced earlier this year by Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky) chairman of the House District Appropriations Subcommittee. Natcher has contended through the years that Metro understated its costs.

Edward told board members yesterday that the most dramatic cost increases followed the removal of wage and price controls by former President Nixon.

Concrete and structural steel have skyrocketed in cost, Edward said, and the price of steel reinforcing bars used in the subway's concrete walls has 'gone out of sight.'

The average wages and fringe benefits for all workmen on the subway have risen from \$4.49 an hour in 1969, the year work started, to \$9.05 an hour today.

Elward also cited the cost of delays, including those caused by tropical storm Agnes in 1972, lawsuits, requirements for environmental studies and consideration of possible changes in the authorized rail routes. Any resulting changes also may add to the \$4.5 billion figure, he said.

The subway cost reports overshadowed the other major action by the Metro board yesterday. It adopted the transit authority's budget for the fiscal year that starts next July 1, which forecasts a bus deficit of \$51.8 million. The loss would be reduced if the board were to adopt the NVTC fare-increase proposal."

President Ford is now in Japan and there is a beautiful picture on the front page of the Washington papers showing our new President in his formal attire, presenting himself to Emperor Hirohito. The Emperor, according to the news stories, gave a formal and warm welcome today to the first American President to visit Japan. My friend Jerry Ford, should be back in the United States facing up to the

problems that we have before us and for the time being, should place in moth balls his formal attire and help us solve these problems that are so serious today.

The Senate Rules Committee wound up hearings yesterday on the Vice Presidential nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller and will vote on the nomination on either Wednesday or Thursday. I presume that the Rules Committee will vote almost unanimously to approve Rockefeller and then the Committee will report its action to the Senate. The House Judiciary Committee begins hearings today on the Rockefeller nomination and before it is over, I believe that Rockefeller will be approved by both the House and the Senate. We are really using the 25th Amendment overtime.

In today's Evening Star, there is a picture of the Argentine Firecracker. This young lady is now filling a two-week engagement in Boston and is performing her strip-tease act, which apparently, she does to perfection. The Tidal Basin baptism that she took has really given her publicity and she is receiving \$3500 for this engagement when ordinarily she would only receive some \$700 for a two-week engagement. The standing joke in the House Dining Room today was--How long do you suppose it would take me to walk to Boston?

The picture in the paper shows this performer almost in the nude and my old friend Wilbur Mills, in walking up the center aisle today seems to be looking for something on the floor because he barely looked up. Mrs. Mills is occupying a very prominent seat in the second row in the Ways and Means Committee during the hearings on the tax reform legislation and one of the staffers started the rumor that apparently she is seeking a staff position so she can be present each day to make sure that Wilbur stays away from the Tidal Basin.

November 23, 1974

Ordinarily, we do not elect the Speaker and the other House officials until the new Congress convenes. This time, we will have a caucus on December 2 and the House officials will be elected in the caucus with all new Members invited to attend and with those who are retiring or have been defeated, not voting. This gives one or two of our leaders an opportunity to avoid serious competition. With some 92 new Members on both sides appearing in January, if the Democrats who are new Members are here for several days, some of the older Members who drop out might not have the influence with them which could cause

our Speaker, for instance, to have some difficulty. I hope this new system works. The reason given is that it will place the 94th Congress in a position of being able to get underway without having several days of caucus procedure.

President Ford is still traveling abroad. After his trip to Japan, he visited in South Korea and arrived today in Siberia for meetings with Soviet Communist Leader Leonid I. Brezhnev. Later on today, the two men will meet in a white-washed guest house in the snow covered spruce forest near Vladivostok to begin negotiations in their initial summit encounter. This meeting is being held in a closed city and is the Soviet Union's far eastern naval base.

I still am of the opinion that the President ought to stop traveling now and come back and seriously face our inflation, recession and agricultural problems. The people in this country want something done now.

Yesterday, the General Assembly of the United Nations on a vote of 89 to 8 agreed to recognize the Palestinian people's right to independence. This comes as quite a blow

to Israel and may bring on changes which will start another war. Several days ago, General George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in a question and answer session at Duke University, following a speech said that the Jewish lobby was much too powerful in our Nation's Capital and in fact, it was so strong you couldn't believe that it could accomplish what it has done. Later, he apologized and was admonished by President Ford, but remains as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. In today's newspaper here in Washington, is an article which discusses generally the Jewish lobby and goes on to state that the Jewish lobby now operating on Capitol Hill is perhaps the most effective ethnic lobby ever assembled in Washington. A real test will take place if a foreign aid bill is brought out this year.

Governor Rockefeller's nomination to be Vice President was approved 9 to 0 by the Senate Rules Committee yesterday and hearings are now underway before the House Judiciary Committee. The nomination will be brought to the Senate floor on Monday, December 9 for debate. Approval by a majority in both Houses is required and I believe that approval will be given.

Meetings are now being held concerning the massive federal aid needed to finish the rapid transit system here in Washington. Now the officials of the Washington Area Transit Authority are saying that the federal government must come up again and provide additional money. Before this public works project is completed, it will become a national scandal and may have to go to the Justice Department for investigation.

The regional officers of the striking United Mine Workers said yesterday that they will not approve the proposed new national coal contract unless the industry agrees to major changes, including further cash increases. This announcement came from 26 of the 38 members and really places Arnold R. Miller, United Mine Workers President in a bad position. Miller has called for ratification of the contract that was agreed upon but has been unable to get the council members to accept the new contract tentatively agreed upon. The mines are now shut down and this coal strike can cost billions of dollars before it is over. Miller is certainly not a John L. Lewis because when John L. Lewis agreed after arbitrating contract matters, the members of the

United Mine Workers fell into step and accepted his recommendation. He was a hard negotiator but was the best friend the mine workers have ever had in this country.

November 25, 1974

President Ford returned from Siberia late last night and I presume he discovered this morning that we still have our problems concerning inflation and recession. Apparently, the President will continue on into the future hoping that something will take place to remove these problems without changing the position that he has taken up to this time.

Pictures appeared in today's paper of Brezhnev and President Ford signing a communique which concluded their two-day summit meeting. Kissinger is quoted as saying that this is a great breakthrough and that the agreement and new instructions to arms negotiators in Geneva could lead ultimately to a 10-year treaty limiting the total number of offensive nuclear weapons each country may have.

Negotiators for the nation's 120,000 striking miners and the coal industry agreed in principal this weekend on a new contract. This contract, like the one agreed to on

November 13th but which failed to win acceptance of the miner's bargaining counsel will be put to the counsel on Tuesday. It still may require two more weeks to end the strike if the counsel accepts the recommendation of the negotiators.

There is a drive underway in this country to remove General George S. Brown, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who recently made the mistake of saying that the Jewish lobby in this country is all powerful and that the Jews own the banks and the newspapers. The Jews in this country now maintain that Brown's remarks have irreparably damaged his ability to serve effectively as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and that he must be removed. Time will tell as to whether or not the lobby is powerful enough to get this job done.

There is a move underway in the House to extend the size of the Ways and Means Committee and to curtail the power of this Committee. At the December 2 caucus, a proposal will be made to extend the number of Members on this Committee from 25 to 36 and that the Committee, percentage-wise, be composed of Members according to the number in the House, which would be two-thirds plus one. This would

mean that we would have eleven new Democrats on the Committee and the scramble is underway now by Members who occupy Committees which are not near as important and who would like to transfer to the Ways and Means Committee. Hugh Carey of New York, was elected Governor and his spot on the Ways & Means Committee is now being contested by five Democratic Members from New York City. Bella Abzug is making the most noise and will campaign to the bitter end for a position on this Committee. Under the new plans, the Ways and Means Committee will then have subcommittees which it has never had and the power will be spread around. No longer will the electricity only be connected to the microphone which sits directly in front of the Chairman in the Full Committee room. Wilbur Mills, with all of his problems, is not in a position to contest this move and will be lucky if he saves his chairmanship.

Judging from the action that took place on Sunday in Ethiopia, you would assume that we were living back in the 18th Century. Sixty former officials, including the man who was head of the military government under the King were executed and one of those executed was

a grandson of Emperor Haile Selassie. So far, there has been no word about the former Emperor, who has been under arrest since he was deposed in September after ruling the country since 1928. He was first elected as Regent in 1916 and certainly conducted himself well during World War II. The only announcement out of Ethiopia stated that those executed were found guilty of trying to sow dissension and division within the armed forces and that down through the years, they were guilty of placing their own personalities above the general welfare of their country. The announcement gave no indication of when or where the executions took place, but said that all sixty had been buried and no one would be granted access to their bodies. The announcement further stated that no mourning would be allowed. This kind of action is amazing when you consider the fact that we are now living in the year 1974.

November 26, 1974

Every so often I read something that does not pertain to inflation, recession or Watergate. It makes me feel good when I can get my mind off of some of the problems that we live with everyday. Recently, I read an article which stated that we had sent

out a powerful radio message from earth on Saturday, November 16th in the first real attempt to communicate with another civilization in the universe. The signal was beamed from the world's most powerful radio telescope for about three minutes and to the uneducated ear, it sounded very much like a two-toned version of morse code. Its double frequency sound had been devised by scientists to tell another civilization what sort of people we are, where we live and how we got our start. This coded signal starts with a simple lesson on how to count and then very carefully describes the chemistry of life on earth. It further tells how complex we are, what our genetic material is and also tells how advanced we are by telling in code bits the structure, growth and brain of a human being. This signal was by far the most powerful ever beamed from earth and was the equivalent in its fashion of 25 times all the electricity ever generated by electric power plants on earth. The beam is so bright that its the equivalent of one million suns, deep in space. By the time the last words of the signal were being transmitted, its first words had reached the orbit of Mars. This signal traveled at the speed of light--186,000 miles a second. The signal passed Saturn by 4 o'clock and had sped by Pluto on its way out of the solar system by 6 o'clock.

After a number of years, the officials constructing the Rapid Rail Transit System here in Washington have finally admitted that the cost will exceed \$4 billion. At one time, United States Steel Company paid for a television program on NBC which went into all of the states, severely criticizing me for my predictions concerning the cost of the rapid transit system and for the action that I had taken in regard to holding up construction funds until certain conditions were complied with. In those days, the editorials in the Washington papers were right severe and everyone who was trying to drive this project through Congress maintained that I was wrong concerning the cost. Several days ago, I wrote the following letter to Brig. General Jackson Graham of the Washington Area Transit Authority:

*Dear General Graham:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 20th which states that beginning in May of 1974 the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority began quarterly reporting of its financial status with reference to the previously announced 2,980,000,000 total estimated cost to construct the 98-mile rapid rail

system. This revision and updating of the cost, as you point out in your letter, is required to be made during the month of December, 1974.

You further state in your letter that as of this date the estimated revised amount of cost to complete the project is \$4,454,000,000.

General Graham, as you and the members of the Authority will recall, during the hearings of the subcommittee on the Budget of the District of Columbia and each time that I presented the District of Columbia budget since 1967, I have stated that the Authority simply had under-estimated the cost for constructing the 98-mile system, and that this system, when completed, would cost between four and five billion dollars. Each year since this time, during the hearings I have informed you and your associates that the cost would be between four and five billion dollars.

Our subcommittee on September 24, 1969 agreed to release the necessary funds to begin construction of the rapid rail transit system, and again at that time I stated that the Authority was simply under-estimating the cost for constructing this rapid rail transit system.

General Graham, the taxpayers here in our Nation's Capital and the Maryland and Virginia communities should have been advised all along that this system could not be constructed at the previously announced \$2,980,000,000 total. Certainly, those who pay the taxes and will carry this burden should have been advised that they could expect an announcement to be made that the estimated cost, which you emphatically stated for several years would be adequate, was simply insufficient.

I received your reports today which update the cost of the system to \$4,454,000,000 and your statement concerning the meeting to be held at Airlie House on November 21-23, 1974.

General Graham, the figure of \$4,454,000,000 will not complete the 98-mile rapid rail transit system, and again I would like to urge that you and the members of the Authority take another look at the cost of this system and simply tell the people who will have to pay the taxes to carry this burden that the system will ultimately cost about \$5 billion and unless there is some change the figure could go as high as \$6 billion.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
/s/ William H. Natcher, M.C."

In this morning's Washington Post, there is an article entitled-- "Natcher Puts Metro Cost At \$6 Billion". This article is as follows:

"Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky) whose predictions of the rising cost of building Washington's rail rapid transit system initially outraged Metro officials but later proved more accurate than theirs, has come up with a new figure: \$6 billion.

Natcher, chairman of the House District Appropriations Subcommittee, made the new prediction in a letter sent Thursday to Jackson Graham, Metro's general manager.

That same afternoon, Graham told a conference of the region's local officials that the latest cost estimate is \$4.5 billion, an increase of \$1.5 billion from the official 1970 estimate of \$3 billion. Some officials at the conference, like Natcher, voiced doubt about the new estimate.

Under a revised financial plan that Congress will be asked to enact, the federal government would pay an additional \$1.3 billion and the local governments of the region would provide an additional \$134 million to finish the system.

Although Natcher would vote on the authorization plan as a member of the House, his subcommittee would not become directly involved until it was called upon to appropriate the District's estimated \$50 million share.

Until 1971, when he was defeated in a test vote in the House, Natcher repeatedly held up subway funds to force construction of freeway projects he favored. Since then, he has granted whatever funds were sought, but always has accompanied the action with higher-cost predictions.

In his letter, which he released yesterday to reporters, Natcher reviewed those predictions and concluded:

'Gen. Graham. . . (\$4.5 billion) will not complete the 98-mile rapid rail transit system, and again I would like to urge that you and the members of the (transit) authority take another look at the cost of this system...

'Simply tell the people who will have to pay the taxes to carry this burden that the system will ultimately cost about \$5 billion and unless there is some change the figure could go as high as \$6 billion.'

Graham, who said his copy of the letter had not arrived by yesterday afternoon, refused to get into a public dispute with Natcher. He reiterated that the Metro figures were based on the best information available when they were made.

When his subcommittee released funds to start the subway in 1969, Natcher said he doubted that the system could be built for the \$2.5 billion estimated at the time.

By 1972, two years after Metro's estimate was raised to \$3 billion, Natcher was talking about \$4 billion. Metro officials denied it. In late 1973, Natcher raised his estimate to \$5 billion, which Metro called 'excessive.'

On May 9 of this year, at a hearing, Natcher told Graham: 'I say to you today, the figure will be nearer \$5 billion than it will be to \$4 billion.'

Graham did not respond directly, but he told a reporter later: 'I think he (Natcher) is premature.'

'In hindsight he (Natcher) was right,' Graham said yesterday, 'because inflation occurred at a greater rate than anybody could have imagined.'

...It is one hell of a time to try to be setting the cost of a project as big as this one.'

Graham said the original \$2.5 billion estimate for Metro in 1969 included \$525 million for inflation, while the 1970 estimate of \$3 billion included \$855 million and the new \$4.5 billion projection includes \$1.8 billion for inflation."

November 27, 1974

An article appeared in yesterday's Evening Star entitled: "Natcher Warning Of \$6 Billion Tab...". This article is as follows:

"Rep. William H. Natcher, D-Ky., who for at least five years has predicted Washington's 98.5 mile Metrorail system would cost between \$4 and \$5 billion, has now boosted his estimate to \$6 billion.

Natcher's latest financial prognostication was made in a Nov. 21 letter to Metro General Manager Jackson Graham in which he urged Graham to tell the people what the regional rail system is actually going to cost.

'SIMPLY TELL the people who have to pay the taxes...that the system will ultimately cost about \$5 billion and unless there is some change the figure could go as high as \$6 billion,' Natcher wrote.

When it originally was conceived, the Metrorail system was to cost \$2.5 billion, but this was increased about two years ago to \$2.98 billion. However, in the last seven months the cost estimate has soared another \$1.5 billion to \$4.5 billion.

Graham, who has known Natcher since he was a brigadier general in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers building flood control dams in Natcher's district in the early 1960s, said he has not yet received the letter.

THE LETTER--taken in conjunction with remarks made by Natcher last May--may signify a shift in the once rosy personal relationship between the two men.

Natcher, who is chairman of the D.C. Appropriations subcommittee, told Metro officials during budget hearings May 8 that they 'ought to just start telling the truth' about Metro costs, which Natcher charged had been understated because of 'engineering deficiencies and poor estimates.'

Natcher's support is necessary for the continuance of subway construction, since his committee approves the release of money for the District's share of subway financing.

METRO officials, like others, feel that if Congress and the administration took strong actions in the economy the country would not be suffering such a high inflation rate.

In an effort to seek more money, Metro will ask for a new federal cost-sharing formula of 80 percent federal funds and 20 percent local for Metro-rail construction. Currently, the breakdown is two-thirds federal and one-third local."

The Democratic Caucus which will be held on December 2nd will be well-attended and a great many new proposals will be submitted concerning seniority and the general operation of the House. For instance, in this morning's mail, I received a letter from a lady in the State of Kansas who is the Congresswoman Elect from the Second District, advising me that she is a candidate for assignment to the Committee on Ways & Means. The Ways & Means Committee and the Appropriations Committee are the two most prestigious committees in the House. At this time, we have 20 Standing Committees and although first-termers have at times been elected to the Committee on Ways & Means and to the Committee on Appropriations, it is in very unusual cases

and has not happened but on a very few occasions in this century. As a general rule, vacancies on these two committees are filled by Members who have served in the House on other Committees and have established themselves to a certain extent which justifies election to one or the other of the two committees. It seems to be in order now that regardless of seniority or as the lady who wrote to me today, sight unseen, membership is demanded and with some 72 new Democratic members, I presume that in the Caucus, one or two new Members will be placed on the Committee on Ways & Means and on the Committee on Appropriations.

Common Cause, Ralph Nader, Americans for Democratic Action and a number of other organizations have joined in the fight to completely destroy seniority as far as the House is concerned and are insisting that at the Caucus the function previously performed by the Ways & Means Committee in recommending Members for committee assignments in the House be discarded and that this function be performed by the Democratic Steering Committee and subject to approval in the Democratic Caucus. In addition, these groups and a number of our wild-eyed friends are insisting that the Ways &

Means Committee be enlarged to a number of Members commensurate with its broad and important duties and that a total membership in the vicinity of from 36 to 40 be approved. The Committee now contains 25 Members with the ratio being 15 Democrats and 10 Republicans. In addition, closed rules are not approved by this group and they are insisting that the Rules Committee should be required to make in order any germane amendment supported by a prescribed number of Members of the Committee which drafted the legislation. A request will be made that all Chairmen of Subcommittees be also elected in the Caucus as well as Chairmen of the Full Committees. This is based on the principle that the Chairmen of the Subcommittees on Appropriations are, in reality, equal to Chairmen of Legislative Committees handling the same subject matter. Chairmanships of Full Committees should be limited to four terms will be one of the proposals offered and another one may be offered which provides that no state shall have more than a certain number of Chairmen of the Standing Committees in the House. Of the 20 Standing Committees that we now have, Texas will have six Chairmen beginning in January of 1975. The Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations is George Mahon; the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee is

Wright Patman; the Chairman of the Space Committee is Olin Teague; the Chairman of the Agriculture Committee is Bob Poage; the Chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee will be Ray Roberts and the Chairman of the Government Operations Committee will be Jack Brooks. A great many of the senior members in the House are from Texas and the Texas Congressional Districts keep sending them back year after year and in this way they build up a lot of seniority.

In addition to placing new Members on Appropriations and Ways & Means, a request will be made for the adoption of a resolution guaranteeing the freshman class of each Congress the right to apply for and obtain vacancies on these two Committees. In addition, conference committee meetings should be open to the public and never closed, according to one of the resolutions that will be offered.

We will not be able to resolve all of these matters in the Monday, December 2 Caucus and will have to go over until Tuesday morning and then probably meet again Tuesday night. In addition to all of the new proposals that will be made for changes in the rules of the House, elections will be held to elect the Speaker, Majority Leader and the Officers of House such as Doorkeeper, Postmaster,

Sergeant at Arms and Chaplain.

With 92 new Members being sworn in for the 94th Congress, we will have a great many changes in the operation of the House of Representatives--some will be good and some will be bad.

November 29, 1974

On this, the day following Thanksgiving, when I am still quite full of turkey and thankful for my many blessings, I will have to say that occasionally the Washington Post fulfills the requirements of a newspaper that reports the news fairly and editorially takes a position on matters of great importance. This is right difficult for me to say because the good old Washington Post has from time to time, really used the meat ax on me. In this morning's Washington Post, appears an editorial entitled: "Metro: Digging Out the Hard Truth". This editorial is as follows:

"WHEN THE SHOVELS first broke ground five years ago for Metro (Greater Washington's rapid transit system) it was not a secret that this bold adventure in regional cooperation would be expensive. It was proclaimed

from the outset that the rail network would be the costliest single public works project ever built. But that was when Metro officials thought that \$2.5 billion would do the job. Today, it is grimly clear that this amount couldn't begin to do the job. Worse yet, the question now haunting even Metro's most intrepid supporters is whether inflation will bring about the project's collapse. This is a grim thought when you consider that the work on Metro has effectively progressed beyond the point of no return.

The agony was barely enunciated but nevertheless readily perceivable during a Metro conference of some 100 area officials at Airlie House, near Warrenton, Va., a week ago. It is compounded by the absence of any firm projection of the price at the end of the tunnel--which makes it all the more difficult to know whether the price can be met. Representatives of the eight city and county governments that are partners in Metro are all too aware of the growing anxiety among their taxpaying constituents over the system's cost uncertainties. Public disillusion with Metro intensifies each time an estimate has to be revised upward by huge amounts.

Metro's own record of cost estimates, in fact, has contributed to a dangerous credibility gap. Throughout the history of the project, Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky) chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, has challenged Metro's figures, and his own predictions have come much closer to the mark. As early as 1971, when Metro pegged the cost at \$2.98 billion, Mr. Natcher mentioned the possibility of an ultimate cost of between \$4 billion and \$5 billion.

A year ago, when Metro's estimate rose to \$3 billion, Mr. Natcher repeated his estimate and let it be known that he was annoyed with Metro on this point. 'I have contended for a number of years now that those in charge of constructing our rapid rail system should simply tell the truth and inform the taxpayers...(and) the Congress...that this system cannot be constructed' for the price claimed by transit officials, the congressman said in a letter sent to Washington Post staff writer Jack Eisen.

This month, on the day that Metro general manager Jackson Graham was telling the officials at Airlie that the latest cost estimate is \$4.5 billion,

Mr. Natcher sent a letter to Gen. Graham containing a new figure; \$6 billion. Again, the letter challenged Metro's estimate. Mr. Natcher stated that \$4.5 billion 'will not complete the 98-mile rapid rail system, and again I would like to urge that you and the members of the authority take another look at the cost of this system ...Simply tell the people who will have to pay the taxes to carry this burden that the system will ultimately cost about \$5 billion and unless there is some change the figure could go as high as \$6 billion.'

Well, we don't know what sort of charts and graphs Mr. Natcher is working with to arrive at his prognostications. But even if his figures are only hunches, they contain an important message for Metro: The people of Greater Washington need to know the blunt and total truth about Metro's financial problems, which means exploring a range of cost estimates that would provide the 'best'--and, yes, 'worst'--projections that may confront the region.

To take one estimate and increase it in periodic increments--as Metro has been doing--is to court disaster. Certainly inflation has played havoc with all building cost estimates, and Metro should not be blamed for failing

to forecast the state of the world economy today. Moreover, given the incredibly precarious times Metro went through in getting financing from Mr. Natcher and Congress in the project's earlier days, it could be argued that putting the worst face on future cost increases might have killed the whole thing then.

Now, however, any playing down of the prospects that costs may continue to soar would be politically treacherous for Metro, both on Capitol Hill and throughout the region. As things stand, it will take some doing to meet the difference between the \$3 billion currently being made available and the \$4.5 billion figure now being used by Metro. Under a proposal by officials at the Airlie conference, most of the money would come from the federal government. Congress will be asked for another \$1.3 billion, to be matched under a proposed new sharing formula by \$134 million in funds from the local governments.

Producing the local share will require bond referendum votes in several jurisdictions. In the District, it will require one of the first major financial decisions by the elected City Council. Already, the squirming among local officials has produced some strains on regional cooperation; each jurisdiction is understandably wedded

to plans that would minimize its obligations and somewhat suspicious of its neighbors' intentions. Add to this Metro's serious bus deficit problems, and you have an extremely touchy set of regional transportation problems ahead in 1975.

Before people can begin to make reasonable decisions, Metro must do a more forthright job of answering vital questions. For example: What if Congress doesn't agree to appropriate all that is being sought? What if that means a local share not of \$134 million, but perhaps more like \$300 million? What if the project were stopped dead in its tracks--what would be the cost implications of that? Since most of the lines now being built run mainly in the District and Arlington, how would the region's governments really pull out without any tangible returns on their investments? And what if the inflation rate is still above 10 per cent in 1981?

We hope that none of these things happen, for we continue to support the still unanimous determination of Greater Washington's local governments to make the Metro rapid transit system the success that was envisioned when the project began. Congress and the President have an interest in completing this nationally significant modern trans-

portation project in the capital city area. But the chances of failure cannot be ignored by those engaged in the delicate deliberations now necessary to keep the Metro effort alive and reasonably well."

In Thursday's Washington Post appeared an article entitled: "Rep. Adams Asks Metro to Cut System". This article is as follows:

"Rep. Brock Adams (D-Wash.) a member of the House District Committee who was influential in getting work started on the Metro rail rapid transit system in 1969, suggested yesterday that some of its 98 miles of routes be eliminated to save money.

Adams predicted that Congress will not provide the \$1.3 billion in additional U.S. contributions needed to finance the full system at its new \$4.5 billion estimated cost. He stressed that he will not initiate any move for cutbacks.

The comment by Adams followed a new prediction by Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky.) chairman of the House District Appropriations Subcommittee, that Metro's cost may reach as high as \$6 billion.

Adams said he agreed with Natcher that Metro officials have 'consistently underestimated the costs.'

When legislation to authorize the added money is introduced in the House, it presumably will be considered initially by the District Committee. Only if the bill becomes law would Natcher's unit be involved in appropriating money.

Adams has announced that he will not serve on the District Committee next year.

Several other District Committee members who were asked for comment on the Adams statement took varying positions. Most members are out of the city for the holiday recess.

Rep. Thomas M. Rees (D-Calif), chairman of the subcommittee that probably will handle the Metro bill, said he would support a proposal to increase the level of federal matching of locally raised construction funds from two-thirds to 80 per cent.

'But I just cannot conceive of Congress voting another \$1 billion or \$2 billion or \$3 billion for the D.C. area,' Rees declared.

Committee Chairman Charles M. Diggs (D-Mich) said he has ordered a staff analysis of the situation, 'and I am not prepared to make a judgment (now) on this matter'.

Rep. Gilbert Gude (R-Md.) who will be the ranking minority member of the District Committee next year, said he expects Congress to understand that Metro is the victim of the same inflation that has increased the costs of all public works projects.

"To bobtail (Metro) or to truncate it at this time would be penny wise and pound foolish", Gude said.

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy (D-D.C.) a former Metro board chairman, said he would 'discourage any talk of curtailing the system. It was rationalized to meet the needs of the entire area and should be built,' he said.

Rep. Fortney H. (Pete) Stark (D-Calif.) whose home district is served by two suburban lines of the new San Francisco Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system, said Metro must reach the Washington suburbs to be effective.

"It seems to me to build a subway system that runs from Woodie's

(department store) to Capitol Hill and back again is kind of silly,' Stark said. 'I would urge the federal government to find more money and get the system completed as quickly as possible.'"

November 30, 1974

If I had my way, Air Force I would be placed in mothballs and my old friend Gerald Ford would remain in Washington instead of traveling all around the world. After returning from Moscow, Japan and South Korea, the President immediately announced that next year, which is just around the corner, he would visit China. This prospective trip which was simultaneously announced in Washington and Peking, would be the first concrete move in U.S.-China relations since establishment of liaison offices in the two capitals in February of 1973. The Chinese apparently were very much disturbed over President Ford's trip to Siberia, and I presume that he will now travel to China giving them his pledge that no move was made with the Soviet Union which will be detrimental to China. This seems to be a vicious circle now and with all of the problems in our country now I think the President should stay out of the China-Russia issue.

Some of my close friends here on the Hill tell me that the nuclear arms treaty which Ford and Brezhnev worked on following the initial moves by former President Nixon would pertain only to our present nuclear weapons system in this country and in the Soviet Union, and would place no limitation on new systems which I understand the Soviet Union now has ready to go underway after being on the drawing boards for several years. Limiting certain types of nuclear weapons that we know exist in this country and the Soviet Union would not include those that are not in existence and would simply give the Soviet Union a chance to build up their arsenal with new weapons and at the same time comply with the commitments made concerning the nuclear arms treaty. There are too many people here in Washington that believe this is the situation for it to be a falacy and I do hope that President Ford will have this matter investigated long before any arms limitation agreement is reached.

Inflation is really working on some of the major companies in this country. General Motors announced a new round of layoffs and plant closings beginning in January that will put 24,000 more employees out of work. Industry-wide, almost

112,000 auto workers are now scheduled to be on indefinite lay-offs in January. New cars are not moving and hundreds of acres of land are used by the large motor companies today to store the new cars which are not moving.

In one of the papers this week appeared an article entitled "A Sweet Pickle," which discloses certain information concerning the operation of Sears, Roebuck. In this article the difference was disclosed in the net profit this quarter and the previous two quarters along with the fact that this company has \$4.5 billion on the books in its credit department which must be collected and in order to have enough money to operate on has to borrow hundreds of millions of dollars at the present high interest rates. Dividends recently declared are exceedingly low and this story was quite a shocker as far as I am concerned.

Another matter that has been called to the attention of our Committee on Appropriations pertains to the banking situation in this country. Apparently there are 144 large banks teetering at the edge of the precipice and all may go under within the next 12 months.

Bad investments, poor management, and total disregard for the deposits of its people has brought about this situation. The billion dollar loss by the Bank in New York then brought on certain disclosures concerning other large banks and unless something is done right quick we may have a great many more banks going under. In my home town after building up a nice big juicy melon which was set aside as undeclared profits, the boards of both of the large banks then proceeded to invest millions in new buildings and facilities. Those who purchased the stock and hoped for increases in dividends and value of stock have been disappointed because all they have now in the melon patch is a tremendous big building with hundreds of employees.

It seems to be a habit now for a new President to have to call in one of the members of his cabinet or one of his military leaders and demand that he apologize for some statement made which is considered as a bad ethnic remark. This past week, Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz, who, by the way considers himself quite a clown, and has made a poor Secretary of Agriculture, returned from the International Food Conference which was held in Rome and

in one of his speeches repeated a joke that he heard at the food conference which made light of Pope Paul VI's criticism of wealthy nations which are urging others to control their population by using birth control. Butz said that an Italian woman shortly after reading the Pope's statement said - 'he no plays the game, he no make the rules.' Shortly after Butz' story was told and published by the New York Daily News, Cardinal Cooke of New York issued an immediate statement demanding an apology or Butz' resignation. After spending 15 minutes with the President this past week, Butz immediately apologized and said that he was only repeating the Italian woman's rejoinder to the Pope's criticism.

H. L. Hunt, the Texas billionaire died this week. He had been married twice and had 10 children, six by his first wife. His estate is estimated at about \$2 billion and he was really something. He made his money early in gambling on oil deals and then everything he touched turned to gold.

A report by a court appointed team of doctors that Richard M. Nixon is too ill to testify now at

the Watergate cover-up trial probably means the historic case will end without the testimony of its central figure. The medical team was appointed by U. S. District Judge John J. Sirica and after going to California to examine the former President, made their report back to Sirica yesterday. At the earliest, the three doctors advised Sirica that Nixon could give an oral deposition in California would be around January 6th, and as far as his personal appearance in court here in Washington, it might be sometime around February 16th, but the report of the doctors clearly indicated that his personal appearance could just about be ruled out.

December 2, 1974

When my friend, Sam Rayburn, was Speaker of the House, he always considered Wilbur D. Mills, Chairman of the Ways & Means Committee, as one of the five ablest men in the House. At one time, I believed that he was one of the ablest men in the House and then about five years ago, I witnessed certain changes in this man that made me doubt his sincerity about a number of matters and also I had heard rumors concerning his finances which disturbed me. After his episode at the Tidal Basin with the Argentina strip dancer

you would think that since his people decided to forgive him and re-elected him in the November 5 election, that he would settle down. Today, we meet in caucus and a number of resolutions will be offered increasing the size of the Ways & Means Committee and taking certain other action that will absolutely take away from the Chairman of the Committee, most of his powers. This plan has been underway now for weeks.

Regardless of all of his problems, this weekend, Wilbur Mills, who during the election warned his Arkansas constituents that it was dangerous to go out with foreigners, appeared Saturday night on the stage of a Boston burlesque theater with Argentina stripper Fanne Foxe. Miss Foxe is billed as the Argentina Firecracker and now is known as the Washington Tidal Basin Bombshell. Mills attended both her final Saturday night and Sunday matinee performances and both left together yesterday after the matinee according to the theater manager. Miss Foxe was fished out of the Tidal Basin by U.S. Park Police at 2:00 a.m. on October 7 after police stopped Mills' speeding car and found him intoxicated and bleeding from facial scratches.

I am definitely of the opinion that this man must be unsound mentally.

In today's Washington Post on the front page appears a picture of Mills with his mouth wide open standing beside the stripper outside of her dressing room door at the Boston theater.

Ma Bell seems to be in serious trouble. Last week, a suit was filed by the Justice Department against A.T. & T. and the suit charges violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. This suit seeks to force the company to divest itself of a number of subsidiaries which absolutely place A.T. & T. in a monopoly position in this country and one that to me has been untenable for many years. This suit will go back and forth through the courts and it may require 10 years before it is finally decided. At least this is a step in the right direction.

We had a terrible airplane crash near Washington yesterday. A TWA jetliner, flying here from Indianapolis and Columbus, Ohio in fierce winds and heavy rain crashed and burned in the Blue Ridge Mountains, 47 miles west of Washington, on its approach to Dulles Airport. All 92 persons aboard were killed. The aircraft which had been diverted from National Airport because of the weather shirred off tree tops, struck a rocky outcrop, broke up and

caught fire, scattering charred bodies and parts of bodies over an area about the size of two football fields. This is the first plane crash that we have had around Washington in many years.

So far, we have received no proposals from the President which will help us with inflation and recession. We begin another week today and this will be a short week because the Democratic Charter Convention will meet in Kansas City on December 6, 7 & 8. Each Member of Congress is now automatically designated as a delegate to the National Convention under the change of rules adopted at the last convention. The President should simply face the problems now confronting our country and stop traveling.

In addition, he should have a good house cleaning in the White House and in the Cabinet. Someone should read him the statement that Dean Acheson made a number of years ago when he said "There are those people who listen and there are those who hear".

In the caucus today, we will have a number of new women who have been elected and we will lose some of the ablest women that we have in the House as a result of retirement. Sometimes

when I listen to our lady Members, it reminds me of the statement that Will Rogers made when he said "the time ain't far off when a woman won't know any more than a man".

December 3, 1974

The Democratic caucus started yesterday at 12 o'clock noon and continued until 6 o'clock. The first order of business was the election of a Chairman of the caucus and Representative Phillip Burton, a liberal activist from California defeated his colleague, Representative Bernie Sisk. Sisk is considered a moderate and represents a district in California that is about 50% rural. The 72 new Democrats joined with the liberal Democratic study group and the combination of the two was enough to elect Burton. Notwithstanding the fact that a secret ballot was held, Burton still survived. The next order of business was the re-election of Carl Albert as Speaker and Tip O'Neill as Majority Leader. All of the House officers were re-elected with the exception of William M. "Fishbait" Miller, Doorkeeper. Fishbait has held this job off and on since 1947 and he was defeated by James T. Molloy, Chief Disbursing Clerk in the Sergeant at Arms Office. John Monohan, who worked in the

office of former Speaker John McCormack for several years ran third and Frank Clark, the defeated Member from Pennsylvania, who apparently had enough votes to win before the caucus was held, ran a dismal fourth. The Molloy forces circularized a copy of an article which appeared in one of the Pennsylvania newspapers during the November 5 election detailing the fact that Clark had endorsed the candidacy of the Republican who was running for re-election to the U.S. Senate. This Republican is Schweiker and this was just enough to take away from Clark all of the votes that he had with the exception of about 23.

The next order of business was the adoption of a resolution transferring the committee assignment power to the Steering and Policy Committee. For years, the Ways & Means Committee has been the Committee in charge of Committee assignments and the move was a major defeat for Wilbur Mills. This move, to a great extent, stripped his Committee of its affective control of other Democrats in the House and means that a move to pack his Committee with more liberals by expanding it from 25 to 37 will probably succeed when it comes up in the caucus this morning. There was no question about the action of the caucus because Mills' weekend episode in Boston was just enough to tip the scales against him and his Committee. Pictures appeared in the

newspapers yesterday and also in this morning's paper showing Congressman Mills walking on the stage in Boston this past weekend to join the stripper, Fanne Foxe, who was performing at Boston's Pilgrim Theater. A resolution will also probably be adopted this morning which provides that in addition to the election of the Chairmen of the Standing Committees by the caucus, all Subcommittee Chairmen on the Committee on Appropriations will be elected in the Congress. This will take place in January, shortly after we convene the 94th Congress.

The defeat of Fishbait Miller comes as quite a surprise to a great many people here in Washington who considered him as one of the permanent fixtures in the House of Representatives. It is evident the winds of change have arrived in the House of Representatives and I do hope that the outcome of this caucus does not mean that we will continue battling throughout the 94th Congress on the Democratic side of the aisle.

December 4, 1974

When I was elected a Member of Congress, I never believed that we would return to the days of old Joe Cannon.

Last night in the Democratic Caucus with our 74 new Democratic Members maintaining that they had received a mandate from the people to straighten up the House, a change in the rules was agreed to which provides that the Speaker of the House shall select the members of the Rules Committee. Back in the old days, Joe Cannon took complete possession of the Rules Committee and in addition to himself as Speaker, named one Democrat and one Republican to the Committee. When Champ Clark was elected Speaker, this was one of the first changes made and control of the House was returned to the Members. This change in the rules of the House will operate for at least two years and places the Rules Committee completely under the control of the Speaker. Several Members of the Committee stated during the caucus that if such a change was made, no longer would they want to be on this Committee.

Other moves were made concerning the age of Chairmen with a resolution presented providing that no Chairman could serve after he was 70 years old. By a close vote this was defeated and then also by a close vote, a resolution was defeated providing that no Member could serve for more than three terms as Chairman after they reached 70 years of age. The reason for defeating the

two resolutions was based on the fact that Chairmen now are elected in the caucus and by resolution, presented to the House after the caucus takes action. This caucus action controls the position of Chairmen and a number of Members in the House vigorously contested the resolutions since Chairmen now have to be elected and if age is a problem, they would simply be turned down.

The caucus has adopted resolutions that really take away from the Ways & Means Committee most of its power. A resolution was adopted providing for the election of Subcommittee Chairmen on the Appropriations Committee. This is not too bad and simply means that if a move was made to defeat a Subcommittee Chairman by one of the Members on his Subcommittee, he would have to still live with his Subcommittee Chairman because he would remain on the Subcommittee and be present to contest every action of the Subcommittee if he desired.

We go back in caucus again at 9 o'clock and will continue until we finish. We were in caucus yesterday morning and last night until about 9 o'clock.

Late yesterday afternoon, Wilbur D. Mills, the Chairman of the Ways & Means

Committee was finally convinced that it would be to his best interest to enter the hospital. He finally said to some of his close friends on the Ways & Means Committee that he was sick and then entered the hospital. A move was underway yesterday to notify him that he would be removed as Chairman of the Committee and this move to depose Mills swept through the House following his weekend visit to stripper Fanne Foxe in Boston where he appeared on the stage with her. If Mills decides to resign as a Member of the House, this will end a remarkable 36-year House career of a man who was acknowledged as a master of tax law and who, until recently, was considered one of the five most powerful men in the House. I tried to talk to Mills the day before yesterday but it was absolutely impossible to do so because he was just so nervous and looked so bad, a heart to heart talk could not be held. He said to me that he was not well and that it would take a few days to get his health problems settled.

I understand now that for a period of over two years, Mills has been drinking every night and when we missed him on a few occasions, he was in a Keeley Cure Institute being dried out.

Again, I am glad that Mr. Rayburn is no longer with us at this time because he would simply be heart broken to see what has happened to Wilbur D. Mills.

According to the tape recorder that was recovered following the airplane crash in Virginia the other afternoon, crew members were talking in a professional manner without extraneous conversation and the plane was almost on a level course when it crashed into the Blue Ridge Mountains, killing all 92 people aboard. There was no indication of alarm on the tape and the pilot must have felt that they were at a safe altitude.

The U.S. Government plans to sell 2 million ounces of gold at public auction on January 6. According to Secretary of the Treasury, William E. Simon, gold will be sold for the present only in bars weighing 400 troy ounces--27.5 pounds--worth approximately \$73,100 apiece. A troy ounce is about 1/10th heavier than an ordinary ounce and at current world prices of \$182.75 per troy ounce, the total value of the gold offering would be around \$365.5 million. By law recently passed in the Congress, Americans will be able to own gold bullion for the first time since 1934, starting January 1.

December 5, 1974

After completely stripping the Ways & Means Committee, the 74 new Members in their caucus, assisted by the Democratic Study Group, found out that the Ways & Means Committee, yesterday, met for the purpose of setting up Subcommittees. The House rules change provided for this and the Committee decided to proceed to set up the Subcommittees. The new Members and those that were sponsoring their action decided this had to be stopped because the Subcommittees should not be set up until the new Congress convened and a number of new Members were placed on the Ways & Means Committee. The AFL-CIO invested a little over \$2 million in the new House Members and one of their men found out about the move on the Ways & Means Committee and reported it to the Chairman of the caucus, Phillip Burton of California. Mr. Burton is all powerful now, he thinks, and was quoted in the paper yesterday as saying:

"I heard about it and went to Tip O'Neill with the AFL-CIO guy in tow", Burton said. "He (O'Neill) said he'd talk to Ullman and tell them to unscramble the plan or we'd whack their ass at 6:01 p.m. (when the caucus was scheduled to reconvene). If they try it, we don't want a confrontation, but if they try

it, they'll get creamed."

The caucus convened at 6 o'clock and Obey of Wisconsin and Giaimo of Connecticut were instructed to present the Amendment prepared by Burton and then the fight started. Gibbons, a Member of the Ways & Means Committee from Florida jumped up and accused Obey and Giaimo of lying and they became very much incensed over his language but he refused to retract a single word, informing them that he was present when they were holding a press conference out in the hall, stating that the Ways & Means Committee would be creamed. The Burton Resolution was overwhelmingly defeated and this scared the new Members just a little bit. We met in caucus again this morning at 9 o'clock and did nothing from 9 until ten minutes to 12 when we had to vacate the Chamber so the House could meet. Not enough punishment has been handed out so it was agreed that the caucus would reconvene again on January 13, the day before the 94th Congress convenes.

After vacating the Chamber yesterday at noon, we brought up the Conference Report on the \$8 billion supplemental appropriations bill. The Holt Amendment was in the bill

and this amendment prohibits funding for busing and for any expenditure which would be used for a count of the school population to determine if forced busing was necessary. A number of the new Members who have not been sworn in yet were in the Chamber and several more were sitting in the gallery. We retained the Holt Amendment in the bill, notwithstanding the fact that the coalition of new Members and the Study Group had been assured that there was enough votes on our side to delete this Amendment. Within a matter of about 40 minutes a little coalition was formed on the House floor and the Democrats and Republicans who were in opposition to what was taking place in the caucus joined hands and on a roll call vote, the Holt Amendment was retained, 212 to 176. This was quite a shocker to a number of those who are out to reform the House.

Our new President, Jerry Ford, has not established a very good batting average with his veto messages. The President's record since taking office in August, is 4 of 15 vetoes overturned, the worst percentage since the 1850's when President Franklin Pierce had 5 of 9 vetoes overridden. The Republicans in the House are now saying that President Ford should stop vetoing so many bills because this is simply

bringing on a stalemate which will hurt our country at a time of economic crisis. John J. Rhodes, the Republican Minority Leader said that the President feels he has to dramatize Democratic attempts to increase the budget but Rhodes further said that he thinks the veto power should be used sparingly and especially since the Democratic ranks have swollen to 291 in the House and 62 in the Senate.

December 6, 1974.

Judging from the reports from the Bethesda Naval Hospital, Wilbur Mills is a right sick man. I presume that he will resign as Chairman of the Committee between now and January 14 and may resign as a Member of Congress.

Israel is prepared to compromise with the Arab states in return for peace according to reports that we receive but under no circumstances is ready to return to the lines that existed prior to the 6-day war.

Judge John J. Sirica shut the door yesterday on any testimony from former President Nixon at the Watergate cover up trial and suggested that its importance had been exaggerated because the value of his testimony to the defendants would not have been too

strong because Nixon himself had been named by the Grand Jury as an unindicted co-conspirator in the case. The Judge said that the Jury would have to be instructed accordingly and therefore this mitigated the importance of the former President's testimony. The trial will proceed and should be concluded before Christmas.

A Federal Judge ruled yesterday that the White House tape recordings introduced as evidence in the Watergate cover up trial are public property and can be reproduced for broadcasting. Federal Judge Gerhard A. Gesell ruled accordingly and this is the first time a Federal Judge has ordered release of tapes played during a criminal trial. Radio and television networks filed suit to get access to the tapes and these suits were opposed by attorneys for former President Nixon.

The Federal Power Commission yesterday approved of a natural gas price increase which the Commission says will help the shortage of natural gas. It has been evident to a number of us that there was actually no shortage concerning natural gas but strict control at the wellhead by the Power Commission had brought about a shortage which existed throughout our country.

According to an editorial in today's Washington Post, the environmental vote is right important today. The editorial goes on to state that during the campaign Environmental Action, a Washington political lobby, issued its bi-annual Dirty Dozen list. According to the list, 12 Members of Congress, whose voting records on such matters as clean air, toxic substances and clean water suggested that they were out of touch with the needs and the rights of their constituents. The editorial went on to state that eight of the Dirty Dozen were defeated and among the 8 appears the name of my friend, Frank Stubblefield of Kentucky. I am not too well acquainted with the voting records of the other Members listed--Scherle of Iowa, Mathias of California, Landgrebe of Indiana, Davis of Wisconsin, Zion of Indiana, Hudnut of Indiana and Hunt of New Jersey--but I do know that Frank A. Stubblefield's record in the Congress certainly does not establish him as a candidate for any Dirty Dozen list. He has served on the Committee on Agriculture and serves on a number of subcommittees that pertain to soil and water conservation and preservation of the land, which to me, would take him off of any Dirty Dozen list. I know nothing about the Environmental

Action group but this may be another powerful little group where some man or woman conceals an idea of setting up such an organization, accepting contributions to the extent that a \$50,000 or \$75,000 salary can be deducted, and then start rating Members of Congress.

Here in the District of Columbia, we are averaging about one murder case a day. So far this year, there have been 287 murder cases and this is the all-time record. With only 746,000 people, percentage wise, this must be the highest number of murder cases in the world for a period of 11 months. I can say that most of the murder cases here are finally solved, but some of the most gruesome that I have ever heard of.

Gun control and capital punishment are discussed very much at this time and when crime statistics indicate an increase in crime, we have more pleas for capital punishment and more for legislation which would pay bounties to city residents who surrender to the police workable handguns or sawed off shotguns. Jerry B. Wilson, the former Metropolitan Police Chief, who retired several weeks ago, has written articles from time to time about handguns and hypocrisy.

Most of the Members on the Democratic side are in Kansas City today. The Democrats open their mid-term conference tonight and under the new rules of the Democratic National Committee established following the last convention, Members of Congress are automatically delegates to the National Conventions and to any and all mid-term conventions. It was impossible for me to leave and I hope that this meeting does not end up in a general brawl. Two of the previous meetings were anything but peaceful. Tonight House Speaker, Carl Albert, Majority Leader Tip O'Neill and Senate Majority Whip Robert Byrd will outline specific economic legislative proposals that will be presented to the Congress. A charter will be adopted before the conference concludes and maybe this will decide some of our future problems at our national conventions.

Unusual things happen around the world. Thousands of students and Buddhist Monks seized the body of U Thant, the former Secretary General of the United Nations today and took it to a university convocation hall just before the official funeral procession was about to begin. About 20,000 students and Monks were involved and there was no immediate explanation

for their action. The government announced later that all universities, colleges and schools were closed and it did not say when they would reopen. U Thant died in New York on November 25 at the age of 65. His body arrived in Rangoon on Sunday and was to have been buried in the cemetery this evening.

President Ford's chief energy and economic advisors will meet at Camp David next weekend to prepare a list of stringent policy options for the President and all of them will be aimed at forcing Americans to conserve energy. So far, the President has shied away from any mandatory savings program while a great many of his advisors now believe that more than voluntarism is necessary to help the country out of the economic peril imposed by the high price of oil as well as a potential threat of a new Arab oil embargo. According to my information, discussions will include a mandatory allocations program and a series of taxes with a 10 or 20 cent gasoline tax apparently the most favored. In addition, a limit on imports in either dollar or volume amounts along with a tariff on imports will be discussed. Gasoline rationing will also be a part of the discussion but this apparently is not favored among the administration officials.

December 7, 1974

A right unusual man died yesterday. This man was Richard Whitney who died at the age of 86 and was a long-time President of the New York Stock Exchange. He went to prison for larceny in one of the most sensational scandals ever to shake Wall Street and High Society. He served a little over 40 months and, when released, secured a job as manager of a small farm. He was one of those who attempted to stem the Wall Street Stock Market crash of 1929 and lost everything he had. He was then charged with embezzlement, larceny, and fraud.

The Washington Star-News is attempting to keep its head above water and notwithstanding the new money from Texas, a special membership meeting will be held on Monday to discuss certain economies in the financially troubled newspaper. This announcement comes at a time when we have heard for days now that major layoffs, salary freezes and other cost cutting measures to reduce operating losses must take place or this newspaper will go under. The Post keeps us well versed on the difficulties of its competitor, and I hope and pray

that the Star-News will be able to survive.

When I first arrived in Washington we had 4 newspapers. The Washington Post was about ready to go under and in desperation purchased the old Tribune, and then when Kay Meyers married Phillip Graham it branched out into radio and television. This saved the Post. We then had 3 newspapers. A little over a year ago the Star purchased the Washington News, its equipment and name. Thus one evening newspaper was eliminated and this was not enough to save the Star.

Finally, this closely held family newspaper sold about one-third interest in the Star Company to Joe Albritton, the Texas banker, and this banker took over control of the paper in September. Last month the Star News disclosed that it has lost nearly \$15.5 million over the last 4 years, including nearly \$5 million in 1973. Its losses continue and unless there is quite a change this paper will go under.

A change in the editorial policy and the general philosophy of

the publisher about two years ago was not enough and, in fact, this change hurt the newspaper.

The Attorney General has finally decided to make an investigation of the Tobacco Companies and their holdings and their general dealings with the people, especially as to the purchase of tobacco at the auction markets. This investigation is long overdue.

December 10, 1974

Today we held a ceremony for the unveiling of the portrait of our Chairman, George H. Mahon of Texas. George Mahon was elected to the House of Representatives from the 19th Congressional District of Texas in November of 1934 and has represented that District in each succeeding term of Congress. George is now 74 years of age and apparently is in good health. The ceremony was held in the Rayburn Room and my friend, Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi, the Ranking Majority Member on the Committee on Appropriations was the Master of Ceremonies. Our Speaker, Carl Albert, made a short speech and he was followed by the Majority Leader, Thomas P. O'Neill and the Minority Leader, John J. Rhodes.

Elford A. Cederberg, the Ranking Minority Member on our Committee also said a few words and then the President arrived and made a nice talk eulogizing his old friend, George H. Mahon. The President served with us on our Committee for 14 years. After the President spoke, then our Chairman spoke and our Chaplain, Dr. Edward G. Latch offered the closing prayer.

Following the unveiling of the portrait, which by the way is an unusually beautiful portrait painted by Charles J. Fox and donated by the people of West Texas, we had a nice luncheon in our full Committee room. Our Chairman then presented the 13 Subcommittee Chairmen who were present and the 13 Ranking Minority Members on each of the Subcommittees. In presenting me, my Chairman was unusually nice in his statement and before I stood up to take a bow, my Chairman described my service as a Member of the Committee in right complimentary terms and then ended by saying that I had never missed a day or a vote in Congress. The 30^{sum} odd Texans who were here and attending the luncheon wanted to know how long it had been since I was sworn in as a Member and they were unusually nice to me.

Our old friend, John J. Rooney of Brooklyn, New York, who retires this time was with us and John has cancer and we all went out of our way to be unusually nice to John because he will not be around too long. He is the fighting Irishman of all Irishmen and certainly has been an outstanding Member of our Committee.

Our Chairman, in making his response following the speech of the President said that we have had 39 Presidents and only 24 Chairmen of the Committee on Appropriations. He said that apparently it was much easier to get elected President than it was to be elected as the Chairman of our Committee. One of the cute stories that was told during the ceremony pertained to my old friend, Congressman Andresen of Minnesota who served for a great many years. At the time Mr. Andresen died, we had Carl Andersen also of Minnesota in the House and the clerk, in calling the roll one day inadvertently called the name of Andresen which sounds considerably different from the name Andersen. The story goes that two of the senior Members were standing behind the rail during the roll call and when the clerk called the name Andresen, one of the Members turned

to the other one and said--"By God, if he answers, let's get the hell out of here".

Another story that also was told is--The little platform in the Rayburn Room was directly in front of the portrait of George Washington and in eulogizing our Chairman, George Mahon, one of the speakers said that it was very appropriate for the ceremony to be held in that particular room directly in front of the portrait of the Father of our Country and especially since George Washington never would tell a lie and George Mahon could, but never did.

It was an unusually nice program and my Chairman and his lovely wife, Mrs. Mahon were not only eulogized, but thanked for their many kindnesses and their service over the years.

December 12, 1974

Representative Wilbur Mills of Arkansas announced this week that he would not be a candidate for the chairmanship of the Ways & Means Committee. If this announcement had not been made, the Democratic Caucus that meets on January 13 would have voted him down and he would have been the first Chairman of any standing committee in the

House to be ousted under the present House rules. It may be that Mills will now resign his seat in the Congress.

The Foreign Aid Authorization Bill passed yesterday in the House, 201-190. I voted against this authorization bill and unless there is a change, will vote against the Appropriation bill when it comes out.

Attorney General William B. Saxbe resigned today and will succeed Daniel P. Moynihan as U.S. Ambassador to India. Saxbe, who has served as Attorney General for less than a year and who is the 5th person to hold that job in the past 2½ years, is the first Cabinet level official to resign since President Ford took office in August. Several days ago, the Justice Department instituted an action against A.T. & T. and the Attorney General announced that other investigations are now underway against tobacco, steel and other interests. Last week on television, Saxbe emphatically stated that he would not resign and was on for the duration. He was taking steps in the right direction, but apparently was stepping on some right big toes so Mr. Saxbe will now start wearing striped trousers in India. I am just wondering who will take his place.

President Ford said last night that the economy is in difficult straights but asserted that our country is not in an economic crisis which he defined as something that demands immediate and drastic action. If we are not in an economic crisis, I have never seen one and I only hope that the new President will take another look. On the front page of the Washington papers today which announced that the United States economy was not in a crisis, appeared an article stating that bankruptcy filings here in the metropolitan area had increased 50%. Bankruptcy Court Judges said that for the first time in a long time, there are a number of builders, real estate brokers and others connected with the declining housing industry seeking bankruptcy relief from creditors. These are people who have never come into the bankruptcy courts and to me this clearly shows again that we do have an economic crisis underway in this country.

The new Members are now seeking assignments to the Committees in the House and Mazzoli of Louisville requested that he be given one of the vacancies on the Ways & Means Committee. As a sitting Member, he believed that his chances were good but the Steering Committee refused his request. Our new

Member from the First Congressional District, Carroll Hubbard, asked Carl Perkins and me to help him obtain an assignment either on Banking and Currency or on Armed Services. While taking a short trip to Boston, Massachusetts yesterday, he called the Majority Leader, Tip O'Neill, and said that he would serve on the Appropriations Committee or on the Ways & Means Committee. The vacancies on the Ways & Means Committee were filled and the vacancies on our Committee on Appropriations were also filled and our new Member, Mr. Hubbard was not placed on either Committee. It was a little unusual for him to tell us that he wanted an assignment on one of the two other Committees and then abruptly change his mind and insist upon an assignment on one of the two major Committees in the House.

December 13, 1974

One of the outstanding Senators in the United States Senate today is Senator George D. Aiken a Republican of Vermont. Senator Aiken has served in the Senate for 34 years and was elected during the days of Herbert Hoover. He is retiring this year and in a speech on the floor of the Senate yesterday entitled--"A Confession By a Vaedictorian" he went on to state

that he sincerely regrets the breaking of associations that he has had with the Members of the Senate for the last 34 years and that what he had to say in his last speech should be interpreted as a confession. He said that during his 34-year tenure as a United States Senator he had committed many sins; such as voting for measures that he knew were wrong but in casting his vote, comforted himself with the excuse that the House of Representatives, the Conference Committee or if necessary, the chief occupant of the White House would make the proper corrections. At other times, he voted for measures he said which he did not agree with but did so hoping that this would prevent approval of other measures which he considered much worse. He said he had voted for appropriation bills containing too much money on many occasions and that he remembered during the days when Herbert Hoover was criticized severely over the national debt consisting of \$22 billion. The Senator pointed out that the amount now involved to pay the interest on the national debt totalled over \$31 billion and that the national debt was now nearly \$500 billion. One way he said that we could bring about stabilization as far as salaries and wages are concerned would be for the

President, the Members of Congress and all Cabinet Members together with heads of Departments taking reductions in salaries. He went on to state that the crucial problems facing us today are not new but are far more expansive than ever before. In fact, they embrace the whole world and he did not see much relief for a period of several years. He went on to state that the United States will survive the current period but that the price we will have to pay is up to us. All in all, this was a good speech and a right unusual speech from a right sound Member of the United States Senate. The speech is set forth in the Congressional Record of December 11, 1974.

Pope Paul VI yesterday designated Elizabeth Bayley Seton, the United States' first native born saint and set September 14 as the date of her formal canonization. Mother Seton was an 18th Century convert to Catholicism and later she founded a religious order and set the pattern for this countries parochial school system along with raising 5 children after she was left a widow at the age of 29. Mother Seton will be the second American canonized with the first being Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini, a naturalized United States citizen born in Italy and canonized in 1947 by Pope Pius XII. Mother Seton is this countries first native born saint.

The House Judiciary Committee yesterday endorsed Nelson A. Rockefeller for Vice President, 26-12 and the House is expected to complete the confirmation process late next week. All opposition votes on the Committee were cast by liberal democrats with these democrats stating that the merger of Rockefeller wealth with federal political power would pose a dangerous conflict of interest and would completely discard a fundamental principle of the American system that political power is used to restrain economic power. My guess is that Rockefeller will be confirmed with a substantial majority in the House. I have mixed emotions about this man serving as Vice President and have not fully made up my mind as to how I intend to vote.

Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia, a peanut farmer and nuclear physicist announced for President yesterday. He said he would enter all the Presidential primaries starting with New Hampshire and would challenge Wallace in his home state. The 50-year old Annapolis graduate who is ineligible for re-election this fall to a second consecutive four-year term, made his formal announcement yesterday at the National Press Club here in Washington. So far, Carter is the second entrant in the race following Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, by two weeks.

One other statement that Senator Aiken made in his farewell speech to the Senate was that there should be a law passed providing that no Member of Congress either in the House or the Senate would be eligible for the Office of President until after he had been out of Congress for at least two years. To me, this would save a lot of money and a lot of maneuvering for position which certainly is not for the best interest of our country.

December 16, 1974

We are attempting to pass legislation which will help us during this period of inflation and recession. The President continues to travel all around the world and simply will not face up to the problems that are confronting our people today. He has been in Martinique for several days now meeting with the President of France. We have pictures of him in the swimming pool, taking a plunge and as much as I like him, he had better accept Senator Goldwater's advice and park his airplane and get to work.

During the past week, we passed a public service job bill which provides for \$2 billion in federal funds over the next six months to create

300,000 jobs for teacher's aides, construction workers on public projects, hospital aides and similar employees. The Senate version would authorize \$4 billion to create more than 500,000 such jobs and instead of being for the next six months as provided for in the House bill, would provide jobs all during the year 1975.

The unemployment rate has increased from 6% to 6.5% and this means that the public employment bill must pass and should be funded in a supplemental appropriation bill before we leave here for Christmas.

The recession that we have underway, along with inflation, is the worst since 1947. We have increased federal state unemployment insurance and present legislation would open up 13 weeks of extra benefits and this would mean a total of 39 weeks in most states but in 10 with high unemployment such as New York, New Jersey, Michigan and California, protection would run for a full year.

Walter Lippmann, one of the great newsmen in this country died this weekend at the age of 85. A former Pulitzer Prize winner and recognized by all of the Fourth of State, he was an outstanding newspaperman.

When President Ford took office, the country was deeply and rightly frightened by a waive of inflation that had no precedent since 1947 after the war-time controls expired. The most common forecast that we have here on the Hill for the coming year indicates that the country will suffer the highest unemployment since 1941. As I have stated before, we must enact the emergency jobs legislation as quickly as possible. Our country requires a more rapid expansion of the money supply than the Federal Reserve Board is currently permitting. Interest rates are coming down, but not fast enough. The time has arrived for President Ford to release some of the impounded money for housing construction subsidies and a tax cut is probably necessary. The most effective way to cut would be to reduce the amount withheld for income taxes for those in the middle income brackets and change the tax structure accordingly. Certainly, there is a need for tax reform but we must have emergency tax legislation before general reform could take place. A great many people are still fighting against imposing price and wage control but this may be necessary. We have demands daily that Congress enact a sharp increase in the tax on gasoline of from 20¢ to 30¢ a gallon which would hold down our oil imports. I have my doubts about

this much increase but something must be done to bring about relief insofar as our dependence on imported oil is concerned. This is no time to cut programs like medicaid, medicare and food stamps as the President has proposed.

The General Accounting Office has made an investigation concerning junkets by District of Columbia employees. It seems that from July 1, 1972 until January 1, 1974, the school system spent \$78,600 by top officials and other employees and the Human Resources Department spent \$106,290. Trips to Hawaii and other nice places were on the list.

The Ford Foundation, the wealthiest philanthropic institution in the country announced last week that it will reduce its annual grants over the next four years from \$208 million to \$100 million.

The two-to-one, plus one ratio that will go into effect on Committees in the House beginning in January is causing the Republicans a great deal of anguish. Unless something is done at the White House level, the Republicans may not only lose the Presidency in 1976 but they might end up with some 87 or 89 Members in the House like they did back in the early 1930's. Some

of the ablest Republican Members were defeated this year by perennial runners on the Democratic side with some having made the race as many as three times. A number of us in the House who believe in a strong two-party system are hoping that we have a better balance in 1976 than we do today. The 94th Congress will certainly be a honey.

U.S. Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan is leaving India, apparently in a melancholy mood. He said that his own task is finished but that relations with India are fragile and thin. He went on to say that our country is paying too little attention to India. Half of the people on earth who live in a society with civil liberties, Moynihan said, live in India and this huge Asian democracy must not be ignored. Apparently the Ambassador cannot understand the fascination recently shown by our leaders with China and the disinterest in India. Someone ought to tell Mr. Moynihan that every time there is a crisis throughout the world when we become involved as a matter of real necessity, India announces immediately that it is neutral. It seems to be always neutral in everything with the exception of pushing to the front of the line to receive our foreign aid money and assistance from throughout our fifty states.

December 17, 1974

We are in the process of winding up the 93rd Congress and if everything works well, we should adjourn either late Friday night of this week or sometime Saturday afternoon. We will leave Washington with a great many problems unsolved and when we return on January 14th, should get down to business and start enacting laws which will help us a little more with inflation and the recession that we have underway in this country at this time. The question comes up almost daily as to just how far we should go to stop inflation when unemployment is increasing by leaps and bounds.

Fighting still continues in Vietnam. This was expected all along and for over 30 years now, the people in this little country have known nothing but war. In the last few days, since the beginning of the dry season in the southern part of the country, the Communists have stepped up their attacks on government positions and have given special emphasis to the rice areas of the Mekong Delta. To capture this section and with all of the rice lands involved, it would almost be a death blow to South Vietnam. Casualty lists are somewhat contra-

ictory and unreliable but the latest figure is put at 2,800 on both sides. The main objective in starting up again in the southern part of the country, in addition to the rich rice land areas is to cut off and disrupt communications between the capital and the delta. We have reports daily that the South Vietnamese army is critically short of ammunition and the country as a whole is close to a state of economic collapse. Some of the newspapers and others are saying that this is no time to write these people off and especially since they are willing to defend themselves against communism. In other words, some believe that if the South Vietnamese are showing themselves willing and able to stay the course, the least this country can do is to provide them with the means of doing it.

I am in favor of reasonable assistance, but no more boys to fight in the swamps of South Vietnam.

December 18, 1974

On Thursday of this week, we will vote in the House on the Rockefeller nomination for Vice President. I still receive letters each day requesting that I cast the vote of my people against Rockefeller. Judging from

the information that I have, the nomination will be accepted in the House without too much trouble.

We are now in the process of closing out the Second Session of the 93rd Congress and each day, we have some ten to twenty bills under suspension along with other legislation which requires one or two hours of general debate. Some of the most controversial legislation that we have on the calendar is held until the closing days of the Session and then the basket is tipped over and out come the snakes. You should see them run all over the House Chamber and in many instances, bills are passed that should be killed.

Virginia and I are looking forward to a nice, quiet Christmas and our six little grandsons and our little granddaughter can hardly wait for the arrival of Santa Claus. Three still believe in Santa Claus and four understand that Santa Claus not only delivers the presents under the tree but has to foot the bills and is present when the unwrapping begins. Virginia and I certainly would like to have all seven of our grandchildren and our two daughters and their husbands with us one Christmas and if we are real lucky, one of these days, this will take place.

December 19, 1974

Today in the House, we take up the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller for Vice President.

Carl Albert, our Speaker, has named me as the Member of the House to preside during general debate on this resolution. We go in this morning at ten o'clock and after the Rule is adopted, we will take up the resolution under the Rule which provides for six hours of general debate. This will be a right important event in the House since this will be the second Vice President to be elected by the House under the 25th Amendment of the Constitution. Several weeks ago, I believed that maybe the Speaker would select me to preside and this to me is quite an honor.

December 20, 1974

We completed debate and voted on H.Res 1511 which provided for consideration by the House of Representatives of the nomination of Nelson A. Rockefeller of the State of New York to be Vice President of the United States, about 8 o'clock last night and following the vote, Mr. Rockefeller was sworn in in the Senate Chamber. This was a right important event and after presiding nearly all day long, I turned

the gavel back to the Speaker and reported that general debate had been completed and then the vote was in order. The Members of the House stood and applauded and when I returned to my seat, the Speaker, while the Members were standing, called me back to the podium and presented me the gavel that I used during general debate. I wanted the gavel but hesitated to ask the Speaker and of course was delighted when he called me back and presented it to me. This gavel will now be placed in the wooden container where I have other gavels that I have used while serving over general debate on legislation in the House.

During general debate, the galleries, of course, were almost full at all times and we had a number of young people sitting in the gallery. A young lady decided to jump up and start yelling, contesting the speaker who was addressing the House and I immediately called upon the doorkeeper to remove the offender. She was removed immediately and from that point on we had no difficulty as far as the gallery is concerned.

We recessed at 10 minutes to ten last night and are still in recess at 9 o'clock this morning. We go back in session at nine and hope to complete

this Session of the 93rd Congress by three or four o'clock this afternoon.

December 21, 1974

The Second Session of the 93rd Congress adjourned at 7:00 p.m. last night. Later on, I will review somewhat the major legislation enacted by this Session of Congress. The 93rd Congress will go down in history as one of the most unusual of all time. Watergate, operation under the 25th Amendment with two Vice Presidents elected by Congress and now a President serving who was not elected by the people.

Just before we adjourned, our Speaker, Carl Albert, gave me the gavel that he signed, dated and in his own handwriting set forth the bill that was under discussion while I presided as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. I have placed this gavel in a container with several other gavels that I have received down through the years.

I leave for Kentucky on Sunday morning, December 22 and will return sometime shortly after New Years Day. The 94th Congress will convene on January 14 and we will have our work cut out for us and immediate action must follow on a great many proposals

because we are still suffering from inflation, recession, an energy shortage and with major problems confronting the American farmer.

January 13, 1975

Virginia and I had a real nice Christmas. Celeste and her family and Louise and her family, according to our telephone conversations, all had a nice Christmas, probably with the exception of Chris Murphy. When we called on Christmas Day and talked to all of the grandchildren and Celeste and Louise, Chris informed us that Christmas Day was just only fair and in fact, he was not having a very good Christmas. It seems that he wanted a large motor bike and for some reason or other, Santa Claus failed to make delivery. Of course, he is too young and small for this type of a vehicle but apparently his mother and father did not succeed in convincing him that this was the reason why he did not receive this major request.

We will be sworn in tomorrow for the 94th Congress. Today we will hold another Caucus and during this Caucus, the Members will be elected to the Committees and the

chairmen of all twenty Standing Committees, together with the Chairmen of the subcommittees on Appropriations will be elected.

We are still confronted with inflation, recession, an energy shortage and serious problems confronting agriculture.

On the economic front there is good news and bad news. The good news is that we are finished with a disastrous 1974 which brought a more serious recession than even the pessimists believed a year ago. The bad news is that the recession will deepen in 1975 before things get better. Unemployment now is 7.2% and without any question it is rising steadily and before the first half of this year is over, will reach 8%. The Congress and the President are in the process of passing a quick tax bill which will reduce taxes at least \$10 billion and may go as high as \$20 billion. Prices continue to rise but the 6% to 7% expected increase will be much better than the double-digit inflation that we experienced in 1974. Consumers will receive higher monthly bills for electricity, natural gas and telephones. It appears that interest rates and at least short-term interest rates will

decline steadily throughout the year, but long-term interest rates may not change much. During this year of 1975, housing construction will remain seriously depressed. There is a proposal now by the Administration to increase the import tax on oil which will simply mean that the refiner will increase the price of gasoline.

Corporate profits which jumped nearly 24% in 1973 will continue to climb throughout the recession-ridden first nine months of 1974 and probably drop sharply in 1975. Two years ago the cost of food was the leading factor in inflation and last year it was probably the cost of fuel. It may be that this year it will be the cost of labor.

President Ford is today putting the finishing touches on an anti-recession program which Administration officials say will include a \$15 billion cut in personal income taxes to pump needed purchasing power into the sagging economy.

The Justice Department has started a major investigation into gasoline marketing and price fixing. A special federal grand jury was impaneled in Baltimore last month.

Walter Washington was sworn in as the first elected Mayor of the City of Washington on January 3, 1975. The Home Rule legislation is now in effect and we will see if the Mayor and the 13 elected Members of the City Council can run this City.

The largest ship ever constructed was launched this past week. This is the Massachusetts which is a tanker and is equipped to carry 2,035,000 barrels of crude oil at a speed of slightly more than fifteen knots. This ship will be used in international channels and is too large for any of the ports in this country at this time.

The jury reported in in the Watergate case during the month of December and Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Mardian were all found guilty. Appeals will be taken immediately after Judge Sirica sentences these men. In the meantime, Judge Sirica directed that Dean, Kalmbach and Magruder be released from prison. These men had served nearly a year.

President Ford is now about ready to meet head on with Congress over his additional requests for more money for South Vietnam. Senate Majority Leader Mansfield and Senator George McGovern said immediately after the announcement

that Congress will resist any effort to increase the amount of aid it voted last year.

In an interview this past week, it seems that Gerald Ford is his own best critic. He said that he knows that he lacks that kind of electrifying leadership that FDR gave and he further knows that this country faces critical problems that are going to require very strong medicine. He said that he only asks that the people give him another six months before they make up their minds as to whether or not he can face and solve the tough problems now facing this country. He said that he was always an optimist and he believed that these problems can be solved and unless some improvement is seen in the next six months, he will also be very much disillusioned.

January 15, 1975

I was sworn in as a Member of the 94th Congress yesterday. I have never seen as many children on the floor. Under our rules, new Members and any of the Members can bring their children or grandchildren when they are sworn in as Members.

President Ford delivers his first State of the Union message today. Monday afternoon of this week, the Speaker

held a press conference and announced generally the emergency program that we would submit, hoping to solve some of our inflation, recession, energy and agriculture problems. The proposals offered by the Speaker at his press conference generally agreed upon by most of us, go much further than President Ford will in his State of the Union message today. Since the Congress has decided to move, the President became somewhat incensed, so he appeared on television Monday night at 9 o'clock and discussed most of the matters that he will have in his State of the Union message. He believed that the House, in presenting its program, was trying to get ahead of him so therefore, sudden announcements were issued that the President would speak that night. We agree with the President that one of the major methods to be used today to fight the recession is to cut taxes. The President, in his proposal called for a tax reduction of \$16 billion and will propose additional taxes on oil and natural gas. The President believes that one way to reduce gasoline and fuel oil consumption is by raising prices.

We go back into Caucus tomorrow and the chairmen of the committees will be elected. There may be some surprises at this Caucus meeting but

unless something happens that I do not know about, I still believe the chairmen of the Standing Committees will be re-elected. Quite a contest will take place over the chairmanship of the Committee on Armed Services and the chairmanship of the Committee on Banking and Currency.

The 75 new Members held meetings and on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of last week invited all of the Chairmen and the Chairmen of the Subcommittees to appear. I appeared Friday morning and after speaking for twenty minutes, we had a 25-minute question and answer session. I have never had a better reception in my life and received a letter in yesterday's mail from Dick Ottinger, the Chairman of the 94th Congress' new Members Committee thanking me for my appearance and for a good presentation. I understand that when Hebert appeared, the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee and Wright Patman, the Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee appeared, quite a wrestling match took place.

I have just returned from the House Chamber following the President's State of the Union Message. The President, in his message, made a number of

recommendations that I can accept. The most important statement I believe was the one calling for full cooperation between the Congress and the President and the urgency of joining together to solve the major problems confronting this country which are inflation, recession, the energy crisis and problems concerning agriculture. There was very little applause on the Democratic side and the applause on the Republican side was certainly different from some that I have heard in the past. There are a great many Republicans in the House today who feel unkindly toward President Ford because they blame him on the defeat of some 30 or 40 Republican House Members. His pardon of President Nixon and his veto of several bills played quite an important part in some of the November election campaigns.

Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Rockefeller appeared and Mrs. Ford, by the way appears to be much thinner and she looks right bad. Mrs. Rockefeller looked real good and since both of these ladies have experienced mastectomies, I know that their husbands are very much concerned.

The Chamber was completely jammed and as I have said heretofore, prior to the opening of the House Chamber,

the Secret Service people were there with their german shepherd dogs checking for dynamite and explosives. These dogs were used today from the basement clear up to the third floor and as my little grandsons have said from time to time, they were very much more impressed with what the dogs did than with some of the statements that were made during the State of the Union message.

The Steering Committee met this morning and in a secret ballot session which was right tense, passed upon all of the Chairmen of the Standing Committees. On a secret ballot vote, Wright Patman, the Dean of the House and also the Dean of the Congress, was voted down. He has been a Member now for 48 years. The Steering Committee will recommend to the Democratic Caucus tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock that Representative Patman be defeated and that Henry Reuss, a Member of his Committee from Wisconsin be elected Chairman. In addition to Chairman Patman, the Steering Committee voted down Wayne Hays of Ohio who is Chairman of the House Administration Committee. I do not know who they will recommend to take his place, but this recommendation will also be made at the Caucus tomorrow morning. My Chairman, George Mahon of Texas won, but there were some nine votes against him out of the 24. Hebert of Louis-

iana, the Chairman of the Armed Services Committee won in the secret ballot test 14 to 10. He will be contested at the Caucus tomorrow and may have trouble, notwithstanding the fact that he won on the secret ballot before the Steering Committee.

This announcement was made just before we received the President and there was quite a bit of tension because notwithstanding the fact that a number of organizations are after these two particular Chairmen, it never occurred to us that on a vote, the Steering Committee would be against them. The Steering Committee, by the way, will also meet again and pass upon the thirteen Subcommittee Chairmen on the Committee on Appropriations. So far, there has been rumblings to the effect that two or three may be contested but I still believe that all thirteen will be approved by the Steering Committee and in the Caucus.

January 16, 1975

The next time Webster's Dictionary is revised, I believe that I will suggest to those in charge of the revision that the word decency be stricken. For sometime it has appeared to me that the way we operate in the House, this word should no longer be in the dictionary.

Frank Thompson of New Jersey and Wayne Hays of Ohio have been great friends for some 16 years. They have been members of the House Administration Committee and close friends since becoming members of this committee. Yesterday, the Steering Committee, composed of 24 members, one of whom is Frank Thompson, voted to kick Wayne Hays out as Chairman of the House Administration Committee and to submit the name of Frank Thompson to the Democratic Caucus that meets this morning for election to the position of Chairman of this committee. In this morning's mail, I received a letter from Wayne Hays urging me to cast my vote for him and also a letter from Frank Thompson urging that I vote for him for Chairman of the House Administration Committee. Under the procedure that we will use this morning, which was adopted two years ago, the name of the Member submitted by the Committee for Chairman will be voted up or down first and then the Chairman's name that is to be replaced, or someone else is voted on following the first vote. The two names are not put together. This gives considerable advantage to the Member's name that is first submitted. I presume that we will have a secret ballot and if so, there may be a change in some of the elections before the Caucus this morning.

My Chairman received 18 votes and 6 voted against him. Carl Perkins of Kentucky received 20 with four against him. Diggs, Rodino, Brooks and Price received all 24 votes.

Reuss of Wisconsin was selected by the Steering Committee to be Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency and this means that Wright Patman may be defeated. Another Chairman that is in serious trouble and will be voted on this morning is F. Edward Hebert.

The only effective way to defeat a Chairman under the procedure that has been forced upon us at this time is to have a Member of the Committee willingly take on his Chairman and knock him out of the Chairmanship. Again, I go back to the word decency and still believe that it is not used quite as often and the meaning is certainly not understood by some of my friends. If my Chairman had been knocked off yesterday before the Committee, under no circumstances would I have agreed to join with the dissidents and permit my name to be used this morning before the Caucus. I would simply stand up and say that I intend to vote for my Chairman and would do everything that I could to see that he was elected. My Chairman is a conservative and I disagree with him

a lot of times, but at least he is an honorable man and knows how to present Appropriation bills.

This reform trend has spread over onto the Senate side just a little. Yesterday in the Senate Democratic Caucus, the Caucus voted to require that all conference committees where Senate and House Members thresh out their differences between their legislative proposals, automatically meet in the open unless Members vote to close them. In addition, the Senate Caucus agreed to require all Senate Committee meetings automatically to be held in open session except where Members specifically vote to close them for national security reasons.

It is now 12:25 p.m. and I have just returned from the House Chamber. A rebellion is really under way in the House of Representatives.

The Steering Committee recommended the election of Ray Madden as Chairman of the Rules Committee and a secret vote was taken. All votes, by the way, for Chairman will be by secret ballot. There were 48 votes against Ray Madden and he was elected. There are 292 Democrats attending the Caucus. The Steering Committee next recommended the election of W. R. Poage, of Texas, as

Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture. By secret ballot he was defeated. Representative Poage has been Chairman of this Committee now for about 12 years.

Next the Speaker, as Chairman of the Steering Committee, recommended the election of George H. Mahon as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. My Chairman won but there were 93 votes against him. Next the Speaker recommended the election of Chairman F. Edward Hebert as Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. Mr. Hebert was defeated by about 33 votes. Next the Speaker recommended the election of Henry S. Reuss, the Number 4 man on the Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing for Chairman of the Committee. The Steering Committee voted down the Chairman of the Committee, Wright Patman, and by one vote elected Henry Reuss, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This will be a real contest and this Chairmanship election was passed over until 1:00 p.m.

Next the Speaker recommended the election of Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee for the position of Chairman of this Committee. The vote by secret ballot was taken and so far the outcome has not been announced.

The Speaker next recommended the

election of Carl D. Perkins, of Kentucky, as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor and by secret ballot this vote was taken. The outcome has not been announced up to this time.

At 1:00 p.m. the announcement will be made concerning the election of the Chairman that have been voted upon but not announced at the time we adjourned, and then we will turn back to general debate on the election of a Chairman of the Committee on Banking, Currency and Housing. There may be still some surprises in the offing.

After the Chairmanship of the Committee on Agriculture was voted upon, the Caucus elected the 27 men and women recommended by the Steering Committee. None of the Members were rejected. Next the Committee on Appropriations was elected, after the vote was taken on the Chairmanship, and the 29 former Members were elected along with Alexander, of Arkansas, Koch, of New York, Burke, of California, Murtha, of Pennsylvania, Traxler, of Michigan, Duncan, of Oregon, Early, of Massachusetts, and Baucus, of Montana. When you count Chairman Mahon, I am Number 7 on the Committee now and there are 55 Members.

We next elected all of the present

Members on the Committee on Armed Services, together with the new Members recommended and the same applied to the District of Columbia Committee.

January 17, 1975

Just before the Democratic Caucus finished its business yesterday, House Democrats in total disregard of tradition and their leadership, ousted two conservative committee Chairmen, W. R. Poage, Democrat of Texas, Chairman of the Agriculture Committee and F. Edward Hebert, Democrat of Louisiana, Chairman of the Armed Services Committee. In a bitter fight, the Caucus rejected the Steering Committee's recommendation to remove two other Democratic Chairmen, Wayne L. Hays, Democrat of Ohio, Chairman of the House Administration Committee and Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.

In a very eloquent speech, Jim Wright of Texas defended Wright Patman's record in the House and said that the Republican party would be delighted to hear that the Dean of the Congress, Wright Patman, had been thrown out as Chairman and just for

the information of the Members of the Democratic Caucus, Wright Patman was the man who had raised more money each year for the Democratic Committees' National Dinner than all of the other Members in the House put together. Wright Patman was the man who fought big banks and big business that wanted to control this country and that the big banks in this country would no doubt declare a holiday just as soon as they received the word that Wright Patman had been thrown out of office. This speech was just enough, along with one or two others, to turn this recommendation around and Wright Patman won on a secret ballot.

Ed Koch, a Democrat from New York City, and a right funny Jew and one who is always against the establishment and a very articulate spokesman for the do-gooders, suddenly asked for time to speak in behalf of Wayne Hays. This of course, was quite a surprise and when he went to the well, he started out by saying that of course the Members and the Caucus were surprised that such a nice man and one so well loved by the conservatives, would have the temerity to rise and speak in behalf of Wayne L. Hays. He went on to say that personally, he did not like Hays because Hays had more guts than he did and was a whole lot smarter. Hays, according to Koch, was the only Member

in the House who had really stood up to Common Cause, the organization that not only wanted to run the federal government and the great city of New York, but wanted to take charge in all 50 states. He went on to say that the name of this organization in part was correct. He said that Hays had belittled him on more than one occasion in general debate on the floor but that he still was an admirer of a man who had the nerve that Hays has and especially on the many occasions when he stood up and fought for the Members of the House against such organizations as Common Cause and others that were almost communistic. He said that as a smart, articulate Member of the House, his courage only carried him up to a certain point and then he dropped back for someone braver to take the flag and march off in front of the parade. He said Wayne Hays was this kind of a man and that even though he didn't like him personally, he was for him and intended to vote for him. This one speech was just enough to turn around the Caucus and elect Wayne L. Hays.

The Caucus rejected the Steering Committee's nomination of Poage by a vote of 144 to 141 and rejected Hebert by 152 to 133. On the vote on Patman, Henry S. Reuss, Democrat

of Wisconsin, whose name was submitted to replace Patman, was defeated 146 to 141 and Representative Frank Thompson, Democrat of New Jersey, whose name was submitted by the Steering Committee in place of Hebert was defeated 176 to 109.

Of course, the good old Washington Post carried a cartoon this morning showing a young Congressman with his coattail carrying the words "Representative Government" kicking down the steps of the Capitol Building an old Member of Congress with the crown falling from the head of the old gentleman and the long cape generally worn by Kings marked "Divine Right of Seniority" dragging the steps on the way down and the gavel falling out of the hand of the King, flying off into space. I know that Herblock, the cartoonist for the Washington Post, really enjoyed drawing this one.

We did not finish in the Caucus yesterday because the Caucus now will have to meet again to elect the Subcommittee Chairmen on the Committee on Appropriations. After the Subcommittee Chairmen are elected in the Committee on Appropriations, then their names are submitted by the Steering Committee to the Caucus to be voted up or down.

I felt sorry for Bob Poage and Eddie Hebert yesterday because both are now old men, very able, very conservative and with a great deal of pride. Hebert says that he will take his fight to the floor of the House and insists upon a roll call vote of the Democrats and the Republicans. Poage issued a nice statement and said that if that was the wishes of his Democratic colleagues, he would abide by same. Poage's chances before the full House would be much better than Hebert's but Poage apparently is so hurt over the action of the Caucus, that he intends to fight no longer.

After the gutting is over and the Committees are all organized and we get underway in the 94th Congress, then the fun will really start. The 75 new Members, along with the dissidents in the House who have been riding high, wide and handsome now for about six weeks, will then receive surprises almost daily. In 1964 in the Democratic landslide, 295 Democrats were elected and 140 Republicans. In 1967, 247 Democrats were elected and 188 Republicans. In 1969, 243 Democrats were elected and 192 Republicans. In 1971, 254 Democrats were elected and 181 Republicans. In 1973, 239 Democrats were elected and 192 Republicans,

together with one Independent and three vacant seats at the time we started which were later filled by the Republicans. In 1975, we had 291 Democrats elected and 144 Republicans. According to tradition, 1976 will see quite a turn around and the 95th Congress that will be sworn in in January of 1977, will contain some new faces, but a lot of the new faces that we have seen in the last six weeks will not be present.

Total U.S. economic output plunged at an annual rate of 9.1% in the last three months of 1974. This is the fourth downturn in a row and the most severe in nearly 16 years.

At a breakfast yesterday morning at the White House, the Democratic and Republican Congressional Leaders assured President Ford that they would act promptly on his proposal for a rebate on 1974 income taxes but they warned of possible trouble ahead on other parts of his economic and energy programs.

January 18, 1975

We will have another caucus on Wednesday of next week. We have had dozens of caucuses in the last two years and some of the reforms adopted are long overdue and others are nothing but vindictive actions taken at

when the ultra-liberals have enough votes. Wright Patman, the Dean of the Congress, will again be placed under attack on Wednesday of next week and the Republicans in the House hope that we throw him out. A feeling of resentment is rapidly building up in the South and will probably continue on into the future.

Under the present caucus rules the Steering Committee that is now in charge of making committee assignments and bringing out names to the Caucus for Chairmen of the Committees, is a right powerful group. Secret ballots are taken in the Steering Committee and this means that none of the 24 Members can pop out of the room and notify the press as to just how his colleagues are voting. Apparently they are afraid to vote on the Chairmen except by secret ballot. When the name of Chairman of a particular Committee is called up for action the Steering Committee can vote down a Chairman and then bring out the name of another Member of the Committee and this name is submitted to the Caucus. The Chairman's name is not submitted and he has no opportunity to have his name placed on a ballot to be voted on at the time the name of the Member that is recommended by the Steering Committee is presented for action. All the present sitting

Chairman can do is to ask for a 30 minute general debate and try to bring up enough sentiment to have the name of the one presented by the Steering Committee voted down. If this action takes place then the Steering Committee can either bring out the sitting Chairman's name or can name still another Member on the Committee. This seems to be quite unfair and has caused real trouble during the last week. Some of the Members are in favor of changing the Caucus rules and permit the sitting Chairman's name to be placed on the ballot and voted on at the time the Steering Committee, consisting of only 24 Members, brings out the recommendations. Openness is the word we hear most now, but the action that I have just described really relates to the days of Boss Cannon, back in the year 1909.

January 20, 1975

We continue having Caucuses and according to the newspapers this weekend at the Wednesday Caucus, a move will be made to unseat four of the Subcommittee Chairmen on Appropriations. Whitten of Mississippi, who is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Agriculture-Environmental & Consumer Protection, along with Sykes of Florida, who has Military Construction, Evins of Tenn-

essee, who has Public Works and Passman of Louisiana who has Foreign Operations. According to the contention of some of the 75 new Members, Jamie L. Whitten, has for years favored big farming interests against the family farmer and has only voted with the Democratic Members of the House 37% of the time. Passman, according to some of the new Members, has only voted 39% of the time with the Democrats and Sykes has only voted some 36% of the time. Evins has voted 54% of the time with the Democrats and why they are placing him under attack, I do not know. I have my doubts that any of the Subcommittee Chairmen will be defeated, but time will tell. It is clearly evident that the Democratic Caucus is in command and that many scars will remain and be carried throughout the 94th Congress.

The Washington papers now are making much to do about finding ways to pay for metro construction. They are insisting that the Federal Government put up another \$1.3 billion which will be matched by \$134 million from local governments. This, the editorial and news items say, will be adequate to complete the 98-mile system. For years, I maintained that the system would cost between \$4 and \$5 billion and now believe that the figures will go as high as \$6 billion.

For several years, National Airlines has had a cute ad on television entitled "Come Fly With Me". There is always a pretty stewardess asking the public to come fly with her and it is a very attractive form of advertising. Several weeks ago, Governor Mandel of Maryland accepted a plane ride on a plane owned by Steuart Petroleum Company and an all-expense trip to Jamaica. His lovely new wife went along and now in today's Washington Post appears an editorial entitled "Come Fly With Me". It is really a cute editorial and is a take off on the National Airlines ad.

President Ford has decided to take his case to the people. For the next several weeks, he will speak throughout the country insisting that his proposal for a tax reduction and his proposal for an increase in oil imports be accepted. In my opinion he will have a hard time selling the additional increase in import duty on oil, which of course would increase the price of gasoline from 10¢ to 30¢ per gallon.

The FBI and CIA are now under attack. At Hoovers death, it was finally disclosed that he had files on a great many Members of Congress

and now it appears that the CIA also has maintained files on the personal life of a number of Members of the House and the Senate. Women and whiskey and other matters appear in some of the files according to statements made recently by retired employees of the agency. Demands are now being made that Congress investigate both agencies.

A new Constitution for the Peoples Republic of China was announced on Sunday and under this Constitution the Office of President is abolished. Command of the Armed Forces has been transferred to the Chairman of the Communist Party Central Committee. The previous State Constitution was promulgated in 1954 but the position of President has remained vacant since Liu Shao-Chi was purged during the cultural revolution of 1966-1969. The Chairman of the parties Central Committee is Mao Tse-tung.

January 21, 1975

It now appears that President Ford has made up his mind that all during the 94th Congress, he will have one confrontation after another with the Congress. This especially applies since we have so many ultra-liberals on the House side. The

President's closest advisors in the White House seem to be unanimous in their advice to the President that he must simply take a hard line with the Congress and let the mistakes be made hoping that 1976 will correct the situation.

Former President Eisenhower's only son, John Eisenhower, said in an interview recently in Philadelphia that former President Nixon was guilty of complicity in the Watergate scandal. Eisenhower said that he did not believe that Nixon was an innocent man hounded out of office by the press. He went on further to say that if he had been popular with the media and with the intellectual community, he would have been treated with more charity and that in his opinion, Nixon acknowledged his guilt by accepting President Ford's full and unconditional pardon. John Eisenhower's son, David, married Julie Nixon, and according to my information John Eisenhower has never been very fond of Nixon. I recall when President Eisenhower, one weekend, was just about ready to take Nixon off of his ticket.

This morning at 10:00 the full Committee on Appropriations will meet and at that time we will be assigned to our Subcommittees. Under the new

Caucus rules, each Member may be grandfathered in on two Subcommittees and is not eligible to make a third selection until all of the new Members have made their choice and have received two Subcommittee assignments. Yesterday, we had to indicate the third Subcommittee that would be dropped and the 17 of us who were on three Subcommittees indicated our preference. I retained the Chairmanship of the D.C. Budget Subcommittee and my No. 2 position on the Labor-HEW Subcommittee. I had to throw into the pot Agriculture.

During the meeting, Jamie Whitten of Mississippi requested that all of the agencies, other than the Department of Agriculture be deleted from his Subcommittee and since there was no objection, the Environmental Protection Agency, Consumer Council, Trade Commission and water grants from the Department of HUD were all deleted. This move was made to try to save Whitten in the Caucus which takes place tomorrow. The new Members say that Whitten, Sykes, Evins and Passman must be defeated.

January 22, 1975

We have been in Caucus all day. The first order of business was the vote on the Chairmanship of the Committee on Agriculture. Bob Poage of

Texas, the present Chairman did not receive enough votes at the time of our last Caucus and the Steering Committee submitted the name of Tom Foley of Washington. Before the vote was taken, Bob Poage, who has been a Member of the House now for over 40 years, asked to be recognized and made one of the nicest speeches I have ever heard. He said that he was willing to abide by the decision of the Caucus and that he would vote for Tom Foley, the Number Two man on the Committee for the Chairmanship. He said he intended to stay in Congress and would work with the new Chairman when he was right and when he was wrong, he would vote against him. Poage received a standing ovation.

Next we took up the Chairmanship of the Committee on Armed Services. Hebert of Louisiana, the present Chairman, was not nominated by the Steering Committee and when the name of Mel Price of Illinois, the Number Two man on the Committee was presented Hebert made a similar speech as Poage and also received a standing ovation. The next order of business was the election of the Chairman of the Committee on House Administration. The Steering Committee recommended Hays of Ohio and Thompson of New Jersey was nominated from the floor. Hays won on a secret ballot and there is considerable bitterness over this campaign.

Next we had the Chairmanship of the Committee on Banking and Currency. The Steering Committee recommended Wright Patman, the present Chairman and the Dean of the Congress. A number of speeches were made and the vote was then taken on the three names submitted. Patman of Texas, the Chairman, Henry Reuss of Milwaukee, the Number Four man on the Committee and Bob Stevens of Georgia, the Number Seven man on the Committee. Reuss lead on the first ballot and under the rules of the Caucus, the third and lowest man dropped out, which was Stevens of Georgia. Then, apparently, the 58 votes that Stevens received went to Reuss and he won on the final vote. The Chairman, Wright Patman, of Texas, was unseated as Chairman and this was the second Texan unseated today in the Caucus.

There is considerable bitterness in the House at this time and we will hear a whole lot about the final votes on these particular Chairmen all during the 94th Congress.

After voting on the balance of the Chairmen of the twenty Standing Committees, then the vote was taken, after nominations were made, for each of the thirteen Subcommittee Chairmen on Appropriations. We were all re-elected without too much trouble. My

vote was 205 to 16. Whitten of Mississippi had 56 votes against him and Passman of Louisiana had 72 votes against him. The balance of the Subcommittee Chairmen had very few votes cast against them.

January 23, 1975

Today the House will be called upon to ratify the action of the Caucus concerning the election of the thirteen Subcommittee Chairmen on the Committee on Appropriations and the Chairmen of the four Committees that have been before the Caucus during the past week. Representative Price of Illinois will be presented as the new Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. Representative Tom Foley of Washington will be presented as the new Chairman on Agriculture and Representative Henry Reuss of Wisconsin will be presented as the new Chairman on Banking and Currency. Wayne Hays of Ohio succeeded in winning as Chairman of the Committee on House Administration and he will be presented as Chairman of this Committee.

It appeared for several days that Otto E. Passman and Jamie L. Whitten both from the deep south would be in serious trouble when the thirteen Appropriations Subcommittee

Chairmen were up for election. Passman won 159-72 and Whitten won 187-56.

There were 94 votes against my Chairman, George Mahon of Texas and with Poage and Patman of Texas being unseated, my Chairman has a whole lot to think about between now and the 95th Congress. The liberals have just about taken over the House but time will tell as to just how strong their leadership is.

The two largest bankrupt railroad lines in the northeast issued warnings yesterday that they will have to start shutting down service in a few weeks unless Congress grants a \$200 million subsidy. The Penn Central and Erie Lackawanna railroads are in serious trouble and presented their problems yesterday to a Senate Subcommittee.

A crowd estimated at about 25,000 people consisting of women and school age children massed before the Capitol yesterday to commemorate by protest what their leaders call a day of infamy which was on the second anniversary of the Supreme Court's abortion decision. These people contacted Members of the House and the Senate and in each office left a dozen roses

with an urgent plea that abortion must be stopped in this country. A great many signs were carried containing the words "Adoption not abortion".

January 24, 1975

Representative John Jarman of Oklahoma, who has been a Member of the House since 1950 changed his party affiliation yesterday from Democrat to Republican. He issued a statement to the effect that the Caucuses that have been held by the Democrats were very similar to the tactics used by the ultra liberals and dissidents to bring about the nomination of George McGovern for President which almost destroyed the Democratic party. He said that he had taken all that he could take and that he was going over to the Republican party. In the November election last year, with a District that has about 70% Democrats, he won by only about 51%. Some of the other Oklahoma Members tell me this morning that for several years now Jarman has considered changing his party affiliation and the narrow squeak that he had last November along with the fact that he is experiencing difficulty on his Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in holding the Chairmanship of his Subcommittee, was just

enough to bring about the change. According to the papers today, he has talked with the President and with the Minority Leader in the House, John Rhodes and both have welcomed him into the Republican party.

The Caucuses that we have held have brought about some change that to me was very much in order but I do hope now that we can move on because we have enough hard feelings to carry on into the First Session of the 94th Congress to last us for some time.

The first major bill that will be brought before the House will be a House Joint Resolution which seeks to prohibit imposition of tariffs, fees and quotas on oil imports. This Resolution seeks to prohibit the President from operating under existing law which would authorize him to place a \$3 per barrel import tax, thereby resulting in about a \$7 billion increase in the price of oil.

January 27, 1975

The escapades of Wilbur Mills certainly played a major part in some of the reform moves that have been approved during the past three weeks.

In addition, his actions placed all of us in the House in an embarrassing position and to a certain extent brands Members of Congress generally. Yesterday, on the front page of the Washington Post appeared the picture of Representative Otto E. Passman, Democrat of Louisiana, Chairman of the House Subcommittee that oversees foreign aid appropriations. In this article, he was accused of aiding at least one of the largest private United States rice trading companies in this country in the sale of rice abroad. By innuendo, he is accused of violating his obligations as a Representative and the charges may be true. After just squeaking through the Caucus, it seems to me that my old friend, Otto E. Passman, should now decide that it is time to retire as a Member of Congress. All down through the years, he has participated in certain matters that have been questioned.

This is another instance of where one Member, in total disregard of the balance of us, places us in an embarrassing position and if the Ethics Committee in the House notified him immediately that his case was under study, this would be proper action.

The media cannot decide exactly as to whether or not the reform in the House was as complete and successful as claimed by some of the reformers. For instance, in an editorial in the Washington Post today entitled "Realignments in the House" we find the following:

"Talk about party realignment is being heard again, especially among Republicans who would like to enlist some conservative Democrats to augment their ranks. The House GOP did gain one convert last week when Rep. John Jarman, a 12-termer from Oklahoma, switched in protest against what he called the 'takeover' of the Democratic caucus by liberals intent on 'nullifying the seniority system' and purging chairmen who 'do not adhere to the liberal party line.' His move gave House Republicans a psychological boost but otherwise makes little difference--for there is little sign of wholesale defections by disgruntled Democrats.

For one thing, Rep. Jarman's description of the caucus' performance is rather overblown. House Democrats--not overnight, but over several years--have indeed junked the seniority system as an automatic free ride to power for those who survive

longest in the House. The new rules for holding chairmen accountable, and the caucus' dramatic uses of those rules, may shock some senior members who have been used to operating as they please. But there is little evidence of an all-out, indiscriminate purge. The two conservative chairmen who were ousted, Reps. W.R. Poage (D-Tex.) and F. Edward Hebert (D-La.) had neen conspicuously arbitrary. The third chairman who lost, Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.) is no conservative at all, but an old-style populist whose major problem is his advanced age. The bitterest fight was that of Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio) to keep his House Administration Committee post--which was not an ideological scrap at all.

If the liberals had really been on a rampage, there might have been major changes on the Appropriations Committee, since many of that panel's leaders would surely flunk a liberal litmus test. But no changes there were made. The caucus even re-elected two very capricious appropriations subcommittee chairmen, Reps. Otto E. Passman (D-La.) and Jamie Whitten (D-Miss.)--although Rep. Whitten, under fire, did give up jurisdiction over environmental and consumer affairs.

As Rep. Whitten's maneuver suggests, most of the deposed or threatened elders seem inclined to accept,

however grudgingly, the new facts of life in the House and make the best possible accommodations with the factions now in command. Some recriminations and bitterness are inevitable--but, again, these will not necessarily be ideologically based. One major question, for example, is whether Rep. Hays will use his control of House perquisites to strike back at Rep. Frank Thompson (D-N.J.) and the others who unsuccessfully challenged him. Another show worth watching will be the performance of Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Cal.), the newly elected caucus chairman, who has already served notice that he intends to run for Majority Leader whenever Speaker Carl Albert retires and the present Majority Leader, Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill, moves up. Finally, there are already signs that those who do profess to be 'liberals' are far from being united on energy issues, foreign policy and other matters.

All this is not to say that there have been no major changes in the House, but rather that the rise of the caucus and its exercise of power are far more complicated and far less predictable than notions of a 'liberal takeover' would imply. In long perspective, the most telling point may be that all these changes have occurred without a formal party realignment or much more ideological clarity within the

Democratic ranks. Now that the rigid, artificial framework of the seniority system has been removed, the House has become far more dynamic and representative. But that means, among other things, that it reflects more candidly the sprawl and contradictions of American politics today."

My old friend, John C. Kluczynski serving his 13th term, died of a heart attack on the way to the airport in Chicago this morning. For a number of months now, he had been sick and only recently had cataracts removed from both eyes. He was a right humorous sort of a man and was always loyal to the Mayor of the City of Chicago. For many years, he was a member of the Chicago City Organization and it was generally understood that he would remain in Congress until he died. We all called him "Klu" and he was right proud of the fact that he was Polish. He always enjoyed Polish stories and while reading a speech prepared by one of the speech writers for the Committee on Public Works several years ago, reached a point in the speech that was not only difficult to read, but simply did not make good sense. He stopped reading and looked up at his audience and said in a matter-of-fact kind of tone—"Just to think, we pay these damn speech writers good money too."

January 28, 1975

We are off on another witch hunt here in Washington. With over six million unemployed and the unemployment rate rapidly advancing to 8%, we have decided that the CIA and the FBI should receive a vigorous investigation. The Senate has set up an 11-member committee with a \$750,000 budget to undertake the job. Majority Leader Mansfield has named Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, Chairman along with five other Democratic Senators; Hart of Michigan, Mondale of Minnesota, Huddleston of Kentucky, Morgan of North Carolina and Hart of Colorado. The Republicans will now name five Members and the witch hunt will really get underway. A former CIA official disclosed several weeks ago that the CIA had made a number of investigations in this country and had been guilty of spying on civilians. Allegations have been made from time to time that the FBI has exceeded its prerogatives and had collected derogatory information on Members of Congress. The fact that the CIA has operated some in our country instead of confining its action abroad and that the FBI has certain information concerning Members of Congress has set up a hue and cry for investigation of these two particular agencies.

As one Member of Congress, I have never believed that there was anything wrong with the FBI having a complete record on every Member of the House of Representatives and the United States Senate. By innuendo, it has been alleged that some of the private habits of certain Members of Congress have been delved into by the FBI and that during the days of Hoover the files were bulging with information on certain Members of Congress.

With thousands of people being dismissed from their jobs, every week, and with the energy shortage more serious today probably than at any time in the past year, we have other matters much more important than the necessity for a comprehensive investigation into abuses of power by the CIA and the FBI.

It seems to me that those who are out to make this big investigation should start reading the newspapers because if they do, they will see in today's newspaper that the United States recorded its second worst trade deficit in history last year as skyrocketing oil prices overcame the beneficial impact that two devaluations of the dollar had on exports. The Commerce Department reported yesterday that imports exceeded exports by \$3.07 billion even though the value of exports was nearly twice as big as

in 1972, when our country had its record deficit of \$6.44 billion. The Secretary of Commerce said that without the burden of tripled petroleum import costs, our trade account would have been on the surplus side by some \$14 billion. We go back again to the energy crisis when you see that we have suffered our second worst trade deficit in the history of this country.

In addition, we find on the front pages of the newspapers today, stories to the effect that labor costs per unit of production rose more last year than at any time since the federal government started keeping records in 1947. This information was released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics yesterday.

In addition, we have been informed on the Hill that President Ford's energy conserving program would cost the average family of four an additional amount of \$345. Since signing the import tax increase, statements have been coming from the White House that in order to prevent a confrontation with the Congress, the President was ready to make concessions and there has been much traveling back and forth from the White House to the Capitol.

The situation today in this country, to me has clearly established the fact that the American people are will-

ing to tighten their belts if the leadership will only provide a program that appears to be one that will solve our present-day problems. Generally speaking, our people must, to a great extent, change their way of living because there must be reductions all along the line as far as cost of living is concerned.

January 29, 1975

Apparently, the revolution is still on. Harley O. Staggers, (D-W.Va.) Chairman of the full Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was defeated yesterday by Representative John E. Moss (D.Cal.) for the subcommittee chairmanship on special investigations. Staggers, the Chairman of the Committee, with the full Committee present, lost on the seventh ballot by a vote of 15-13 after one unidentified Member on the secret ballot vote switched to break a sixth ballot 14-14 tie. Then the Banking and Currency Committee, which was in session also decided to continue its little revolution. Representative Leonor K. Sullivan (D.Mo.) and the third Ranking Democrat on the Committee was ousted from her subcommittee chairmanship on Consumer Affairs on a secret ballot vote of 13-15. Frank Annunzio (D-Ill) was installed as the Chairman of this subcommittee. Staggers'

defeat was certainly a blow to his prestige and the action of the Banking and Currency Committee is now being discussed by Members on all of the other Committees.

If the same procedure is applied to the Committee on Appropriations, several of the 13 subcommittee chairmen would have to give up their chairmanships because there are Ranking Majority Members ahead of them on the full Committee who do not have chairmanships. For instance, I serve on Labor-HEW Subcommittee and am Number Two on this Subcommittee by virtue of this being my seniority on the Subcommittee. The Subcommittee Chairman, Dan Flood, (D-Pa.) is below me on the full Committee and I would automatically take over as Chairman of his Subcommittee. Other Members, such as Gialmo of Connecticut, Smith of Iowa and Flynt of Georgia would also take over Subcommittees because they outrank several who do have Subcommittee Chairmanships and are below them in seniority on the full Committee. Much bitterness results from one of these Committee fights and I still believe that we will see the results all during this 94th Congress.

President Ford yesterday requested \$522 million more in military aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia and was

immediately advised by the Leadership here on the Hill that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get the funds approved. I certainly do not intend to vote for this request.

A bomb exploded in the main State Department building early today, shortly after an organization, calling itself the Weather Underground Organization issued threats against the Department and against Defense Department installations in California. There were no injuries in the blast which occurred at about 12:56 A.M. The device exploded in a third floor restroom and collapsed walls separating it from an adjacent restroom and a hallway. The explosion ruptured several pipes and water damage was said to be heavy. There apparently is some structural damage to beams above the blast site but there were no immediate reports of just how extensive it might be. The State Department building is a beautiful building and has only been occupied now for about 12 or 14 years.

Mr. Kissinger is off traveling again. This time, he said that he believed it would be possible to reconcile conflicting Egyptian and Israeli demands and that he will soon go to the Middle East to determine the real possibilities of a

solution. Kissinger said his trip would be exploratory in nature and will take place soon. I hope that he keeps his promising a little better under control on this trip because a number of his promises will not be carried out by the Congress.

January 30, 1975

Representative Wilbur D. Mills has been discharged from Bethesda Naval Hospital where he was treated for nearly two months for alcoholism. On December 30, Mills issued a statement admitting he was an alcoholic and blamed his drinking for his involvement with the stripper. Almost overnight, this Representative gave up a power base that at one time was tremendous in the House.

When I was first elected a Member of Congress, Hopkins County was one of the strong Democratic counties in the Second Congressional District. Shortly after I was elected a Member of the House, I met a young boy by the name of Eddie Whitfield, who at that time, was about 14 years of age. He informed me the first time that I met him that someday he would either succeed me in Congress or would succeed one of my successors. For several years, he wrote to me about different matters in our District

and about his desire to be a politician and to represent the Second District in the Congress. In one of my files in the storeroom, there are a great many letters that I answered from time to time to Eddie Whitfield and when I would speak in Madisonville or have any engagement in Hopkins County, one of the first people to greet me each time was Eddie Whitfield. After Hopkins County was removed from the Second Congressional District and placed in the First Congressional District, I lost contact with Eddie but every once in a while would hear from him through one of my friends in that section of Kentucky. I was advised that he had completed his college career and was studying law. I next heard that he was practicing law and had decided to run for the Legislature. In order to widen his power base, he decided to move to Christian County, which is an adjoining county to Hopkins and engage in the practice of law. Two years ago, he beat the candidate that was backed by the political powers in Christian County and is now serving in the State House of Representatives. Eddie's grandfather was a State Senator and he was always proud of Eddie and said that if Eddie could live and continue receiving the right kind of encouragement, someday he would be a Congressman.

Last night, our new Governor, Julian Carroll was in Washington and he invited the Democratic Members of the House and the Senators from Kentucky down to dinner. We had a real nice dinner and our new Member from the First Congressional District, which is the District that contains Hopkinsville and Christian County, was absent. This new Member is Carroll Hubbard and he has, within the last week, been elected as Chairman of the 75 new Members in the House and shortly after arriving, joined with the new Members in all of their Caucuses in reforming the House. As I have said before in this Journal, I voted for some of the reform provisions, because I believed that they were necessary and others I voted against. The 75 new Members have really been swinging themselves around since they arrived and have, in a great many instances, created animosities that will last now for several years. Shortly after he arrived, I had an opportunity to talk to Carroll Hubbard a little but the advice I gave him was completely ignored and in fact, he clearly indicated to the rest of us from Kentucky that he had decided the road that he wanted to travel and that he did not need help from any of us. Hubbard used the churches throughout the First Congressional District and everything else in a real ugly cam-

paign to defeat Stubblefield. Labor put up most of the money in his campaign and since the First Congressional District is a very conservative district, a great many people in Kentucky were surprised when he beat Stubblefield.

Eddie Whitfield is an aggressive young lawyer with a nice personality and he is a Methodist and can use the same kind of campaign tactics if necessary that were used by Hubbard against Stubblefield. His people on his Father's side are strong Baptists, the same as Hubbards family and on his Mother's side, there are Methodists. Early in life, Eddie Whitfield decided that he would travel the Methodist route and he is known throughout the 23 counties in the Methodist Church as a young, aggressive churchgoer. Last night at the Governor's dinner, one of the first announcements made to us by the Governor was the fact that Eddie Whitfield had publicly announced yesterday in Kentucky that he was a candidate for Congress in the May 1976 Primary against Carroll Hubbard. Unless a number of others decide to enter the campaign, this should really be an interesting race to watch.

January 31, 1975

Now, those who have been released from prison in the Watergate case are earning considerable money for lectures. Former White House Aide, and Watergate conspirator, John W. Dean, III will speak Sunday at the University of Virginia, which will be his first appearance in a six-week college lecture tour certain to gross more than \$100,000. Dean will receive \$4,000 for his appearance at the University of Virginia and the next day will speak at Georgetown and the University of Maryland receiving \$3,000 from each institution. A number of Georgetown students are signing petitions objecting to Dean's appearance at Georgetown because these students believe that they are encouraging the practice of rewarding serious and sensational crime when lecture fees are paid to the offenders. Over 1,000 faculty members and students have signed the Georgetown petition.

Another close associate of former President Nixon is apparently making money too. Former President Nixon's White House Press Secretary, Ronald L. Ziegler, is on a lecture tour and his fee of \$2,500 for a speech at Boston University was turned down and he was

only offered \$1,000 plus expenses. Ziegler then notified the University that he had rearranged his schedule and it was impossible for him to speak at Boston University.

These people, in my opinion, will be well received from the standpoint of the size of the audiences at different places throughout our country and probably will have a good time making this money. As I have said before in my Journal, "Vantage Point", written by former President Johnson, cost the publishers several hundred thousand dollars and was a dismal failure.

We now have a constitutional question before the Judiciary Committee concerning the publication of a complete report on Richard M. Nixon's role in the Watergate affair. Watergate Special Prosecutor, Henry S. Ruth, Jr., said yesterday that he doubted the constitutionality of any legislation that would authorize him to issue a complete report on Nixon's role in the Watergate affair. Ruth's position was supported by former Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski, who had said last fall that before any such report could be published, legislation would be necessary. The combined testimony of Ruth and Jaworski appeared to reverse completely the position taken in May, 1973 by the

original special Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, who said that all the facts concerning persons in high office ought to be brought out in connection with the Watergate affair.

The acceptance of a pardon by Nixon, of course, is a clear indicator of his guilt but these men may have something from the standpoint of the constitutionality of such a law.

Virginia still says that before I leave Congress, she hopes I am able to pass one or more of the ratings that are issued yearly by the Americans for Democratic Action, Americans for Constitutional Action, AFL-CIO and others. The liberal group, which is the ADA, gives me a rating of 48% for the year 1974 which is a drop of 4%. An article appeared in the Owensboro, Kentucky paper with the headline--"Liberal Group Rate Huddleston, Massoli Highest". This section of Kentucky is certainly not an ultra-liberal section by any means and my rating by this particular group should be well received. Mazzoli received a rating of 75%, Breckinridge, 48%, Perkins, of all people and I almost fell out of my chair when I read this--a rating of 43%, since he is ultra, ultra liberal; Snyder 17%; Carter 9% and former Representative Stubblefield 4%. Here again, I am below 50% and then the Americans for Constitutional Action hand out their

rating and I received 33%. Maybe one of these days I will pass one of these ratings and receive at least 51%. By the way, Carter received 54% under the Americans for Constitutional Action; Mazzoli and I 33%; Breckinridge 27% and Perkins 20%.

February 1, 1975

During the Caucus meetings held on December 2 through December 5, 1974, our Speaker, Carl Albert of Oklahoma was unanimously elected and Thomas P. O'Neill of Massachusetts was unanimously elected Majority Leader. Representative Phillip Burton of California was elected as Caucus Chairman.

During the Caucus meetings, the power of making Democratic committee assignments was transferred from the Ways and Means Committee to the Steering and Policy Committee. The Ways and Means Committee was increased from 25 to 37 Members. In addition to requiring that the Chairmen of the twenty Standing Committees be elected, the laws were changed to provide also that the Appropriations Subcommittee Chairmen be approved by Caucus vote. The Speaker was allowed to nominate Democratic Members of the Rules Committee subject to Caucus approval. It was agreed that House Committees should have a two to one

plus one Democratic majority which reflects the net gain of 43 seats in the November election. A proposal requiring Committee Chairmen to retire at age 70 and to limit Chairmen to serving no more than three terms was defeated. A proposal was rejected which provided for the election of the Democratic Whip. These were the major Caucus acts and we are now operating in the 94th Congress under the new changes.

We have an unusual contest going on in the Senate over the New Hampshire seat. When the Senate refused initially to seat either Louis C. Wyman Republican or John A. Durkin, Democrat as U.S. Senator from New Hampshire, it acknowledged that serious questions surrounded the certification of Wyman as winner of the closest Senate contest in American history. Wyman immediately protested that the Democrats in the Senate were trying to steal the election. However, the Republican Governor of New Hampshire initially certified Durkin the winner by 10 votes on the basis of a recount conducted by the Republican Secretary of State. Wyman secretly telephoned Governor Thomson who was attending a GOP governors conference in St. Louis and Thomson immediately flew back to New Hampshire and convened

the five-member Executive Council which is composed of all Republicans and the Council immediately moved to rescind the original certificate. A Federal Court moved to block alteration of the original certificate but the Governor went ahead anyway. The Ballot Law Commission, composed of two Republicans and a Democrat who held a state job and whose son was on Wyman's payroll then declared Wyman the winner by two votes. Durkin was legally certified as the winner until the Governor reversed the original certification. The Rules Committee in the Senate has now recommended that the 400 votes in controversy be recounted. These 400 are disputed ballots.

There is also a contest on regarding the Oklahoma seat. Serious questions also surround the certification of Republican Henry Bellmon as winner over Democrat Ed Edmondson. Ed Edmondson formerly served in the House with us and is an outstanding man. State law in Oklahoma requires provision for straight-ticket voting but the voting machines in Tulsa County lacked the straight-ticket lever even though the machines carried instructions for straight-ticket voting. Voters reported considerable confusion on election day and Bellmon picked up just enough votes in Tulsa County to

overcome Edmondson's 18,000 vote lead from the other 75 counties. Edmondson is now appealing the outcome.

We have now changed the rules to strengthen the Democratic party leaders and to reflect the will of the Democratic majority. In addition, we have announced an economic program. It is now time to start this 94th Congress underway.

Just before the 93rd Congress adjourned, our Speaker appointed a ten-member task force from the Steering and Policy Committee to propose a Democratic economic package. The Democratic economic program announced by Speaker Albert at a news conference on January 13 of this year calls for tax relief and reform; low interest rates by increasing the supply of credit and by allocating credit. A program for combating unemployment by additional public service jobs and an emergency housing program. In addition, an emergency energy conservation program was announced and suggestions made for holding down prices by strengthening the wage and price stability legislation and in addition programs for the needy were set forth. This Democratic economic program contains more suggestions

than fixed and set procedures for incorporation in legislation. We all know what the problems are and the question now is when are we going to move to solve them.

At the beginning of this Session, the holiday periods and recesses were announced and we are now at the threshold of the first recess period. This is the Lincoln Day Address, which has been held for many years and beginning on February 6 and extending to February 17 the House is supposed to be in recess so that the Republican Members can travel throughout their states eulogizing our former President. The media is calling attention to this recess period daily and with no solutions so far for the energy crisis and recession, this is one recess period that should be waived. A great many of the Members who take advantage of the recess to return home may be confronted by their constituents with questions such as why are you here when your problems are in Washington, and are not solved.

This is February 1 and we have now been here almost a full month.

U.S. District Judge Charles R. Richey ruled yesterday that the Water-

gate tape recordings belong to the Government and not to former President Richard M. Nixon. In a Summary of his Opinion, Judge Richey said that tapes made by the President while he was in office do not become the personal property of the President when he leaves public office. The Judge issued a Summary Judgment denying all claims of President Nixon's attorneys to ownership of the tapes and to millions of documents accumulated during Nixon's presidency. To rule otherwise the Judge said, would ignore the general principle of law that materials generated by a public official belong to the Government. To award the President the tapes would be contrary to the nature of the Office of the President and the Constitution, according to the Judge. He went on to state in his Opinion that there is no precedent which compels the finding that the Presidential materials and tapes are the personal property of former President Nixon. The case will now go to the Circuit Court of Appeals with a three-judge panel to hear the case soon.

I presume that we will ultimately either pass a law or have a court decision to the effect that all of the documents and papers of Members of Congress are not the property of the Member, but belong to the Government.

February 3, 1975

The budget for Fiscal Year 1976 will be sent to the House today at noon. This budget calls for expenditures totalling \$349 billion in the next Fiscal Year with a planned budget deficit of \$52 billion. This will be the all-time record as far as amount is concerned and will be the second largest deficit since World War II. Just by way of comparison, the budget for Fiscal Year 1953 was only \$76 billion. It was not until 1959 that we actually had a budget totalling \$85 billion. The President, in making his announcement concerning the new budget said that the deficit would exceed \$52 billion if the House refused to go along on a number of reductions. The deficit he said would approach \$70 billion in the budget year that begins next July 1 unless Congress goes along with his proposals to reduce the cost of some programs.

In the budget for the new Fiscal Year, we have \$7,289,000 for construction for the Taylorsville Reservoir project. \$4,574,000 is in new money and the balance is available funds which were impounded and not expended during the Fiscal Year 1975. In addition, the Campground Reservoir

will receive \$200,000 for advance engineering and design with \$190,000 of this amount in new money and the balance of \$10,000 in funds not consumed during the Fiscal Year 1975. These two projects are well along now and I have been right successful with both of them. When completed, this will then total 35 projects in Kentucky and on the Ohio River which have come before my Committee on Appropriations and with all of these projects being projects that I have guided through the appropriating process. In most instances, I have had to place the construction money and the advance engineering and design money in appropriation bills which contain no funds for the project.

In this morning's mail, I received a right unusual letter from the Manager of the local Sears, Roebuck and Company store here in Washington. In this letter, the Manager states that in 1886 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, a 23-year old man by the name of Richard Sears founded the R.W. Sears Watch Company. His office consisted of a kitchen table, a 50¢ chair and some record books and stationery in a room for which he paid \$10 a month rent. The letter went on to state that in the ensuing years the company has expanded and changed quite a bit.

In an interview this past weekend, Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, said that the 94th Congress is probably the most dangerous the country has ever had. He said that if this country can survive this Congress, it can survive anything. He went on to state that both Houses are dominated by self interests such as the labor movement, Common Cause, the League of Women Voters and so on. He further stated that he was convinced from the attitudes of a number of the new Members of Congress that they have no concept of what makes the economy run and they have no concept of how money is used to make money. They have the attitude, he said that you can spend and spend and elect and elect even though this country is close to national bankruptcy. He went on to state that this is probably the most dangerous Congress we have ever had. Goldwater vented his complaints about the Senate as well as the House and called the Senate the "Byrdbath", a pun on the name of Assistant Senate Democratic Leader, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. He said that Mike Mansfield is one of the nicest, sweetest men he has known, but that the Senate is run as poorly as he had ever seen it. He blamed Byrd for most of the faults in the operation of the Senate.

February 5, 1975

The battle is on. The House, in its first legislative action of the year voted 374 to 38 yesterday to block the Administration's plan to increase the cost of food stamps to the poor on March 1. The bill, which forbids any increase for the rest of this year, is expected to be approved by the Senate Agriculture Committee today and to win approval by more than the two-thirds vote needed in overriding an expected veto. The proposed increase in the cost of the food subsidy stamps was part of the Administration's effort to fight inflation by reducing spending. It was expected to save \$650 million a year. This is one program that is absolutely essential at this time and the vote clearly indicates the way the people in this country feel about increasing the cost of food stamps to the poor.

Today, we take up another important bill and in fact, the most important bill that has come up this session. This bill provides for a moratorium of 90 days on the \$1 to \$3 per barrel import tax levied by the President last week. This bill will be strongly contested and in my opinion, unless some agreement is reached after the bill passes in the

House, will be vetoed by the President. The Speaker called me yesterday and asked me to preside over this bill and in talking to me about it said he wanted to give the new Members a right good lesson in procedure to start them off in the 94th Congress. This is a controversial bill and with a number of these new Members, pulling at the bit to get started, we may have a lot of fun before general debate is over.

The women seem to be coming to the front these days. Former Prime Minister, Edward Heath, paid the penalty yesterday for losing elections and was driven from the leadership of Britain's opposition Conservative Party. In a stunning political upset, Tory Members of Parliament gave Mrs. Margaret Thatcher an 11-vote first-round edge over Heath. She is now on the verge of becoming the first woman ever to lead a major party in Britain. Mrs. Thatcher, 49 years of age, once described as "The iron butterfly" needs only nine more votes for victory in a second ballot next Tuesday. If she wins, she will be in a position if there is a change in the government to become Britain's first woman Prime Minister.

February 6, 1975

President Ford's new budget really startled the conservative Republicans in the House. Under this budget, governmental spending will reach \$349.4 billion. The federal deficit will be \$51.9 billion. Receipts will total \$297.5 billion and individual income taxes will be \$106 billion. Corporate taxes will be \$47.7 billion and defense spending will reach \$94 billion, Interest on the federal debt will be \$34.4 billion and unemployment is expected to rise at least to 8.1% this year. The budget proposes that consumer prices will rise 11.3% this year.

Yesterday, I presided in the House during general debate on the two bills: 90-day moratorium on import tax on oil and the debt ceiling increase. Both bills were passed with substantial majorities and if the President vetoes the moratorium bill, there may be enough votes in the House to override the veto.

President Ford, in speaking in Atlanta, said that he would be a candidate for election in 1976 and Senator Dole, who had such a close race in Kansas on the Republican ticket last November said that it may turn out

that 1974 was a good year for a Republican to be on the ballot, notwithstanding the fact that they lost a great many seats. He noted that not only President Ford, but the few survivors among Congressional Republicans would be running in 1976.

Every so often, one or more Members of Congress comes up with something right unusual that places all of us in a position to be criticized. In yesterday's paper, we find an article that two Senators and 38 Representatives who faced no opposition in last November's general election raised at least \$755,406 in campaign funds for their return to Congress. The two top fund getters were Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) with \$241,183 and James B. Allen (D-Ala) with \$150,000. Among the top House fund raisers were Representative Gillis Long (D-La.) with \$90,879; Ed Roybal (D-Cal.) with \$28,634; Dawson Mathis (D-Ga.) \$26,424; Don Fuqua (D-Fla.) \$26,082 and Augustus Hawkins (D-Cal.) \$22,230. Charles Whalen (R-Ohio) accepted \$564.

In this volume of my Journal, I have discussed from time to time the major problems confronting us in the Congress at this time. We still are faced with serious problems concerning recession, inflation, the energy

shortage and problems concerning agriculture. Yesterdays action wherein President Ford's proposal for an import tax of \$1 per barrel on oil, which was to be increased up to \$3 was cancelled and a moratorium of 90 days voted. The President has insisted that this is the right position for our country to take today to assist us with our energy shortage. In presiding over this bill, it was quite evident what the House would do, but still we have offered no plan which will help us solve this problem. We are simply saying to the President that he is wrong but in all fairness, we are not moving to solve the shortage problem by taking positive action which would assist us.

We go back to the point where really nothing has changed insofar as the energy shortage is concerned with the exception of the establishment of the Federal Energy Office. In our emergency energy appropriation bill last year, our Committee on Appropriations brought out a bill that contained \$2,269,829,000, which was \$66,100,000,000 over the budget and \$923,404,000 over the amount appropriated for Fiscal Year 1974.

We made recommendations concerning gasification, liquefaction, solar energy, offshore drilling and conservation along with proposals concerning use of federal shale land. This action was correct.