

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR ED MORGAN

FROM: John C. Whitaker SUBJECT: Game Plan for the EnvironmentI. WHO ARE THE PLAYERS

A. Big, big sticks where "cross education" to sell the environment is useful. Connolly, Finch, Rumsfeld, Garment (Len because his liberal image is a favorable codeword with the environmental groups. He will be believable no matter what he says).

B. Big sticks - Morton, Train and Ruckelshaus.

C. The second string:

CEQ - MacDonald, Cahn, Gibbons, Alm, Atkeson, Jane Brumley

EPA - Quarles (General Counsel), Dominic, (Water), Middleton (Air)

INTERIOR - Pecora (Geological Survey), Singer (Water Quality)

COMMERCE - White (NOAA)

D. Outside the Administration - Pat Moynihan, Chris DeMuth

II. WHAT SHOULD REALLY GUIDE US IN OUR GAME PLAN

A. Scheduling - The key to good scheduling is not to take the invitations as they come in the door because the tail wags the dog. Instead, we make our formats with our stars.

B. Should it be partisan or non-partisan. There is no question in my mind that it should be non-partisan.

C. Is our highest priority Congress, or the much heavier effort required in going to the people. I am not sure of the answer to this. It really doesn't make a heck of alot of difference whose legislation passes, the President's or Muskie's, as long as we are visible. Unlike revenue sharing and reorganization of the Government, we don't win or loose in a clearcut fashion on this issue as long as the President will go places and do things on the environment. So I am kind of muddling along with a game plan that gives quite a bit of impact, both to Congress and to the people. This could be a mistake in terms of the limited resources we have.

III. CONGRESSIONAL GAME PLAN

A. Pre-Presidential Environmental Message scheduled for February 10

1. JANUARY 24-25 - Brief leadership of House and Senate.
(House - Ford, Arends, Anderson, Rhodes, Poff, H. Allen Smith, Byrnes, Barber Conable, and a couple of replacements from the new Congress.
Senate - Scott, Griffin, Mrs. Smith, Dominick)
2. JANUARY 26-28 - Train, Ruckelshaus, Morton, with a small, trained briefing team to GOP leaders.
3. FEBRUARY 1-2 - Ditto with Democrats.
4. FEBRUARY 9 - Deliver message to Congressmen from Timmons and MacGregor late p. m. before February 10 Ziegler briefing. Cover letters to key leaders.

B. Post-Presidential Message

1. Tab A is a key list of about 109 members in the House and Senate, including Committee staff members, dealing with the environment. Marginal judgments can be made as to where the power lies.

With this in mind, Whitaker, Train, Ruckelshaus and Morton should schedule:

- (a) Individual lunches with individual Congressmen and Senators and staff members.
- (b) On a rotating basis, White House lunches with groups of four or five at a time, and there should be at least two a month.

(c) For a bit of fluff, bring celebrities to the White House for lunch with key Senators and Congressmen such as a group with Allott, Cooper, Jackson and Muskie with Arthur Godfrey. Another group like Aspinall, Saylor, Blatnik and Harsha with Charles Lindbergh.

2. FEBRUARY 17 - In Cabinet Room or Roosevelt Room, bring in Committee staff members and legislative aides dealing with the environment for a good briefing, then have the President drop by on a surprise basis, saying that he has sent a full plate of legislation last week -- kid them that they, rather than their bosses, have got to do the work on the legislation -- ask them to improve his legislation -- go to it -- lets get early hearings.

3. FEBRUARY 22-27 - Train, Ruckelshaus, Morton should make key calls to leadership of the Committees pressing them for when hearings will be held. During this same period, we should be carefully trying to work out with the Minority Counsel of each committee, who we can get for favorable witnesses for the hearings to "stack" the hearings as best we can.

4. MARCH 3 - With luck, Congress should be organized to start doing business by that time, but lets not count on it and put on additional pressure by inviting key Congressional leaders to Camp David for half a day briefing on the environment followed by a light lunch, skeet shooting, bowling and back to Washington by 5 p. m. -- maybe involve the President but I doubt it.

5. The kind of attention and pressure applied above, switches at about this time to very issue-oriented and open discussions with Committee members and staff and goes on until we get legislation, with the President used to plug his programs and urge action as he moves around the country.

IV. SELLING THE PEOPLE

Use (a) the President; (b) "the big, big sticks"; (c) "the big sticks"; (d) the second team to hit two targets -- the media and the lobbies.

A. The President's Program

1. JANUARY 27 - Returning from Florida, visit the beautiful Oklawaha River and announce cancellation of the Cross Florida Barge Canal. See the River (without a tie) and perhaps use the occasion to swear in Morton as Secretary of the Interior, and if he isn't confirmed by then, have him come anyway. In any event, have Connolly, Finch, Rumsfeld and Garment there (to begin identifying them as the "big, big" team with the environment) along with Ruckelshaus, Train and Morton.

2. FEBRUARY 10 - Five minute TV clip for networks for environmental message.
3. FEBRUARY 17 - Drop by Cabinet/Roosevelt Room to see briefing of Congressional Committee's staffs.
4. Late FEBRUARY - National Industrial Pollution Control Council luncheon at State Department. On balcony, view smokeless jets fly by to show how industry is voluntarily reducing pollution.
5. EARLY MARCH - Visit Blue Plains Sewer Plant in Washington, D. C. to dramatize Potomac cleanup by strong Administration financial commitment to have sewer plant finished by 1974. . Bring bi-partisan group of Senators and Congressmen -- plug them to get hearings going on water pollution.
6. MID APRIL - (a) Hopefully April 22, the Second Anniversary of "Earth Day" visit Sandy Hook, New Jersey and give military base to New Jersey (Cahill) for park. Do picnic on beach or hold "State Dinner" for nation's leading conservationists. Could do in old barracks and then tear it down the next day. (b) Also this "Earth Week" visit the Mall, take credit for tearing the Navy building down and say a park is going in its place.
7. MID MAY - Dramatize ocean dumping in some way -- maybe visit barge in Chesapeake Bay ending dumping of garbage in the Bay.
8. JUNE -- Buffalo. See sludge pens on Lake Erie used to stop dumping waste in Lake Erie. Meet with Great Lakes Governors on progress on cleaning up the Lakes since he met with them in Chicago in February 1970.
9. JULY - North Carolina. National Air Pollution Control Center. Meet with State environmental chief from "smog belt" from Boston to Atlanta. Plug his Clean Air Trust Fund.
10. AUGUST - Enroute to San Clemente - Stop in Missouri and visit Ozark Wild River - good example of Federal, private, and state cooperation to get recreational land.
11. AUGUST-SEPTEMBER (from San Clemente) - (a) Outdoor Domestic Council road show at Point Reyes. Then lunch on beach with Regional Western Editors and National Press Corps. (Maybe do something with Presidio in San Francisco at the same time) (b) Seattle. See good job local initiative has done to clean up Lake Washington and turn part of Fort Lawton over to the state for recreation lands.

12. NOVEMBER - Thanksgiving period if in Florida, see ^{everglades} jetport. If in San Clemente, visit Border Field, a little military area being made into a park at San Diego or go to Camp Pendleton, part of which is going to parkland.

13. DECEMBER - Investigate possible meeting of Challenges for Modern Society (CCMS), the NATO Moynihan program, in Washington. One of their goals is to stop "mid-ocean oil dumping by mid-decade." Have President go off Norfolk and view Coast Guard "air bag" recovering spilled oil.

B. "The Big, Big Team" - Connolly, Rumsfeld, Finch, Garment

1. Prepare, at most, a hard hitting three-page document so they get in their memory drums, something for TV Q&A and their straight speeches.

2. Use them on well advanced trips for walking inspection in towns (air pollution in Los Angeles; ocean dumping in New York Harbor; water pollution in Great Lakes; Houston ship channel, etc.). They can look concerned on TV - we worry too much about a neat rationale for why we do things. Just get them walking on our streets, in our urban parks, in our wilderness areas. The more they move on TV, the less they have to say. Ron Walker should assign a full-time advance man. Their staffs don't understand how to do it.

C. "The Big Team" - Morton, Ruckelshaus, Train

1. Lots of TV in intellectual formats -- Sunday, Meet the Press, Public Broadcasting (even if its only a small audience).

2. Have them walk the streets, parks, look at dirty water and cleaned up water. Visit coal gasification research models (to get SO₂ out of coal to make the air cleaner); solid waste scale research models; tour gas stations to see if the lead is getting out of the gas. Ron Walker should assign a full-time advance man. Their staffs don't understand how to do it.

3. AP and UPI editorial boards.

4. Key editorial boards for both TV and newspapers around the country.

5. Think tank formats at Arleigh House with academic types and youth types who are most flattered in this format.

C. "The Second Team"

1. Let the second team do the set speeches at all the miserable lunches, conventions, etc., that never make more than local press. The hosts will scream that the Administration doesn't care enough to send a major speaker -- let them scream -- it is the lowest priority in reaching the public. Let Muskie go and waste his time.

cc: Ken Cole

SENATE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Republicans

Gordon Allot
Len Jordan
Paul Fannin
Clifford Hansen
Mark Hatfield
Ted Stevens
Henry Bellmon

Democrats

Henry Jackson
Clinton Anderson
Alan Bible
Frank Church
Frank Moss
Quentin Burdick
George McGovern
Gaylord Nelson
Lee Metcalf
Mike Gravel

SENATE PUBLIC WORKS

Republicans

John Sherman
Hale Boggs
Howard Baker
Robert Dole
Edward Gurney
Robert Packwood

Democrats

Jennings Randolph
Mike Gravel
Edmund Muskie
Everett Jordan
Birch Bayh
Joseph Montoya
William Spong
Thomas Eagleton

HOUSE INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS **

Republicans

John Saylor
Craig Hosmer
Joe Skubitz
John Kyl
Sam Steiger
James McClure
Don Clausen
Philip Ruppe
John Happy Camp
Manuel Lujan

Democrats

Wayne Aspinall
James Haley
Ed Edmondson
Walter Baring
Roy Taylor
Harold Johnson
Morris Udall
Phillip Burton
Bill Burlison

Thomas Foley
Robert Kastenmeier
James O'Hara
William Ryan
Patsy Mink
James Kee
Lloyd Meeds
Abraham Kazen
Jorge Cordova

HOUSE PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Republicans

William Harsha
James Grover
James Cleveland
Don Clausen
Robert McEwen
John Duncan
Fred Schwengel
M. G. Snyder
Roger Zion
Jack McDonald
John Hammerschmidt
Clarence Miller

Democrats

John Blatnik
Robert Jones
John Kluczynski
James Wright
Kenneth Gray
Frank Clark
Ed Edmondson
Harold Johnson

William Dorn
David Henderson
Ray Roberts
James Kee
James Howard
Glenn Anderson
Patrick Caffery

** This list reflects those Congressional members defeated or retired from 91st Congress. Does not reflect any new members from 92nd Congress

KEY COMMITTEE STAFF AND LEGISLATIVE AIDES

House Committees

Public Works

Richard Sullivan
Clifton Enfield
Sheldon Gilbert

Commerce

Kurt Borchartd
Lewis Berry

Ways and Means

John Martin
Dick Wilbar
Larry Woodworth (Jt. Cmte on Tax)

Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Dick Sharood
Ned Everett

Senate Committees

Public Works

Leon Billings
Tom Jorling

Jim Jordan (Leg. Asst. - Baker)
Ward White (Leg. Asst. - Dole)
Hal Brayman (Leg. Asst - Boggs)

Interior and Insular Affairs

Bill Van Ness
Charles Cook
Stuart French

Commerce

Michael Pertschuk
Leonard Bickwit
Art Pankope

Finance

Tom Vail

Foreign Relations

Arthur Kuhl