

Nixon Legacy Forum Transcript:

Bridging the Branches How President Nixon Worked with a Democratic Congress

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Panelists:

Wallace Johnson, Minority Counsel, Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on Criminal Laws (1968-70), Associate Deputy Attorney General for Legislation (1970-71), Special Assistant to the President for Legislation (1972-73), Assistant Attorney General (1973-75)

Tom Korologos, Administrative Assistant, US Senator Wallace Bennett (1962-71), Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislation (1971-75)

John Lehman, Senior Staff Member, National Security Council (1969-74)

Geoff Shepard, *Moderator*, White House Fellow (1969-70), Associate Director, White House Domestic Council (1970-75)

David Ferriero: I'm David Ferriero, Archivist of the United States and it's a pleasure to welcome you to my house this morning. Today we have one...and a special welcome to our C-SPAN audience and to Bill Baribault, head of the Nixon Library Foundation, and Mike Ellzey, the director of the Nixon Library. We're very proud to have one of our Nixon Legacy Forums here. We've been cosponsoring these forums with the Nixon Foundation since 2010. We've produced about three dozen of these so far, all of which are available on our website and that of the Nixon Foundation. The forums feature individuals from the Nixon administration discussing some of the particular public policy initiatives and the documentation that is available to researchers in the archives we maintain at the Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, California.

Today's topic is "Bridging the Branches: How President Nixon Worked with a Democratic Congress." Now you all know that our constitution divides federal power among three separate but coequal branches - the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary. And while each has its own area of authority and responsibility, the system seems to work best when the branches are working together. When President Nixon was elected in 1968, he was the first president in 120 years to take office without his party also having control of the Congress. And for the incoming, President Nixon control wasn't even close. In the Senate, there were 43 Republicans and 57 Democrats and in the House, there were 192 Republicans and 243 Democrats or a 51 vote margin. For Nixon, governing without some help from Democrats was not much of a choice, it was a necessity.

How he and his administration went about doing this is today's topic and we have with us four former members of President Nixon's White House staff. Now, it's been almost 50 years since they were there so you'll notice that their hair is a little grayer than in the photos from that era. One other thing I should point out is that researching this topic in particular has been helped considerably by a set of contemporaneous memos that analyze Nixon's relationship with the 91st, 92nd, and 93 Congresses. Since these archival records are so key we're trying something new, we're going to post these documents on our respective websites, so you can access them in conjunction with the video of today's discussion.

With that, let me introduce you to today's moderator and co-producer of many prior Legacy Forums, Geoff Shepard. Geoff joined Nixon staff in 1969 as a White House Fellow and then spent the next five years staffing the President as a member of his Domestic Council. Please welcome, Geoff Sheppard.

Geoff Shepard: Thank you, David. We've worked together for eight years and David and his staff here at the archives cosponsors with the Richard Nixon Foundation and it has been just a superb partnership. As you might imagine, the archives have the records, they got all the documents and what we on the foundation produce are the people who wrote them, and these forums are designed for the authors of the documents, the members of Nixon's White House staff to discuss the "why" and the "how" behind the documents. So we hope in the future that scholars and researchers will be able to better understand and evaluate what happened in the Nixon administration by the combination of both.

And as David mentioned, we're trying something new, we're starting with it today, when we post this video on the website, we'll post a link to a Google Drive that has the documents that we mentioned. So if you choose to get into it, you can read the documents and watch the movie and we think it will help researchers to facilitate their research because these are documents that are out at the Nixon Library but they will be available online by topic and then we're gonna go backwards if this works over the three dozen that we've done before and add this element. As David mentioned, President Nixon's first president in 120 years to come into office without control of the Congress. What we find when we look backwards is that this man who was not by any means a backslapping politician - studious, serious, very earnest used the White House, and he and Pat Nixon entertained and held meetings with great frequency with members of Congress.

He used probably the most prestigious invitation in the city hugely to lobby his point and get his points across and he employed what in retrospect is

probably the greatest Congressional Relations staff ever assembled who sold and lobbied his ideas and his approach to the Congress. The Congressional Relations staff, if you look at it carefully, is kind of the grease that makes the wheels run. And it's hugely demanding because the Congress is hugely demanding for information, for relationships, for feedback, and these people, and we have three of them here today, survivors. These people were selling to individual members of Congress why we needed their vote, or why we needed their help, or why we needed their influence on a particular topic. But there were so many topics and so many people that you really had to be well-versed, I mean, you could be talking to a particular senator and you needed to know his area and what was his influence and you needed to know what he wanted in return before you opened a conversation with him or her.

The need to be flexible and to be approachable was huge. And so we're gonna talk about all that and I'm gonna take a seat because I'm gonna sit here and talk with my friends. We're gonna talk about the people who were on the staff and I've asked each of them to talk about where they were when Nixon was inaugurated in 1969, that would have been the election and start of the 91st Congress, President Nixon was the 37th president. Where they were when Nixon was inaugurated and how they got from there to the White House staff. So we'll start with Wally Johnson.

Wallace Johnson: I was a young, organized crime and racketeering prosecutor and head of the strike force in Miami, Florida and what happens with any new administration is many of the young staffers on the Hill come into an administration and I went the other way. I went up to the Senate Judiciary Committee on the Criminal Law Subcommittee. And then a year later went back to Justice because John Dean went to the White House as legal counsel and a year later went over and began working with my friend Tom Korologos at the White House on the Congressional Relations staff.

Geoff Shepard: So you went from Justice as a prosecutor to the Hill as a staffer and then to the Department of Justice as head of Congressional Relations.

Wallace Johnson: Yes.

Geoff Shepard: And then to the White House working with Tom on the Senate side.

Wallace Johnson: Yes. And I'm pretty much a justice junky.

Geoff Shepard: Because when this was through you're really a prosecutor, when this was through you went back to justice as an Assistant Attorney General.

Wallace Johnson: Yup.

Geoff Shepard: And it was lands and natural resources, so it really wasn't prosecution. But you're a law and order guy.

Wallace Johnson: I'm a law and order guy.

Geoff Shepard: And we'll get to Wally being a law and order guy when we get through. Tom, let's go to you. Where were you?

Tom Korologos: I was working for Senator Wallace Bennett of Utah who had been elected, this was his third term and I was on his staff when President Nixon got elected and interestingly enough, a fellow by the name of George Romney was running for president at the time and we had to endorse George Romney, Bennett for Utah, Romney, Mormon the whole nine yards. So the minute President Nixon got elected, we were very supportive of President Nixon and I was on the staff of the Senator for nine years. And during all that time you joined various organizations so that we joined a group called "RAMS, Republicans Allied for Mutual Support." We joined an organization called "The Bull Elephants" that was a partisan staff thing that met and plotted and planned and I was close to the leadership.

Senator Bennett was ranking on the Finance Committee, ranking on the Banking Committee, a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and we constantly got involved in a whole lot of staffing things and one day, Bill Timmons who was the godfather of the Congressional Affairs operation in the Nixon years called me and said, "Come on down, let's talk." So I went down to the White House and became Senate liaison under Timmons and Ken BeLieu who was the head of Senate Relations, and Ken later went over to the Pentagon and became Under Secretary of the Army and Gene Kahn was there and I eventually moved up and became the Senate liaison for President Nixon where I was on the White House under Nixon for four years and one year on the President Ford.

Geoff Shepard: And so the legend begins with Tom Korologos, known locally as the 101st senator because Tom's job was on the Hill. Bill Timmons was Chief Operating Officer of the Congressional Relations organization, but Bill's job was home base, information coming in, instruction going out. Tom's the tip of the spear. Talking about knowing everybody, you know, all the children and all of their names. That's Tom on the Senate and just a nonstop

effort of presenting the views of the White House. Then afterwards he became Ambassador of Belgium but that's not our topic for today. Wally?

Wallace Johnson: Yeah. There were five of us. Timmons was sort of the Chief Operating Officer and there was a Deputy Assistant for both the House and the Senate and a Special Assistant. I slipped in as the Special Assistant working with Tom when Gene and Ken moved along.

Tom Korologos: Correct.

Wallace Johnson: So we were a team and we worked together but I have to note that Bennett and Mike Pete and Roman Hruska were two of the Senators who supported Nixon most. And while Tom is a legend and so am I in my own mind, the fact is we were where we were because we were allied with extremely loyal people.

Geoff Shepard: And loyal senators.

Wallace Johnson: Loyal senators.

Tom Korologos: And I'd looked through Wally and he'd looked through me and say "Oh, he came from Hruska's office, he must be good. He came from Bennett's office, he must be good." Ipso facto, we were good.

Geoff Shepard: And you were good. And we'll go on to John, because John didn't come from there. How did you get on the staff John?

John Lehman: I still ask myself that, but I was a PhD candidate at the University of Pennsylvania at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. And there I met two of the fellows of the institute, Henry Kissinger and Dick Allen. Dick at that time was the National Security Adviser to candidate Nixon and, of course, Henry Kissinger was working for Nelson Rockefeller. I worked in the summer for Dick Allen as an intern. He was one of the founders of the Georgetown Center for Strategic Studies which is now CSIS, much bigger and...but Dick was one of the key founders of that and so then when the campaign got going Dick asked me to come part time as a speech writer and I eventually ended up in New York at the headquarters and then during the transition after the election, Peter Flanigan ran the transition up at the Pierre Hotel and he and Dick Allen and Henry Kissinger asked me to, after Henry was appointed, asked me to join the NSC staff.

So I went to Washington and as soon as we arrived, of course, all of the bitter wars started particularly over the Vietnam War and Kissinger always

had a lean staff. Today they are somewhere between 1,500 and 1,700 members of the NSC staff, under Henry Kissinger, there were 30 and...

Geoff Shepard: A few good men and women.

John Lehman: Men and women, and, of course, no one has ever accused Henry and his staff of not being effective in those days, but there was no such thing as a Congressional Relations office on the NSC at that time. Now, it's bigger than Tom's staff was in the Nixon administration. But I was a junior staff member for National Security and Political Military Affairs. So the problems as they started to emerge where all Defense and National Security as at least the ones we saw, they had much broader issues. So I got stuck with, I've never been inside Congress even in the building to that point, but Henry and Al Haig said, "You get up there and stop these crazy people from passing these resolutions." So I ended up working right away with this really quite incredible Congressional Relations staff. And so that sort of consumed 90% of my time for the whole time I worked for Kissinger until finally, he went to State and I fled with him.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. So you're the substance guy on National Security and Foreign Affairs who's the liaison with the Congressional Relations people?

John Lehman: Yeah, that's right. Although, at first, they called the commissar but very soon I really became part of the team.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. And for the audience, if you don't recognize the name, John went on to become Secretary of the Navy under President Reagan.

Tom Korologos: Yeah. Let me...

Geoff Shepard: So that's...yeah, go ahead, Tom.

Tom Korologos: Let me answer something about what John just said. Sorry, Wally and Geoff, President Nixon cared deeply about Defense National Security. He thrived on it, he knew what he was talking about under President Eisenhower. He didn't have anything to do as vice president, so he went overseas and then he became an expert on national security issues, and therefore, when John on the NSC and our liaison people got involved, President knew what we were doing. And, yeah, I'm not saying they didn't know anything about welfare reform and revenue sharing and crime and all that other, but he had a deep and unvarnished interest in how we were doing. You would give him a phone call or at list votes to make to get on

people. He wants to know how they do, how did my five phone calls make it?

So he cared very strongly and therefore, at States of the Union, and other events and the dinners that you're gonna show here in a few minutes. National security was big on his plate, that's why John and Henry were so important to Nixon.

Geoff Shepard: I think it's very fair to say that Nixon's interest and expertise and fascination was foreign affairs. There's this slogan for vice presidents that they do a little bit more to do than Tom suggests, but it's "you die, I fly." So the vice president goes to funerals all over the world and in the Nixon era they would use those gatherings of heads of state to conduct discussions, so he personally knew all the world's leaders and was fascinated by the topic. I mean that was his natural thing and you can do that without the Congress. The President has much more authority. On domestic affairs, you have to deal with the Congress, and it gets complicated.

Wallace Johnson: I take exception with Ambassador Korologos because I think Nixon had a keen interest in some domestic affairs. One was crime, and remember his involvement with Alger Hiss and that investigation when he was in the House. And the other was the judicial process and the selection of the Supreme Court which in his memoirs he notes as one of his great accomplishments was selecting and having confirmed four Supreme Court justices.

Geoff Shepard: Now, if you stay to the end of the program somehow it will occur to you that those are the two themes we're gonna emphasize, that President Nixon's two main issues in the campaign, which was "an honorable end the war" and "restoring law and order" and that's why we have these people. They aren't just survivors of that era, they're survivors who have something to say, so we will go there but now let's spend just a minute on Nixon's knowledge and expertise of the Congress, because here's a guy who is a congressman for two terms, nationally prominent because of Alger Hiss, then a senator for two years and then he becomes vice president.

Well, interestingly enough, the vice president's constitutional duty is to preside over the Senate. And in that era Nixon's only office was the vice president's office in the Congress. He had no office nor did any of his predecessors have an office in the White House or the White House compound, it wasn't until Nixon was elected president that he made an office for his Vice President, for Spiro Agnew. But before that he was on the Hill. So if he wasn't travelling and he did an awful lot of foreign affairs stuff, he

reported for work at the Congress and the machinations of the Senate and the issues of the Republican to the Democrats and legislation was of great interest and knowledge to him, and he campaigned, that's the other thing the vice presidents get to do, they get to campaign.

And so he goes into individual's districts and, you know, this is a very factual absorbing guy who learned all about the ins and outs of particular districts and the needs and requirements of individual senators, so when he's working with the Congressional Relations staff it's not news to him that somebody in Georgia has certain feelings. I mean, he already knows that and he has thought about it and how to make it work. So with that we're gonna go through pictures that show the use, demonstrate the use of the White House as a lobbying technique.

Wallace Johnson: I want to interrupt you just one more quick second.

Geoff Shepard: Yup.

Wallace Johnson: Because this is an organizational observation. Tom and I are heavily oriented toward the Senate. But the fact is the Congressional Relations office covered the House and the Senate.

Tom Korologos: Correct.

Wallace Johnson: But the three of us are more focused on the Senate side of things and it's part of the fact that we're survivors and it's part of the fact that we're talking about Crime and International Affairs because the Senate had a dominant influence over both of those subjects.

Geoff Shepard: Sure, because of confirmations, because of treaties, because of the way the Senate was set up.

Wallace Johnson: So I just want the record to show that..

Geoff Shepard: The record so shall note..

Wallace Johnson: Please do.

Geoff Shepard: Okay. Our first picture is in the Cabinet Room, and, sir, if I could ask you to move over two seats so I could see the...thank you, I could see the pictures. This is in the Cabinet Room and this is what we believe to be the first partisan leadership meeting. The President had the GOP up and then he would have bipartisan leadership meetings and then he would have the Republican leadership up, I mean they were his party. And this is a

head-on shot from the Cabinet Room and because we studied the picture, we know there's one staff person at the far end on the right and that's Ken Belieu. But this was a really an initial talk of getting the Republicans used to coming down because now their party controlled the White House. And the next one, now, this is a breakfast in the State Dining Room and this is bipartisan, so this is the...and if you look carefully at the picture we've named the row of the leadership that are down there having breakfast with the President and, of course, you don't turn down invitations to the White House, this is big stuff, meals, events.

We have one here...

Wallace Johnson: I want to jump in again.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, no, go ahead.

Wallace Johnson: The leadership would show up, but the fact is we were talking to the leadership all the time.

Tom Korologos: Correct.

Wallace Johnson: And we talk about what you're gonna talk about with the President and they'd wonder what they should say to the President, and the president would wonder what he should say to them. So there's a glue here, a cohesiveness that unifies all these activities or it draws them all together.

Geoff Shepard: I like the analogy of grease rather than glue, but you're facilitating the communication both ways.

Wallace Johnson: Every day from 6:30 in the morning until 6:30, 7:00 at night, that's what we did.

Tom Korologos: And it got a little scary more than once because some of the leaders they'd say, "Oh gee, what shall I talk about?" And I give my list of things to talk about and then you'd give a list to the President on what he should talk to them about. And all of a sudden, you're looking at yourself, your life flashing between your eyes as the President and the leaders are talking to everything you've told them to say.

Geoff Shepard: Sometimes its works perfectly.

Wallace Johnson: And then they'll come out and say, "How did I do?"

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, both sides.

Wallace Johnson: You have both sides.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, interesting position to be in and I supposed if you messed up, there's no place to hide. So we were trying to define what this particular picture is. Tom, what was your guess?

Tom Korologos: My guess is a Chowder and Marching society which was a group that Nixon belonged to when he was in the Senate or the House which was Nixon supporters, I don't know where they got Chowder and Marching, I guess...

Geoff Shepard: But it's a Republican group.

Tom Korologos: It's a Republican group of Nixon's supporters, young guys that were pro-Nixon, pro-defense issues, pro-anti the crime in the streets business and...

Geoff Shepard: Good, solid, taxpaying, God-fearing Republicans.

Tom Korologos: God-fearing Republicans.

Geoff Shepard: Good. All right. This is a one-on-one with Hubert Humphrey in the Oval Office.

Tom Korologos: The President had many one on one meetings. He would call Senator Mansfield up and say, "Come on down." And the Senator would come down and Mansfield didn't say much, there was a lot of "yup" and "nopes" and the President would brief him on what his plans were and was going on in the...Mansfield was a big Chinese junkie, former marine from Montana, great leader, very supportive when he had to be and he would have one-on-one meetings and we had a lot of those. He had Russell Long down on tax bills, and he had people down on the national security stuff. This was a Humphrey meeting, if I'm not mistaken, it's shortly before when he went to China. He had asked Humphrey to go to China. They ran against each other and there they are in the Oval Office chitchatting about issues that were important to the country.

John Lehman: But one of the biggest fights we had during that time was the Mansfield Amendment as you recall.

Tom Korologos: That's right.

John Lehman: And Senator Mansfield was very focused on Asia and he felt we had much too much of our focus and assets in Europe and he authored an amendment which got, I don't know how many signatures, but it started out with the majority in the Senate to withdraw three quarters of our troops from Europe and to increase our troops not nearly to that number but to increase our presence in Asia. And that was one of the bitterest battles and the longest that required more grease to change votes than any I could remember. And the President and Kissinger were very effective in trotting out and using the wise men of the post, the Democrats in the postwar period. I took notes I remember with Henry having a lunch with Dean Acheson which was one of the more interesting lunches I've ever attended.

And so there was a very strong bipartisan pushback against Senator Mansfield and ultimately, I believe there was a face saver where something out of the 400,000 troops over there we withdrew 50, something like that, but basically it was done because the Democratic leadership was brought around.

Geoff Shepard: Fifty thousand or 50 troops?

John Lehman: No, 50,000 I think.

Geoff Shepard: Just curious.

John Lehman: Yeah, 400,000 to 350,000 but...

Geoff Shepard: Next picture.

Wallace Johnson: I want to jump in.

Geoff Shepard: All right.

Wallace Johnson: The picture with Humphrey makes me think that these were just people like we are. He was an awfully nice guy, and we worked with them. It was after he had been defeated, and he was the most friendly "how's the President," a chatty kind of guy you'd ever want to see. Remember, now it's 25 years after we were that age and we were 25, 50 years younger, we were kids. And moving with some pretty high level political leadership in our nation and my point is simply that they put their pants on the same way we do and they were awfully friendly and work with each other even though politically and publicly they may have disagreements.

Tom Korologos: One of the fun things about what John said about NATO troop cuts was it was a vote on cutting NATO troops, at 7:00, 8:00 at night we lost. Oh my goodness, what shall we do. Lehman and Kissinger had a fit, and what happened as Senator Griffin who was a minority whip stood up and did not make the motion to reconsider the bill. He held it. Henry and Lehman worked on Senator Scoop Jackson who got Senator Magnuson to change his vote.

John Lehman: They carried them out onto the floor.

Tom Korologos: Yeah, between 7:00 and 11:00. The fun thing about that was two things. First, the *New York Times*' front page lead the next morning, "Senate votes to cut troops in NATO," my gosh, this is end of the western world as we know it. But what happened at 11:00, Griffin moved to recommit, Scoop had changed Magnuson's vote. When they asked Magnuson, "What changed your mind?" "Oh, there was a lot of new developments between..."

John Lehman: Henry was a natural lobbyist. He just instinctively knew how to deal with the different people. I remember during that fight I was with Henry having been, you know, one of his geniuses of why he's been so effective. His 95th birthday is in two weeks...

Geoff Shepard: Coming up.

John Lehman: And he's still just as sharp as ever. He liked these people, even the idiots, and he knew how to work them. And so as an example on this one, I remember I was with him, I would give him a talking paper but he didn't need talking papers and he needed to call Scoop and to call Magnuson, who at that time was slipping a bit but he was very much a man of the left, not ideologically but just he was...

Geoff Shepard: Chairman of something. He was a good guy.

John Lehman: Yeah, appropriations, he was a very important guy. So he called Scoop and he said, "Scoop, you've got to help me on this one. These left wingers are going to bring us all down, you must give us. You really got to help us and especially Senator Magnuson." And then he checked that off and called Senator Magnuson and he said, "Senator, you've got to help us on this one. These right wingers are trying to drag us down totally." And he was a great lobbyist and he liked going up to the Hill and particularly if there were people who were really interested in this substance.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah.

John Lehman: And talking really about the intellectual foundations of the...

Geoff Shepard: Dealing with people who...

John Lehman: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: And not only cared but were very informed.

John Lehman: Yeah, right.

Geoff Shepard: And as a professor, he loved...We're gonna keep going with the slides now. So we have a picture now of Carl Albert, and what's unique about this picture of the things that are unique, this is in the private dining room in the Presidents home, not one of the public rooms that's used to...or the West Wing. This is his house. Wally, you've been there.

Wallace Johnson: And I got in an argument with Geoff as we talked about this because I sat for dinner in the chair where the President was. But I was with Dave and Julie. Dave had been my intern when I worked on the Senate Judiciary Committee. And during that period which must have been 1970, '69, he and my wife Donna and his wife, Julie, became very good friends. It was before I worked at the White House. The President used to come in and sit and talk mostly baseball, what was going on during the day. Then, when I ended up doing one of the confirmations he would call it home. The guy was intensely interested in what was happening and he would jump around the bureaucracy and touch base with people in the field.

Geoff Shepard: What I find so interesting about President Nixon in retrospect is he's vice president for eight years, he thought about what he would do, he had access to all the intelligence information, what he would do if he became president and then having lost to Jack Kennedy in 1960, for eight years he thought about what he would do if he ever got back into power. And I think he woke up every single morning during his presidency eager to get onward, eager to get more things done. He wasn't waiting for our ideas. He was hauling us in a direction he wanted us to go because he knew what he wanted to do. He'd already thought it through and I think that was a tremendous example of leadership, I'm biased, but leadership.

The President had church services. This is a picture in the East Room. This happens to be a prayer breakfast but it's Billy Graham. And when he would do this, whatever the event was, there was always members of Congress included - state dinners, Sunday services, other events which had other people too but Congress was always there.

Tom Korologos: In fact, in that last photograph the person on the right of President Nixon is Senator Wallace Bennett of Utah, who was a Mormon from Salt Lake and there were congressmen sprinkled around throughout all of those prayer breakfasts, all of the White House events, all of the White House and as you'll see here in a minute, it was filled with congressmen and as Timmons' numbers will show you, we had hundreds if not thousands of visitations.

Geoff Shepard: You might even think Tom did the seating for this, you know, there's his former boss close to the man. So this is an odd picture, every Christmas the White House is decorated to the nines and you really want to go see what happened. And how they did it? I mean it's kind of Christmas week, one of the evening events is for members of Congress and their families and so you get to take your kid to the White House during Christmas. And we tried to get a picture of the White House during Christmas, but the President and Mrs. Nixon were greeting people in the hallway.

So this is our picture, this is shot during Christmas week and it's Leslie Arends saying hi to the President and Pat Nixon and there's a little kid's head popping through between the two people, Bryce Harlow is sitting on the other side and it doesn't capture what we wanted to show you but we tried. But the idea of you want to be friends with members of Congress, so there's 535 people, their spouses, their kids, and that's a good evening, you know, for...and they're the only ones that get into the White House that evening and that was big stuff.

Wallace Johnson: This doesn't address Christmas, but it addresses the reality that in the Congressional Relations office there was a networking that was informal but went to the power structure that was the Congress, take the relationship I had with Senator Hruska and Jim Eastland on the Judiciary Committee. They controlled what came and went through the Judiciary Committee, so they controlled the authorization for the Department of Justice. They were both State Justice Commerce Appropriations, so they controlled the money. And they didn't do it just for a year or two or even four years. Eastland was elected to Congress the year I was born in 1939, so even his father was there before him. So they knew more about the Department of Justice and many of the attorneys general. I served under eight, including Bob Bork.

Geoff Shepard: It was a unique time.

Wallace Johnson: It was a unique time, but the fact of the matter is the serious senators were serious about running the country and they were committed to good government, and I know Bennett was, too.

Tom Korologos: Bennett, what Wally is talking about – these were work horses, they were not show horses. Stennis was, as Wally just said on Eastland, Stennis was ranked, was Chairman of Approps and Chairman of Armed Services and ranking on Defense Appropriation Subcommittee, but who runs the Defense Department more than that combination of people. And so the President's big interest during the Vietnam War days when Lehman and I were up fighting that battle, Stennis was a key player in all of those issues and, you know, wanted to know the language of the bill, wanted to know who was for it, who was against it, he wanted to know who the senators were. Yeah, the other thing too, it's a little bit off point, but Nixon knew the country. He had run for president three times, run for vice president, twice, knew everything from Toledo, Ohio to Tupelo, Mississippi and, you know, you didn't campaign in Utah on Sunday and you know you don't do this in New Jersey on Friday, so I don't know what that means but...

Geoff Shepard: He probably meant to say you eat fish.

John Lehman: But Geoff, you know, to improve this picture, you should really send it over to the Russian embassy, so they can put Santa Claus in [inaudible 00:39:54]

Geoff Shepard: We were teasing, this is unkind, we were teasing that it's not in the picture, but President Nixon dressed up as Santa for the end, and we're teasing because that he was very formal that he was a very dignified president and I think this is Leslie Arends, didn't we decide that was Les? And why would...

Tom Korologos: To show the dignity, remember the picture of Nixon walking on the beach in California, he had a sport coat and tie on.

Geoff Shepard: Well, not only, he had black wingtips walking in San Clemente on the beach. Okay. This is a picture of the Congressional Relations staff and it's when Al Haig was Chief of Staff, so it's 1973 but you can see in the picture, we're talking about the individuals, but Bill Timmons is second from my right and Tom Korologos with the dark hair is next to him. And at this point the Congressional Relations staff was six people, right? Yeah, two, four six, six, it's gone up one because we hired a Democrat to be a part of the Congressional Relations staff, Gene Ainsworth on the end. Whose guy was he? He was...

Tom Korologos: Sonny Montgomery who was from Mississippi, big supporter of presidents, big conservative, not even bipartisan. He was a Democrat from Mississippi.

Geoff Shepard: All right. I'm gonna get up now because I got to talk about something...

Wallace Johnson: But before we get too much further, Geoff, the reality is we talk about lobbyist, and we lobbied the Senate and other thing we did it because we worked out of the lobby which was adjacent to the Senate floor and the Vice President had an office up there. He had two offices, he had the ceremonial office where you and John would work when you were working some of his...

John Lehman: Yeah, everybody used to think it was Tom's office because he was always there when action was on the floor.

Wallace Johnson: But then there was a small office off the lobby where we would camp and everybody would sort of pass through that office. The fact is we were trading in information. Our job was to know what was going on and the senators would expect us to explain to them what was happening and the White House would expect us to explain to them what the senators were thinking.

Geoff Shepard: And as we were talking before this is an era without C-SPAN, without live coverage, so you didn't know what had been going on, on the Senate floor when you showed up, when you stepped out to do something, you lost the pulse of what was going on. And so you've got these guys asking for information and sharing information live.

Wallace Johnson: And there's one other point at this point I'd like to make. There were votes all the time. I don't know if they still have it the way it was then, but there'd be a bell, we'd be in a committee meeting, and there'd be a bell and the senators would go over the floor and vote. Well, there was somebody from either the vice president's office or the minority leader's office by the door. They'd walk in and they'd asked three questions, what's the president's view, what's the committee chairman's view, and a home estate test.

Tom Korologos: Plus, what's the issue, 75% of them know that there was gonna be a vote at 3:00, had forgotten all about it, they're in committee meetings meeting with constituents and they come over and they'd say, "Which one is this?" And they'd go to cloakroom desk and sitting there. What they didn't know is that we had written the talking points on what this bill

was. This is a bill that does great violence to the following six states. Gee-whiz, the six states where the middle grounders that didn't know how they were gonna vote. So it was a constant problem trying to figure out what was going on in the Senate and thankfully we had Bill Hildebrand on the floor, the Vice President's people who had access to the floor, we did not have access to the floor, we had no C-SPAN, we had no speakers, but we had the great value of Senator Tower, senator this, senator that, they'd come in and say, "What are we supposed to do on this?"

John Lehman: Yeah. And that was an important link from there was there were so many amendments being offered particularly on "end the war" and presidential powers and appropriations for defense and so forth. And a lot of the language had been drafted quickly by summer interns for the senators involved. And so not only did the White House need to get a judicial legislative legal opinion on whether this was even allowable, but we had to have some of the things I could handle easily on what the effects were, the foreign policy effects, but a lot of it we had referred back through Kissinger to get his view and that became very authoritative, or sometimes if he was in China, we would have to go straight to the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Defense to really understand the effect of these 10-page amendments and...

Geoff Shepard: Great idea is suggested by people whose agenda wasn't yours.

John Lehman: Exactly, right. And who hadn't read them themselves. They were done by staffers, and so it was pretty intense when the important bills were on the floor.

Tom Korologos: One of them was the State Department had no authorization from the Foreign Relations Committee for five or six, seven years. They finally put something together that was gonna reform this, and fix that and add this. Over five, or six years the State Department had gotten into some disarray and problems and reorganizational things, so they worked on it night and day, oh my gosh, it was just the most wonderful piece of legislation you ever saw coming up for a vote. Final passage is at 2:00, except Senator Fulbright as Chairman of the Committee added an "end the war" amendment, cut troops in Vietnam and cut Defense budget. And I called Lehman and I said, "Hey, have you seen this?" And he said, "Kill it." I said, "Just kill it?"

Geoff Shepard: Kill the whole bill, not sure the amendment, kill the whole bill.

Tom Korologos: Kill the while bill.

John Lehman: It's only the State Department.

Tom Korologos: So we went out and some of you in the audience and of the McGowan thing here at their archives understand how easy it is to kill a bill. Two guys can stand up and say, "Let's put this off till next week or something," and that we killed the State Department bill for which they had been working on for 18 months because they put a bad amendment on it we couldn't get rid of, and that's when John knew the issue and the President didn't want that we...one of the things about our job was to keep the trash of government from the President. And we did that by fighting amendments, by beating things on the Hill. We didn't want the President to stand out there and say "I'm gonna veto all these bill," or, "I'm gonna vote against you or do anything like that." We did that. We did that in the bowls of the Congress, in the bowls of the leader's office. That was...

Geoff Shepard: We'll get to this because they have too much to say...

Wallace Johnson: But I've got to make another point.

Geoff Shepard: But not this time.

Wallace Johnson: I've got to make another point.

Geoff Shepard: All right.

Wallace Johnson: We've got three Congresses and this is for history.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah?

Wallace Johnson: 91st, 92nd, and 93rd, six years, each one was two years. So the composition of the Congress was different each time. The title of this presentation is "Bridging the Branches," but we were dealing with maybe 30 to 40 Republicans, and of the 30 to 40 Republicans, they weren't all philosophically of the same ilk. We'd have 25 or 30 Republicans and then we had to work to find another 20 or 25 votes. And they came from a philosophic...a Democratic orientation where we worked together. And we worked together in a positive way for legislation and we worked together in a negative way to block bad legislation, but it was always the same 60...

Geoff Shepard: That you needed.

Wallace Johnson: That we needed in the Senate.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah. What's really interesting, I'm gonna follow-up on Tom's comment just for a second, if you got to the end of the program, don't walk out. Nixon vetoed some bills but only four were overridden. So you talk about stopping stuff before it got to the President's desk. It really isn't an interesting record given the makeup of the Congress. We said at the beginning, we're gonna go on now. We said at the beginning that we had documents that were really, really helpful and we're gonna go through one really quick because it's 30 pages. It is one of five evaluations that Bill Timmons did at the end of each Congress. So this happens to be, "Mr. President, here's our record for the 91st Congress." And it's a snapshot in time. He did, this memo doesn't change, so if something passed in the 93rd Congress, he doesn't know that when he's writing the memo. And it's fascinating to see what he's doing. He's reporting to the President how well he and his team and the President had done in the first two years of a Congress that was just completely dominated by the other side. And these, as I say when we put up this video, we're gonna put up access to these memos.

So this is, I'm gonna go through this quick and I know you don't have time to read it. But he's talking about the 91st Congress where there were 57 Democrats and 43 Republicans in the Senate and that the House had 243 Democrats and 192 Republicans, and this is Bill Timmons' analysis. I mean Timmons is writing from his point of view and he says, "What the Democratic Congress wanted to do was continue the new frontier and great society programs, pass excessive appropriations for social functions while reducing funds for defense and foreign affairs. And they showed new interest in restrictive trade legislation reflecting an isolationist mood. There was a growing isolationist mood, and it's not that you have to agree with that, that's Bill's point of view for what they wanted to do. Nixon enjoyed, Nixon's theme was "reform," with many proposals for improvement to existing programs. The Congress had passed incredible numbers of programs as the basis for the great society, 65 bills.

And on the domestic side what Nixon's people would do, they go up the Hill and they could say, "Look, same amount of money, same goal, but we can do a better job if you'll make these adjustments." And nobody was fighting over credit, nobody was worried about the next election because the Democrats had dominated the Congress since the depression. Overall, Nixon enjoyed better support from the 91st Congress than Eisenhower did in his years with Democratic Congresses. Indeed, Nixon's record was better than that of Johnson's in the last year with Congress. And then he lists the accomplishments in domestic affairs and foreign affairs and the economy

and other stuff. And the new one, I mean, the one that I focus on was government reorganization which he lists first.

In Nixon's first term we created the Domestic Council as part of the NSC, changed the Bureau of the Budget to the Office of Management and Budget, Henry and President Nixon revitalized the NSC and consolidated central control of testimony and regulation. That formed, this is 50 years ago, that formed the basis of the modern presidency. We went from a situation before Nixon where the Cabinet officers pretty much ran their area and mentioned it to the White House in passing. So a situation where the policy decisions were made within the Executive Office of the President, the Cabinet had input, but the Cabinet basically executed policy decisions and stuff cleared by the White House and that's still what exists today, and this was in retrospect a revolutionary change.

Then he talks about negative successes and this is, of course, is in foreign affairs, because Nixon didn't need authority, he needed appropriations, but he needed to prevent some of these things, the McGovern-Hatfield, Hughes no-ABM, Brooke's anti-MIRV, Multiple Independently Targeted...

John Lehman: Reentry Vehicle.

Geoff Shepard: Reentry Vehicle, thank you. Thank you. We have all these, Cooper-Church. And then he listed the defeats of what we didn't get and the bottom one is interesting because we didn't get this other stuff passed, well we do in subsequent Congresses. We never got the family assistance plan passed but we got revenue sharing and block grants, bill reform and selective service. That was huge. We went from, it took us three steps - the draft, to the lottery, to an all-volunteer force, and that was...and the all-volunteer force survives to this day. That was huge at the time.

Then we talk about...these are Bill's calculations answering 160,000 incoming telephone calls, placed 300,000 outgoing calls, processed 120,000 pieces of paper, attended 1,400 structured meetings, not counting internal meetings, made 1,600 trips to the Capitol, prepared over 450 draft speeches, you know? We, these guys, with substance, I mean with help, help from substance people would help our supporters to have remarks for the Congressional record or to give speeches, so they were aligned with the administration. And then he summarizes the Congress nine measures each day they were in session. Committees reported out an average of 8.8 bills each day they were in session. Of these 17 measures a day, one-tenth required serious White House input and consideration.

And in addition to these two daily votes that the White House was heavily involved in, these numbers don't reflect amendments or subcommittee votes or rules. These people on the Congressional Relations staff were drinking out of a fire hose. I mean it was just a massive amount of information and they're trying to influence it on behalf of the President. And he does a calculation of the number of bills that were enacted, the Yea-and-Nay votes, the bills vetoed, and he does, I skipped one. This is a...you wonder how he kept all these records. This is before computers. He's got a record of every touch the President did with regard to the members of Congress, individual meetings, phone conversations, Republican leadership, bipartisan, bill signings, medal of honor, swearing in, Congressional half-hours, breakfasts, lunches, dinners, State dinners, receptions. The only thing missing here, it's not Bills fault, the President had the presidential yacht, *The Sequoia*, and he'd take people out with or without the President on *The Sequoia* for, what, they take 15 couples if they wanted to and you'd stay...it's a trumpety yacht. It's not in good shape. It still exists down in Texas.

The top of it, you could have a reception in good weather, cruising majestically down the Potomac. You turn around at Mt. Vernon, there's a salute and then you go downstairs and you eat, you have dinner on the way back up. They had very impressive event. I want to talk about the phone calls with you guys.

John Lehman: I'm forced, however, to point out that it wasn't really the President's yacht. It was the Secretary of the Navy's barge.

Geoff Shepard: That's true, it was. It was.

Tom Korologos: May I say something too about the phone calls that you make, that you discussed. They were personal phone calls, Senator Byrd cast his 2000th vote. So we'd send a slip into him and say, "Byrd, this afternoon..." and so he'd call up Byrd, "Congratulations on the 2000th vote." Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine had a reputation of never ever, ever missing a vote, so she passed some milestone so he'd pick a phone up and call Senator Smith and tell her, "Oh gosh, that was just the most wonderful thing." These were personal little tidbit phone calls that he would make. And one of my favorites, and John was involved in this, was when the President went to China, the charge was that's all the year he cares about foreign affairs, foreign affairs, foreign affairs, he didn't know anything about domestic and Wally and Geoff used to be on my back just like they were today, about domestic.

Well, they issued the Shanghai Communique, oh my gosh, the new great era Chinese-American relations. What are we gonna do with Taiwan, what are

we gonna do with all of these. The next order of business that Ziegler announced from Shanghai was a disaster declaration for Huntington, West Virginia. Bob Byrd had wanted, pounding on us, he was majority leader at that time to declare a disaster area for a flood that had occurred in West Virginia. What more deserved than a domestic issue like that. The other thing on the China thing was, "Oh, that's all...what's he doing over there? What's he doing over there?" Well, I remember in the leadership meeting before he went he pointed to the phone and said, "See that phone, I can call our advance guys right here and now and they'll know everything that I'm going on and you in this room will all know what's going on." So when he came back from China, he'd been there, how many days, 10 days?

John Lehman: Yeah, about 10.

Tom Korologos: About 10 days, what did he do? Well, so Clark MacGregor and Timmons suggested to the tour in China, "Hey, what time you're landing at Andrews from China?" He landed at 7:00, 8:00 at night. "Why don't you come straight to the Capitol?" So they cleared the Capitol grounds, the parking lot. The helicopter comes swooping in, lands on the parking lot, Nixon goes in and speaks to a joint session of Congress on what he did in China. And I remember Roger Mudd on the television said, "Heard Nixon relations with Congress have gone this way and that way," and what did he do? He comes back from China and lands on them, tells them what he did. So that was all part of what Geoff is discussing on the relationship that he had created personally with the Hill, that he...

Geoff Shepard: The one thing we talked about before, we did have a dry run, in spite of all these congressmen that he works with and everything else, he did not take any members of Congress with him to China. That was too sensitive because it wasn't a tourist junket, we didn't have time to give people in their wise places to go see and everything, the Nixon trip to China was just the President and his staff and the news media. And that's another reason why it was a great idea when he came back to go brief the Congress.

Tom Korologos: But the minute he came back he turned to us and he said, "Go and invite Mansfield and Scott..." the majority and the minority leader, "...to go on the next trip." So he created a "code" to go to China and they went. The next one, it was the one that I went on with Senator Magnuson and Sparkman and we set relations back with China 30 years, but other than that it was a good trip. But he constantly kept sending Congressional delegations to China and when he came back on his first trip, he bought these little stone things of China, of elephants...

Geoff Shepard: Trinkets.

Tom Korologos: Trinkets that he gave to him and it became a big...it was a happening when he went there. You know, my gosh, somebody wrote an opera about it, and when was the last time [crosstalk 01:01:09] an opera...

John Lehman: Yeah. But very important than that it's important to understand that it was really President Nixon's and Henry, their relationship is unique in government history, I think.

Tom Korologos: Yeah.

John Lehman: They fed on each other. They were in a sense, they kind of were a little jealous of each other when one of them got more publicity than the other, but they really were a tremendously reinforcing team. And President Nixon had, for so long, as you say, since he had nothing else to do when he was vice president, he traveled the world and read, and read, and read. He was one of the most well-read presidents ever, and he knew the time was right to move that, you know, the world had been locked in this cold war which was based on China and the Soviet Union, the axis of Mao Zedong's China and the Soviet Union and it had the West on the defensive containment was the best we could do. And he sensed as he read constantly all the intelligence and the public commentary of what was going on in China, that the moment was right to drive these two powers apart. And that's what it was all about, why it was kept so secret. And when it was done, it was a thunder clap in the world - in the whole perception of allies and adversaries alike, that this was something huge, the dawn of a new era and it was really the beginning of the end of the cold war. And that in many ways President Nixon was a genius in understanding strategically. He got it, he got what made the world move and a big part of his grasping of that was Henry, who was also deeply understanding.

Geoff Shepard: We don't want you to think we're pro-Nixon. We've done three forums on Nixon to China and they're available in more detail. We're not gonna go anything more, but I helped produce these forums, and Henry is around but he's almost 95. So the foundation has over the year 2016, done six segments of the only oral history that Henry Kissinger has ever given. We've done them in private but "coming soon to a theatre near you." We're gonna have Henry Kissinger on tape doing his oral history, presenting his oral history and going into a great detail on that partnership and how it worked. But back to where we were, one, Bill Timmons' first memo doing a comparison, this slide just shows that from a veto point of view Nixon was more successful than Eisenhower or Kennedy or Johnson and then he does, we're not gonna go through the other memos, but he does, one, it's in the archives, first session of the second 92nd, second session of the 92nd, and

one on the 93rd Congress. And that brings us to a more substantive part for my colleagues.

Nixon ran, as I said, on two main themes for the '68 campaign, restoring "law and order" and ending the war with honor, and we're gonna spend a few minutes on the "law and order" part so that Wally has something to say. And here we have Wally on the stage left with dark hair and if I may, you can give the background but I'm gonna quickly describe. This is President Nixon signing the Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 at the great hall of the Department of Justice, in October of 1970 that I had met Wally working on the bill when he worked for Senator Hruska and I was a White House Fellow. And in between I'd gone and joined the White House staff and I'd been on the staff for a month, and I was the substance guy on this bill signing because my policy beat was "law and order," and a great opportunity to pay Wally back for...start to pay him back for all of his kindnesses. Wally, describe what's going on.

Wallace Johnson: I'd like to make a unique point here that has not been put in the record yet. There was a pyramid within the departments and to the White House that coordinated the flow of information and the work on legislation. The crime bill was submitted to Congress by Timmons, which surprised me when I found that out. But Bill submitted the Organized Crime Control Act, but it was managed through the Judiciary Committees and with the Justice Department. So you've got the house which was managed by Dick Poff, who was a congressman from Virginia. He ended up being considered to be nominated to the Supreme Court, and he ended up being on the Virginia Supreme Court, a brilliant guy. And he's in the picture. I can't see it perfectly from here. But he was the House Manager for the Organized Crime Control Act.

Geoff Shepard: I mean, Poff is next to you between you and Senator Hruska.

Wallace Johnson: And Hruska was a ranking minority leader in the Senate. He was a crime guy. Now, I mentioned at the very beginning that there were a coterie of very bright attorneys who came into the administration when Nixon was elected. Three of them were pretty key in this bill, Pete Veldt, Brian Giddings who was a U.S. attorney over in Alexandria, and Don Senterelli. Senterelli is in the picture off to the right. I'm on the left. He's on the right. The fact of the matter is we were staffers and weren't entitled to be in the picture. I think you may have gotten us into the picture, Geoff. And it was probably your pen that President signed the bill with. But it was fundamental to his crime program. Bob Blakey who was a professor from

Notre Dame was the...yeah, John McClellan's guy. And that's the background.

Geoff Shepard: And what you have in the center, it's Hoover and John Mitchell and Nixon, we tried to get the live news coverage but we're...it didn't cut right. Nixon signs the bill and hands the bill to Mitchell and says, "There, I've given you the tools. Now go to work." And what was so surprising to me on this particular event because I've only been on the substance side of the domestic council for a month, when the President leaves the White House to go somewhere there are hundreds of people involved, you know, just getting him from the White House to the Department of Justice involves security and advance and dignitaries, and it is a real procedure. And then you have the event and, of course, the great hall is filled with members of Congress and attorneys, Department of Justice prosecutors.

Let's go on to the second one because the second one for Wally has to do with the Supreme Court. Nixon was unique in that in his first term he filled four vacancies on the Supreme Court, and this is kind of the end of that. Wally?

Wallace Johnson: Well, they cut me out of this picture.

Geoff Shepard: They did?

Wallace Johnson: I was off to the right as we're looking at it. When Rehnquist was nominated to the Supreme Court, it created a void because Bill was the one that had coordinated the legislative work for the other justices. So Mitchell called me. We had a telephone on our desk and I can remember it bonged, and when it bonged I picked it up and said, "Yes, Mr. Attorney General?" And he said, "Bill needs a lawyer." Well, the fact is, Bill was a brilliant lawyer but his tactical experience with the Congress could have been better.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah. We have to interrupt and explain. Bill is the guy in the right with the long sideburns.

Tom Korologos: Bill?

Geoff Shepard: Bill Rehnquist.

Tom Korologos: As in Rehnquist.

Geoff Shepard: And Lewis Powell is the justice, now confirmed justice on the left. And they went through together and Wally led the confirmation process.

Wallace Johnson: But both happened when I was at the Justice Department and I coordinated with Tom at the White House. We would meet every Saturday with the Congressional Relations staffs and every one of those departments had connections with their committee on the Hill. So it was a huge spider web of interconnections. And in this case, Rehnquist was nominated before Powell and Powell pushed Bill through. Now, remember we were talking about how important it was to have a philosophic majority. We got, I think, 57 votes for Rehnquist. They did not want Rehnquist, the 43 senators did not want him because he was so young.

Geoff Shepard: Rehnquist was 49 years old, the intellectual genius of the conservative movement. Diametrically opposed to the judicial philosophies of the Earl Warren Court, and Congress was not happy. Louis Powell from Richmond, past president of the American Bar Association...

Wallace Johnson: Very gentle...

Geoff Shepard: Distinguished and elderly.

Wallace Johnson: Highly respected.

Geoff Shepard: And you have a wonderful story.

Wallace Johnson: Jim Eastland was very direct. He was the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. And Justice Powell was so wonderful in being able to step aside and watch Rehnquist being processed. But they were trying to beat Bill up and Powell simply wanted to be confirmed. It was an adoration. It was an adoration for him. So we've seen on one occasion, I can't remember if you were with him or not but I said, "They really want you confirmed, Lewis." And he said. "Oh, yes." And he was sort of preening. And Eastland said, "Yeah, because they think you're gonna die." But age wasn't important then, it's important now. And Bill served from 1970 to 2005 or '06 and proved the wisdom of Nixon's appointment.

Geoff Shepard: And we give credit where credit's due. Wally's idea to keep Rehnquist moving through ahead of Powell, if you guys want Powell, you got to confirm Rehnquist first because if Powell ever got ahead of him, Rehnquist wouldn't be confirmed, and that tactical judgment got Rehnquist on the Court.

Wallace Johnson: Well, and it also got me cut out of the picture.

Geoff Shepard: Cut you out of the picture. Then we fast forward and Bill is up to be Chief Justice, needs to be reconfirmed, and Wally is out in Nebraska?

Wallace Johnson: Yeah, working now with Tom who's in charge of that confirmation process.

Geoff Shepard: And Wally comes back, the reuniting of these two gentlemen who controlled the Senate to get Bill confirmed as Chief Justice.

Tom Korologos: And so when Rehnquist called and said, "Here we go again," and I went down. I'm not sure if Wally was there, he might have been and he said, "Why do I have to have a hearing? My record is there. All my decisions are there, I'm not gonna prejudge anything pending. Why do we need a hearing?" And I thought he was kidding. And I said, "No, calm down, Bill. Yes, you need a hearing. I'm not gonna say anything at the hearing because I'm not gonna second guess anything I've done." And he was serious, he didn't want to go to a hearing. But finally, we convinced him that maybe he should have a hearing. But he lost two to three votes from the first time.

Wallace Johnson: The nomination experience and I know we have a short period of time left, but legislation was important, nominations were, too. And Nixon processed something like 7,000 nominations through the Senate appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate.

Geoff Shepard: In his first two years. That was, we skipped over in the middle. In his first two years, Bill Timmons is happy to report, yeah, we confirmed 7,000 people. There were bumps in the road. I mean, it's not and it was a perfect record, but it was a phenomenal record. And I may say without fear of being contradicted it was the finest administrative team assembled in my lifetime because we were all there.

Now, we do two quick pictures to show you, you know, we got to have pictures of our people, so here's Wally same moment in the Oval Office with Rehnquist and Powell but he gets his individual picture...

Wallace Johnson: And we cut them out.

Geoff Shepard: Yeah, we cut them out. We cut out the two justices and then just to show you that we play fair, here is Tom Korologos, different date, dark hair with his picture with the President. And these, you know, you put them up on your wall, you show your kids, you show your grandkids. And we're

using that as the transition because we have 12 minutes left to talk about Tom and John effort to prevent the Congress from prematurely ending the Vietnam War. So we start with, see how well my click...there we go. I'm sorry. This will take one minute. In addition to summarizing the records of the 91st, 92nd, and 93rd Congress, Bill submits recommendations to the President and to Haldeman on how to make government relations better. And these are really interesting, we won't go into them here, of inside baseball on "You know Mr. President if we called it the Office of the Legislative Affairs it would work better. If we had some more cooperation from the departments, and here's how you could help, it would work better." And this is just the nuts and bolts of what makes this office work, and he has three of them.

And then we go to, our first is a picture of Nixon giving what is characterized as the "silent majority" speech. And we have several pictures here, but they all key off of Tom's effort and John's effort to prevent the Congress. Remember what happened, when Nixon is inaugurated there's 537,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. The nation is divided and upset, but the Congress is not that heavy on its democratic president. But when Nixon gets elected and it's a Republican in the White House, then the Democrats lose their patience and they're reflecting their constituents, but they want out and they want out now and they love to come and give speeches about it and to propose amendments.

John Lehman: Yeah. It was, in many ways, as bitter as from some quarters of Congress as the bitterness we see now between the branches over this war and war powers, the powers of the President, the ability to make executive agreements as opposed to making everything a treaty. Every single day there were new amendments thrown into the hopper. And just a bit of trivia while you're looking at the picture, you'll never see one of Henry Kissinger's staffers in these pictures, because at the very beginning, first under Kennedy, McGeorge Bundy and his staff were an integral part of the White House staff. When Walt Rostow and LBJ was President, Walt Rostow and his staff were an integral part of the White House staff and the White House mess and so forth.

Henry from the very beginning said, "My staff is to be totally separate from the White House staff. Everybody except for the situation room which was under Henry, everybody was moved out of the upstairs of the West Wing over to the EOB and taken out of the White House mess. We had our own mess and the reason why..."

Geoff Shepard: No pictures, you couldn't sign memos. Only Henry submitted memos to the President.

John Lehman: Only Henry, there's never...

Geoff Shepard: You guys were the...

John Lehman: The unseen heroes.

Geoff Shepard: You're locked in a room doing the work.

John Lehman: That's right.

Tom Korologos: I agree with [inaudible 01:20:01] the other mess in the White House.

John Lehman: Yeah, the other mess in the White House, exactly. But Henry felt strongly that in order to run the National Security with the majority Congress in the hands of the Democrats, his staff had to be seen as nonpartisan and not part of the President's personal staff. So that's why we were all kept separate, but there was a lot up.

Geoff Shepard: You told us last night about taking a memo in or Henry calling you in to talk about a memo?

John Lehman: Yeah, that was...things were so bitter partially because there was a lot of leaking going on from the State Department particularly, and other agencies in the government, and from those agencies to the Hill and Hill's staffs, every day *The Washington Post* had stories that were based on classified documents, very damaging, particularly in tactical things, in Vietnam, bombing, rules of engagement, etc. So I very naively went to a dinner about a year after the beginning after all these leaks were driving the President and Henry and all of the Cabinet National Security people crazy and it was an off-the-record meeting of foreign service officers, a dinner, and it was just to, you know, talk about how things were going. And I said at one point, "One of the problems is that there are leaks almost every day of the Foreign Relations Committee." And we know this because we have friends in the media and that's one of their principal sources.

So the next morning front page of the "Post" above the fold, picture of me and the headline is "Kissinger aide attacks Fulbright, accuses him of leaking." And, of course, as a relatively young staffer that is not immediately seen to be career enhancing, so.

Geoff Shepard: John is 26 when he starts.

John Lehman: Yeah, I do. So the inevitable call came from Al Haig who was Kissinger's deputy said, "Get over here." So I figured that was the end of my short career in government. So I go over there and Haig just frowns at me and motions...doesn't say a word, motioned me into Henry's office which is the corner office. And Henry's scowling at his desk and he says, "Lehman, I just was called into the President's office. The President told me that the Secretary of State called him and said, "You must fire this Lehman guy, whoever that is.' Rogers says that he's been cultivating Senator Fulbright and his relations are improving and it's very important and then your staffer comes out with this outrageous accusation." And went, "You got to fire him immediately because I would like to put out a press release."

I guess like the man on the gallows awaiting the trapdoor to fall but...and so he said, "So the President said he hung up and he called me in and he said, 'Henry, I want you to promote Lehman right away.'"

Geoff Shepard: Isn't that wonderful? And, you know, as a...he's a confident guy but he's a kid.

John Lehman: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: And people make mistakes and they don't flush him out. You know, it is a... They're demanding his scalp, there's no question about that, the "Post" knew it.

John Lehman: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: This was, you know, in Washington, sometimes a tiny misstep and you'd go from the belle of the ball to a pariah.

John Lehman: Yeah.

Geoff Shepard: And you're, all there dancing the minuet and you make or you misstep and the long knives come out, and that you were fortunate to have the President like you.

Tom Korologos: Yes. And that had happened. I don't know how much time we got but, yeah, the other thing that used to happen there'd be these "end the war" amendments and troop cuts and what have you and John would call up and say, "When is the vote?" And I'd say, "Thursday," and he said, "Stop it, we can't have it Thursday." I go, "Okay." So as we know we can go up and block anything and get the senators to stop a bill, a day or two and, "When is the vote?" "Next Tuesday." "Oh, we can't have Tuesday, or

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday." What was happening is Henry was in Paris cutting deals in Vietnam with Le Duc Tho and he didn't want the Senate, because there was always "one vote victory, one vote loss" issue, he didn't want the Senate to undercut his negotiating position by having the Vietcong or Vietnamese say, "Aha, why are we dealing with you when you just lost?" So there was a lot of that going on internally in the White House that fell on the wall and he had John and me to...

John Lehman: Yeah. One last story on that was as a result when it came out that the secret negotiation to end the war was going on, and we immediately got a demand from the Foreign Relations Committee and all the leadership of the Democrats to bring Kissinger up as soon as he got back to testify under oath. And, of course, Bill Rehnquist who was at that time before his sanctification was the General Counsel of the Justice Department and so he...well, Henry obviously was not about to go up to the Hill and be subjected to...

Geoff Shepard: Under oath. Public [crosstalk 01:26:13]

John Lehman: So Bill Rehnquist wrote a strong memo saying, "Hell no, don't go." And Tom came up with the idea of negotiating with the committees a compromise where he would...and I was able to sell Henry on Tom's idea which was to have Henry come up whenever asked by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations or the Arm Services or the...well, it wasn't the Intelligence Committee then, but to come up and to meet with them in total frankness classified but no notes taken, and no oath taken. So ultimately, that was a compromise, it was agreed to and it worked out very well except, I remember Mr. Sparkman and a few other people falling sound asleep while Henry was telling them...

Geoff Shepard: Okay, we're running out of time so I'm gonna take the last two minutes. We went forward to a picture, this is, again, in the private dining room and this is a private briefing by Henry Kissinger. So he was made available but not public, not under oath. We will be remised if we didn't point out that in the end we lost the biggest vote. The Congressional Relations staff good as they were, and this was on the House side, were unable to prevent the vote in House Judiciary to recommend impeachment of President Nixon and the President resigned in disgrace in spite of this just superb record before Watergate of a relations with the Congress. And we have at the end, here, this is our last picture, this is post-presidency. President Nixon would come back without the media that Tom would arrange, Tom is the 101st Senator, private briefings for select members of Congress who wanted to avail of themselves with Nixon's point of view for years after he was president. So with that, we're right on time and we're

going to end the panel. We appreciate you coming. We hope you'll look forward to posting this so you can actually go through more pictures and more memos and almost be as smart as these people. Thank you.

Wallace Johnson: Thank you.